

# HISTORY OF PERU

CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM









A HISTORY OF PERU







BRIDGE OVER THE RIMAC AT LIMA.



Latin-American Republics

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# A HISTORY OF PERU

BY CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM

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CHILE AND PERU," ETC.

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# A HISTORY OF PERU

## CHAPTER I

### INCA CIVILIZATION

Peru is a country which must always hold a prominent position in the history of the American continent. It was here that the civilization of the red race attained its highest development. It was in Peru that the most romantic episodes in the story of Spanish conquest were enacted; and the Peruvian capital was the centre of colonial power. Here too the colossal fabric of Spanish colonial dominion was finally shattered and, in this classic land of the Incas, an emancipated people have, during more than half a century, been painfully but hopefully struggling, in the face of many difficulties, to establish a national existence based on well ordered liberty.

A narrative of the complete history of Peru, embracing so many points of special interest, can not fail to be alike attractive and full of instruction. It is, however, more necessary to keep the physical features of the region in mind, while studying Peruvian history, than is perhaps the case in any other land. For here the course of events is influenced, in a special degree,

by the geography of the country. It would be difficult to exaggerate this influence in considering the history of any part of the world, but in Peru it is especially obvious and striking. Upon its physical conformation has depended its civilization and the fate of generations of its people in peace and war.

The mountainous region of the Peruvian Andes extends from the equator southward for a thousand miles, and averages a width of two hundred and fifty miles. Its loftiest peaks are over 20,000 feet in height. The mountain system consists of three chains or *cordilleras*—maritime, central, and eastern. The narrow belt between the maritime and central chains is, for the most part, a cold and lofty region called *puna*. Between the central and eastern cordilleras there is much greater width, and the region consists of gigantic mountain spurs, wide plains, rich valleys, and deep gorges. The eastern Andes is a magnificent and almost continuous range of mountains, cut through by six rivers, the Marañon and Hualaga in northern Peru, and the Mantaro, Apurimac, Vilcamayu, and Paucartambo, the four latter being tributaries of the great Amazonian affluent—the Ucayali. This region between the central and eastern chains, called the *sierra*, was the seat of Inca civilization. The beauty and grandeur of its scenery is unsurpassed in any other part of the world. The central cordillera is not cut through by any river, although the upper courses of some of the streams flowing to the Pacific are to the eastward of the line of its highest peaks. It forms an unbroken water parting. It consists mainly of crystalline and volcanic rocks, the western or maritime cordillera being of the same formation, and the two chains being merely separated by erosion. The most northern section of the Peruvian Andes is com-



prised in the watersheds of the Marañon and Huallaga, and is about three hundred and fifty miles long. There the river Marañon rises in the lake of Lauricocha, on the inner slope of the central cordillera, and after a northerly course of several hundred miles, forces its way through the eastern chain, forming a gorge known as the Pongo de Mauseriche, and enters the Amazonian plain. The Huallaga, rising within a few miles of the source of the Marañon, flows northward in a valley further east, and finds a way through the eastern cordilleras in a gorge called the Pongo de Chasuta. But the most remarkable geographical feature in this northern section of the Peruvian Andes is the lateral valley of the river Santa, called the Callejon de Huaylas, between the central and maritime chains. Here the central cordillera attains heights of 18,000 and 20,000 feet, and the passes are 15,000 feet above the sea. The river Santa rises in the Alpine lake of Conococha and flows northward for a hundred miles along the fissure between the two chains. At Huaylas, where the river turns westward, and forces its way through a gorge in the western chain to reach the coast, the height is 9,000 feet.

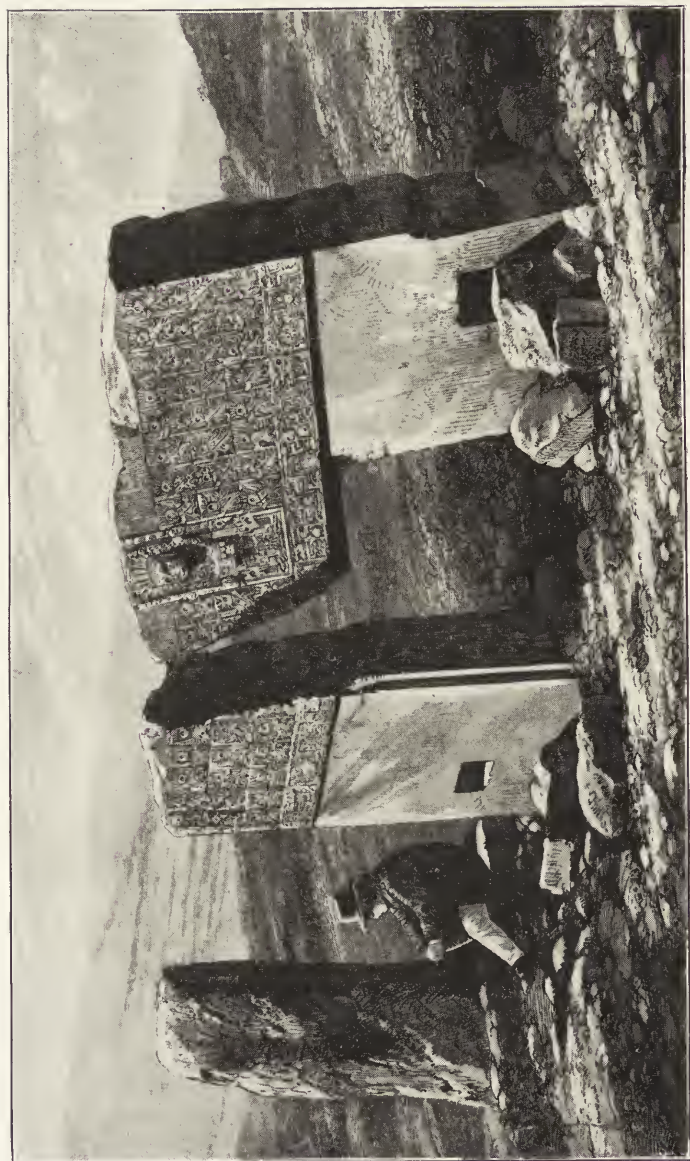
At the southern limit of this northern section of the Peruvian Andes, the central and eastern cordilleras are connected by a saddle on which are the famous silver mines of Cerro Pasco. At the southern base of this saddle is the lake of Chinchay-cocha, thirty-seven miles long by seven, and 13,000 feet above the sea. Its marshy banks are overgrown with reeds, and inhabited by numerous water fowls. From this lake a river flows southward through the populous valley of Xauxa, for one hundred and fifty miles, when it breaks through

the eastern range and becomes the Mantaro, a navigable affluent of the Ucayali.

From Xauxa to the saddle of Vilcañota, the Cuzco section of the Peruvian Andes forms the centre and heart of Peru. Here there is every variety of climate and scenery. Tropical vegetation in the deep gorges, the climate and products of Italy and Spain in the warm valleys, the crops of northern Europe in the more elevated plains and ravines, higher up are alpine pasture lands, above which there are bleak wilds with a sub-Arctic climate, crowned by rocky cliffs and peaks covered with everlasting snow. Most beautiful is the valley of the river Vilcamayu, near which is the plateau, surrounded by hills, on which stands the famous city of Cuzco 11,380 feet above the sea.

The inland basin of Lake Titicaca forms the most southern section of the region of the Peruvian Andes. This plateau is of great height, the lowest part being the level of the lake itself, which is 12,545 feet above the sea. Bounded by the knot of Vilcañota, connecting the central and eastern cordilleras, on the north, and by those ranges to east and west, it extends far away to the south, where the river Desaguadero, draining the lake, has a course one hundred and fifty miles long before it disappears in the salt swamps of Paria. The Titicaca basin is over three hundred miles long by one hundred wide, and the northern part is known as the Collao. The lake itself is eighty miles long by forty broad, divided into two unequal parts by the peninsula of Copacabana. The southern division, called the lake of Huaqui, twenty-four miles long by twenty-one broad, is united to the greater lake by the narrow strait of Tiquina. The principal islands are those of Titicaca and Coati near the Copacabana penin-





MONOLITHIC DOORWAY AT TIAHUANACO.

sula. The basin of Titicaca is at too great an elevation for corn to ripen. It is a country of pastures and potato crops, while the only trees are the queñuar (*Buddleia Incana*) with its dark leaf and rough bark, and the molle (*Schinus Molle*). Around this cold and cheerless plateau the cordilleras attain their greatest height. The lofty peaks of Illimani and Illampu rise on the eastern side of the plateau to elevations exceeding 20,000 feet, while the volcano of Sajama on the coast range is said to be even higher.

On one side of the lofty region of the Peruvian Andes is the narrow strip of coast bordering the Pacific Ocean, and on the other are the vast tropical forests of the Amazonian valley.

The strip of land between the Andes and the Pacific averages a width of twenty miles. The absence of rain on this coast is caused by the action of the lofty mountains on the trade wind. This wind, after coming from the Atlantic heavily laden with vapors, and pouring rain over the Amazonian valley, reaches the snow capped Andes. Here the last particle of moisture is wrung from it by the very low temperature, and it rushes down to the Pacific coast a cool and dry wind, reaching the ocean before it again becomes charged with moisture. Hence from November to April there is constant dryness on the coast; while from June to September the sky is obscured by fog, often accompanied by drizzling rain called *garua*. When it is hottest and driest on the coast, it is raining heavily in the Andes, and the rivers are full; while when the rivers are lowest the *garua* prevails. The coast may be described as a long strip of desert crossed at intervals by rivers flowing from the Andes to the sea. The largest deserts are seventy miles across, but they vary much in extent.

Steep cliffs generally rise from the sea, above which is the *tablazo* or plateau apparently quite bare of vegetation. The desert surface is generally hard, but, in many places, there are accumulations of drift sea sand formed in half moon shaped hillocks, which continually shift, any stone or dead beast forming a nucleus round which the sand accumulates. When the mists set in the low hills near the coast, called *lomas*, are covered with a blooming vegetation of wild flowers for a short time. The rivers flow through fertile valleys and are separated from each other by the deserts. The whole coast is subject to frequent and severe earthquakes, the line of disturbance being usually meridional or along the coast.

On the eastern side of the Peruvian Andes are the tropical forests within the Amazonian basin traversed by great navigable rivers, including the wooded slopes and ravines of the eastern watershed of the Andes. This region is called the *montaña*. It is important from the value of its products, and interesting from the magnificence of its scenery.

Thus we find that the country, the history of which we are about to study, is divided into three distinct regions, all running through its entire length. The mountainous region of the Peruvian Andes, enjoying temperate climate, yet exacting from its inhabitants the necessity for sustained exertion of mind and body, was the natural seat of power and civilization. The coast region presents a totally distinct environment, yet there also were the elements of advancement and progress. Although within the tropics, the climate is comparatively temperate, and the rich valleys offer the means of acquiring not only comfort but wealth through skillful industry. The third region of tropical forest

invited conquest, for many of its products were in great request, but it was not adapted for the abode of a settled people. Its mighty solitudes were only disturbed by stray hunters and fishers belonging to wandering tribes; and permanent settlements were confined to the ravines formed by eastern spurs of the Andes.

The barren discussions respecting the origin of the red race, and the route by which men first arrived in America are happily at an end. The evidence is now conclusive that man has existed on the American continent, from the Delaware to the river Plate, since the glacial epoch. As Mr. Brinton has put it—"the culture of the American race is an indigenous growth, wholly self developed and owing none of its germs to any other race." The most ancient human vestige that has been found in Peru is the mummy which was dug up in the province of Tarapaca, in the year 1874. It was beneath the volcanic formation called *chuco*, which is itself of vast antiquity. With the body there were cotton twine, a woven bag, and some cobs of maize. Indeed the perfection to which the cultivation of maize and potatoes had been brought by the Peruvians, and their domestication of the llama and alpaca are convincing proofs of the remote antiquity of their civilization. De Candolle tells us that maize is unknown in a wild state, and many centuries must have elapsed before the natives of the Andes could have produced numerous cultivated varieties of maize and potato, and have completely domesticated their beast of burden and their fleece-bearing alpaca.

During cycles of centuries the natives of the Andean region were slowly advancing toward the highest type of civilization of which their race is capable. Ruined edifices of unknown date and origin built of enormous

stones, seem to point to a period when a powerful empire existed in Peru, long before the rise of the Inca dynasty. Tradition barely reaches to that remote past, and the ruins are almost the only witnesses to the existence of a forgotten but once mighty dominion. Its epoch may be distinguished as the megalithic period and its remains are met with throughout the length of the Peruvian Andes.

On the southern side of Lake Titicaca, and nearly 13,000 feet above the level of the sea, those wonderful ruins, which have been called Tiahuanaco since the dawn of history, cover an area of nearly an acre. Their most striking feature is the doorway carved out of a single block of trachytic rock, seven feet high by thirteen and one-half feet in length, and one and one-half feet thick. The whole of the upper part from a line with the lintel of the portal is covered with sculpture. In the centre there is a figure angularly but boldly cut in high relief, the head surrounded by rays, a sceptre clasped in each hand, terminating in the head of a condor. On either side of this central compartment, there are three tiers of figures, forty-eight in all, each in a kneeling posture and facing toward the large central figure. All are winged and hold sceptres terminating with condor's heads; those in the central tier having condor's heads, and those in the upper and lower tiers having crowned human heads. This sculpture commemorates some great act of homage either to a deity or a mighty sovereign. Among the other remains at Tiahuanaco there are hewn stones thirty-six and twenty-six feet long, remains of walls composed of enormous blocks of stone, large stones standing on end, and colossal statues are described by the early writers. There was no memory respecting these ruins at the







NORTH VIEW OF THE REMAINS OF THE INCAS' FORT, SACSABUAMAN.

time of the Spanish conquest, and they remain an enigma to this day. But they point to the existence of the capital of a mighty empire on this spot in very remote times, although the establishment of such a centre of power on a bleak plateau at so great an elevation above the level of the sea is a phenomenon without any parallel in the history of the world.

The work of builders of the Tiahuanaco period is met with in other parts of Peru. Such are the ruins of Sacsahuaman, on the hill above Cuzco, a fortified work, six hundred yards long consisting of three lines of wall built of gigantic stones and arranged in salient and retiring angles. Some of these stones are twenty-seven feet, and they average fifteen feet in height, irregular in shape, but fitted into each other with the greatest nicety. Such too are the megalithic remains at Ollantay-tambo near Cuzco, where later edifices are raised on far more ancient cyclopean foundations and where, as we are informed by the chronicler Cieza de Leon, there were sculptures as at Tiahuanaco, which have since been destroyed. Similar megalithic remains of unknown origin occur at Concacha near the Apurimac, at Huiñaque, at Chavin, and at Huaraz. At Quecap, in Chachapoyas, there is a vast structure referable to this remote period; and a carved stone, similar to those at Tiahuanaco, has been found in the department of Ancachs. One language prevailed throughout the region of megalithic edifices, and if language may be taken as a test, the ancient megalithic empire extended from the equator to the borders of Patagonia.

One tradition appears to have reached the posterity of the megalithic builders, and to have preserved the names and attributes of their deity. The venerated

names were "Con-Illa-Ticci-Uira-Cocha—" "the Creator"—"the Eternal Light"—"Spirit of the Abyss"\* and two sacred words recorded his attributes, "Pachayachachic" the teacher or regulator and "Pachacamac" the ruler of the universe. He is described as a being who created man and all living things, and the origin of the myth is universally attributed to the ancient people around Lake Titicaca.

This megalithic empire became disintegrated in the course of time, and the only witnesses of its existence are the imperishable ruins, the prevalence of one language over so vast an area, and the myth of the creating deity, Illa-Ticci-Uira-Cocha. Several of the tribes of Peru, in historic times, retained their veneration for the ancient God of their Fathers. The empire disappeared, but when in later ages a second empire was formed by the Incas its rapid extension was mainly due to the community of language, traditions, and institutions derived from the former age.

At the dawn of history Peru was broken up into many independent *ayllus* or tribes composed of families of the same lineage. The Incas, Quichuas, Allcovisas, inhabited the valleys around Cuzco. Collas, Lupacas, Pacasas and Urus occupied the basin of Lake Titicaca. The powerful nation of Chancas dominated in the valleys from the Apurimac to Cerro Pasco, with the subordinate Pocras, Huancas, Soras and Lucanas, and the Chinchas on the coast. Further north, in the basin of the Marañon, there were many tribes in the region called Chinchay-suyu; while the Scyris of Quito formed a centre of numerous small nations on

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\**Con* is a word of unknown meaning. *Illa*, light, from *Illani*, "I shine." *Ticci* means "foundation," permanence," hence "eternal." "Principium rerum sine principio" (*Anon Jesuit*). *Uira* is believed to be a form of *Uayra*, "air," "spirit." *Cocha*, "lake," "abyss," "space."





RUINS OF THE PALACE OF INCA MANCO CAPAC, CUZCO.

either side of the equator. In the northern section of the coast valleys, a distinct race of people was established under the dominion of the Chinu, developing an independent civilization. All these nationalities were eventually absorbed in the empire of the Incas. It will, therefore, be the most convenient plan to notice the traditions of the rise and progress of Inca power; and such knowledge as we possess of the other races can be passed in review as they in turn succumbed to the absorbing or conquering forces of the Incas. First, however, it will conduce to a clearer comprehension of the history, if we consider the character and extent of Inca civilization.

In the valley of the Vilcamayu, to the south of Cuzco, there was a place called "Paccari-tampu," or "Tampu-tocco", the one name meaning "the abode of dawn", and the other "the abode with windows or apertures." It is related that four brothers, with their four sisters, came forth from the apertures of the dawn, and that they were children of the Sun. They advanced northward. One was sealed up in a cave by reason of the jealousy of his brethren. Another was turned into stone on a hill called Huanacauri which became one of the most sacred spots in Inca mythology. Manco Capac, the surviving brother, with his sister wife Mama Ocllo Huaco, and his son Sinchi Rocca, advanced to Cuzco and established the seat of his government there. The place was already occupied by the Allcovisa tribe, but the Incas and Allcovisas appear to have divided the land, and to have lived peaceably, side by side, for four generations.

Manco Capac and his two immediate successors, Sinchi Rocca and Lloqui Yupanqui were fully occupied in consolidating the small dominion around Cuzco, and

in establishing their kindred on the newly acquired lands. Under Mayta Capac, the fourth Inca, a life and death struggle took place between the Incas and Allcovisas, and the latter were vanquished. It was no longer possible that there could be two powers on the plateau of Cuzco. The children of the Sun began slowly to extend their dominions, but still the work of organization and administration was considered more important than that of conquest. The two successors of Mayta Capac were named Capac Yupanqui and Inca Rocca. Although the Inca dominion was extended in their time, over the neighboring tribe of Quichuas, and as far south as the saddle of Vilcañota, which separates the valley of the Vilcamayu from the basin of Lake Titicaca, yet the attention of the Incas was still mainly directed to the organization of rites and ceremonies, the construction of public works, and other administrative details. Inca Rocca's son and successor was named Yahuar-Huaccac, which means literally "weeping blood," probably from some physical defect. His reign is said to have been unfortunate, although he extended the Inca dominion to the eastward, in the direction of the *montaña* or tropical forests. His son and successor assumed the name of the deity, calling himself Uira-Cocha, and from his time there was a succession of mighty conquerors, who extended the Inca dominions until they almost reached the limits of the old empire of the megalithic builders.

The religion of the Inca was the worship of the ancient deity, stories of whose power and goodness had been handed down by tradition. Illa-Ticci-Uira-Cocha, the Creator of the universe, was the supreme deity of the Peruvians. His temple formed one side of the great square at Cuzco, and the present cathedral



is on part of its site. Here a stone statue plated with gold, was set up, and it formed the central point in the complicated ritual of the Incas. The simple faith in Illa-Ticci-Uira-Cocha was overlaid by a mass of superstitions, represented by the cult of ancestors and the cult of natural objects. Every *ayllu* or tribe worshipped an imaginary ancestor, as well as the *malqui* or mummies of their actual forefathers. The Incas claimed the Sun as their ancestor, and the observation of the course of the seasons led to the growth of an elaborate ritual in which not only the Sun, but also the Moon, the Stars, the Lightning, and the Rainbow received their share of adoration; but always subordinate to the worship of the Supreme Deity. All the *ayllus* joined in this veneration of the Sun, but each also had its own *Paccarina* or deified ancestor. These were often animals such as pumas or condors, or natural objects converted into *huacas* or tribal deities. Many were believed to be oracles. Besides these, every family had one or more household gods, called *conopa*, representing llamas, maize, fruit or other products on which its welfare depended.

The oft recurring religious ceremonies connected with national festivals and family worship required a numerous caste of priests and soothsayers for their due performance. The chief priest was the official next in importance to the Inca or sovereign. His title of *Villac Umu* "the head which gives counsel," indicates his position as chief councillor as well as pontiff, and he was always a member of the Incarial family specially selected for his learning and wisdom. The *Villcas* were the chief priests in the provinces, and the ordinary ministers of religion were divided into sacrificing priests, speakers with oracles, hermits, per-

formers of family ceremonies, soothsayers and diviners of all kinds, and virgins of the Sun who were kept secluded in convents called *Aclla-huasi*.

Public festivals and ceremonies had reference to the course of the seasons as they affected the operations of agriculture. The times of the equinoxes and solstices had to be fixed, so that astronomical knowledge was one of the necessary qualifications for the priestly office. Pillars were erected to determine the time of the solstices, eight on each side of Cuzco, in double rows, two low between two high ones. They were called *Sucanca* from *Suca* a ridge or furrow, the alternate light and shade between the pillars appearing like furrows in a field. The time of the equinoxes was observed with a stone column in the centre of a circular level platform called *Inti-huatana*. A line was drawn across the platform from east to west and watch was kept to observe when the shadow of the pillar was on this line from sunrise to sunset, and there was no shadow at noon. There was an *Inti-huatana* in the great square of Cuzco, and four others may be seen in distant parts of Peru. The year was divided into twelve moon revolutions, and these were made to correspond with the solar year by adding five days, which were divided among the months. A further correction was made every fourth year. The year commenced with the winter solstice of the 22nd of June, and by means of these observations the times of festivals were fixed with sufficient accuracy.

The festival at the beginning of the year, at the time of the winter solstice, was in special honor of the Sun. The granaries were then full, after harvest. The images of the Sun, of the Moon, and of Lightning were brought out, and placed in front of the

temple to the Supreme Being. Sacrifices of llamas and their lambs, and of the first fruits of the earth were made as thank offerings, and there was a procession of priests from Cuzco to Paccari-tampu, who offered up sacrifices at fixed points on the road. The sacrifices were accompanied by prayers and concluded with dances and songs called *huayllina*. Then followed the ploughing month when the Inca himself opened the season by turning up a furrow with a golden plough in a field behind the Colcampata palace, overlooking Cuzco. This festival of the winter solstice was called *Raymi*.

The second annual festival was celebrated at the vernal equinox, the commencement of the rainy season, when sickness usually prevailed. It was called *Situa*. A body of four hundred warriors was assembled in the great square of Cuzco, fully armed for war: a hundred facing toward each cardinal point of the compass. The Inca, attended by the Villac Umu and his priests, then came forth from the temple of the Supreme Being and shouted—"Go forth all evils!" On the instant the warriors ran at great speed toward the four cardinal points, shouting the same sentence as they ran, until they reached the banks of the great rivers Apurimac and Vilcamayu, when they bathed and washed their arms. The rivers were supposed to carry the evils away to the ocean. As the warriors ran through the streets, all the people came to their doors, shaking their clothes and shouting "Let the evils depart!" In the evening they all bathed. Then they lighted great torches of straw, called *pancurcu*, and, marching in procession, they threw them into the rivers, believing that thus nocturnal evils were banished. At night each family partook of a supper consisting of pudding

made of ground maize called *sancu*, which was also smeared over their faces and the lintels of their doorways. Finally it was all washed off and thrown into the rivers, with the cry—"May we be free from sickness and may no maladies enter our houses." On the following day the *malquis* or bodies of deceased Incas, and the family *huacas* were paraded, with sacrifices, feasting and dancing. A stone fountain, plated with gold, stood in the great square of Cuzco, and the Inca, on this and other solemn festivals, poured fermented liquor called *chicha* into it from a golden vase, which was conducted by subterranean pipes to the temple of the Diety, and to the *Ccuri-cancha* or temple of the Sun.

The third great festival was at the summer solstice, and was called *Huaraca*. On this occasion the youths of the empire, who attained the proper age, were admitted to a rank equivalent to knighthood, after passing through a severe ordeal. The Inca and court were assembled in front of the temple. Thither the youths were conducted by their relatives with heads closely shorn, attired in shirts of fine yellow wool edged with black, and white mantles fastened around their necks by woolen cords with red tassels. They made their obeisances to the Inca, offered up prayers, and each presented a llama for sacrifice. This gave rise to the idea that the Incas offered up human sacrifices. For the sacrifices were called *puric* (adult man) and *huahua* (child), while they received the names of the youths who offered them. Then they marched in procession to the sacred hill of Huanacauri, where each received the *huara* or breeches made of aloe fibres, from the priest of the Huanacauri oracle. A few days afterward they assembled in the great square, where they were

severely whipped to prove their endurance, and received a staff called *yauri*, and *usuta* or sandals. The young candidates then had to pass a night in the desert, about a league from Cuzco. Next day was the foot race. Young girls, called "*nusta*\*-*calli*†-*sapa*‡" were stationed at the further end of the course with jars of *chicha*, who cried—"Come quickly, youths! for we are waiting." But the course was a very long one, and many fell out before they reached the goal. They also had to rival each other in assaults and feats of arms. Finally their ears were bored and they bathed in the fountain called *Calli-puquio*. In the most prosperous times of the empire about eight hundred youths annually passed through this ordeal and became adult warriors at Cuzco, and the *Huaraca* was also celebrated in all the provinces. In the month following, on the summer solstice, there was a curious religious ceremony, known as the water sacrifice. The cinders and ashes of all the numerous sacrifices throughout the year were preserved. Dams were constructed across the two streams which flow through Cuzco, in order that the water might rush down with great force when they were removed. Prayers and sacrifices were offered up, and a little after sunset all the ashes were thrown into the streams and the dams taken away. The burned sacrifices were hurried down into the river, closely followed by crowds of people on either bank with blazing torches. Thus the sacrifices were carried onward to the sea. This strange ceremony seems to have been intended not only as a thank offering to the Diety, but as an acknowledgment of his omnipresence. As the offerings flowed with the stream they knew not whither, yet went to Him, so his pervading spirit was everywhere, alike

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\*Princess. †Valorous. ‡Unrivalled.

in parts unknown as in the visible world of the Incas. The fourth festival, at the autumnal equinox, was to celebrate the renewal of the *Mosoc-nina* or sacred fire, which was kept alive throughout the year. The fire was obtained by collecting the sun's rays on a burnished metal mirror, and the ceremony was the occasion of sacrifices and prayers. The year ended with the rejoicings of the harvest months, accompanied by songs, dances, and other festivities.

Apart from these public festivals, religion entered into the family life of the people, and in spite of their superstitions and belief in sorcery, the Peruvians were imbued with deep religious feelings; as is shown by their daily practices. A traveler, on reaching the summit of a pass, never omitted to throw a stone, or sometimes his beloved pellet of coca, on a heap by the road side as a thank offering to God, exclaiming "Apachicta-muchani!" "I worship at this heap." Family ceremonials were recognized as occasional holidays. There was one called *quirau* at the cradling of a child; another at the age of one, called *rutuchica*, when the child's hair was closely shorn and he received a name; another for a girl when she reached the age of puberty, preceded by a fast of two days, called *quicuchica*. At all these festivities the presence of a priest was considered necessary, to conduct the ceremonies.

In addition to the priestly caste, there was a numerous body of literary men at the Incarial capitol, consisting of *Amautas* or philosophers, poets and reciters of history, musical and dramatic composers, and *Quipucamayoc*, or recorders and accountants. The language, which received the name of Quichua from the first Spanish missionary who composed a grammar, owing to his having learned it from people of the Quichua

tribe, was spoken over a vast area of the Andean region of South America. It has an extensive vocabulary, is rich in synonyms and in particles varying the meaning of words, and is well adapted as a vehicle for the thoughts and works of a civilized people. In this language the *Yaravacs* or bards recited the deeds of former Incas on public occasions, and these rythmical narratives were preserved and handed down by the learned men. The dances were numerous and complicated, and the Incas had both string and wind instruments of music. Dramatic compositions, both of a tragic and comic character were performed at the Inca court, and of these compositions one has been preserved to our own day

The Inca drama of Apu-Ollanta, as we now have it, was probably divided into scenes, and supplied with stage directions at some later period; but the dialogues, speeches, and songs date from a period before the Spanish conquest. The time is placed in the reign of Yupanqui Pachacuti, one of the most famous of the Peruvian sovereigns. The hero of the drama was a chief named Ollanta, who was not of the blood royal, but who, nevertheless, entertained an unlawful love for a daughter of the Inca named Cusi Coyllur.

The meaning of the word Ollanta is uncertain, but it probably means the "Chief of the Andes." Cusi Coyllur means "the Joyful Star." The play opens with a dialogue between Ollanta and his servant Piqui Chaqui (words meaning "flea-footed"), a witty and facetious lad, whose punning sallies form the comic vein which runs through the piece. Their talk is of Ollanta's love for the princess, and to them enters the High Priest of the Sun who endeavors, by a miracle, to dissuade the audacious warrior from his forbidden

love. In the second scene the princess herself laments to her mother the absence of Ollanta. Two songs of undoubted antiquity are introduced, the first being a harvest ditty, and the second a love elegy. In the third scene Ollanta presses his suit upon the Inca, is scornfully repulsed, and finally bursts out into open defiance, in a soliloquy of great force. In the second act the rebellion of Ollanta is announced to the Inca, and a general named Rumi-ñauí is ordered to march against him. The rebels hail Ollanta as their chief in the second scene, and prepare to resist the armies of Pachacuti. In the third, Rumi-ñauí announces his total defeat by the rebel army.

Meanwhile Cusi Coyllur had been delivered of a daughter, and for this crime she is immured in a dungeon of the convent of virgins, while her child called Yma Sumac ("How-beautiful!") is brought up in the same building without being aware of the existence of her mother. The long speech in which the child relates to her keeper the groans she had heard in the garden, and the strange feelings with which they fill her mind, is considered to be the finest passage in the play. An amusing dialogue between Rumi-ñani and the scape-grace Piqui-Chaqui is followed by an announcement of the death of Pachacuti, and the accession of his son Yupanqui, who had been absent for many years, engaged in conquests. He again entrusts the subjugation of the rebels to Rumi-ñauí, who adopts a cunning stratagem. Concealing his army in a neighboring ravine, he proceeds to the stronghold of the rebels, and appears before Ollanta covered with blood. His declaration that he has been treated cruelly by the Inca, and that he wishes to join the rebellion, is believed. He encourages Ollanta and his followers to prolong their drunken



orgies after a religious festival, and, when all are heavy with liquor, he admits his own men, and captures the whole of the rebels. In the first scene of the third act there is a pathetic dialogue between Yma Sumac and her governess Pitu Salla, which ends in the child being allowed to visit her mother in the dungeon. In the second scene the successful stratagem of Rumiñahui is related to the Inca, and Ollanta is brought in a prisoner. The magnanimous sovereign pardons him, and in the midst of the ceremonies of reconciliation Yma Sumac bursts into the presence, and entreats Yupanqui to save the life of his sister and her mother. The Inca and his nobles are conducted to the dungeon of Cusi Coyllur, who was supposed to have been long dead. The unfortunate princess is restored to the arms of her lover, and they receive a blessing from the Inca. This truly national drama was reduced to writing in the 17th century. There were numerous manuscript copies, but it was first brought to notice in 1837 by Don Manuel Palacios, in a periodical called the "*Musco Erudito*" of Cuzco. Since then the text has been reprinted several times, and translated into Spanish verse, into French, English, and Italian. It has undergone searching and minute criticism from competent scholars, and the conclusion is that "Ollanta" is a genuine drama of the Inca period. It has recently been made the subject of an opera.

The system of numeration and account keeping by means of variously colored cords called *Quipus*, enabled the officials to keep records under various heads, and to transact the business of a vast empire. The *Amautas* had knowledge of the healing properties plants, and an itinerant caste of physicians, called Calahuayas, went into the forest to collect them. They also had some

knowledge of surgery, and the discovery of a skull near Cuzco proves that the operation of trepanning was included in the surgical science of the Incas.

Architecture was the art in which the Incas had made the most progress. At Cuzco they drained the ground, confined the two mountain streams which flow through the city within masonry walls, and erected edifices on the reclaimed ground, which still remain as witnesses to their taste and skill. They had before them the cyclopean ruins of their ancestors, and their earliest style of building is an imitation of the megalithic work on a smaller scale. The walls were built with polygonal shaped stones, with rough surfaces, but the stones were much reduced in size, as compared with the more ancient edifices. Rows of doorways with slanting sides and monolithic lintels, occupy the façade, while recesses of similar character, and square windows, occur in the interior walls. The later style of Inca architecture replaces the polygonal stones by stones laid in regular courses, but varying in length. No cement or mortar of any kind was used, the buildings depending for their stability on the accuracy with which the stones were fitted to each other. The palaces and temples were built around a court yard, and a hall of vast dimensions, large enough for ceremonies on an extensive scale, was included in the plan of most of the buildings. The dimensions of the *Cური-cancha*, which was the palace of the earlier Incas, and afterward the temple of the Sun, were two hundred and ninety-six feet by fifty-two. Serpents are carved in relief on some of the lintels of the Cuzco palaces. The height of the walls of the Cuzco edifices was from thirty-five to forty feet, and the roofs were thatched. There are many ruins throughout Peru,

both of the earlier and the later styles, and they serve to indicate the approximate date of Inca conquests, in regions where there was no earlier indigenous architecture. Mr. Squier has borne witness that "the world has nothing to show in the way of stone cutting and fitting to surpass the skill and accuracy displayed in the Inca structures at Cuzco."

The Incas had also made progress in the metallurgic, ceramic, and textile arts. Gold was obtained in immense quantities by washing the sands of the rivers of Caravaya. Silver was extracted from the ore by means of blast furnaces called *huayra*. Copper was abundant in the Collao, and enabled the Peruvians to use bronze extensively. Skilful workers in metal fashioned the vases and other utensils for the use of the Inca and of the temples, forged the arms of the soldiers, and the implements of husbandry and stamped or chased the breastplates, head-gear, pins and girdles. Spinning, weaving, and dyeing employed a great number of people. There were rich dresses interwoven with gold or made of gold thread; fine woolen mantles and tunics ornamented with borders of small square gold and silver plates; cotton cloths and tapestry worked in complicated though graceful patterns, and dyed with brilliant colors, and fabrics of aloe fibre and sheep's sinews for breeches. Coarser cloths of llama wool were also made in great quantities.

But the potter's art was perhaps the one which exercised the inventive faculty of the Peruvian artist to the greatest extent. The ancient pottery is found buried with the dead in great profusion. The shapes are remarkable for their grace and elegance, and there is a certain severity and simplicity in the Inca style

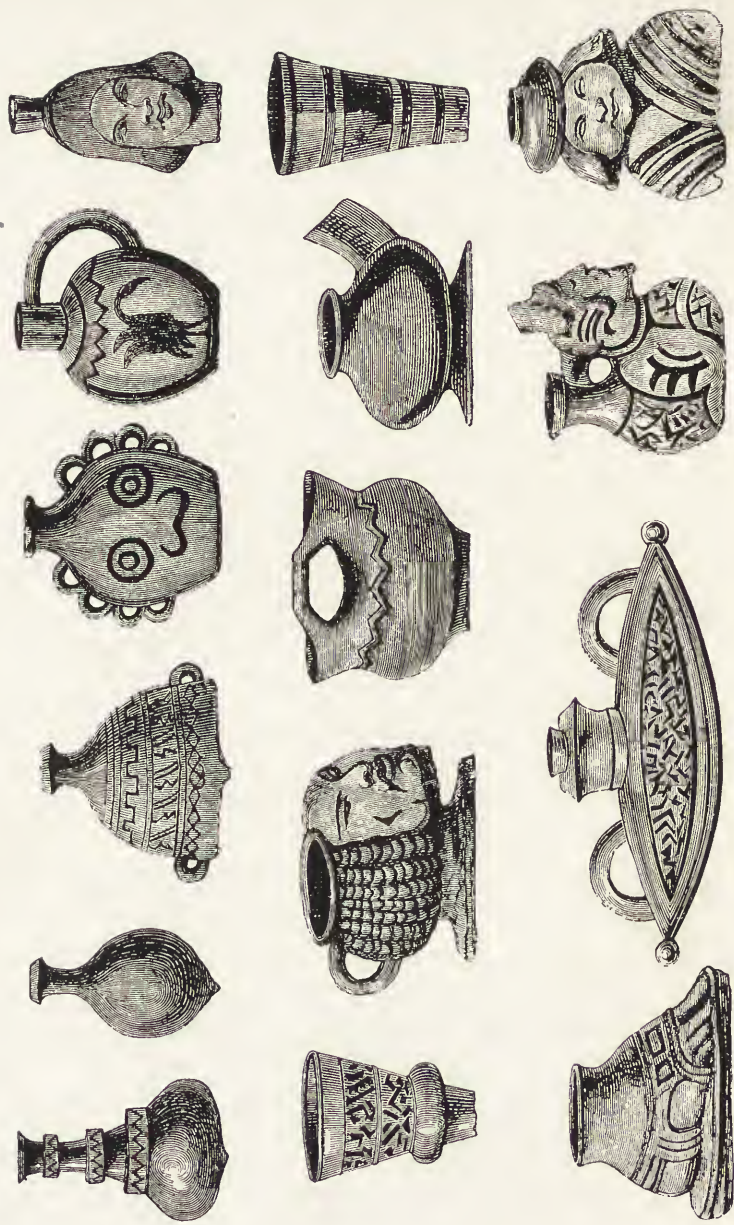
which contrasts most strikingly with the exuberant fancy of the potters of a different race on the coast of Peru, as will presently be seen. The only animals imitated in pottery by the Cuzco artists were llamas, and the llama *conopas* are numerous. The greater part of the famous Centeno collection, made at Cuzco,\* consists of vases and drinking cups of graceful design. Some of the vases are of great size, measuring over three feet in height. Generally they are encircled by simple geometric patterns in bands, sometimes with rows of birds and insects in minute designs. The vases are also molded in the form of human faces, generally showing so much individual character as to leave the impression that they are portraits. A vase representing the coca harvest is in the form of a sitting woman with coca branches and leaves around her. The Inca artists also made fine stone dishes with serpents carved around them; and cups of wood. There are two richly painted wooden cups, in the Centeno collection, in the form of the heads of jaguars. On one is painted the representation of a battle between an Inca army using slings, and the savages of the eastern forests armed with bows and arrows. Below there is a band of the various animals of the forests brightly painted. It is, however, but a small remnant of the objects of Peruvian art that has survived, and from which we can form some idea of the advances the Incas had made in civilization. Their finest works were probably in the precious metals, and were melted down by the conquerors.

The social condition of the people, and the form of government under which their peculiar civilization was originated and developed is well worthy of more than

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\*Now at Berlin.





ANCIENT PERUVIAN POTTERY

a passing glance. Peru is one of the few nations in which a form of socialism has obtained a firm hold on the people, and has been successful.

In many respects Peru under the Incas resembled the Utopia of Sir Thomas More. The Incas were originally the chiefs of a small tribe, but their greatness grew with the extension of their power, until the child of the Sun in later times was treated with the utmost veneration. Each Inca left behind him numerous sons whose descendants formed separate *ayllus* or lineages, so that the later Incas were surrounded by a very numerous body of men of their own kindred, from among whom their generals and councillors were usually selected. The Inca himself led the armies of his people, presided at their festivals, and administered the civil government. He was called "Sapallan Inca" or "Sovereign Lord." But he was only the head over many chiefs and was bound by a system of rules and customs, the germs of which had been inherited from remote antiquity, and which were common, more or less, to all the Andean tribes. During the height of Inca power the empire was divided into four quarters corresponding with the four cardinal points—*Anti-suyu* to the east, *Cunti-suyu* to the west, *Chincha-suyu* to the north and *Colla-suyu* to the south; the whole empire being called *Ttahuantin-suyu* or the four regions. The *ayllus* or tribes, ruled over by a Curaca, owned the land, all the members of a tribe being of the same line or lineage. The unit of government was the *Chunca* or union of ten families under an officer named *Chunca-camayoc*. A *Chunca* formed a complete community, its male members being divided into ten classes according to age: but of these only four classes were required to work.

1. *Cuca-pallac* ("Coca pickers") Lads from 16 to 20. Light work
3. *Yma-huayna* (youths) young men, 20 to 25.
4. *Puric*. Able bodied men. Heads of families.
5. *Chanpi-ruccu* (elderly) Age 50 to 60. Light work.

A *Chunca* consisted of ten *Puric* with the other classes in proportion. The *Puric* was married to one wife and, while assisted by the young lads and elderly men, he supported the children and old people who were beyond work. The land belonged to the *ayllu* or tribe, and to each *Puric* was assigned a measure of land sufficient to support one man and his wife, with those dependent on him. The unit of land measurement was called *tupu*. Ten *Chunca* formed a *Pachaca*, under the supervision of a *Pachaca-camayoc* or Centurion. Ten *Pachecas* formed a *Huaranca*, and ten *Huarancas* was a *Hunu* consisting of 10,000 able bodied men.

The produce of the land, whether consisting of crops or live stock, was divided between the government (*Inca*), the priesthood (*Huaca*) and the people (*Huaccha*) in proportions fixed according to local requirements. Officers, named *Runay-pachaca* annually revised the allotments and sent in returns to be recorded on the *quipus*: while village overseers, called *Llacta-camayoc*, announced the turns for irrigation, and the fields to be cultivated when the shares were grown apart. Punishments for crimes were severe and inexorably inflicted. Not a spot of cultivable land was neglected. Towns and villages were built on rocky hills, cemeteries were in deserts or in the sides of barren cliffs, in order that no land might be wasted. Dry wastes were irrigated, and terraces were constructed, sometimes a hundred deep, up the sides of mountains. The results were commensurate with the thought and skill expended. The Incas produced the finest potato



crops the world has ever seen. The maize of Cuzco has never been approached in size or yield. Coca is a product peculiar to Inca agriculture, requiring extreme care in the picking and drying processes. The capsicum of the Incas furnished a new condiment to the old world. Peruvian cotton is without an equal for length of staple and strength combined. The quinua grain, oca and other edible roots, and several fruits are also products peculiar to Inca agriculture.

The vast flocks of llamas and alpacas supplied meat for the people, dried *charqui* for soldiers and travelers, and wool for weaving cloth of every degree of fineness. The *alpaca*, with its exquisitely fine wool, may be said to have been the creation of the Inca shepherds. The wild animals of the llama tribe, the guanacos and vicuñas, were also sources of food and wool supply. There were periodical hunts called *chacu*, when a wide area was surrounded by thousands of people who gradually closed in toward the centre. A great bag was thus secured. The females and a few of the finest males were released. The rest were then shorn and also released, except a certain proportion to be killed for food.

Provision was made to supply all classes of the people with everything they required that was not produced by themselves, through a system of colonies or *mitimacs*. Inhabitants of a populous district were removed to a less crowded one, the comfort of all classes was promoted by exchange of products, waste places were made fertile, and political objects were also secured. The people round Lake Titicaca lived in a country yielding potatoes, and raising large flocks, but where corn and fruits would not ripen. Colonies from the Collao were established in the coast valleys and the

eastern forests. The elevated region supplied cloth, dried meat, potatoes and other edible roots to the *mitimaes*; who sent in return cotton cloths, fruits, and coca.

Under the Inca system all who could work were obliged to work, all lived in comfort, and there was ample provision for the aged, for young children, and for the sick. Tillers of the ground and shepherds received the share of produce called *Huaccha*, and the surplus went to the *mitimaes* in exchange for other products. All other workers were maintained from the share called *Inca*, including the Sovereign and his officers, and the army. The numerous sacrifices and religious ceremonies were provided for out of the *Huaca* share. No money was necessary, for every family had a right to everything necessary for the nourishment and well being of its members, from the *catu* or market, without payment. In case of disaster to any community, caused by weather, accident, or an enemy, the neighboring villagers repaired all damages, and gave all needful help. So perfect was the Inca organization that it continued to work efficiently, and almost mechanically, for some time after the guiding heads had been struck down. The Spanish conquerors found that when they marched through the districts, sacking houses and destroying growing crops, the local officers kept a careful record of the injury done. The accounts were then examined and checked, and, if one district had lost more than another, those that had suffered less made up part of the difference, so that the burden might be shared equally by all. Under such a system there could be no want, for thought was taken for the nourishment and comfort of every creature. There was hard work, while provision was made not

only for rest, but also for recreation. The dreams of socialists were made a reality in the system which grew up and flourished under the rule of the Incas.

## CHAPTER II

### INCA EMPIRE

The Inca system was aggressive, for its successful working depended on its extension over wide areas. As soon as the government was firmly established around Cuzco, the career of absorption and conquest began. The Inca led the armies. His distinctive dress was the crimson fringe called *llautu*, which formed part of the *mas capaycha* or head dress surmounted by the plume of alcamari feathers. He held the *suntur-paucar* or royal sceptre, and the shield. His generals wore a yellow fringe, and the different tribes, with their chiefs, were each distinguished by a particular headdress. The arms of the Incas consisted of an ax of copper called *champi*, a lance called *chuqui*, and a club with a wooden handle and a bronze or stone head in the shape of a five pointed star. The Collas were armed with slings, and the troops from the eastern forests, called Antis, used bows and arrows. The defensive armor consisted of the head-dress or *umachucu*, the *hualcanca* or shield, and sometimes a breast-plate of quilted cotton. The Inca nobles wore a large disc of gold.

Military roads were constructed through every newly

annexed country, which radiated from Cuzco to the remotest frontiers of the empire. They were level and well paved, continuing for hundreds of miles. Rocks were broken up, ravines were filled, and excavations were made in mountain sides. The width of these roads was from twenty to twenty-five feet. *Corpa-huasi* or rest houses were erected at intervals, with magazines stored with provisions and clothing for the troops. There were relays of running messengers, called *chasquis*, at the rest houses, so that orders and news were transmitted with marvellous celerity. These messengers, as well as soldiers on the march, were enabled to endure almost incredibly long marches at high speed, by chewing coca. The Inca himself traveled in a litter borne on the shoulders of mountaineers from the Sora and Lucana districts.

The first great conqueror among the Incas was Uira-cocha, and his invasion of the basin of Lake Titicaca possibly offers an explanation of his having adopted the name of the ancient Deity. For the tradition was derived from the mighty builders of Tiahuanaco. But there was no sign of the ancient civilization when the Inca Uira-cocha entered the Collao. The upland region was inhabited by tribes of shepherds speaking a very rude dialect of Quichua, (erroneously called Aymara by the later Spanish writers) in which they were unable to count beyond four. They worshipped the sun under the name of Lupi, and built towers of rough stones over their dead chiefs, called *Chulpas*. After the Inca conquest these *Chulpas* were greatly improved, and the towers at Sillustani are built in the best style of Inca masonry. The tribes were called Colla, Lupaca, and Pacasa, the most important and numerous being the Collas; and there was also a small tribe living in

*balsas* among the reeds in the south-west angle of Lake Titicaca called Uru, with a distinct language called Puquina by the Spanish missionaries. These tribes do not appear to have made any prolonged resistance, and the Inca ascendancy was soon established. They continued loyal, and furnished a very important contingent of slingsmen to the imperial army. At the same time they derived great benefit from their subjugation, through the introduction of orderly government and the establishment of *mitimaes* or colonies in the coast valleys and in the eastern forests. The Inca built a palace on the island of Titicaca, with terraced gardens, baths, and fountains, where he could enjoy lovely scenery in comparative seclusion near the mighty ruins of Tiahuanaco, the legendary cradle of his race. The Inca empire, under Uira-cocha, included the whole of the basin of Lake Titicaca called Colla-suyu, and numerous ravines on the eastern slope of the Andes, called Anti-suyu. In the lovely valley of the Vilca-mayu, east of Cuzco, he had built an enchanting palace called Yucay, with baths and gardens, and others at Chinchero and at Limatamba (Rimac-tampu) to the north-west. But beyond Limatamba his power only extended to the deep gorge of the Apurimac. On the other side of that river was the rival power of the Chancas.

The Chancas were rivals of the Incas, speaking the same language, and enjoying a kindred civilization. At Vilcas-huaman, in the valley of the Pampas, they had erected edifices similar to those of the earlier period of Inca architecture. The existing ruins contain walls which must have been erected by the Incas at a later period. They had formed a confederation of tribes including the Pocras of Guamanga, the Huancas of





INCA HUAYNA CAPAC.



HUASCAR.



INCA MANCO CAPAC.



Xauxa, the Yauyos, Soras, and Rucanas on the western slopes of the maritime cordillera, and probably the Chinchas who inhabited the coast valleys from Barranca, to the north of Lima, as far as Nasca. The Chanca confederation was led by warlike chiefs, and sooner or later a death struggle was inevitable between the Incas and Chancas.

Uira-cocha had two sons named Urco and Yupanqui. In extreme old age he retired to the palace of Yucay, leaving the cares of government to his eldest son and successor, Urco. A few years afterward the Chanca chiefs assembled a vast army, and began to subjugate the Quichuas and other subjects of the Incas. Urco seems to have underrated the danger until the enemy was almost in sight of Cuzco. Then his brother Yupanqui summoned all the tribes, and a desperate battle was fought on the heights above Cuzco, which decided the fate of the Inca empire. Victory was long doubtful, but at length the Chancas fell back, to form again on a great plain called Sacsahuana. A second battle ended in the complete route of the Chancas and the shattered remnant fled across the Apurimac. The place was long known as *Yahuar-pampa* or the field of blood.

Yupanqui returned in triumph to Cuzco, where Urco was deposed as incompetent, and his victorious brother became Inca, with the title of *Pachacutec* or "Reformer of the World." A trophy of the bodies of the vanquished Chancas long remained on the battle field, and was seen by the Spaniards when they first came to Cuzco. The subjugation of all the tribes of the Chanca confederacy was the result of the victories gained by Pachacutec. There was some slight resistance, and a few of the *pucarás* or hill forts stood long sieges.

But at length the proud leader of the Chancas, named Astu-huaraca, gave up hope, and retired, with a few chosen followers, into the recesses of the forests, in the valley of the Huallaga. The rich valleys of Andahuaylas and Guamanga, and many more became part of the Inca empire. Next the Soras, Rucanas, and Yauyos on the western slopes of the maritime cordillera, as well as the Huancas of the Xauxa valley submitted. The generals of Pachacutec also subjugated the more northern tribes in Conchucos, and Caxamarca, as well as the coast valley from Barranca to Nasca.

The Peruvian coast was originally inhabited by a diminutive race of men called Changos, who lived by fishing. But in very remote times these Changos were driven from the more fertile valleys and took refuge along the arid shores of Tarapaca. The coast valleys of Rimac (the modern Lima) Chilca, Mala, Chinchu, Pisco, Yca, Palpa, and Nasca, were occupied by people speaking the Quichua language, allied to the Chancas, who descended from the cordilleras. They were a people of marvelous industry, as is shown by their admirable system of irrigation by means of underground channels, in the valley of Nasca. They had a complicated mythology, the details of which are only partially known to us, and two of their temples were renowned for their oracles. One was known as Rimac or "he who speaks," and the other, on an artificial hill at the mouth of the river of Lurin, was called Pachacamac, a name referring to one of the attributes of the Supreme Deity of the Peruvians. These coast valleys willingly received the Inca rule and submitted gladly, the only resistance being made in the valley of Huarco (now Cañete) where there was a colony of people of a different race from the northern coast valleys. The Incas

met with a far other reception when they invaded the valleys farther north, inhabited by a distinct race well advanced in civilization.

The Inca Pachacutec had thus so mightily enlarged the limits of his dominions, that at his death he was the ruler over a vast empire. He had also consolidated the Inca rule, and developed the system of *mitimaes* or colonies. He was succeeded by his son Tupac Inca Yupanqui, who was a still more renowned conqueror than his father.

Along the coast of Peru, from Tumbes at the entrance of the Gulf of Guayaquil to Huallimi (Guarmey) in  $10^{\circ}$  S, or perhaps to Ancon in  $11^{\circ} 40'$  S, a distance of about six hundred miles, the valleys were peopled by a race which was entirely distinct, as regards origin and language, from the Quichua speaking tribes of the mountains. These valleys, commencing from the north were:—

Tumbes	Viru (Huanapu)
Chira (Tangarara)	Chao
Piura (Sechura)	Santa (Chimbote)
*Morrope (Jayanca)	Huambacho (Nepeña)
*Leche (Lambayeque)	Casma.
*Eten (Chiclayo)	Huallimi (Guarmey)
*Saña	Pativilca (Barranca) Huaman?
*Jequetepeque (Pacasmayu)	Parmunca of G. de la Vega.
*Chicama	Supé
* } Moche (Truxillo)	Huara
{ Chimu	Chancay (Ancon)

Separated from each other by arid deserts, their inhabitants industriously extended the areas of cultivation and developed a remarkable civilization. Their language, called Mochica, is now extinct, but a grammar of it was made by a Spanish priest at a time when it was still spoken in nine of the coast valleys. The

language is radically distinct from Quichua, both in construction and vocabulary, proving that the people who spoke it must have had a different origin. They cannot, therefore, have come from the mountains where Quichua was the universal language. They must have come from the sea. The greatest chief, to whom those of the other valleys owed allegiance was the Chimu, who dwelt in the valley where the Spanish city of Truxillo was afterward built. Of his origin no story has been preserved. We are told that the people of several valleys gave different accounts of their origins, and the tradition of the Lambayeque founder has been handed down. It was said that a large fleet of rafts arrived off the coast about five hundred years before the Spanish conquest, led by a personage of great talent and bravery named Naymlap, whose wife was named Ceterni. Naymlap landed with his followers at Lambayeque, established his rule over the valley, and built a temple at Chot, containing an idol of green stone called Llampallec. The officers of his household consisted of a trumpeter, a singer, an official in charge of the thrones and litters, another to prepare the baths, a chief cook, a purveyor, one in charge of unguents and paints, and an artist in feathers named Llapchilulli. After a long and prosperous reign Naymlap was succeeded by his son Cuim who had twelve children, and after him the names of ten successors have been preserved. The last was Tempellec in whose reign there was a great calamity. It poured with rain for thirty days, a thing never known before in that region: and this phenomenon was followed by pestilence and famine. The calamity was imputed to some sacrilege committed by Tempellec, and the priests threw him into the sea. Thus ended the Naymlap dynasty. The people, after

a short interval, submitted to the Chimu, who placed a chief over them named Pongmassa. His descendant in the sixth generation was reigning at Lambayeque when the Spaniards came. One of the officers of the household of Naymlap became chief of Jayanca near Lambayeque. This was Llapchilulli, the artist in feathers. His descendant Caxusoli was chief of Jayanca at the time of the Spanish conquest.

Although there is no such detailed tradition respecting the origin of the Chimu, the ruins of buildings and other vestiges leave no doubt of his greatness, and seem to corroborate the statements of Spanish chroniclers that he held sovereignty over the other chiefs of the northern coast valleys. The ruins of the vast palaces of the Chimu are in the valley of the river Moche, near the modern city of Truxillo. They are surrounded by remains of an ancient city, with great artificial mounds on which the temples were probably erected. The palace was near the sea shore. The walls of the principal hall, which was one hundred by fifty-two feet in size, are covered with an intricate and very effective series of arabesques worked in relief. A neighboring hall, with walls stuccoed in color, is entered by passages and skirted by openings leading to small chambers seven feet square, which may have been used as dormitories. A long corridor leads from the back of the arabesque hall to some recesses where gold and silver vessels have been found. At a short distance from the palace there is a sepulchral mound where many relics have been discovered. The bodies were wrapped in cloths woven in ornamental figures and patterns of different colors. On some of the cloths plates of silver were sewed, the silver being cut into the shapes of birds and fishes, and they were edged

with borders of feathers. Among the ruins of the city there are great rectangular areas enclosed by massive walls, and containing buildings, courts, streets, and reservoirs for water. The largest, about a mile south of the palace, is five hundred and fifty by four hundred yards, the outer wall being thirty feet high, and ten feet thick at the base, the sides inclining toward each other. Some of the interior walls are highly ornamented in stucco patterns, and in one part there is an edifice containing forty-five chambers or cells. The enclosure also included a reservoir four hundred and fifty feet long by one hundred and ninety-five feet wide, and sixty feet deep.

The dry climate favored the adornment of outer walls by color, and those of the Chimu palace were covered with tasteful sculptured patterns. Figures of colored birds and animals are said to have been painted on the walls of temples and palaces. The custom prevalent among the Chimus of depositing with their dead all objects of daily use, as well as ornaments and garments used by them during life, enables the inquirer to gain an insight into the social history of this interesting people. Enormous quantities of pottery, silver and gold ornaments, and richly embroidered mantles have been found in most of the valleys, and the recent researches of Reuss and Steubel in the necropolis of Ancon have been very important.

In their pottery they imitated every bird and mammal that was known to them with marvelous skill, as well as reptiles, crustaceans, shells, and fruits of all kinds. They also molded human heads, some of the faces being evidently portraits, and others most grotesque, showing much humor and imagination in the artist. On the sides of some of the Chimu vases, scenes are painted

which may help to throw light on the customs and beliefs of the people. There are curious winged figures, war dances, and a dance of death including people of all ages, with a skeleton playing to them. A harvest vase of maize, shows the heads of children peeping out among the corn cobs. Some specimens of Chimu pottery portray obscene acts, which is never the case in the art relics of the Incas. The subjects of the Chimu included inhabitants of mountain slopes and ravines on the western watershed of the maritime cordillera, and the very remarkable pottery found at Recuay, in the Callejon de Huaylas, may probably be attributed to Chimu influence. The Recuay pottery is, however, of a character quite peculiar to itself. On the tops or upper sides of the vases there are groups of figures. On one a chief with a cup in his hand, and councillors sitting around him: on another the same with a boy just presenting the cup: on another a judge with advisers or witnesses, and a criminal. Other vases have figures representing soldiers defending a fort, and vultures on a dead body. The pottery is black and there is also red and yellow ware.

Baskets and mats have been found in great quantities, and work-baskets of plaited grass dyed in patterns, and containing balls of thread, finger rings, wooden and clay toys, spindles richly carved and painted, and attached to them are terra cotta cylinders used as wheels, also richly painted in patterns. But perhaps the most interesting discoveries have been the textile fabrics of the Chimus; consisting of beautifully figured tapestry, embroidery, and patchwork, cotton cloths, rich fringes, broad girdles of tapestry work, and fine cotton muslin. The dyes are exceedingly bright, and the colors most tastefully combined.

The splendor of their feather work shows to what perfection this art had been brought, and accounts for the great reward conferred on the feather artist of Naymlap. Magnificent head dresses have been found with crests and flaps, covered with yellow, red, and blue feathers of the great macaw in patterns, amongst which are two human figures in blue and yellow on a red ground. In a second head dress the crest is formed of axillary feathers of a white and brown curlew, curiously bound on small sticks.

The objects in metal also display artistic taste, consisting of pins, necklaces, bracelets, and earrings. One beautiful necklace, found near Chicama, is formed of nine circular hollow silver boxes in the shape of human faces, diminishing in size on each side from the centre, linked together with silver wire. Another consists of three large and seventy-one small flat circular discs of silver, strung together.

Among the weapons have been found copper knives, axes, and lance heads, and star shaped club heads in copper, each ray being stamped with a human head, with the faces alternately reversed.

The rulers of the coast valleys are said to have had great houses raised on *adobe* pillars, with doorways hung with matting, built on extensive terraces. These chiefs were magnificently and luxuriously dressed, and were fond of drinking bouts, and of dancing and singing. The walls of the houses were painted with bright colored patterns and figures. Such places, rising above the groves of fruit trees, with the Andes bounding the view in one direction, and the ocean in the other, were suitable abodes for joy and feasting. Around them were the fertile valleys peopled by industrious cultivators and carefully irrigated. Their works of



irrigation were indeed on a gigantic scale. In the valley of Nepeña the ancient reservoir is three-fourths of a mile long and more than half a mile broad, consisting of a massive dam eighty feet thick at the base, carried across a gorge between two rocky hills. It was supplied by two canals at different elevations, one starting sixteen miles up the valley and the other from springs five miles distant.

It is probable that the coast people enjoyed a long period of peace, and that their luxurious lives, combined with the enervating effects of the climate, had made them effeminate and unwarlike. The Chimú, however, had erected a great frontier fortress at Parmunca, about six miles from the present Rio de la Barranca, to protect his dominions from the inroads of Quichua speaking people inhabiting the valleys to the south. The fortress consisted of three lines of mud walls, the exterior seven hundred and the interior six hundred feet long, inclosing numerous buildings, and there were outworks ninety feet from each angle of the exterior wall. The walls were plastered, and painted with representations of birds and beasts. When the conquering Inca Tupac Yupanqui resolved to subdue the country of the Chimú, he assembled his forces in the southern valleys where he received active assistance from the Quichua speaking inhabitants. These Quichuan coast people appear to have had a constant feud with their neighbors, who were of a different race and spoke a distinct language. The fortress of Parmunca, protecting the southern frontier of the territory of the Chimú, was captured after a prolonged resistance. This was followed by the subjugation of all the coast valleys as far as Tumbez. No reliable details of the Chimú war have been preserved, but the resist-

ance was probably desperate and prolonged; for the capital of the Chimu remained in ruins, and large bodies of his people were transported into the Andes as *mitimaes*. Warned by his fate, the people of the other valleys made no resistance, for we find that the Inca allowed the native chiefs of Guañape, Lambayeque and Jayanca to remain in tranquil possession of their territories. A military road was constructed along the coast, from one valley to another, by order of the Inca. It was fifteen feet in width, was shaded by trees, carefully paved, and had a wall on either side to prevent sand from accumulating on the footways. Wooden posts were also erected to show the line of road across the deserts.

Having completed the conquest of the coast, the Inca Tupac Yupanqui extended his dominions southward to Tucuman and Chile, making the river Maule his southern frontier. He then advanced northward with a large army, building and establishing colonies on the road. It is probable that the extensive ruins near Huanuco were erected at this time, as a base whence the Inca conquests were extended to Chachapoyas, and down the valleys of the Marañon and Hualaga. He fought the warlike tribes near the frontier of Quito, during several campaigns, but eventually subjugated them, and built a fortified palace at Tumibamba in the country of the Cañaris. Finally he annexed Quito to his empire, where he found a civilized people speaking a dialect of the Quichua language. Tupac Yupanqui advanced from Quito to Manta, on the sea coast north of Guayaquil, and it is related by Balboa that he collected a large fleet of rafts, and put to sea to make further discoveries. He reached two islands named Nina-Chumpi and Hahua-Chumpi, which

may mean the "fire island" and the "outer island." If this curious tradition is founded on facts, these must have been two of the Galapagos Islands. Tupac Inca Yupanqui, the greatest of the Inca Conquerors, died at Cuzco after a long reign, and was followed by his son Huayna Capac.

The new Inca succeeded to a vast and well organized empire. His first campaign extended to Tucuman and Chile, but the greater part of his reign was passed at Tumi-bamba where he was born, or in making war with the tribes north of Quito. When he departed from Cuzco with a large army to undertake his northern campaigns, he left behind him his legitimate heir Inti Cusi Huapala, who was surnamed Huascar from the golden chain (huascar) which was forged for the dances at his birth. The next son Manco also remained at Cuzco. But Huayna Capac took with him his consort Mama Rahua Ocllo, the mother of Huascar, and an illegitimate son named Atahualpa.

Huayna Capac established his headquarters at Tumi-bamba, where he enlarged the palace built by his father. A military road was completed from Quito to Cuzco, and contingents were brought up from all parts of the empire, to complete the northern conquests. A long and bloody war was waged with a powerful tribe north of Quito, called Caranguis, which concluded with a frightful slaughter of the enemy on the banks of a lake which received the name of Yahuar-Cocho—"the lake of blood." Huayna Capac also conquered Puna, in the gulf of Guayaquil, and suppressed a rebellion of the inhabitants of that island with great severity. After the defeat of the Caranguis, the northern limit of the Inca Empire was fixed at the river

Ancasmayu, north of Quito. The distance thence to the river Maule in Chile is 2,200 miles.

Huayna Capac, after a long reign of over forty years, died at Tumi-bamba in December 1525, or as others say at Quito. The body was conveyed to Cuzco by four noble chieftains who were the Inca's executors, accompanied by the widow Mama Rahua, mother of Huascar. But Atahualpa declined to leave Quito, where he had secured the friendship of the most powerful native chiefs. When the news reached Cuzco, Huascar was at once elected and proclaimed Inca. The body of his father was received with great solemnity, but the executors were put to death unjustly, for not bringing Atahualpa with them. The first measure of the new Inca was to send an expedition to complete the subjugation of Chachapoyas; but he soon had to turn all his attention to the proceedings of his brother. An embassy arrived from Atahualpa, congratulating Huascar on his accession, and requesting permission for himself to remain in Quito. The envoys were dismissed with a discourteous answer to the effect that as Atahualpa was there he might remain there until further orders. Soon afterward the chief of the Cañaris secretly sent to inform Huascar that his brother was receiving honors as a sovereign. Meanwhile Atahualpa was full of anxiety, and he resolved to despatch a youth named Quilaco Yupanqui, a son of one of the executors of Huayna Capac, with another conciliatory message, as the young ambassador was a favorite with the Queen mother, Mama Rahua.

The Queen received the youthful envoy at a place called Siquillibamba near Cuzco, surrounded by the most beautiful of her maidens. Among them the loveliest was Ccuri-coyllur (Golden Star) who is said to

have been an illegitimate daughter of Huascar. She was certainly the favorite dependent of the Inca's sister Cahua-ticlla, who had educated her with great care. She was about fifteen years of age when Quilaco Yupanqui first saw and loved her, and he perceived that his love was returned. But he was obliged to hurry on to Calca, in the valley of the Vilcamayu, where the Inca then was, to deliver his message. Huascar was more enraged than ever against his brother, scorned to receive his presents, and dismissed his envoy. On his departure from Cuzco the young ambassador declared his love for Ccuri-coyllur, and received permission from her aunt to visit her. The maiden awaited the arrival of her lover in her home near Cuzco, and at length, just as she was abandoning all hope, he came out of a field of lofty maize, and threw himself at her feet. He entreated Cahua-ticlla to allow their union, and she so far yielded as to promise that the girl should not be given to any other suitor for three years. Quilaco bade them farewell, and continued his journey to Quito.

It was at this time, when Quilaco was recounting the result of his mission to Atahualpa at Tumi-bamba, that two wonderful strangers were brought before the prince. These were the Spaniards whom Pizarro had allowed to remain behind, when he visited Tumbez the first time, in 1527. Their captors described the ships and the arms of the mysterious visitors, and the two white men were sent to Quito, where they are said to have been sacrificed. But in reality their fate is unknown.

After much hesitation, and being convinced that there was nothing but hostility to be expected from his brother, Atahualpa resolved to assume the ensigns and

titles of sovereignty. He advanced to Quito and was proclaimed Inca. As soon as the news reached the capital, Huascar was beside himself with rage. He assembled a large army, gave the command to a valiant chief named Atoc, and ordered him to march to Quito and slay or capture the audacious rebel. Atoc advanced to Tumi-bamba, where he was joined by the Cañari tribe; while Atahualpa got together all the forces he could muster, and placed them under the command of his two most trusted councillors, Quizquiz Rumi-ñani and Chalcuchima. The Quito generals resolved to dispute the advance of the Inca army at the bridge over the river of Ambatu. Atoc was victorious in the first encounter and the troops of Quito fled; but they were rallied by Atahualpa himself at Anaquito, and again faced the foe in the defile of Mulli-ambatu. This time the Inca army was hopelessly routed, Atoc and the chief of the Cañaris being made prisoners and put to death. Huascar, on receiving news of the disaster, despatched another army to Tumi-bamba under the command of his brother Huanca-auqui. Here the new general was attacked by the victorious troops of Atahualpa and, after a desperate battle which lasted two days, he succeeded in forcing them to retreat to a hill called Mulloturo. But in attacking their defences, Huanca-auqui was repulsed, and suffered such serious losses that he was obliged to abandon Tumi-bamba, and fall back on Cusi-bamba. As soon as the Incas had departed, Atahualpa wreaked a cruel vengeance on the Cañaris for their loyalty to his brother, sparing neither age nor sex. Where there were once flourishing villages, nothing remained but charred timbers and whitening bones.

Atahualpa now collected the largest army he had

yet placed in the field, giving the command to Quizquiz with orders to extend the southern boundary of his territory to the river of Yana-mayu, within two days' journey of Caxamarca. Young Quilaco Yupanqui was entrusted with the command of a reserve force. The Incas under Huanca-auqui were again defeated and that general began a retreat to Cuzco, but he met large reinforcements at Bombon and offered battle once more. Again he was defeated and Huascar, on receiving news of these repeated disasters, was almost ready to give the struggle up in despair. But his councillors urged him to make further efforts. More reinforcements were sent forward under a general named Mayta Yupanqui with orders to supersede Huanca-auqui.

The war had now continued for four years, and Curi-coyllur had vainly waited for her lover. Quilaco Yupanqui had promised to return in three years, and the Inca now ordered that the unfortunate maiden should be married to one of his captains. She was resolved to die rather than submit to this detested union. Cutting off her long hair, and putting on the clothes of one of the humblest of her men-servants, she joined the camp, and mixed herself among the followers of the army as a page named Titu.

After his defeat the Inca general, Huanca-auqui had retreated to the valley of Xauxa, where he was joined by a fresh army under Mayta Yupanqui, with Titu as one of the camp followers. The new general assumed command, and advanced to meet Quizquiz in the valley of Yanamarca, between Tarma and Xauxa. The battle lasted all day and the victory was long doubtful: but in the evening the exhausted Incas began a retreat. Quilaco Yupanqui, leading the pursuit with his fresh

reserve, fell desperately wounded by an arrow, and was lost among a heap of slain. He would have perished miserably if he had not been found by a young lad, who extracted the arrow, bound up his wounds, and helped him to drag his body into a small hut near the battle-field. Here the boy nursed the sorely wounded chief, who was at death's door for many months. He told Quilaco that his name was Titu.

Mayta Yupanqui retreated with the remains of his army to Villcas, while the Inca Huascar and the people of Cuzco were again plunged into despair. A general fast was ordained, sacrifices were offered up, and prayers were made to the Supreme Deity, and above all to the sacred *huaca* at Huanacauri. Troops hurried northward not only from Colla-suyu, but from the remote provinces of Chile and Tucuman, while the Inca himself encamped, in the midst of a new army, on the plain of Sacsahuana. Huanca-auqui was ordered to occupy the bridge over the Apurimac. The reinforcements coming from Chile encountered a strong detachment of the Quito army led by Chalcuchima, which was marching toward Cuzco by a circuitous route to the south. The Chileans gained a complete victory. But the decisive action which was to decide the fate of the Inca empire was at hand. The two armies met on the banks of the river Cotabamba, and Quizquiz was forced to retreat to the other side, where he entrenched himself. The Incas returned to their camp at sunset, intending to assault the enemy's position next morning.

As soon as Quizquiz and Chalcuchima perceived this they resolved to anticipate the attack. At early dawn the Inca camp was surprised. The soldiers flew to arms, and made a stout resistance: but they had not been properly formed, and fought at a disadvantage.



The full fury of the battle raged around a place called Chontacaxas. The carnage continued until noon. Then, by a vigorous effort, Quizquiz dispersed the royal guard, upset the litter, and made a prisoner of the Inca Huascar. His followers, as soon as the capture became known, fled in all directions, leaving their principal chiefs in the power of the Quito rebels. Quizquiz advanced his camp to Quisipoy, on a height within view of the palaces of Cuzco.

With their sovereign in the power of the insurgents, the lords of Cuzco abandoned all idea of further resistance. They submitted to the conqueror who, by all accounts, used his victory with merciless cruelty. Quizquiz is accused of having committed an atrocious massacre of all the Incas and their families, but this must be an exaggertion, for as many as five hundred and sixty-seven members of the Inca family, in the male line, signed a petition to Philip III. in 1603. Manco, the next heir to the throne, and his brother Paullu, certainly made their escape with many others, and remained free.

Atahualpa received the news of his victories with great joy, and celebrated a splendid thanksgiving festival at Tumi-bamba. But at the same time there came to him the portentous tidings that the Spaniards had landed on the coast. He commenced his march to Caxamarca, and sent orders to Quizquiz and Chalcuchima, that Huascar, his principal officers, and his mother should be brought to him.

Meanwhile Titu had been nursing Quilaco Yupanqui in the hut near the battle field of Yanamarca for six long months. At the end of that time he was convalescent, and his faithful attendant went forth to obtain news for him, of what had been happening in the outer

world. One day she entered the town of Xauxa with this object, and found the place occupied by strange and powerful beings. These were Spaniards under the command of Hernando de Soto and Pedro del Barco. She returned to Quilaco to tell him that power had passed away from the Incas forever, and to speak to him of the wonderful strangers who seemed to have come as messengers from God. Eventually she revealed herself to him as Ccuri-coyllur, and they both sought the presence of Hernando de Soto and told him their story, through an interpreter. They were baptized, one with the name of Hernando, the other of Leonor, and were married according to the laws of the church. Two years afterward Hernando Quilaco died; and the widow bore several children to de Soto, one of whom married a notary named Carrillo and settled at Cuzco. Thus do the tales of romantic love interweave themselves with records of the fate of empires.

The marvelous conquests of the Incas were achieved by four generations of sovereigns and yet, in nearly every case, the conquered people appear to have been at once absorbed and assimilated, so that the empire, while its limits were continually enlarged, remained homogenous. This is probably to be accounted for in two ways. The whole region within which the Quichua language was spoken had, in remote times, been under one rule, and when the ancient empire became disintegrated, the numerous tribes of which it was composed retained the same traditions, the same tendencies and habits of thought. Their subsequent conquest or absorption into the newer system found them prepared to fall naturally into their places as members of an empire, the component parts of which were in

all things like themselves. The second reason may be found in the fact that the Inca organization was peculiarly adapted for assimilating new tribes. Provision was at once made for the welfare of the families composing them, and in a very short time the system of exchanging products identified the wants and desires of the conquered people with the prosperity and extension of the empire of their conquerors. These considerations serve to account for the rapid spread, by means of conquest, of a system closely allied to socialism, a system which was dependent for its successful working on the good-will of the people, although its existence was impossible without a strong centralizing government. In almost all cases the chiefs of newly acquired provinces retained their positions and their influence when they became vassals of the Inca, and only one instance is recorded of the pride of the subjugated chief being too strong to admit of his submission. The chiefs of the Chancas stood alone in their haughty refusal to accept the new position, and in their preference of exile to the acceptance of the mild conditions offered by their conqueror.

The fratricidal war which immediately preceded the Spanish conquest was a great calamity; and it has been assumed that it would have led to the disruption of the Inca empire, even if the Spaniards had not arrived. But this may well be doubted. It is true that a civil war of this kind is not recorded as having previously occurred in Inca history. There had been depositions, and changes of succession, as in the case of Urco and Pachacutec; but such changes were effected by the resolution of princes and councillors, without resort to force. The war between Huascar and Atahualpa was very different. It has all the aspects of a

rebellion against the legitimate sovereign, sustained by alien tribes recently subdued, and opposed by the ruling class. Still the leader of the rebellion was a brother of the sovereign, and when his attempt was crowned with success, all his sympathies would point to the restoration and maintenance of the old order of things, thus identifying his own interests with the continuance of the empire. Moreover the habits and feelings of the people were so closely entwined with the Incarial system of government that the new sovereign could not have separated them even if he had the will. We have the evidence of Spaniards, as has already been mentioned, that the administrative system continued to work almost automatically, after the central government had ceased to exist.

The empire which the Spaniards found had, therefore, all the elements of permanence in spite of the accident, so fortunate for the invaders, that they arrived just at the conclusion of an exhausting internecine war, when the government was momentarily out of gear. The Incas, with all the advantages of climate and varied soils and aspects, seem to have attained to the highest grade of civilization of which the Amerian race is capable. This success was due to the region in which their lot was cast, which gave a rich return to industry, provided that the utmost skill and the most constant labor was devoted to the task. The exercise of those faculties developed the mental and physical powers of the race in the highest degree.

The Quichua speaking Peruvians averaged a height of five feet four inches, and were strongly built. The nose is invariably aquiline, the mouth rather large, the eyes small and black or deep brown, bright and generally deep set, with long fine lashes. The hair

of a deep black brown, is very abundant and long, in men as well as women. The skin is very smooth and soft, of a light coppery brown color, sufficiently light to show a blush of health on the cheeks. The neck is thick, and the shoulders broad, with great depth of chest. The legs are well formed and the feet very small. The women, when young, have graceful figures and are often pretty. The Collas, of the Titicaca basin, are remarkable for great length of body as compared with the thigh and leg; and they are the only people whose thighs are shorter than their legs. The Peruvians are wonderful pedestrians and are possessed of great powers of endurance. They now usually have a melancholy expression, and are lovers of solitude. But this was probably not the case in the times before the Spanish conquest. We only know the Inca nobles in the days of their greatness, from contemporary pictures. They are represented as taller and fairer than the rest of the people, with more refined features and a more commanding air. Their princesses were very beautiful and, like the male members of their family, an air of culture and refinement had been impressed on their features; which was due to many generations of selection and training.

The Inca system favored a rapid increase in the population. It became necessary to utilize every rood of cultivable ground, and the mountains were lined with *andeneria* or terraces filled with earth, to extend the area of the crops. Judging from the number of these terraces, now for the most part abandoned, and from other vestiges of settlement in places now waste throughout the country, it is calculated that the population of Peru, in the time of the Incas, exceeded ten millions of happy and contented people.

This was the inheritance of the Spaniards. They became possessed of a magnificent empire, densely populated by a docile, intelligent and industrious race, endowed with all the richest gifts of nature lavishly and bounteously bestowed, and already blessed with an excellent administrative system far superior to their own, which was in admirable working order. We now have to see what account can be given of their stewardship.

### CHAPTER III

#### CONQUEST OF PERU

Spain was the nation of Europe which was destined to reap the first fruits of the discovery of America. A crusading war of seven hundred years duration, for the recovery of their country from the Moors, had led the Spaniards from victory to victory, until the cross was planted on the towers of the Alhambra. The separate kingdoms which had been carved out of provinces won from the Moors were united in one kingdom by the heirs of Ferdinand and Isabella. The long contest had welded the Spanish nation into a nation of hardy warriors, so that, in the war against the French in Italy, the Spanish infantry was found to be the best in the world. Letters and arts were not neglected by the soldiers of Castile; the best romance and the best history in the language were written by men who had adopted the career of arms. The hardest sailors of the early part of the 16th century issued from the Basque ports along the north coast of Spain, Barcelona was renowned for her pilots and cartographers, while the most scientific navigators of that age sailed from the ports of Andalusia.

At that particular juncture in their history the coun-

trymen of the Cid and of the Great Captain were, of all the nations of Europe, the best fitted to achieve great and heroic deeds. It was their destiny to be foremost in the occupation of the New World and to leave their mark on it forever. Thus it was that, for good or for evil, the history of Peru became closely connected with Spain, and when the connection was finally severed, Peru was a mixed nation, including Spanish and native elements. The process which resulted in this change is the history of the Spanish conquest and of Spanish colonial rule.

Spain is a nation of several races differing widely from each other both in physical and mental qualities. In the northern provinces the fair and robust Visigoths of Asturias and Galicia, and the hardy Basques and Navarrese were closely allied with the people of northern Europe; while the Catalonians and Valencians belonged to the romance nationalities of the south. The stately Castilian, with much Gothic blood in his veins, represents the Romanized Iberians of the Empire, and the Arab element enters largely into the people of the sunny south, the lithe and mercurial Murcian, and the quick tempered and vivacious Andalusian. In the provinces which were along the marches between Christian and Moor, such as La Mancha and Estremadura some mixture of races had produced men who combined with the proud valor and tenacity of the north, much of Andalusian quickness and vivacity. Many of the most prominent among the early Spanish conquerors were natives of Estremadura. But adventurers from all these provinces flocked to the new world; and a Basque or Galician was, in all respects, as different from an Andalusian, as a German is from a Frenchman. The Spaniards, in Peru, must not be looked upon as







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men who all had the same national characteristics. United in religion and generally in allegiance, the racial origin of the settlers, in most instances, had a marked and permanent influence on the conduct and lives both of themselves and their descendants.

The sons of Estremadura inherited the good and evil qualities of borderers, whose ancestors belonged to both the great nationalities who struggled for pre-eminence on Spanish soil during seven centuries. Francisco Pizarro was a son of Estremadura, born out of wedlock, and both he and his father Gonzalo had fought in the ranks of the renowned Spanish infantry under the Great Captain. Francisco had reached middle life when he embarked, as a man at arms, for the new world. His education had been entirely neglected.

Born in the town of Truxillo, his mother Francisco Gonzalez was a poor woman who was glad of the few small coins that her little son could earn by tending pigs. His after life was passed in camps, and the high qualities he undoubtedly possessed were the outcome of his own individuality. He must have been between thirty and forty years of age when he embarked with Alonzo de Ojeda in 1509, and arrived at Darien. He secured the confidence of the leaders under whom he served, and his fellow soldiers relied upon his judgment and fertility of resource in every difficulty. They preferred to march under his orders, and, on more than one occasion, they chose him as their captain in a moment of supreme difficulty. Eventually he became a citizen of the new city of Panama, founded by Pedrarias in 1519, and received a small grant of land.

In the year 1522 Pascual de Andagoya, a cavalier of good family, who had come out to Darien in 1514, and

had been appointed Inspector General of the natives on the Isthmus, undertook a voyage along the coast to a part called Viru, whence he received tidings respecting the empire of the Incas. He returned to Panama to report what he had heard, but was unable to undertake an expedition in person, owing to a protracted illness. At the request of the Governor of Panama, he handed over the enterprise to three partners who formed a company. Francisco Pizarro was to command the expedition. His comrade Diego Almagro, who was somewhat older, was to bring supplies. A clergyman at Panama named Luque, who also held valuable property on the island of Taboga, was to act as agent and raise the funds.

A small vessel built by Vasco Nuñez de Balboa to navigate the South Sea, which he had discovered in 1513, was lying dismantled at Panama. This was purchased by the partners, and about eighty recruits were collected. The adventurers were embarked with an inadequate supply of provisions, and Pizarro was ready to sail by the middle of November, 1524. The little colony was much excited at the magnanimous resolution of the men who had entered upon this desperate enterprise; and all the settlers assembled when Luque divided the Host with his two partners; and bade Pizarro farewell. Departing on the 14th of November the explorer sailed beyond the point on the coast reached by Andagoya but, after suffering terrible hardships, he was obliged to return for want of provisions. Almagro had followed, but arrived too late, and after an encounter with the natives in which he lost an eye, he too returned. This failure made it difficult to raise funds for a second expedition, although Pizarro had lost none of his own energy and confidence. Fortun-

ately a wealthy and important official at Panama was impressed with the hopefulness of the undertaking. He was willing to advance funds, but he had reasons for wishing to conceal the part he was taking. This was Gaspar de Espinosa, the Alcade Mayor of Panama. He made the advances through Luque, and an agreement was signed, providing for the division of territory and spoil between the partners, on the 10th of March, 1526.

A second expedition was then fitted out. There were only fifty survivors from the first voyage. The rest had succumbed to hardships and disease. To these were added one hundred and ten new recruits: and two vessels were equipped, commanded by Pizarro and Almagro respectively, with Bartolomé Ruiz, a very able and experienced sailor of Moguer, as pilot. They proceeded to the mouth of a river which had been named San Juan, which is not quite half way between Panama and the equator. Here Pizarro landed with his troops, Almagro returned to Panama for supplies, and Ruiz proceeded southward on a voyage of discovery. With a favorable wind the expert sailor doubled Cape Pasado and was the first European to cross the line on the Pacific Ocean. He was examining the coast, which appeared to be inhabited and cultivated, when, to his great surprise, he sighted a strange sail. It was a Peruvian raft propelled by a sail, with a crew of twelve men, including two natives of Tumbes; and they were on their way to exchange various articles for the products of tribes further north. Ruiz beheld, among the merchandise, balances for weighing gold and silver, cotton and woolen cloths dyed with various colors in tasteful patterns, silver work, metal mirrors and vases. These people gave him information respecting Cuzco and the empire of the Incas, the port

of Tumbez, and the direction of the Peruvian coast.

Ruiz returned with these tidings to the river San Juan, while Almagro, having obtained recruits and provisions from Pedro de los Rios, the new governor of Panama, also rejoined Pizarro. The adventurers then shaped a course to the south, under the guidance of the pilot Ruiz, and reached the coast of Atacames, a province which had been annexed to the Inca empire by Tupac Yupanqui. It was evident that their small force was unable to cope with the armies of the great civilized empire of which they had heard. But there was a violent quarrel between Pizarro and Almagro respecting the course that should be pursued, and the two old comrades were never again really friends. It was finally arranged that Pizarro and his troops should remain on the island of Gallo which had been discovered by Ruiz in  $1^{\circ} 57' N.$ , while Almagro once more went back to Panama for recruits.

The sufferings and privations were more than the men could endure. The great majority were discontented at being left behind to starve; and pains were therefore taken to prevent the men from sending messages to friends in Panama. One man named Saravia was too cunning for his superiors. On pretence of sending a large ball of cotton as a present to the governor's wife, he put in the centre a note signed by himself and several others, in which he prayed for delivery from a forced and hazardous service, in the following expressive verse:—

“Lord governor all hail!  
Watch narrowly their ways  
For thither the recruiter 'll sail  
While here the butcher stays.”\*

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\*“Pues señor gobernador  
Mírelo bien por entero,  
Que allá va el recogedor  
Y acá queda el carnicero.

The letter of Saravia reached its destination. The complaint was amplified by a man named Lobato, who had returned with Almagro, and the miserable condition of the crew corroborated his story. The governor was indignant. He refused to listen to Almagro or Luque, and despatched a vessel commanded by an officer of his own named Tafur, to bring back the malcontents.

Meanwhile the people on the island of Gallo, under Pizarro, were suffering great hardships. It rained incessantly, there was no respite from the attacks of mosquitoes, and their clothes were in rags. When Tafur arrived the majority clamored to be taken on board. The governor's orders were that if Pizarro obstinately refused to return, all his followers who wished to desert him might go back to Panama; while those who were faithful to him were at liberty to remain.

When Pizarro saw his men electing to return, he drew a line on the sand with his sword, and thus addressed them. "Gentlemen! This line signifies labor, hunger, thirst, fatigue, wounds, sickness and every other kind of danger that must be encountered in this conquest until life is ended. Let those who have the courage to meet and overcome the dangers of this heroic achievement cross the line in token of their resolution and as a testimony that they will be my faithful companions. And let those who feel unworthy of such daring return to Panama, for I do not wish to put force upon any man. I trust in God that, for his greater honor and glory, his eternal Majesty will help those who remain with me, though they be few, and that we shall not feel the want of those who forsake us." On hearing this speech the Spaniards began to go on board with all speed, lest anything should hap-

pen to detain them. A mere handful crossed the line. The forlorn hope was led by the stout old sailor Bartolomé Ruiz, who gave courage to the rest. He was followed by a Greek adventurer of great strength and bravery named Pedro de Candia who played a prominent part in the future history of the conquest. Next came Cristoval de Peralta of Baeza, one of the first citizens of the future city of Lima; and Alonzo Briceño of Benavente. The fifth hero was the treasurer Nicolas de Ribera, destined to pass unhurt through all the dangers of the conquest and to leave descendents in Peru. The fierce and cruel Juan de la Torre met a very different fate, as did Alonzo de Molina, and the amorous Pedro Alcon. Francisco de Cuellar, Domingo de Soria Luce, a Basque of San Sebastian, Martin de Paz, who was never destined to leave the island, and Anton de Carrion then stepped across, and the number of thirteen was made up by Garcia de Jaren who wrote an account of the memorable event at Panama on August 3rd, 1529, and thus became its historian. One authority raises the number to sixteen.

Tafur sailed away, leaving the heroic adventurers to their fate. Gallo was not considered safe, as that island was close to the mainland, and the little band might be overwhelmed by an attack from the natives at any moment. Pizarro, therefore, removed his camp to an island further to seaward, and about twenty leagues to the north, which he named Gorgona from the numerous springs. Huts were built, supplies of maize were procured, and food was also obtained from the yields of hunting and fishing. After five long months their anxiety was turned to joy when a white sail was descried on the horizon.

At first the governor of Panama was so enraged



against Pizarro that he refused to allow any help to be sent. The adventurer was to perish in his mad obstinacy. The prayers and entreaties of Luque and Almagro were disregarded. At length, however, the governor allowed a small vessel to put to sea with provisions, from fear that his conduct might be disapproved at home. Pizarro resolved to continue his discoveries in this wretched little craft, with the pilot Ruiz as his guide. Martin de Paz, who was very ill, was left at Gorgona with the heavy baggage and stores, and the rest embarked. A southerly course was shaped, and in twenty days Pizarro entered the bay of Guayaquil; and anchored off a small island which he named Santa Clara. It is now better known as El Muerto from a fancied resemblance in its outlines to a dead body. He went thence to Tumbez.

The arrival of the ominous little vessel in the river of Tumbez was a memorable event for Peru. The place appeared like paradise to the weary sojourners at Gorgona. Green cultivated fields lined the river bank, well built houses were dotted here and there, and the hospitable people sent off live stock and other provisions to the mysterious strangers. An Inca noble, desirous of sending an exact report to his sovereign, came on board and astonished the Spaniards at his intelligence and the sagacity of his questions. One or two of the men who had been met at sea by Ruiz in the previous year, and had remained with him, acted as interpreters. Alonzo de Molina landed with the Inca noble, and returned with such a glowing account of all he had seen, that Pizarro despatched his Grecian officer Pedro de Candia to give him a more rational report. He was conducted to the house of the Curaca where he astonished and terrified the natives by dis-

charging his arquebus. But he was surprised in his turn at the order that prevailed, at the signs of prosperity, and at the quantity of gold and silver which ornamented the temple. His report was fully as enthusiastic as that of Molina. Pizarro was delighted with this confirmation of his wildest hopes, and he continued the exploration of the coast of Peru as far south as Santa. At the few places where the Spaniards landed, including probably Sechura and Lambayeque, they were welcomed with the greatest kindness and hospitality.

Alcon was an impressionable young sailor, and he entreated to be allowed to remain with the fair daughters of Lambayeque. He became so violent when his request was refused, that it was necessary to knock him down with an oar and put him in irons between decks. Returning to Tumbez, Pizarro allowed Alonzo de Molina to remain there, and took on board two lads, named Filipillo and Martinillo, to learn the Spanish language and act as interpreters. He then made sail for Panama and arrived there after an absence of three years, full of ambitious aspirations, and firmly resolved to conquer the great empire respecting which he now had definite information.

The man who had been blamed and abused for his barbarous obstinacy, was now lauded to the skies for his heroic endurance and resolution.

After much deliberation the three partners resolved that Pizarro himself should proceed to Spain, to petition for a concession of the conquest and for favors to be bestowed on himself and his comrades. Accordingly he set out from Panama in the spring of 1528, accompanied by Pedro de Candia, and taking with him the young natives and a few things he had collected at Tumbez. Pizarro arrived at Toledo and was received

in audience by the Emperor Charles V. He was a man of noble presence and prudent speech, and in recalling his great deeds and describing his expectations with enthusiasm, he became eloquent. His marvelous constancy excited the admiration of his hearers, and when Charles set out for Italy he left orders that the project of Pizarro should be favorably entertained. There were several weary months of delay, but on the 26th of July, 1529, Juana, the Queen Mother, granted the desired concession. Pizarro was authorized to conquer and settle the province of Peru for the crown of Castile with a force of not less than two hundred and fifty men. He was to be accompanied by royal officers and by ecclesiastics to convert the natives, and he received a grant of money to purchase arms and other necessities. A fifth of all gold was to belong to the crown. Pizarro himself was appointed Adelantado or governor, and was decorated with the order of Santiago. His gallant followers who crossed the line at Gorgona were created gentlemen of coat armor. Ruiz was nominated grand pilot of the South Sea with a suitable salary. Pedro de Candia was made Captain of the artillery, Almagro received the title of Marshal and the little son by an Indian girl named Ana Martinez, whom he loved dearly, was declared legitimate. Luque was to be Bishop of Tumbez. Pizarro was granted the right to bear his paternal coat of arms, notwithstanding his illegitimacy, with augmentations referring to his services.

When all these weighty matters had been settled, Pizarro visited his old home at Truxillo in Estremadura. His four brothers gladly entered his service. Hernando, the eldest, was the only legitimate son of their father. Juan and Gonzalo were own brothers of

the conqueror. Francisco Martin de Alcantara was his half-brother, on the mother's side. Pizarro received much generous aid from his relation Hernando Cortez, the conqueror of Mexico, who specially assisted him in obtaining recruits. At length the expedition sailed from San Lucar on the 19th of January, 1530, arriving safely at the isthmus, where immediate preparations were made to resume the voyage on the Pacific side. It was arranged that Almagro should remain at Panama, to follow with reinforcements that were expected from Nicaragua, and that Pizarro should lead the expedition with one hundred and eighty-five men and twenty-seven horses in three ships. The banners of the expedition were blessed in the church of La Merced at Panama, a sermon was preached by a Dominican monk named Vargas, all the adventurers received the sacrament, and at length the expedition sailed in the beginning of January, 1531. The priest Hernando Luque died a few months afterward, and before the departure of Almagro.

After thirteen days the wind and current brought the expedition into the bay of San Mateo. This part of the coast, in about  $1^{\circ}$  N. latitude, lies east of the river Esmeraldas, the mouth of which is thirty leagues from Quito over a most difficult mountainous road. Here Pizarro resolved to land the greater part of his troops, and to march by the sea coast, while the vessels kept company on a parallel course. A large store of gold and emeralds was found among the Coaque Indians, and one of the vessels was despatched with it to Panama as a foretaste of what might be expected hereafter. A chief near Cape Pasado, twenty-eight miles south of the equator, gave Pizarro an emerald the size of a pigeon's egg. A little further south is the river Santi-

ago, where Puerto Viejo was afterward founded; in  $1^{\circ} 2' S$ . Here many of the adventurers wished to found a colony, but Pizarro preferred to push on to the island of Puna in the gulf of Guayaquil, about eighty miles further south. It was known that the islanders had a deadly feud with the people of Tumbez and it was resolved to reduce them to submission if any hostility was shown. The Spaniards were conveyed from the mainland in their vessels, and in native *balsas*. Zarate describes them as rafts made of long light poles fastened across two more solid poles, with a sort of deck built above them to prevent the crew from getting wet. Some of these *balsas* would carry fifty men, and they were propelled by sails and paddles. Pizarro was well received by the people of Puna at first, but afterward there was some very desperate fighting and great slaughter was committed on the islanders. During the stay of the expedition at Puna, two vessels arrived with a welcome reinforcement of men and horses under the command of a cavalier of Estremadura of great distinction named Hernando de Soto. There were now three vessels, so Pizarro embarked the whole of his force and landed it on the mainland at Tumbez. Great surprise was felt at finding the town, where the Spaniards had been so hospitably received during the former voyage, in ruins, and the people hostile. But this is probably to be accounted for by an incursion of the islanders of Puna who had driven away the people of Tumbez, destroyed their town, and who were in fact the enemies encountered by Pizarro. Leaving a small garrison at Tumbez under the accountant Antonio Navarro and Alonzo Riquelme, the rest of the expedition was led across the great desert to the fertile valley of the river Chira,

near Payta, where the first Spanish town was founded at a place called Tangarara, and named San Miguel. The site was afterward removed to Piura. Navarro and Riquelme were sent for from Tumbes, and remained in charge of the new city. Tidings were here received of the political state of the country, and that the victorious Atahualpa was encamped in the mountains near Caxamarca with a large army.

Pizarro went straight to the point of danger. This was the secret of his wonderful success. When he heard that Atahualpa was in the neighboring mountains with a considerable force, he at once resolved to go in search of him. He left San Miguel on the 24th of September, 1532, and encamped in the valley of the Piura where he mustered his force, and found it to consist of one hundred and two foot soldiers, sixty-two horses, and two small falconets in charge of Pedro de Candia. About fifty-five settlers remained at San Miguel. From Piura a detachment under Hernando de Soto was sent across the Andes to Caxas and Huanca-bamba, and returned with much useful topographical information. Pizarro then led his little force across the vast desert of Sechura to the fertile valley of Motupe where he had a friendly reception from the people, as well as in the neighboring valley of Leche or Lambayeque. He continued the chiefs in possession of their rights, and they received baptism; and it was in these coast valleys that an envoy arrived from Atahualpa, no less a person indeed than his own brother Titu Atauchi. He brought a friendly message, and numerous presents, being dismissed with the assurance that Pizarro intended to march onward and visit his lord at Caxamarca without any delay.

The last encampment of the Spaniards on the coast

was at a place called La Ramada by Hernando Pizarro, in the valley of the Jequetepeque or Pacasmayu. From this point Pizarro commenced the ascent, arriving at Caxamarca on Friday, the 15th of November, 1532. He found an open space in the middle of the town, surrounded by walls and masonry buildings of great solidity. The valley is of an oval shape with a small river flowing through it, and was covered with cultivated fields and gardens, traversed by avenues of willows, large flowering *daturas*, mimosas, and the beautiful *quenuar* trees. A message arrived from Atahualpa with permission for Pizarro to make use of the buildings, which served as excellent quarters for his people. Meanwhile Hernando Pizarro and de Soto had been to the camp of Atahualpa, and were informed that he would visit the governor in person on the following day.

In expectation of the visit Pizarro ordered all the Spaniards to be fully armed, but to keep themselves out of sight; and Pedro de Candia was to have his falconets pointed. The audacious plan had been formed of seizing the person of the Peruvian sovereign, and of committing such a slaughter among his followers as to strike terror into the hearts of the survivors. Pizarro calculated that the possession with him of their venerated sovereign would not only prevent them from making any attack, but that the orders which he would be able to force Atahualpa to issue, would be obeyed. The risk was enormous, but Pizarro felt that it must be taken in order to secure the grand results of the conquest, and that in no other way could there be safety for his little band surrounded by tens of thousands of enemies.

In the morning of the 16th of November the vast

army of Atahualpa began to file out of the camp under the command of Rumi-ñauí. First came the slingers, followed by troops with copper headed clubs, and lances. Many wore helmets surmounted by plumes of feathers and rich mantles. The march took so long that it was near sunset before the bearers of the litter of Atahualpa began to enter the square of Caxamarca. He left his armed soldiers outside, only taking with him his chiefs and attendants. The sovereign was raised high above the people when the friar Vicente de Valverde advanced with a cross in one hand and a bible in the other. The arrogant speech of the fanatic must have been converted into absolute nonsense by the interpreter Filipillo. The book which had been presented to Atahualpa was thrown to the ground, with a haughty gesture. Then Valverde shouted for vengeance, crying, "Fall on—I absolve you." "The rascally friar was certainly a peace breaker," remarked one of the conquerors. At a signal from Pizarro the falconets were discharged by Pedro de Candia, the cry of "Santiago" was raised and a hideous butchery followed. The Curacas stood bravely around their sovereign. It was certain death, but not one deserted his post. At length Atahualpa was dragged from his litter by Pizarro himself, who received a knife wound in protecting his prisoner. He was the only Spaniard wounded. Not one was killed. The unarmed Indians fell by thousands and the carnage only ceased with the approach of night. Rumi-ñauí escaped with the remnant of the army to Quito. Next day the imperial camp was sacked by the Spanish cavalry, and the spoils were brought into Caxamarca.

At first Atahualpa was treated courteously, his women and servants were allowed to attend him, and he suf-



ferred no more restraint than was necessary for his safe keeping. He had many conversations with Pizarro and other Spaniards who were surprised at his wit and intelligence. But when the story of the civil war became better known to Pizarro, and he began to hint at arbitration between Atahualpa and his brother, the usurper became alarmed. Huascar, with his mother and most of his chief councillors, was being brought as a prisoner from Cuzco; and there can be little doubt that Atahualpa secretly sent orders for his death. He, and all his relations who accompanied him, were massacred at a halting place called Andamarca as soon as the order was received; and when the tidings reached Caxamarca Pizarro was so much incensed that Atahualpa pretended that the deed was perpetrated without his knowledge. For this crime alone the fratricide richly deserved the fate that awaited him.

Seeing the Spanish thirst for gold, Atahualpa said to his captors one day—"If you will liberate me I will fill this room with gold to the height I can reach with my hand." The ransom was formally agreed to and the contract was drawn up by a notary. The space to be filled was probably twenty-two feet long by sixteen wide, and nine feet high. Orders were sent out to bring the treasure from all parts of the empire, and soon it began to arrive, but slowly. It was thought necessary to send out expeditions to report upon the riches of the country, and while Hernando Pizarro made an adventurous journey to Pachecamac on the coast to investigate the reports concerning its wealth, Hernando de Soto and Pedro del Barco proceeded to the capital itself. It was on this journey that de Soto made the acquaintance of Ccuri-coyllur and her lover, in pass-

ing though Xauxa. The main object of these expeditions was to expedite the arrival of the treasure.

Almagro at length appeared on the coast with three ships and a reinforcement of one hundred and fifty men, and on the 14th of April, 1533, he reached Caxamarca. Hernando Pizarro and de Soto returned in May, and in the following days the gold from Cuzco, consisting of plates taken from the walls of the temples, began to come in. The total amounted to 326,539 *pesos* of gold and 51,610 *marcs* of silver. After deducting the royal fifth, the rest was divided among the conquerors. This, converted into money, was 4,605,670 ducats or \$17,500,000 of our money. At this time rumors arrived to the effect that large bodies of troops were approaching from the direction of Quito. A most vigilant lookout was kept, and Pizarro began to suspect that these movements were secretly ordered by his prisoner. Hernando Pizarro had been sent to Spain with the royal fifth, and to make a report of the conquest and discovery to the emperor. His brother felt the loss of his advice. Atahualpa had become a serious embarrassment. It required the whole Spanish force to guard his person securely, while the danger of his escape was a constant and serious source of anxiety. Thus the operations for completing the conquest were at a stand-still. Though Atahualpa was treacherously captured, and frequently assured that his life was safe, his gaoler still began to feel that good faith and honor would have to be sacrificed on the altar of expediency. Hernando de Soto would not listen to these suggestions. He offered to proceed to Huamachuco, where the native army was reported to have assembled, and to ascertain the truth or falsehood of the rumor. On the departure of de Soto and his followers, Atahualpa





OBSEQUIES OF ATAHUALPA.  
(From a painting by the Peruvian artist, Monteros.)

was at the mercy of those who were urging Pizarro to put him to death. Pizarro yielded and it was thought advisable to go through the farce of a formal trial. The chief charges against Atahualpa were the murder of his brother, and that he was fomenting a rising against the Spaniards. About fifty honorable cavaliers protested, but the "rascally friar" Valverde declared that the sentence of death was just and that he was willing to sign it. This appeased the conscience of many who hesitated; and the dishonorable crime was consummated. Nine months after his capture, and seventy-three days after the distribution of the ransom, Atahualpa was strangled in the square of Caxamarca on the 29th of August, 1533. A few days after Hernando de Soto returned, having satisfied himself that the rumors of a rising were false. He upbraided Pizarro for the murder, who threw the blame on Valverde, but the monk basely disclaimed any responsibility. The honorable cavaliers who protested against the murder of Atahualpa are as well deserving of remembrance as those who crossed the line at Gorgona. They were

Hernando de Soto.  
Francisco de Chaves.  
Diego de Chaves.  
Francisco de Fuentes.  
Pedro de Ayala.  
Diego de Moro.

Francisco Moscoso.  
Hernando de Haro.  
Pedro de Mendoza.  
Juan de Herrada,  
Alonzo de Avila.  
Blas de Atienza.

The conqueror was now free to advance into the country and occupy the capital. It is true that there were still difficulties in the way. The victorious armies of Atahualpa, which had overwhelmed the Cuzco sovereignty, were still in the field. Chalcuchima had come to Caxamarca at the call of Atahualpa and was in Pizarro's power. But Quizquiz occupied Cuzco

and the intervening country, while Rumi-ñauí and the murdered prince's brother Titu Atauchi were at Quito, in the Spanish rear. Pizarro was thus threatened both in front and rear, by overwhelming forces. Nevertheless he resolved to undertake the march to Cuzco. He selected a young brother of Atahualpa named Tupac as his successor, made him swear allegiance to the Spanish crown, and anticipated that this recognition would ensure the obedience of the armies in the field. But the boy's death, a few weeks afterward, put an end to all hope of profit from this measure. Chalcuchima accompanied the Spaniards as a prisoner. The other generals of the murdered prince were actively hostile. The admirably constructed Inca road facilitated the march of the invaders, over the wild and mountainous country; but their rear was harassed by a native army led by Titu Atauchi, the brother of Atahualpa, who had been sent as an envoy to Pizarro when he was in the coast valleys. At Tocto, in the province of Huayllas, he made a sudden attack and captured eight Spaniards. Among these were Sancho de Cuellar who drew up the indictment against Atahualpa at the mock trial, and Francisco de Chaves who protested against the execution. Chaves was treated with the greatest kindness, and speedily liberated. But Cuellar was publicly executed in the great square of Caxamarca after the place had been evacuated by the Spaniards, at the very same pole against which Atahualpa had been strangled. Titu Atauchi, who was a brave and generous prince, died very soon after ordering this act of retributive justice.

Pizarro met with a slight show of resistance from the Huancas and Yauyos, but they fled with terror at the sight of the horses, and the Spaniards entered

the valley of Xauxa. Here the conqueror resolved to establish a second base of operations, the first being at San Miguel on the coast. The mountain valley was as beautiful as it was salubrious, while the distance to the coast could not be very great. A city was founded at Xauxa, and Riquelma the treasurer was left there, in charge of the heavy baggage and specie. Between this place and Cuzco the indefatigable Quizquiz had broken down the bridges, thrown up obstacles, and carefully prepared for a prolonged resistance. It was suspected that these steps were taken in concert with the prisoner Chalcuchima. Hernando de Soto led the vanguard with sixty horses and the Marshal Almagro followed with the rest of the cavalry in support. The first skirmish with the enemy was near Villcas, where several Spaniards were slain. Soto then pushed forward, and late one afternoon he entered the defile of Vilcacunca near Cuzco, with the object of passing through it before nightfall. Suddenly he was attacked by a large force of natives, who showered stones and arrows on the advancing invaders, and threw *aillos* (bolas) at the legs of the horses. They then came to close quarters, and fought with great valor and determination. The Spaniards fell back, but Soto animated them by his example, and shouting "Seguidme," plunged into the thick of the foe; and the struggle was continued on both sides, with desperate tenacity, until nightfall. Five Spaniards and two horses were killed, eleven men and fourteen horses wounded. The Peruvians were confident of victory at the break of dawn, and the position of Soto seemed desperate. The sound of a trumpet broke the stillness of night and gave fresh hope to the Spaniards. Almagro had come up by forced marches, and this oppor-

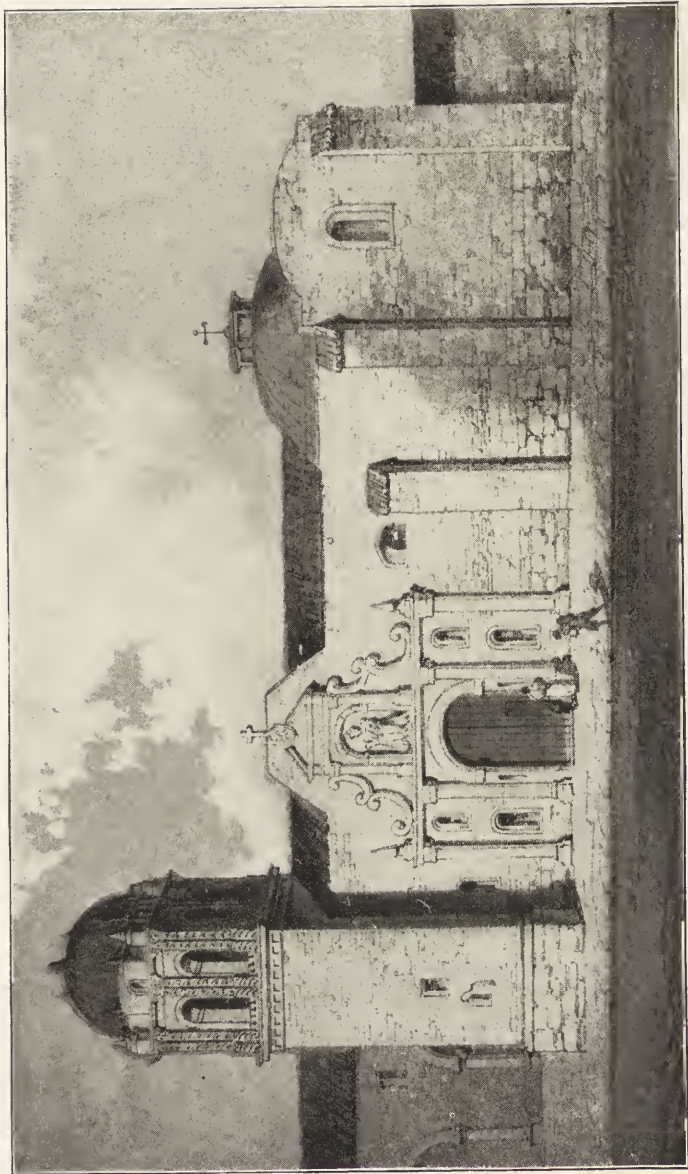
tune reinforcement enabled the invaders to disperse the gallant defenders of their country. The victory of Vilcacunca was fatal to the hopes of Quizquiz. His troops were broken and lost all confidence, feeling that resistance to men with such advantages would be unavailing. The whole Spanish force crossed the Apurimac without molestation, and encamped on the plain of Sacsahuana.

In consequence of this obstinate resistance on the part of the generals of Atahualpa, Pizarro resolved to form an alliance with the party of Huascar. He inaugurated his new policy by executing his prisoner Chalcuchima, and as the brave old soldier refused to change his religion, he was burned to death at the request of the friar Valverde.

Manco Inca, the next legitimate brother of Huascar, was his successor. When the news reached him of the execution of Chalcuchima, he resolved to place himself under the protection of Pizarro. He presented himself at the camp of Sacsahuana, attended by a numerous retinue, including all the surviving Incas of Cuzco; assuring the conqueror that the whole empire would declare for him, as soon as Quizquiz was defeated, and that he would receive the Spaniards as friends and deliverers. Overjoyed at this auspicious event, Pizarro received his guest with every mark of honor and respect, declaring that the sole object of his march to Caxamarca was to crush the enemies of Huascar, and that Atahualpa was executed to avenge the death of the rightful Inca. Astute diplomacy was necessary to secure his ends, and seems to have come as natural to this extraordinary man when the occasion required it, as the obstinate tenacity of purpose and







CHURCH OF SANTO DOMINGO, CUZCO.

audacious valor which marked the earlier part of his career.

After a brief skirmish Quizquiz fled, and the road to the capital was open. On the 15th of November, the anniversary of the day that he reached Caxamarca, Pizarro entered Cuzco by the side of the legitimate Inca and amidst the acclamations of the people. Liberated from the tyranny of Quizquiz, they had yet to learn the true character of their deliverers. For a brief moment there was no feeling but joy and gratitude. The Spaniards were astonished at the size of the imperial city, and at the magnificence of the princely edifices. The inauguration of Manco was celebrated with all the ancient splendor, the Spanish troops taking part, and Valverde performing high mass in honor of the event. But this harmony was of brief duration. There were four hundred and eighty invaders all thirsting for gold. First the tombs and public buildings were rifled, then private houses were searched, and even torture was applied to enforce revelations of the locality of hidden treasure. Before many weeks the dream was dispelled, and the unhappy people soon found that they were the subjects of tyrants worse than Quizquiz, because their dominion was less easy to shake off, and their exactions were more enduring and permanent.

The "Ayuntamiento" or municipal council was installed on the 24th of March, 1534. The temple of *Uira-cocha* was selected for a cathedral, the *Ccuri-cancha* or Temple of the Sun became a monastery of Dominicans, and other public edifices were seized for churches and barracks; or set apart to be divided among the conquerors for private residences. Meanwhile Quizquiz had busily collected recruits and once more took the

field. He was defeated by Manco, with some Spanish auxiliaries, at the bridge of the Apurimac. The active old general then made a rapid march, and attacked the Spaniards at Xauxa, but was again repulsed. Finally he retreated to Quito where he was killed in a mutiny of his own soldiers.

The conquest of Quito followed quickly on that of Cuzco. Sebastian de Benalcazar had been left in command at San Miguel. A native of Estremadura, he was one of Pizarro's most trusted lieutenants. With Pizarro he was godfather to Almagro's little son, and this constituted a near tie between the three, for the relationship of "Compadre" is looked upon as a very close one in Spain. Benalcazar was a cavalier of great ability and high ambition. He resolved to attempt the conquest of Quito. The Cañaris had come to him, to pray for help against Atahualpa's general Rumi-ñauí. He had no orders to leave his post, but prompted by ambition he undertook the enterprise. Marching through the province of Paltos, and largely reinforced by the Cañaris who thirsted to avenge the cruelties inflicted on their tribes by Atahualpa, Benalcazar encountered the army of Rumi-ñauí at Tiocajas. A succession of skirmishes followed until the native army was entirely defeated on the plains of Riobamba. A force had been detached from Cuzco to support Benalcazar under the command of Almagro, and the two chiefs formed a junction near Quito.

Almagro was also entrusted with another duty. Pizarro had received tidings that Alonzo de Alvarado, the governor of Guatemala, envious of the wealth of Peru, had fitted out an expedition with the object of participating in the plunder. It was a wild and reckless undertaking. He landed at Puerto Viejo and began

his march to Quito. His followers endured the most terrible sufferings from the difficulties of a densely wooded, mountainous country, from thirst, hunger and sickness, and afterward from intense cold. They reached the lofty ridge of the cordilleras the moment when there was a tremendous eruption of the volcano of Cotopaxi. Alvarado and his people were in such miserable condition when they encountered Almagro near Ambato, that they were glad to come to terms. Alvarado agreed to abandon his enterprise and return to Guatemala on condition that he received \$100,000 as an indemnity for his expenses. Some of his followers, including his relation Diego Alvarado, the famous Alonzo de Alvarado of Burgos who was not a relation, Garcilasso de la Vega, Pedro de Puelles, Garcia Holguin, and Juan de la Rada, joined Almagro; all men who took a prominent part in the future history of the conquest. Diego Alvarado became a devoted friend of Almagro, faithful to the end. Others took service under Benalcazar, who proceeded with the subjugation of Quito. Meanwhile Pizarro, in order to repel the invasion of Alvarado, had left his brother Juan in command at Cuzco, and had taken up a position at Xauxa to await events; in company with the Inca Manco, who entertained his ally with a grand *chacu* or hunt. Pizarro was well satisfied with the capitulation arranged by his partner, and received Alvarado as a friend. Many of those who surrounded him urged that Alvarado ought to be sent a prisoner to Spain instead of receiving an idemnity. Pizarro nobly replied; "I ought to pay what has been promised in my name and those are not my friends, who, to the detriment of my honor, give me advice which might be good for cheating attorneys, but not for knights and gentlemen." The two distinguished war-

riors met at Pachacamac, whence Alvarado embarked and returned to his own government loaded with presents. Antonio Picado, who came to Peru with Alvarado, was an astute intriguer. He entered the service of Pizarro at Pachacamac, and was the governor's secretary during the rest of his life.

Hitherto we have only seen Pizarro in his character of soldier and diplomatist. He now enters upon his career as an administrator; and his abilities are as remarkably displayed in consolidating his conquest, as in the work of invasion and in the military operations it involved. With the prophetic insight of a born ruler of men Pizarro saw that the capital of his government must be on the coast so as to be in direct communication with Panama, and to be a centre of commerce whence civilization and prosperity might radiate to the inland provinces. After an examination of the coast valleys in company with his secretary Picado, he fixed upon the wide valley of the Rimac as the most central and convenient, while its extent and fertility would make it suitable as a source of supply for a large and populous city. He selected a site on the banks of the river Rimac, at a distance of two leagues from the sea. Here the first stones were laid on Monday, the 18th of January, 1535. The new capital was called "Ciudad de Los Reyes" (city of the Kings), in honor of the sovereigns of Spain, Juana and her son Charles V. The more modern name of Lima is a corruption of Rimac, the name of the river. The first citizens were sixty in number, including Pizarro himself. Of these thirty came down from Xauxa, and eighteen from the seaport of San Gallan which had been established further south. The first Alcaldes were Nicolas de Ribera and Juan Tello, the treasurer Alonso

de Riquelme, and among the Regidores was one of those who crossed the line at the island of Gallo, Cristoval de Peralta. The "Plaza Mayor" was first lined out with a cathedral to be built on one side, a "Cabildo" or municipal building opposite, and a palace on the third side. The first stone of the cathedral was laid by Pizarro on January 18th, 1535. It was consecrated on October 19th, 1625, an interval of more than ninety years. Meanwhile Pizarro's house, with a garden behind, was on the south side, on the site of the present Callejon de los Petateros. The work of building went side by side with that of forming delicious fruit and flower gardens, irrigated by numerous small channels from the Rimac, and of cultivating vegetables for the supply of the market in the new city. Pizarro was now past sixty years of age; but he threw himself into the arrangement of all the details with the enthusiasm of youth. He ordered that the streets should be wider than those of Spanish cities, perfectly straight and crossing each other at regular intervals. Not content with the foundation of Lima, the governor considered that a settlement should be formed half way between the capital and SanMiguel. With this object in view he selected the fertile valley of the Chimu, where a city was founded and named Truxillo, in honor of the native place of Pizarro.

The brief period of peace was interrupted by the ambitious schemes and exacting conduct of the old Marshal Almagro. His disputes with Juan and Gonzalo Pizarro obliged the governor to leave the works at his new capital and hasten to Cuzco. Almagro was a generous and open hearted old man and made many friends. He was brave and impetuous, but querulous and inclined to be jealous. His total want of educa-

tion was not made up for by any of the natural genius of Pizarro, while his ugliness was increased by the loss of an eye. His present turbulence was caused by exaggerated reports of the concession of territory that had been granted him, and which was being brought out by Hernando Pizarro. The governor succeeded in smoothing over matters, and in renewing the mutual protestations of friendship between the two partners. Chile was undoubtedly within the jurisdiction of Almagro, and the old marshal resolved to lead an expedition into that distant country. He was accompanied by a large native army commanded by Paullu and the Villac Umu (High Priest,) two brothers of the Inca Manco, and the Spaniards who followed Almagro were led by himself and his trusted lieutenants Saavedra, Rodrigo Orgoñez and Juan de la Rada. They left Cuzco in July, 1535. Pizarro returned to Lima, where he bade farewell to the valiant and chivalrous cavalier Hernando de Soto, who left Peru loaded with princely gifts from the governor, to win renown in other lands, and to find a grave in the bed of the Mississippi.

Hernando Pizarro had arrived in Spain with the royal fifth of Atahualpa's ransom, amounting to 155,300 *pesos* of gold and 5,400 marcs of silver. His reception was most cordial, and his requests were freely granted. The friar Valverde was named Bishop of Cuzco. The governor, Francisco Pizarro, was created marquis. His government received the name of Nueva Castilla. Its northern boundary was to be the river of Santiago in about  $1^{\circ} 2'$  S. and it was to extend southward on a meridian for two hundred and seventy leagues, including all the land east and west. Almagro received the grant of a province to be named New Toledo, to commence where Pizarro's ended, and to extend south-



ward for two hundred leagues. Here was a fruitful source of contention, for the latitude of the Santiago river had not yet been fixed, and no meridional measurements had been made. In point of fact as there were seventeen and a half Spanish leagues to a degree, this award placed Pizarro's limit at  $15^{\circ}$  S: and Cuzco was well within it.

Hernando Pizarro, when he returned to Peru, remained for a short time with his brother at Lima, and then proceeded to Cuzco where he joined his two younger brothers Juan and Gonzalo. Meanwhile the natives were preparing for a supreme effort to throw off the yoke of their oppressors. The Villac Umu, leaving the expedition of Almagro, had returned to Cuzco. He urged his brother Inca Manco to take the opportunity of the Spaniards being scattered, to cut them off in detail. He advocated the cause of freedom with fiery eloquence, and reminded the people of the robbery of their tombs and temples, and of the oppression under which they suffered. On the 18th of April, 1536, Manco escaped from Cuzco and raised the standard of revolt in the valley of Yucay. The siege of Cuzco was a glorious and patriotic effort on the part of the Inca and his subjects. Hernando's numbers were so small that he was obliged to abandon the citadel on the precipitous hill above Cuzco, and to concentrate his force within the city. The celebrated fortress was immediately occupied by the Inca, whose numerous followers closely blockaded Cuzco and poured continuous showers of darts and stones into the streets. Arrows entwined with burning tow set the thatch of the roofs on fire, and for some time the whole city was in a blaze. The besieged Spaniards were allowed no peace by day or night; for the assaults of the Incas

were incessantly renewed. Hernando Pizarro considered it absolutely necessary to recover the fortress. His brother Juan claimed the post of danger, saying "By my counsel this post was abandoned, it is mine to recover it." He made the attack by night, surprising the enemy in the first line, and vigorously assaulting the second wall. He was opposed by thousands of valiant Inca warriors. Leading the forlorn hope, Juan Pizarro was mortally wounded by a blow on the head. His soldiers pressed onward, but the result was long doubtful. The Incas fought with heroic bravery. Gonzalo Pizarro, at the head of the cavalry, performed prodigies of valor. Hernando directed the operation with intrepid coolness. Two out of three towers were carried by assault. The Villac Umu, abandoning hope, fled by the precipitous southern face of the Sacsahuaman hill. One hero held the third tower almost single handed. His name was Calmide. When all was lost he gathered his *yacollo* or mantle around his head, and threw himself over the precipice. The Incas now lost heart. Confidence in their good fortune had departed; and the Spaniards succeeded in getting in large supplies of maize from the plain of Sacsahuana.

Juan Pizarro died after lingering in great pain for a fortnight. His loss was deeply lamented. He was brave as a lion and a soldier of great ability; while he was beloved by his companions in arms for his amiable manners and the kindness of his disposition.

The siege was renewed but with less vigor than at first. The Incas were terribly disheartened by the loss of the fortress. Hernando resorted to atrocious cruelty in the hope of striking terror. He cut off the hands of all prisoners and ordered that no quarter

should be given to the women. At length, after a siege of five months, Manco was obliged to allow his people to return to sow their fields, while he himself retired to the stronghold of Ollantay-tambo, in the valley of Yucay. Hoping to end the war by his capture, Hernando Pizarro marched down the valley, and made a desperate assault on the fortress, but he was gallantly repulsed again and again, returning unsuccessful to Cuzco. This victory encouraged the Inca to renew the siege of his capital, but meanwhile the foraging parties under Gabriel de Rojas had brought in many loads of maize and flocks of llamas.

The rising had not been confined to the country round Cuzco. Titu Yupanqui, an uncle of the Inca, led a numerous army against Lima. Pizarro prepared for the assault by concealing his cavalry on either flank of the enemy, and when they advanced they were surprised and cut to pieces. Titu Yupanqui and his principal chiefs were slain and his followers were put to flight. But the old Marquis was impressed with the magnitude of the danger. He despatched letters, asking for help, to the governors of Mexico, Guatemala, and Panama; and sent all the men he could spare, about two hundred and fifty men and fifty horses, to raise the siege of Cuzco, under the command of Alonzo de Alvarado. The appeal of the Marquis received a prompt response, and vessels arrived with reinforcements from the other governments. Among the arrivals was Francisco de Carbajal who afterward became so famous. Hernan Cortes, the conqueror of Mexico, also sent a rich ermine robe as a present to Pizarro, who always wore it on state occasions. Almagro had reached Chile by an extraordinary march across the cordilleras, and advanced as far as Coquimbo.

But he found nothing but poverty, and, therefore, resolved to abandon his enterprise and return to Peru. His officers urged him to sieze upon Cuzco as a part of his government of Nueva Toledo and enjoy the richest province of the Inca empire. Returning by the desert of Atacama he reached Arequipa, where he heard for the first time that the Incas were in arms against their Spanish conquerors. But on the approach of this new enemy from Chile with five hundred men, Manco gave up hope. He retired into Vilcabamba, the wild mountainous country between the rivers Apurimac and Vilcamayu, where he maintained his independence with his family and relations, and a small body of devoted followers.

Thus fell the great and powerful empire of the Incas, and with it the admirable system of government which had promoted the happiness of millions of people during many generations. Various attempts were made to capture the fugitive Manco Inca, but they always failed. He received four of the proscribed members of Almagro's faction under his protection and, in a sudden brawl, he met his death from one of them, in the year 1544. He left four children respecting whose fate there will be more to say hereafter. Except during the short period that he was deceived by Pizarro's diplomacy, the last of the reigning Incas maintained an independent position, and did battle manfully for his country and his people.

## CHAPTER IV

### PIZARRO AND ALMAGRO

With the return of the Marshal from Chile, the death struggle commenced between the two partners, Pizarro and Almagro. Their dispute was one that could only be peaceably settled by arbitration and an appeal to Spain, for it involved scientific observations and accurate measurements by unprejudiced umpires.

They preferred force and the loser had to take the consequences. It was Almagro who first had recourse to this method. Urged on by his devoted but ambitious followers, the old man claimed the surrender of Cuzco as a city included within the bounds of his government. Hernando Pizarro, exhausted by the long siege and too weak to resist, attempted to negotiate for a few days. Almagro had four hundred and fifty warriors devoted to his cause. Hernando could barely muster two hundred combatants, exhausted by long watching and hard fighting during many months. He strove to gain time, having secret tidings that Alonzo de Alvarado was advancing with succor from Lima; but this also became known to the advisers of Almagro, and they persuaded the old man to break the truce and make a night attack on the city. The Pizarros had no sus-

picion and had retired to rest. Their house was attacked by Rodrigo Orgoñez, the lieutenant of Almagro, and as they made a desperate defence, he set the roof on fire, and they had no alternative but to come out and surrender. Almagro thus took possession of Cuzco by force on the 18th of April, 1537. Orgoñez urged the Marshal to put Hernando and Gonzalo Pizarro to death, as reconciliation was no longer possible, and they were too dangerous to be allowed to live. But milder counsels prevailed, and they were merely imprisoned.

Alvarado had reached Abancay, about ninety miles from Cuzco. He was in a strong position, on the banks of the rapid river Pachachaca, in a lovely valley surrounded by lofty mountains. His force was nearly equal to that of Almagro, but several of his followers were in communication with the enemy, and more were half-hearted and irresolute. The noble knight Garcilasso de la Vega, Gomez de Tordoya, and Alvarez Holguin, who had landed in Peru with Alvarado and shared the horrors of the march to Quito with him, were staunch; and on these he could rely. Holguin, however, was taken prisoner when making a reconnaissance beyond the river. Almagro sent four envoys to Alvarado, to tell him that if he came to raise the siege of Cuzco his help was no longer needed, and to require him to submit to the governor of New Toledo in whose jurisdiction his army was encamped. They were courteously received and invited to dinner, but after dessert they were informed that they were prisoners, and were placed in a stone hut under a guard. Garcilasso de la Vega, Tordoya, and Holguin are said to have protested against this treatment of ambassadors. Paullu Inca, the brother of Manco, had accompanied Almagro to Chile, and continued con-

stant in his attachment to the old chief. He was sent, with a large force of natives, to harass Alvarado during the night; and next morning, the 13th of July, 1537, Orgoñez led his cavalry across the river by a ford while Almagro attacked the Pachachaca bridge. The victory was complete, and Alvarado, with all his officers, became prisoners.

Thus far Almagro had been completely successful. His next step was difficult to decide upon. His ablest lieutenant, Rodrigo Orgoñez, had served under the Constable Bourbon and was at the sack of Rome. He took the shortest cut to secure his ends. His advice was to put the Pizarros and Alvarado to death, and to advance on Lima by forced marches. Moderate counsels were represented by Diego Alvarado, a devoted adherent of Almagro, who felt that the Marshal's safety depended on the justice and humanity of his acts. Almagro, who was hasty and choleric, but in the main generous and kind hearted, wavered between these two opinions, and the lives of the Pizarros were in considerable danger for several months. The Marquis had set out from Lima, with additional reinforcements in support of Alvarado; and received the alarming news of the violent proceedings of his old partner when he was encamped in the coast valley of Huarco, the modern Cañete. In the period of peace he had become deeply interested in the work of settling the country. He now saw his hopes shattered and a disastrous struggle forced upon him. "This," he exclaimed, "is Almagro's return to me, after losing a beloved and gallant brother, and having spent all I possess in pacifying the country. I mourn for the danger of my brothers, but still more that two friends in their old age, should plunge into a civil war to the injury alike of the king's ser-

vice and of the country." This blow destroyed the last lingering feeling of friendship for his old comrade. Pizarro returned to Lima to make defensive preparations, at the same time sending envoys to Almagro's camp to treat for the liberation of his brothers. His chief ambassador was the licentiate Gaspar de Espinosa who had taken such an active part in the settlement of Panama, and had materially aided in the discovery of Peru by advancing funds through the agency of Luque. At the urgent call of Pizarro, when confronted by the Inca rising, Espinosa had come to Lima with a reinforcement of two hundred and fifty men. Arriving at Cuzco, he found that Almagro was inclined to make exorbitant demands, requiring the cession of all the coast valleys as far as Mala, within a short distance of Lima. The Marquis was inclined to concede anything that would secure the release of his brothers, but not in good faith. Espinosa was taken ill and died while the negotiations were proceeding, and Almagro marched down to the coast with his army, declaring his intention to found a capital for his government in the valley of Chíncha. Almost the last words of Espinosa to the wrong-headed old man were—"*El vencido vencido y el vencedor perdido*"—"The conquered conquered, and the conqueror lost." Gonzalo Pizarro and Alvarado were left in prison at Cuzco, while Hernando was brought down with Almagro's army, under a strong escort. Orgoñez once more urged their execution, saying "A Pizarro never forgave an injury, and that which they have received from you is too great to be forgiven by even a less vindictive man." It was the last chance. Twenty days after Almagro left Cuzco, Alvarado and Gonzalo Pizarro escaped from prison,



having gained over about thirty soldiers, and the little party arrived safely at Lima.

The advisers of Almagro found that the Marquis was stronger than they had supposed. They encamped at Chíncha, where a city was founded and named Almagro. Negotiations were then resumed, and at length it was agreed that a friar named Bobadilla should decide the dispute, both parties abiding by his arbitration. His first proposal was that there should be an interview between the old partners, and that they should renew their friendship. An interview was arranged in the valley of Mala, but the time was gone by for friendship. Pizarro was to come from Lima and Almagro from Chíncha, each attended by only twelve knights. Nevertheless Gonzalo had an ambush in the thick reeds near the Mala river to seize Almagro, while Orgoñez advanced to within a short distance of the appointed place. Thus neither party kept faith. Pizarro and Almagro met, but not as friends. They stood just within talking distance, and entered upon a violent altercation. In a pause Almagro heard two lines of an old song being hummed in a low voice under the window.

“Time it is, O cavalier;  
Time it is to fly from here.”\*

He made a frivolous excuse for leaving the room, sprang on his horse, and galloped away; taking the lines as a warning, as they were intended by Francisco Godoy—the singer of them. Almagro refused to return; and Bobadilla proceeded to consider his award. He found that the pilots of the two parties could not agree, and therefore decided that a ship should be

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\*“Tiempo es el cavallero;  
Tiempo es de andar de aquí.”

despatched to ascertain the latitude of the river Santiago which was the starting point whence the distances were to be measured, that the Marquis should retire to Lima and the Marshal to Nasca until the result was received, that Cuzco having been seized lawlessly and by force, should be restored to the Marquis, and that there should be perpetual peace and friendship between the two parties. The sentence was published on the 15th of November, 1538.

When the award reached Chíncha, the party of Almagro was furious, and Hernando Pizarro's life was in the greatest danger, for he was still a prisoner there. The Marquis trembled for his brother, and at length agreed to forego the possession of Cuzco until the king's orders were received, on condition that Hernando was liberated. Almagro agreed, and the three brothers were once more united at Lima. But they did not consider binding the concessions that had been extorted from the Marquis through fear for his imprisoned brother. On the contrary they were resolved on the destruction of Almagro.

The Marquis declared war, and the army of Almagro retreated to Huaytara on the river of Pisco, and thence by way of Guamanga to Cuzco. Hernando Pizarro, seconded by an experienced soldier who had served in Italy, named Pedro de Valdivia, led the army of the Marquis. He marched along the coast as far as Nasca, and then crossed the cordilleras of Lucanas, arriving at the plain of Salinas within a league of the Inca capital. There it was resolved that the battle should be fought. Old Almagro was too infirm to mount a horse, but he was carried out of Cuzco in a litter, lest his absence should discourage his troops. Ongoñez took the command, and encamped close to the enemy.

On the morning of the 26th of April, 1539, the battle commenced with flank attacks of natives troops under Paullu, but the main body could not maintain the same order as the infantry of Hernando and Valdivia. They fell into confusion, and began to retreat, closely pressed upon by their well trained adversaries who were assisted by a flank charge of cavalry. Seeing all was lost, Orgoñez shouted "Follow me who will, I go to seek death in the cause of duty." He dashed forward, but his horse fell and he was taken prisoner, and vilely slaughtered. Hernando Pizarro was conspicuous from his orange colored doublet and the white plume on his helmet; and several captains surrendered to him personally. The rout was complete. Old Almagro fled to the Sacsahuaman hill, but was brought down and committed to the same prison in which he had so long confined Hernando. The conquerors only lost fifteen men, while one hundred and twenty soldiers of Almagro bit the dust.

It does not appear that Hernando intended to take the old Marshal's life at first. But attempts were made to arrange his escape, and large bribes were offered to the officers on guard. Hernando then became alarmed and declared the prisoner's offences deserved capital punishment. When it was objected that the execution might be displeasing to the sovereign, Gonzalo is said to have replied—"If the king does not take the death of the Marshal well, we have good lances." A series of charges were drawn up and the old man, having been sentenced to death, was strangled in prison. The body was buried in the church of La Merced. Almagro did good service in the work of the conquest, but he was neither an able soldier nor an administrator. Easily led by others, he was generous and warm-

hearted, and he certainly brought around him a number of men who were devoted to his interests, revered his memory, and thirsted to avenge his death. The execution took place on the 10th or 12th of July, 1538. The Marquis was on his way from Lima to Cuzco, but he made a long stay at Xauxa, where he must have received the news of the battle of Salinas long before Almagro's trial. There was plenty of time for his will to have been made known, and he must share, with his brother, the responsibility for his old partner's death. Almagro left an only child named Diego whose mother was a native of Panama, and to whom he was devotedly attached. The boy was sent down to Lima, and Pizarro promised to treat him as his own son.

The Marquis Pizarro entered Cuzco in triumph, dressed in the rich ermine robe that had been presented to him by Cortes. Once more he was able to devote his attention to the settlement of the country. He despatched exploring expeditions in all directions. Hernando Pizarro proceeded to the Collao and Charcas to establish order and develop the mining industry. Valdivia undertook the conquest of Chile. Lorenzo de Aldana was sent to assume the government of Quito in succession to Benalcazar who had gone to Europe. Aldana, like Pizarro, was a native of Estremadura, and one of the noblest and most humane of the conquerors. Expeditions were also sent into the eastern forests. The report of the discovery of a land of cinnamon to the eastward of Quito induced Gonzalo Pizarro himself to undertake a toilsome and hazardous journey into the forest, which resulted in the discovery of the whole course of the river Amazon by his lieutenant Francisco de Orellana.

Several important cities were founded in various

parts of Peru. On the 24th of June, 1539, a settlement was formed at Guamanga, with the object of checking incursions of natives under the influence of the Inca. The Marquis visited Charcas, and then proceeded to Arequipa, where another city was founded in August, 1540. He then returned to Lima, where he took leave of his brother Hernando who had resolved to return to Spain and defend his conduct with respect to Almagro. But the friends of the old Marshal, including the faithful Diego Alvarado, had arrived before him. His proceedings were condemned and he was imprisoned for twenty years in the castle of Medina del Campo. But his confinement was not very rigorous, for in 1551 he married his niece Francisca, an illegitimate daughter of the Marquis by an Inca princess by whom he had three sons. Liberated in 1560 he died in his native town of Truxillo in 1578, having nearly attained the age of a hundred years. In the beginning of the next century his grandson received a grant of rents, and was created a Knight of Santiago and Marquis of the Conquest, the latter title descending to his posterity.

The troubles ending in the death of Almagro induced the Spanish government to decide that a commissioner should be sent out to investigate and submit a full report on the state of Peru, but not to supersede the Marquis. The licentiate Cristobal Vaca de Castro was selected for this delicate office. Born in 1492 he had become a Judge in the Court of Valladolid at the age of forty-five, and his reputation as a learned jurist led to his appointment. He was to be simply a royal judge if he found the Marquis alive, but if he was dead Vaca de Castro was to succeed him as governor. He sailed from San Lucar on the 5th of November,

1540, arriving at Panama on the 24th of the following February.

Meanwhile the Marquis was busily engaged at Lima, superintending the affairs of his government and the progress of his capital. His brave spirit disregarded the dangers gathering round him, and the numerous warnings he received. His absolute fearlessness was alike the main cause of his marvelous success and of his death. Many ruined men of the defeated faction of Almagro, called in contempt "the men of Chile," had assembled at Lima. Rendered desperate by poverty, and exasperated by their ill luck, they were ripe for any crime. The guiding spirit among them was Juan de la Rada, an able and accomplished soldier who had been devoted to Almagro and who now considered himself the guardian of his son Almagro "el mozo" (Almagro, the lad) as he was called. Pizarro was warned that these men were collecting arms. They passed him in the street with sulky looks and without saluting. When he was urged to arrest or banish them, he replied "Poor fellows; they have had trouble enough. We will not molest them more." He even sent for Juan de la Rada, had an interview with him in his garden, argued with him, and gave him some oranges on parting, among the first grown in Peru, saying, "Ask frankly of me what you desire."

Juan de la Rada had even then organized a conspiracy to murder the Marquis. One of his comrades divulged it under the seal of confession, and Pizarro was again warned by the priest, but he merely observed that some one was trying to get a reward by these tales. The next day was Sunday, the 26th of June, 1541. The conspirators assembled in a house on the other side of the square to that of the governor. It

was at the corner of the present Callejon de Clerigos. Here Almagro the lad was lodging. Contrary to expectation the Marquis had not gone to hear mass, but several friends had come to dine with him at noon. At the same hour twenty conspirators ran across the square toward the governor's house, shouting "Death to the tyrant!" One of them named Gomez Perez ran round a puddle to avoid wetting his feet. "What!" exclaimed Rada, "are we going to bathe in human blood and do you fear to wet your feet with water? You are not the man for this work. Go back!" The governor's house only had one door toward the square. It was of great strength and if it had been closed no entrance could have been effected. But it was wide open. The murderers rushed into the court-yard.

The Marquis had several friends assembled to dine with him. These were his half brother Francisco Martin de Alcantara, who was a citizen of Lima and had a house at one of the corners of the great square; Francisco de Chaves, one of the most illustrious knights in Peru, who had protested against the execution of Atahualpa; Dr. Juan Velasquez the alcalde of the city; the inspector Garcia de Salcedo; Luis de Rivera; Juan Ortiz de Zarate; Alonzo de Manjarres; Francisco de Ampuero; Gormez de Luna; Pedro Lopez de Casalla; Rodrigo Pantoja; Diego Ortiz de Guzman; Juan Perez; Alonzo Perez de Esquivel; Hernan Nuñez de Segura; Juan Henriquez; Gonzalo Hernandez de la Torre; Juan Bautista Mallero; Hernan Gonzalez and the bishop-elect of Quito. Twenty Spanish gentlemen with grand mouth-filling names enough, but they might as well have been a flock of sheep. A young page named Diego de Vargas, son of the captain Gomez de Tordoya, was out in the square. He ran into the house

crying "To arms! to arms! all the men of Chile are coming to kill the Marquis, my Lord." There was an immediate rush of the guests down the staircase to the first landing. Nearly all dropped themselves out of the windows into the garden, and ran away. The Alcalde held his wand of office in his mouth, so that his hands might be free in dropping from the balcony. Martin de Alcantara, Luna and the two pages, Vargas and Escandon, ran into an inner chamber to arm themselves. Zarate, Casalla and Vergara, though trembling with fear, remained in the dining-room. The Marquis threw off a loose gown, and snatched up a lance. The murderers, excited by the furious words of Juan de la Rada, ascended the staircase, but found the first door was closed. Francisco de Chaves opened it to dispute the passage, and received a blow which stretched him dead on the stairs. There was an ante-room to pass before the room in which Pizarro was could be reached. Alcantara defended it for some time sword in hand, but was forced back to the inner door. The Marquis shouted "What shameful thing is this! Why do you wish to kill me?" They replied with oaths and curses, rushing at the door. Alcantara fell dead. The old man, with a cloak twisted round one arm, and a sword in the other, rushed to the door, supported by the two faithful young pages. Two assassins fell dead from the well aimed thrusts of his sword. Rada shrieked out "What delay is this! let us put an end to the tyrant," and seizing one Navarro around the waist he pushed him forward against the Marquis, while others murdered the two boys. Surrounded and exhausted the aged warrior then received a mortal wound in the throat. He fell to the ground, made the sign of the cross on the floor and kissed it, sighing the



word "Jesus" just as one of the ruffians dashed his brains out with a jar full of water.

Thus fell the conqueror of Peru. He must have been upwards of seventy years of age. He was certainly no ordinary man. It is unfair to judge him by a severe or a very high standard. Born in the lowest rank of life, and wholly uneducated, he did not raise himself either by low and cunning arts or by ruffianly audacity. It is clear that he won the confidence of his comrades and his superiors by his meritorious conduct, and through possessing the best qualities of a soldier—trustworthiness, constancy, endurance, valor, and resource. The romantic aspiration of conquering a mighty empire invigorated and elevated his nature. He became capable of acts of incredible and long sustained daring, and of steadiness of aim, combined with resource and power of combination which amounted to genius. His lofty aspirations gave a dignity and nobleness to his mien and to his speech. He acquired self respect and a sense of high responsibility as his ambitious dreams became realities. The great blot on his life story is the murder of Atahualpa, when he sacrificed his honor for the sake of expediency, and he did not scruple to break his word under the pressure of great difficulties. But this was not habitual with him, and his truer nature appeared when he kept faith with Alvarado. He was absolutely without fear. His ambition was not sordid, and in his latter years, as a governor and administrator, he devoted himself, heart and soul, to his public duties.

Pizarro was never married, but he had a son Francisco, who was a schoolfellow of Garcilasso de la Vega and died young in Spain, by a daughter of Atahualpa named Añas, who was christened Angelina. He also

had two children by an Inca princess, daughter of Huayna Capac, and christened Inez Ñusta. The son Gonzalo died young. Francisca, the daughter, was brought to Spain by her stepfather Ampuero, and eventually married her uncle Hernando Pizarro, continuing the line. Inez Ñusta, after the murder of the Marquis, married the captain Francisco de Ampuero, one of the guests who escaped across the garden.

The body of the Marquis was left on the floor when the assassins rushed out of the house, shouting "The tyrant is dead." An old servant named Juan de Barbaran, his wife, and some negro attendants hastily dressed the corpse in the habit of Santiago, wrapped it in a cotton sheet and, with a few prayers and lighted tapers deposited it in a corner of the church afterward called "Los Naranjos." On the restoration of authority the body was placed in a coffin of velvet with gold embroidery. In 1607 it was transferred to the new cathedral, and buried beside that of the good Viceroy Mendoza.

The assassins were joined by about a hundred sympathizers. The governor's secretary Picado was seized and murdered two days afterward. The friends of the Marquis hid themselves or escaped. The officials either submitted or fled. The rudders and sails of the vessels in port were taken away, to prevent news from being conveyed to Panama. All the treasure at Lima was plundered. But Rada soon found that it was much easier to seize power than to maintain it. Expressions of indignation reached him from prominent captains in all parts of Peru. Inaction was fatal. The only hope was in rapid and complete success. Holguin, whom we last saw at the rout of Abancay, was in arms near Xauxa. Juan de la Rada, therefore, resolved to march

against him, with Almagro the lad, who was declared Governor of Peru. Rada died of fever at Xauxa, the pursuit of Holguin was abandoned, and, after nominating Garcia de Alvarado to succeed Rada as his captain-general, the ill-fated boy with his band of murderers, took the road to Cuzco. Here a desperate feud broke out between Alvarado and another adherent of Almagro named Sotelo. The latter was murdered by his rival, and young Almagro caused Alvarado to be put to death. The youthful mestizo now displayed unexpected ability and resource. He was about twenty-two years of age, but had always been looked upon as a mere boy. He assumed personal command, won the confidence of his men by his evident capacity for the conduct of military affairs, and made active preparations for a campaign. He hoped that the royal judge would entertain his claim to succeed his father as governor of New Toledo, but if not he was resolved to do battle for his rights. The veteran artilleryist, Pedro de Candia, joined him, and a battery consisting of eight guns of considerable calibre for those days, and eight falconets was made efficient. Even gun metal and powder were manufactured, and the Hispanicized Inca Paullu augmented the force with a large native contingent. For many months Cuzco was the scene of active and busy preparation.

Vaca de Castro embarked at Panama for Callao, the port of Lima, but his squadron was dispersed by a storm off the island of Gallo, and he resolved to proceed by land. The malarious coast about Buenaventura, and the journey through the teeming forest to the highlands of Popayan brought on a fever, and for some time he was at death's door. But as soon as he was convalescent he resolutely pushed onward toward Peru.

Weakened by illness, wholly unused to a military life, and ignorant of the strength of the insurgents the task before him would have appalled a less resolute man. He received news of the murder of Pizarro soon after landing, and sent some account of it to the Emperor, in a letter dated at Quito on the 15th of Novemer, 1541. He received many loyal offers of service, and by the time he reached Xauxa a respectable force had gathered round the royal standard. Lima had declared for the king and Vaca de Caстро, the day after the murderers departed. Pedro de Puelles, who commanded at Quito during the absence of Gonzalo Pizarro on his expedition to the land of cinnamon, collected and manufactured arms. Alonzo de Alvarado and Alvarez Holguin collected troops. Gomez de Tordoya also hurried up from the south. Since his defeat at Abancay he had been engaged in exploring the montaña and in sport. He passed most of his time in hawking, but he was a good all around sportsman. His brave little son had been Pizarro's page, and had been murdered in trying to defend his master. The news reached Tordoya when he was engaged in the chase. He clenched his teeth, threw the hawk from his wrist, and murmured, "Now it is time to fight and not to hunt." His thirst for vengeance on the murderers of his son gave a spur to his loyalty.

Although brought up as a lawyer, Vaca de Castro found it necessary to take personal command of his army, to prevent feelings of jealousy among so many captains of equal rank and experience. He paid a flying visit to Lima with a small escort, and on returning to Xauxa he received news that the army of Almagro the lad had left Cuzco and advanced as far as Villcas. Vaca de Castro received a letter from the

young mestizo complaining that he should be treated as a rebel, and promising obedience if he received justice. He was told in reply that he would find grace if he dissolved his army, submitted himself to the king's judge, and gave up the murderers to justice.

Vaca de Castro marched with his army from Xauxa to Guamanga, the city which had been founded by Pizarro on the 24th of June, 1539. It is situated in a broken country of ridges and ravines, with the maritime cordillera rising behind the city, and the magnificent range of Condor-kunka bounding the view at a distance of some leagues to the eastward. There are few more lovely views in the world, than are presented from the terraced fruit gardens on the mountain slopes above Guamanga. A steep ascent of six miles up the slope of the maritime cordillera brings the traveler to the point where a narrow path branches off the main road. Two miles more brings him to the ravine of Lambras-huayccu, on the other side of which is the plain of Chupas 11,375 feet above the level of the sea. It is a wide terrace rather than a plain, for the mountains rise abruptly from it to the west, and away to the east there is a view over a vast expanse of country, bounded by the lofty ridges of Condor-kunka. At a distance of a mile southward of the ravine a knoll rises gradually from the plain of Chupas until it merges in the masses of the cordillera. The way from Villcas to Guamanga passed along the base of the knoll, and across the plain to the ravine of Lambras-huayccu; now the plain of Chupas is covered with wheat fields, but it was then waste, with some swampy ground at the base of the knoll.

Vaca de Castro marched out of Guamanga on Saturday the 13th of September, 1542, and encamped on the

edge of the ravine of Lambras-huayccu, with the way from Villcas to Guamanga at some distance on his left flank. For three days his soldiers were exposed to violent storms and snow. Intelligence reached Vaca de Castro that Almagro was marching along the road with the intention of getting between his camp and Guamanga, and thus cutting off the retreat of the royalists. Vaca de Castro was forced to extend his left wing so as to command the Guamanga road. Some low hills enabled him to give shelter to his arquebusiers from the artillery of Pedro de Candia. Almagro, even after he had ascertained the position of the royal camp, continued his march across the plain of Chupas toward Guamanga, and the two armies came in sight at four in the afternoon of the 16th. Vaca de Castro hesitated to attack at so late an hour, but he was urged on by his captains and in moving from his well selected position he lost the advantage he would have had over the insurgents. The royalists numbered seven hundred men, well armed and with a fair proportion of excellent cavalry. The marshal of the camp was that remarkable old veteran Francisco de Carbajal. He had come from Mexico when Pizarro appealed to Cortes for help against the Inca rising, and had previously had the experience of a life time in the campaigns of Italy. Now very old and enormously stout, Carbajal was still active and full of energy. He was ruthlessly cruel, but brimming over with wit and humor so that people said it was quite a pleasure to be hanged by him, for the sake of his witticisms on such occasions. He was by far the best soldier in Peru. The attack was conducted by Carbajal. He led the army into the plain, wheeling slightly to the right, with a party of arquebusiers to protect the right flank: and advanced until he could

open fire on the rear guard of the insurgents. This movement obliged Almagro to halt, change his front, and form across the plain. The artillery under Pedro de Candia was posted on the knoll with a swamp on the left and the ravine of Lambras-huayccu on the right. The arquebusiers were stationed in rear of the guns, and cavalry on the flanks. Here Almagro waited an attack.

The royal army was on some undulating hills about three hundred yards to the westward, with a flat plain between the contending hosts; but before it got into position and while in the act of wheeling, the infantry had been enfiladed by Candia's artillery, losing seventeen men from a single shot, either killed or wounded. The right flank was guarded by cavalry led by Alonzo de Alvarado. On the left the cavalry was commanded by Alvarez Holguin and Garcilasso de la Vega. The master of the camp was supported by Gomez de Tordoya; while Vaca de Castro himself was in the rear, with a reserve of thirty horsemen, including Lorenzo de Aldana, Diego Centeno, and other knights. Almagro was at the head of the cavalry on his right flank, while the infantry formed the centre of his line, led by several of Pizarro's murderers. The force numbered five hundred well trained soldiers, and the position enabled Almagro to sweep the intervening plain by his fire. Pedro Suarez, who had marshaled the insurgent force with great ability, strongly advised Almagro to remain immovable in the excellent position that had been selected.

The shades of evening were gathering over the plain, when the native contingent of Almagro, under the Inca Paullu, made a sudden attack on the left flank of the royalists, but they were dispersed by the arquebusiers.

Carbajal saw the serious disadvantages of the position, and that the only safety was in an act of audacious temerity. Placing himself at the head of the columns of arquebusiers he led a rapid charge on the enemy's centre to get possession of the guns. At this critical moment young Almagro saw that the guns were elevated so as to pass over the heads of the advancing columns. Suspecting treason, he killed Pedro de Candia with one pass of his sword, pointed the guns afresh with his own hands, and fired with great effect into the close ranks of the approaching enemy. But he then committed a fatal error. Seeing that the cavalry of Vaca de Castro was also advancing, he led his squadrons to the attack, gave up the general direction of his army, dashed into the plain, between his own artillery and the enemy, and thus lost all the advantages of his position. His own gunners were obliged to cease firing while the hand to hand combat continued. It is true that the royalists suffered serious loss, Gomez de Tordoya being mortally wounded and Holguin killed. But old Carbajal, taking advantage of the confusion, led on his infantry and captured all the guns of the enemy. A desperate fight was then commenced with Almagro's infantry, which was prolonged far into the night, for the murderers knew that for them there could be no terms. Pedro Suarez, disgusted that his strategical arrangements should have been upset, went over to the camp of Vaca de Castro. The victory was long doubtful. It was decided by a brilliant charge of the reserve of cavalry, led by the royal judge in person. This was at nine o'clock in the evening. As many as seven hundred remained on the battle-field, of whom three hundred were dead, out of a total of 1200; so that fifty-nine per cent of the combatants were killed or



wounded. Such is the desperate valor of men who fight with halters around their necks.

Two days after the battle, such of the murderers of Pizarro as were made prisoners were tried and executed in the great square of Guamanga. Young Almagro escaped to Cuzco where he was arrested by the governor he had himself appointed, and delivered up to Vaca de Castro. After the punishment of the murderers, the obsequies of the two valiant knights Pedro Alvarez Holguin and Gomez de Tordoya were celebrated with great pomp, in the church which then received the dedication to San Cristoval, in honor of Cristoval Vaca de Castro. Fray Tomas de San Martin, chaplain of the royal army, and afterward the first Bishop of Charcas, sang the *Te Deum*, and performed the service.

In the army of Vaca de Castro, besides the two warriors who fell, were Vasco de Guevara the first governor of Guamanga; Alonzo de Alvarado, the conqueror of Chachapoyas, whose acquaintance we have already made; Gomez de Alvarado, the founder of Huanuco; Lorenzo de Aldana, the governor of Quito; Garcilasso de la Vega, Diego Centeno, and many other prominent names. They accompanied the royal judge in his march to Cuzco, where he had a triumphal reception, assuming the title of governor of Peru, in accordance with the terms of his appointment. There was some hope that the extreme youth of Almagro the lad might have been a reason for sparing his life. But inexorable reasons of state prevailed. He was executed, and his body was placed by the side of that of his father, in the church of La Merced at Cuzco.

Vaca de Castro had to encounter another danger, which he overcame through his admirable diplomacy. Gonzalo, the last of the Pizarros, had returned to

Quito from his disastrous expedition into the Amazonian forests. Full of ambition and the love of power, he was surrounded by evil advisers, who persuaded him that he had a right to succeed his brother, the Marquis. The tact and courteous persuasion of Vaca de Castro saved him from rebellion at this time, and he was invited to come to Cuzco. The new governor induced him to retire to his rich inheritance in the province of Charcas, and rest after the fatigues and privations of his late expedition.

## CHAPTER V

### RECEPTION OF THE "NEW LAWS"

The treatment of the natives of the new world by their conquerors had become a serious question in the counsels of the Emperor Charles V. The good Bishop Las Casas, when he returned to Spain in 1538, published his famous book on the destruction of the native race of America. He protested against the natives being given to the Spaniards, in *encomienda* or vassalage for personal service. The emperor appointed a committee composed of churchmen and lawyers of the highest position in 1542, to consider the whole subject. The result was the promulgation of what were called the "New Laws."

I. After the death of the conquerors, the *repartimientos* of Indians, given to them in *encomienda*, were not to pass to their heirs, but were to be placed under the king. All officers of the crown were to renounce their *repartimientos* at once.

II. All *encomenderos* in Peru, who had been engaged in the factious wars between the Pizarros and Almagros were to be deprived.

III. Personal service of the natives was to be entirely abolished. The only right to be retained by the *encomenderos* was a moderate tribute.

A court of justice called the Royal Audience was created with a viceroy as president, and consisting of four "Oidores" or judges, to reside at Lima. There

was no appeal from their decisions, except in civil suits of more than 10,000 *pesos de oro*, when there was an appeal to the king.

The enforcement of the "New Laws" was entrusted to Blasco Nuñez Vela, who was nominated the first viceroy of Peru. He was a native of Avila, who had served in several high posts with a reputation for integrity, and was advanced in years. He was religious, severe, and haughty, but courteous and of a fine presence. He accepted the dangerous office with these words—"I was born to do your majesty service, and I will do what your majesty commands." The emperor wrote to Vaca de Castro, ordering him to return home and take his seat in the Council of Castile, but to remain in Peru as long as the viceroy might need his advice. The "Oidores" were lawyers of eminence named Diego Cepeda, Lison de Tejada, Alvarez and Zarate. Agustin de Zarate, the historian, was appointed accountant general of Peru. Lima became a bishopric, its first bishop being Geronimo de Loaysa. The "rascally friar" Valverde, first bishop of Cuzco, had been killed by the islanders of Puna, and a Franciscan named Juan Solano was appointed to succeed him.

The viceroy, Blasco Nuñez Vela, parted from his wife and children, whom he was never destined to see again, and, in company with his brother, sailed from San Lucar on the 10th of November, 1543. Just as he was embarking he received orders to make strict inquisition into the conduct of Vaca de Castro, against whom grave accusations had arrived. The members of the Royal Audience went out with their president as far as Panama. Leaving orders to the judges to follow him, the viceroy embarked in a vessel that was ready to

sail, and landed at Tumbez on the 4th of March; whence he sent orders to Vaca de Castro to give up charge of the government and proceed to Lima. He also issued orders for the good treatment of the natives, and set an example, in his march through the coast valleys, by allowing no native to be forced to carry a load. Nevertheless, the most alarming rumors were spread over the country, and the Spaniards believed that he intended to deprive them of what they considered their rights, hardly won by desperate fighting. "If now he takes our property, to-morrow he will take our lives," they declared. But when he approached Lima he was received as became his rank and position. The new Bishop Loaysa and Vaca de Castro came out three leagues to meet him, while the clergy and municipality received him at the gates. He entered under a canopy of brocade carried by four magistrates in scarlet robes. Diego Centeno was sent with tranquilizing messages to the citizens of Guamanga and Cuzco.

Gonzalo Pizarro had been seized with a panic of alarm when the tenor of the "New Laws" was reported to him. His ambition was aroused by the receipt of numerous letters from *encomenderos*, entreating him to espouse their cause. He was told that the viceroy had threatened to cut off his head, and had declared that it was not just that Peru should be in the power of pig drivers and muleteers. Throwing prudence to the winds Gonzalo left Charcas and proceeded to Cuzco with a dozen friends. There he was proclaimed procurator general of Peru, and he attracted soldiers and citizens to his cause by lavish gifts and repeated assurances that he sought nothing for himself, but everything for the public good. He seized the artillery of Pedro

de Candia, which Vaca de Castro had left at Cuzco, and completely equipped a force of four hundred soldiers; the majority being mounted. From Arequipa came men and arms, and with them the old veteran Francisco Carbajal. This far sighted soldier had foreseen the inevitable end of these troubles and intended to leave the country. He had sold his property and had even obtained a commission to act as an agent for the colonists in Spain, from Vaca de Castro. But he could not find a vessel to take him to Panama. To the first invitation of Gonzalo Pizarro he had replied that he was eighty years of age and wished to end his days in peace. But when a second request came he yielded unwillingly, accepting a place as Gonzalo's lieutenant. Nevertheless, many settlers in the interior listened to the message of Diego Centeno, and feared to oppose the king's representative. Even in Cuzco, Garcilasso de la Vega, Gabriel de Rojas, and other citizens fled to the coast to avoid the taint of treason. Others wavered. The revolution owed its success to the harshness and the blunders of the unfortunate viceroy. He was resolved to obey his orders to the letter. He had no tact and no judgment. His most foolish act was the imprisonment of Vaca de Castro, who was sent on board a vessel at Callao, on suspicion that he favored the revolt. In the midst of these anxieties the oidores arrived from Panama, and immediately began to quarrel with the viceroy; and Cepeda, the senior judge, put himself in communication with the enemy. Hated as a tyrant, and wholly incapable of dealing with the situation, the unhappy viceroy became irritable, and was subject to fits of ungovernable passion. Two of the nephews of the factor, Illan Suarez de Carbajal, had left his house while he slept, and deserted. Hear-

ing this the viceroy sent for the factor accusing him of treason. An altercation followed, the viceroy stabbed him, ordered his servants to complete the murder, and buried the body secretly. This was on the 13th of September. It was impossible to conceal the crime, and it met with universal reprobation. The wretched man feared to remain any longer at Lima, resolving to retire as far as Truxillo. He seized Francisca, the rich and beautiful daughter of Pizarro, and put her on board a ship, apparently as a sort of hostage. At length the Royal Audience resolved to put him under restraint, and he was arrested by order of the judges. His brother-in-law, who had command of the ships, was induced to land the daughter of the Marquis, and eventually he surrendered the ships. The viceroy was imprisoned on the island of San Lorenzo for some time, and eventually embarked for Panama with the licentiate Alvarez, who had orders to take him to Spain as a prisoner. But the judge, reflecting that the Spanish Court was very jealous of the authority of its representatives, and that his conduct might get him into trouble, informed the viceroy, after they had been a few days at sea, that he was free and at liberty to sail whither he pleased.

Cepeda now assumed charge of the executive government at Lima, leaving Tejada and Zarate to exercise their judicial functions. He sent letters to Gonzalo Pizarro by Lorenzo de Aldana, suggesting that if he should recognize the authority of the Royal Audience, all would be well, and that he might safely return to his estates in Charcas. If he wished to visit Lima he might do so, attended by ten or a dozen friends. The answer was sudden and startling. Within a few days old Francisco Carbajal appeared in Lima, seized

three of the citizens who fled from Cuzco, and hung them on trees outside the town. There was no mistaking the signification of this reply. Cepeda and the two other judges promptly recognized Gonzalo Pizarro as governor of Peru. The bishop and judges went out to meet him, and he made his triumphal entry into Lima on the 28th of October, 1544, preceded by the royal standard. The procession commenced with a crowd of natives dragging twenty pieces of artillery. These were followed by arquebusiers, and cavalry, forming together a body of close upon 1,200 men. Gonzalo rode at the head of his knights, wearing a richly brocaded tunic over a splendid suit of armor, and a cloak of cloth of gold. Plumes waved in his helmet, and riding a spirited charger he looked every inch a conqueror. The streets and windows were crowded, the bells rang, and he was received with often repeated acclamations. He took the oath before the judges, and his government was formally inaugurated.

The moment that Gonzalo usurped power, he felt his danger and insecurity. Garcilasso, and others who had fled from him at Cuzco, gave in their adherence to save their lives. But many more escaped and concealed themselves. Few approved, while many feared the consequences of disloyalty. The late excellent governor, Vaca de Castro, induced the captain of a ship at Callao to take him to Panama. On his arrival in Spain he was accused of avarice and tyranny by some of the enemies he had made in Peru, and was kept in prison for seven years, while his cause was pending. There were fifty-two serious charges against him, but eventually he was fully acquitted in 1556, received some compensation, and was restored to his office of councillor of Castile. He died in 1562.



The viceroy landed at Tumbez, strong in the justice of his cause and ready to sacrifice his life at the call of duty. Any other man might have succeeded. With Blasco Nuñez Vela disaster was a certainty. About fifty loyal men joined him from San Miguel and other northern towns. He advanced to Quito where he was joined by Sebastian de Benalcazar, then governor of Popayan, and by Francisco Hernandez Giron who had taken a leading part in the conquest of New Granada. His forces soon amounted to five hundred men.

Gonzalo Pizarro took active steps to meet the danger. He despatched Hernando Bachicao in a small vessel from Callao, to seize every vessel on the coast as far as Panama. He performed this service successfully, but with needless violence and cruelty. Leaving Lorenzo de Aldana in command of Lima, Gonzalo and Carbajal set out in pursuit of the viceroy, following closely upon his heels. Reaching Quito they found that the fugitives had continued their retreat to Popayan. Blasco Nuñez Vela had with him an important hostage in the person of the child Francisco, a son of Gonzalo Pizarro by a native woman. With overweening confidence the viceroy, having collected more recruits at Popayan, resolved to march against the rebels. Gonzalo took up a strong position on the banks of the river Guallabamba. Benalcazar and the viceroy attempted to outflank him, and entered Quito, which they found empty and without resources of any kind. There was no alternative left for them but an open attack. Their force consisted of one hundred and forty horse and two hundred and fifty foot soldiers; but the rebels were superior in infantry and were better armed. The battle was fought on the 18th of June, 1546, and although it was a desperate hand to hand

combat, it was not of long duration. The viceroy was killed early in the day and both Benalcazar and Giron were severely wounded. Two judges of the Royal Audience took opposite sides. Alvarez was for the viceroy, while Cepeda fought like a common soldier on the side of Gonzalo Pizarro. More than a hundred royalists were killed in this battle of Anaquito, and the rebellion was triumphant. The ill-fated viceroy was severe to cruelty, hot headed and narrow-minded. But he was loyal to the heart's core, devoted to his duty as he understood it, and in his last days he displayed heroic constancy and valor. The judge, Alvarez, died a few days after the battle. Benalcazar and Giron were allowed to return to Popayan.

Francisco Carbajal, on the receipt of the news that Diego Centeno was in arms for the viceroy in the south, had been despatched against him some time before the battle of Anaquito. Mustering two hundred men at Lima he crossed the cordillera to Guamanga, passed through Cuzco, and began to hunt for Centeno in the Collao, with an energy and rapidity that appears almost miraculous to those who are acquainted with the country. He had always despised Centeno, who now fled before him, but was followed and hunted about with merciless energy, and every fugitive captured by the ruthless old man was put to death, often under circumstances of great cruelty. At length Centeno fled to the port of Arequipa, but he was unable to find a vessel to take him away, and he was driven to the extremity of hiding himself in a cave of the maritime cordillera. Having crossed the Andes six times, passed his nights in the open air in all weather, alike insensible to the cold of the *puna* and the heat of the coast deserts, this marvelous old man succeeded in stamping out every

sign of loyalty in the southern provinces of Peru. Many believed that he had a familiar spirit which carried him through the air in spite of his immense weight, and he was long known as the Demon of the Andes.

During the government of Gonzalo Pizarro several very rich silver mines were discovered in Charcas, and some rich veins of gold near the southern borders of Quito. In order to facilitate the working of gold in the northern districts, Gonzalo founded the city of Loxa, which was the best and most lasting monument of his brief rule. Agriculture revived, and the mining industry became active and even prolific under the able administration of the last of the Pizarros, while the colonists were made content by unstinted grants.

For a short interval of peace his power seemed fully established, and his popularity was unbounded. Carbajal, who never advised half measures, Cepeda who had sinned past forgiveness, Bachicao and Puelles urged their chief to declare himself independent, and to be crowned king of Peru.

The news from the land of the Incas caused the greatest consternation among the councillors of the peninsula. Philip was at the time acting as regent for his father Charles V. The rebellion must be repressed, but the calamity that was most felt was that instead of receiving gold and silver from Peru, that colony would entail heavy expenditures. It was thought desirable to entrust the work of pacification to a capable and astute ecclesiastic rather than to a soldier. Pedro de la Gasca had been distinguished at Salamanca, and he had displayed ability as an inquisitor, in his investigations connected with obscure cases of heresy at Valencia. A successful inquisitor might be

relied upon for astute cunning, as well as for pitiless cruelty. He was ugly and deformed. He received extraordinary powers with the modest title of President of the Royal Audience. Alonzo de Alvarado had returned to Spain, and he was appointed to accompany the new president with the title of Marshal. Pascual de Andagoya, who had obtained the first reliable tidings of the empire of the Incas, and Pedro Hernandez Paniagua went with the president as councillors. The licentiate Ciança was selected to fill any vacancy in the Audience, for the conduct of the former judges was as yet unreported. Gasca sailed from Spain on the 26th of May, 1546. He came to Panama as a humble and religious person who had been commissioned to establish peace, and revoke the "New Laws." A letter was sent to Gonzalo Pizarro from the emperor, and another from Gasca, which seemed to grant forgiveness for the past, but requiring him to submit entirely to the authority of the president. A letter was also addressed to Cepeda, calling upon him to comply with the orders of the king.

Gonzalo was at Lima, and his only really able and far-seeing councillor was not with him. Cepeda was against admitting the president. Gonzalo himself had tasted the joys of power. He had little knowledge of men, and believed in his popularity and in the false promises he received. He also rightly suspected that the soft words of Gasca were intended to conceal designs of a very different complexion. Paniagua, an old man who was as cunning as his master, was sent with the letters to Lima and had long interviews with Gonzalo and his councillors. When he returned to Panama his report convinced Gasca of two things, that Peru could only be taken by force, but that few of Gonzalo's supporters

would continue to be faithful to him, in defiance of the authority of their king. In fact the desertions had already commenced. Help came from other governments, the fleet of Gonzalo Pizarro was betrayed, and by the beginning of 1547, Gasca had assembled at Panama a force of a thousand men, and twenty-two ships. Lorenzo de Aldana was one of the deserters, and he was sent in advance with three hundred men in four ships. He was to sail along the coast, and send letters on shore at every port, calling upon all loyal men to join the president. This measure caused a formidable reaction against the rebels.

A resolution was formed to retire to the south of Peru and on the 17th of July, 1547, Gonzalo left Lima, and took the road to Arequipa. Desertions were numerous, and of the five hundred men who had marched out of Lima only three hundred answered to the muster roll when the rebel chief reached Arequipa. One captain was faithful to him at Cuzco, and Juan de Acosta came thence with a small reinforcement. Still his cause began to look desperate; and he thought of retreating to Rio de la Plata or to Chile. Centeno was once more in arms in the Collao.

In May, 1547, Gasca had landed at Tumbes, where all the loyal captains were waiting to receive him. He ordered that all the soldiers who wished to serve their king were to assemble in the valley of Xauxa. He here received an assurance that Centeno and his loyal troops in the Collao would easily be able to dispose of the rebels under Gonzalo and Carbajal. But this promise was not fulfilled. Gonzalo advanced from Arequipa in search of the royalists, and found their camp at Huarina, at the southeast angle of Lake Titicaca, on the 26th of October. Centeno had over a

thousand men, while the forces of Gonzalo barely numbered five hundred. Centeno himself was suffering from a pain in his side, and was in a litter at some distance from the field. Carbajal relied upon the discipline of his infantry, and on the dexterity of his arquebusiers, each of whom had two or three guns which had been abandoned by the deserters. His cavalry was far inferior to that of Centeno. The indefatigable veteran cheered his men by short and witty little speeches, while Gonzalo sat at the head of his horsemen, magnificently dressed in a tunic of crimson velvet. Both armies were drawn up on a plain, separated by a distance of six hundred paces. Centeno's men rushed on in a confused charge; while Carbajal stood firm, ordering his arquebusiers to aim a little below the breast and fire when the enemy was well within range. This order was obeyed with the regularity of a machine, and the infantry of Centeno broke and fled. His cavalry was more successful at first, but when, after putting the few horsemen of Gonzalo to flight, they returned to charge the infantry of Carbajal in the rear, they encountered a forest of pikes and a galling fire. They fled in all directions, and the victory of Gonzalo was complete; but most of the fugitives escaped, as the rebel chief needed cavalry to follow up his success. Centeno changed his litter for a horse and galloped off, but three hundred of his followers were slain. The wounded were frozen to death during the night, and thirty prisoners, including a priest who was a brother of the bishop of Cuzco, were murdered in cold blood by the stout old Demon of the Andes. Trusting to the effect that his victory would have on waverers, Gonzalo marched to Cuzco, and was well received by the citizens, with some exceptions. Among the dissentients there was one lady,

named Maria Calderon, whose husband had been put to flight at Huarina, and whose discretion was mastered by her anger. She went about denouncing Gonzalo as a tyrant. Now this lady stood in a peculiar relationship to old Carbajal, being his *comadre*, that is to say they were both sponsors to the same child. "Little *comadre*," her old friend said to her, "if you do not stop your abuse you must be killed." She went on scolding as before, so he came to her and said—"My *comadre*, I have come to hang you." She never believed he was in earnest, but when the dead body was hanging from a window the old demon said to it—"My dear little *comadre*, if you do not profit by this warning I do not know what I shall do."

Gasca was steadily marching toward Cuzco, and receiving reinforcements and adherents. Pedro de Valdivia joined him from Chile, and when he reached the valley of Andahuaylas, the Inca Paullu arrived with a native contingent to assist in bringing up supplies. Here Diego Centeno and other fugitives from Huarina made their appearance. The bishops of Lima and Cuzco with numerous monks, and the oidor Ciança gave an air of authority to the camp, and the army had swollen to nearly 2,000 men. The march was continued, the river Apurimac was crossed with some difficulty, and the royal army approached the plain of Sacsahuana.

There had been divided counsels at Cuzco. Old Carbajal saw that Gasca was too strong for them, and that a disastrous rout was inevitable. He strongly advised a retreat with five hundred well armed and disciplined men to Charcas. Cepeda wished to enter into negotiations. But Gonzalo, elated by his triumph at Huarina, was resolved to fight; believing that

audacity would make up for numbers. He led the whole of his forces to the plain of Sacsahuana, where the royalists were formed in good order, awaiting an attack. It was the 8th of April, 1548. Just as the battle was expected to commence, Garcilasso, followed by Cepeda and many others, deserted to the enemy. Then followed complete disorganization. The pikemen and arquebusiers surrendered, and the cavalry went over without striking a blow. Gonzalo looked on in despair. He said to Juan Acosta "What shall we do, brother Juan?"

"Sir," replied the captain, "let us charge them and die like Romans." "Better to die like Christians," replied Gonzalo and, in company with Acosta and a few others, he rode across the plain and surrendered to the sergeant major of the royal army. The pitiless inquisitor insulted the gallant warrior, but Diego Centeno, to whose charge he was committed, treated him with courtesy and respect. Meanwhile old Carbajal had watched the desertions with no surprise, but some amusement. He kept humming two lines of an old song:—

"These, my little hairs, mother!  
One by one the wind blew them away."\*

When he found himself alone, he put spurs to his horse to gallop away. But the animal was old and tired, and fell into a stream, under the old man's weight. Here he was seized and treated with great brutality by his captors. He was saved from these indignities by Centeno, but he could not restrain his caustic wit even then. "Who is your worship to whom I owe so much," he said. The knight replied—"Do you not know me, I am Diego Centeno." "Oh Lord!" said the incorrigible old

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\*"Estos mis cabellicos Madre,  
Uno a uno los llevi el aire."



joker, "as I have never seen anything but your back before, I did not know you when I saw your face". He was calm and silent, however, when he was insulted by Gasca and actually struck in the face by the mean cur who was bishop of Cuzco. A court martial, consisting of the marshal Alvarado and the judge Ciança, sat on the field of battle and condemned Gonzalo Pizarro, Carbajal, and all their captains to death. Pizarro was to be beheaded, Carbajal to be hanged and quartered.

After passing some time with a confessor, Gonzalo Pizarro came out of the tent, for execution. He was in the prime of life, about forty-two years of age, tall and handsome, with fine manly face and black beard and eyes; he was dressed magnificently. He was to die, because he had merited the love of his countrymen, and much sympathy was felt for him. The feeling of pity was unknown to the clerical inquisitor; and his prisoner was beheaded. His body was buried in the church of La Merced at Cuzco near the tomb of the Almagros, the head being reserved for further insult. He left a son Francisco who died young, and a daughter Inez who went to Spain to vindicate her father's memory, but failed in her efforts, and returned to Peru where she made a good marriage. "In Peru," writes Lorente, "men had not forgotten Gonzalo's marvelous deeds, his brilliant gifts, nor the amiable character of the man who died on the scaffold for having undertaken, at an unlucky time, a grand enterprise." Carbajal was eighty-four. As they dragged him to the scaffold in a pannier he said—"The baby in a cradle and the old man in a cradle," and he died with a joke on his lips.

The ignoble conqueror, Pedro de la Gasca, entered

Cuzco in triumph on the 11th of April, 1548; and commenced work that was more congenial to him than fighting. Many prisoners were condemned to death. The tongue of one was torn out first, because he had spoken disrespectfully of the emperor. Others were mutilated and flogged, and the goods of all the friends of Pizarro were confiscated. The cowardly priest struck Cepeda a blow in the face and sent him prisoner to Spain, where he died in prison. Diego Centeno died suddenly after a banquet, with suspicion of poison. The colonists had little cause to rejoice at the change of masters. At length, sated with blood, Gasca left Cuzco and went to a small village in the neighborhood, with Archbishop Loaysa of Lima, to arrange the distribution of grants of land and Indians among his followers. He retired into this seclusion to avoid the importunities of friends. Having completed his work, he sent to announce his awards at Cuzco, and they caused a howl of rage and disappointed greed. He himself went down to Lima by the least frequented route, and when a positive order from the emperor arrived that all personal service from the Indians should be prohibited, he suspended its publication until he was safe out of Peru. In January, 1550, the president Gasca sailed for Panama, leaving the country in the greatest confusion, and all the most difficult administrative points to be settled by others. He left the government in the hands of the judges of the Royal Audience. Andres de Ciança was president, the others being Melchor Bravo de Saravia, Hernando de Santillan, and Pedro Maldonado. The judges were in charge of the executive from January, 1550, to the 23rd of September, 1551, when Don Antonio de Mendoza arrived from Mexico as second viceroy to Peru.

He was a statesman of high rank and great experience, and the judges worked harmoniously under him. It was his duty to promulgate the royal order prohibiting the enforced labor of natives, fully anticipating serious discontents and troubles which he was resolved to meet and overcome. But his premature death at Lima on the 21st of July, 1552, left the country once more under the rule of the judges, who had to meet a storm which would sorely test their administrative abilities. Mendoza was remembered as "the good viceroy." The slayer of Gonzalo Pizarro took care to return to Spain with a large supply of gold, which ensured him a cordial reception from Charles V. He received a bishopric and died in 1567.

The promulgation of the royal order, depriving the conquerors of the personal services of the natives, added to the discontent caused by Gasca's injudicious awards, produced a storm of reprobation. Discontent was seething everywhere. It broke out in overt acts in Charcas, and the rebellion was sternly suppressed by the marshal, Alvarado. Then it was that Francisco Hernandez Giron placed himself at the head of the movement. This cavalier had hitherto been conspicuous for his loyalty. He fought for Blasco Nuñez Vela at Anaquito, and was with Gasca at Sacsahuaman. But he was extremely discontented with the share of the spoils awarded to him by the astute inquisitor, declaring that it was far below his merits, although it included the rich plain of Sacsahuana. He matured his plot at Cuzco. There was a wedding between Alonzo de Loaysa, a nephew of the archbishop of Lima, and a young lady named Maria de Castilla. The guests were assembled at supper when the door flew open, and Giron appeared wrapped in a cloak, with a drawn

sword, followed by a crowd of conspirators. Tomas Vasquez was at the end of the street with a body of cavalry. The wedding guests sprang from their chairs but Giron told them not to fear, as he only came to arrest the corregidor of Cuzco. There was some resistance to give time for the corregidor to escape into the drawing-room, and take refuge with the ladies. Then the guests made a rush for the windows, dropped into the yard, and climbed over the back wall. The accountant Caceres begged for the lives of the corregidor and his friends and they surrendered. The conspirators then paraded the streets, shouting for liberty and justice, and Giron assumed command of the city. Many respectable citizens fled to Lima, but soldiers crowded to his standard, and he soon had a considerable force. He proclaimed that his only object was the public good, and to induce the king to listen to the prayers of the colonists. He wrote to the cities and principal captains of Peru, justifying his proceedings and explaining his object, which was not rebellion against the king, but a restoration of affairs to the state in which they were before the obnoxious royal ordinance was promulgated. He also wrote to the Royal Audience at Lima, entreating the judges not to be disquieted, because he only sought for justice and redress of grievances.

The corregidor of Cuzco, Gil Ramirez de Avalos, was allowed to depart, but the accountant Caceres was put to death. Tomas Vasquez was then sent, with a body of cavalry, to secure Arequipa, while two other captains were sent with troops to Guamanga.

The Royal Audience received the news of the rebellion and resolved upon taking measures to put it down. But a dispute arose among the judges as to which of

them should command the army in the field. Words ran high. Eventually the command was given to the archbishop Loaysa, with whom the cidor Santillan was associated. The marshal Alvarado prepared to march on Cuzco from Charcas, and was joined by Juan de Saavedra, and other loyal captains. Giron entered Guamanga on the 27th of January, 1554, and then began his march to the coast over the snowy passes of Huarochiri, reaching the valley of Lurin south of Lima. After all the disputes, the whole of the judges took the field with their army, consisting of four hundred and fifty pikemen, five hundred arquebusiers, three hundred horses and fourteen field pieces. It was encamped at Surco with a few miles of desert separating it from the rebels at Lurin. Giron did not dare to attack the judges, and retreated to Yca, followed by a detachment of royalists under Captain Meneses. Giron turned upon his pursuers and defeated them on the little oasis of Villacuri, in the desert between Pisco and Yca. He then continued his retreat to Nasca. The whole army of the judges had followed the advanced guard under Meneses. But where so many commanded and none were military men, all concert was impossible. The archbishop quarrelled with his judicial colleague, and they returned to Lima. Meanwhile the marshal Alvarado assembled a respectable force at Le Paz, and, accompanied by the licentiate Polo de Ondagardo, he entered Cuzco on the 30th of March, 1554. Continuing his search for Giron he made his way to Parinacochas in the mountains above Nasca, in which valley Giron rested until the 8th of May.

The credulous rebel had with him a Moorish witch and several soothsayers. He also pretended that he was attended by a mysterious being which knew men's

intentions. He left Nasca and advanced over the cordillera to Lucanas. A few days afterward Alvarado and Giron were within a short distance of each other. The marshal had 1,100 men, of whom three hundred were arquebusiers, and two hundred and fifty horse. He made each man carry food to last three days, and march over many leagues of wild mountainous country, covered with snow and swampy ground. At last they reached a position whence they obtained intelligence that Giron was encamped at a place called Chuquinga, four leagues distant.

Giron pitched his camp at Chuquinga, in the strongest position he could find; an artificial terrace with a high wall in front, and only two approaches. On the other side a profound ravine descended to the river of Abancay. The marshal ordered one hundred and fifty picked arquebusiers under Juan Ramon to attack, and the rest to follow. The trumpet sounded on the morning of Trinity Sunday, the 20th of May. The chosen band came down to the river and opened fire, which was returned from behind rocks. The marshal withdrew his men to more sheltered positions after a heavy loss. Next day an advance was ordered in force. The troops rushed into the river, which was more than breast high, but they could not form on the other side in the face of an active enemy, and many were killed as they landed, including most of the officers. The marshal recalled the remnant of his soldiers and tried to rally them, on which Giron marched against him, flushed with victory and completed the route. Alvarado was wounded, but he escaped with Polo de Ondegardo and some others, leaving on the field seventy killed, and two hundred and eighty wounded. Giron returned in triumph to Cuzco to collect clothing for

his men, seize all the treasure to pay his troops, melt down the church bells for artillery. He stripped the women to their shifts, in order to send clothing to the camp. The marshal Alvarado reached Nasca, whence he wrote a letter to the Royal Audience dated May 27th, 1554, reporting his defeat. He was profoundly mortified, and sank into deep melancholy, dying two years afterward.

All was bustle and preparation at Lima when the disastrous news arrived. The oidor Altamirano was to remain at the capital but the other three judges determined to march at the head of the army, Pablo de Meneses going before them with the royal standard. They reached Guamanga in August. The judges had quarreled a good deal on the road, the altercations proceeding briskly on level ground, but only breaking out spasmodically, or ceasing altogether when ascending the mountains. On reaching Abancay they heard that Giron was enjoying himself in the lovely valley of Yucay, with his charming wife Doña Mencía Almaraz, daughter of the royal treasurer. Meneses formed a plan to surprise him, but he fell back up the valley to Urcos, when the judges entered Cuzco.

Giron crossed the pass of Vilcañota and entered the basin of Lake Titicaca. He entrenched himself at Pucara, a perpendicular rock rising out of the plain, just as Gibraltar rises out of the sea. The judges continued to march in pursuit, encountered a heavy snow storm on the pass, and encamped before the rock. Giron fired a gun from the height which sent a shot into the middle of the royal camp. Giron hoped that the royal troops would attack him, as they had done at Chuquinga. But the legal mind did not see the matter in that light. A close blockade was established.

At length, on the 7th of October, Giron determined to make a night attack, but his plan had been betrayed and he was repulsed. Next day there was a skirmish, when Tomas Vasquez deserted to the enemy. Others were wavering, so Giron resolved upon flight. His wife was to remain in charge of a friar who was to deliver her up to the oidor Saravia, an old friend. Husband and wife had a heartrending farewell, and Giron galloped away in the dead of night. Troops under Juan Tello were sent in chase, but it was a very long one. The fugitive was finally surprised in the valley of Xauxa, and brought to Lima on the 6th of December, 1554. He was lodged in prison, sentenced to be beheaded, and died like a brave man and a Christian.

The head of Giron was put in an iron cage, and nailed on a board in the great square of Lima, by the sides of the heads of Gonzalo Pizarro and Francisco de Carbajal. Doña Mencía came to Lima with her mother Doña Leonor Portocarrero, broken hearted. She could find neither rest nor consolation while her beloved husband's head was exposed to the touch of the foul turkey buzzards and to the rotting mists. She watched as did Rizpah, daughter of Aya. At length, after ten long years, a devoted friend secretly took down all three heads in the dead of night, and they were buried in the cloister of a convent. Mother and daughter then founded an Augustine *beateria*, which afterwards became a nunnery, of which Doña Mencía was abbess at the time of her death.

Thus ended the long and terrible story of the civil wars of the conquerors of Peru.



## CHAPTER VI

### SETTLEMENT OF THE COUNTRY

The story of the conquest, and of the civil wars which followed it, is almost bewildering after the peaceful narrative of Inca civilization. The phantasmagoria of battles and murders follows so close on the fall of the Incas. It is like a dance of murderous bacchanals over a beautiful corpse. In the excitement of it our attention is almost wholly withdrawn from the sad fate of the children of the land. At length the orgies of blood were to cease. In vain had the Spanish government sent out learned lawyers, and astute inquisitors to establish order in Peru. All these attempts had not only failed, but had given rise to fresh complications. Charles V. now came to the wise decision of entrusting the onerous duty to a nobleman of the highest rank, and of giving his delegate a free hand. It was not an appointment which would be much coveted by the emperor's courtiers; and two noblemen had already declined the honor, when it was accepted, from a sense of duty and with some reluctance, by Don Andres Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis of Cañete. Native of the city Cuenca, this statesman was a scion of the noblest house of Castile, alike distinguished in arms and in letters. He was a gentleman of mature years and great experience of affairs. He was

appointed viceroy of Peru for six years with a salary of 40,000 ducats. He studied the condition of the country with great care and made a report to the emperor on the policy he intended to adopt, in a letter dated at Seville on the 9th of May, 1555. He found that there were then about 8,000 Spaniards in Peru, of whom 489 had grants of land and Indians, and a thousand were employed officially, or on their own estates. A large proportion of the rest desired to live in idleness. The Marquis of Cañete proposed to expel some of the dangerous characters from the country, to employ others on expeditions into unknown regions, and he submitted that no more Spaniards should be permitted to go to Peru without good cause assigned. The emperor, in a letter to his daughter the governess Juana, dated in December of the same year, gave his approval to the policy thus sketched out by the new viceroy.

The marquis landed at Payta and, traveling along the coast, entered Lima, and assumed office with unprecedented state and solemnity on the 29th of June, 1556. He was a capable and resolute statesman and was quite determined to put an end to sedition. His first order was that no Spaniard should leave the district where he lived, without permission from the authorities and good cause shown. He then investigated the conduct of the judges of the Royal Audience, who had been careering all over the country at the head of armies in the field, instead of adjudicating cases at Lima. He reported that several were hostile to each other, that they lived in such discord that all peace was hopeless, and against three he made grave accusations. He requested that they might be recalled. He found that the corregidores, or governors of districts,

maintained quantities of idle soldiers, waiting for opportunities of mischief; and that the peace of the country was endangered by their immorality and excesses. He kept all the artillery in the country under his own eye, ordering guns to be seized and brought to him wherever they could be found. He also organized a permanent guard of four hundred arquebusiers.

Having made these preparations the Marquis of Cañete began the work of vigorously stamping out the last embers of sedition, without much scruple as to the means. He first sent for all the principal settlers of turbulent antecedents. They came to Lima joyfully, expecting that they were going to receive *repartimientos*. Among them were the most notorious disturbers of the peace in the late civil wars. They were disarmed, and shipped off from Callao, either to Panama for Spain or to Chile. Tomas Vasquez, the lieutenant of Giron who had deserted him at Pucara, was beheaded, although he had received a pardon from the judges. This was followed by a general order to the corregidores to seize and execute any turbulent or dangerous persons in their districts. One old captain, named Martin de Robles, was beheaded for having taken part in the deposition of Blasco Nuñez Vela, although he had been pardoned by Gasca, and guaranteed an unmolested life. The insupportable anarchy of the previous twenty years was thus completely and finally stamped out.

The viceroy was accompanied by his vice-queen and family, and for the first time there was a viceregal court, forming a centre to the society of Lima, surrounded by a certain provincial splendor. The government house was now called a palace, and the viceroy was provided with a body-guard consisting of one hundred and fifty gentlemen lancers with allowances for

arms and horses. Among the measures he adopted for the good of the country was the assembling together of dispersed families so as to form communities which afterward became towns. In this way Cuenca was founded in the government of Quito, Santa on the Peruvian coast, and Cañete in the fertile coast valley of Huarco. In 1556, on the abdication of Charles V., the opportunity was taken of the proclamation of Philip II. to exhibit viceregal splendor in a gorgeous ceremony. The Marquis of Cañete employed such of the turbulent spirits as remained in Peru on hazardous expeditions of discovery. Several parties were despatched into the forests of the montaña. Most famous among these was the enterprise of Pedro de Ursua, who was ordered to fit out a flotilla on the Huallaga, to follow the route of Orellana and descend the great river of the Amazon to its mouth. The story of the murder of Ursua by mutineers, and of the voyage of the tyrant Aguirre forms one of the most thrilling episodes in the whole wonderful narrative of Spanish discovery. But Chile was the great theatre for the martial spirits of those days. After the fall of Gonzalo Pizarro, the conqueror of Chile, Pedro de Valdivia, had returned to his government in 1549, entered upon a desperate conflict with the Araucanian Indians, and met his death at their hands in December, 1553. The viceroy then appointed his son, Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza, a youth barely twenty-two years of age, to be governor of Chile. He sailed from Callao with seven hundred men, and among his officers was Alonzo de Ercilla, whose epic poem records the events of the famous Araucanian war, in the south of Chile. The young Mendoza disgraced it by cruelty to his prisoners, but he established the colony on a firm footing, and soon

after his departure, in 1561, a Royal Audience was instituted in Chile, with Dr. Melchor Bravo de Saravia as its first president. The captain general of Chile continued to be under the orders of the viceroy of Peru.

The Marquis of Cañete was anxious to conciliate the native population, and above all to induce the Inca to swear allegiance to the Spanish crown. After the death of Manco a small native court, surrounded by a few faithful adherents, continued to maintain some state at Viticos, in the recesses of the Vilcabamba mountains.

Manco left three sons named Sayri Tupac, Cusi Titu Yupanqui, and Tupac Amaru; and a daughter named MariaTupac Usca, who was married to one of the conquerors, a Basque named Pedro Ortiz de Orue. Sayri Tupac was now the rightful Inca, and reigned independently at Viticos. Several members of the Incarial family had, however, become thoroughly Hispanicized. Paullu, the brother of Manco Inca, had long devoted himself to the Spanish cause. He was baptized as Don Cristoval, and allowed to live in the palace of Colcampata overlooking Cuzco, where he died in May, 1549, leaving a son Carlos, whose son was Melchior Carlos Inca. Several Inca princesses had married Spanish knights, and a number of half caste youths were growing up in the principal cities of Peru, who formed links between the Incas and their conquerors. There was a school at Cuzco where they were educated, and the son of Garcilasso de la Vega, by a native princess, recorded many anecdotes of his schooldays, and the names of his schoolfellows, when he composed the history of his mother's family in after years. In 1558 the Curacas, or native chiefs, who proved their rights by descent before the Royal

Audience, were allowed to exercise jurisdiction as magistrates.

But Sayri Tupac still held out. The Marquis of Cañete sent an embassy to him, consisting of the historian Juan de Betanzos, a Quichua scholar, and the Inca's aunt, Beatiz Ñusta, wife of the good knight Mancia Sierra de Leguizamo. They persuaded him to exchange his abode in the wild solitudes of Vilcabamba, for a pension and a comfortable residence. He proceeded to Lima to swear allegiance, while his brothers still remained in safety, with many faithful adherents. The viceroy received the rightful sovereignty of the country at Lima with all honor, granted him an adequate pension and the valley of Yucay, and conferred on him the title of Adelantado. He renounced his sovereignty in exchange for these concessions, and when he attested the documents, he took up the gilded fringe of the table cloth at which he was sitting, and said—"All this cloth and its fringe were mine, and now they give me a thread of it for my sustenance and that of all my house." Returning to Cuzco, amidst demonstrations of respect from Spaniards and natives, he was baptized under the name of Diego, his wife Cusi Huaracay receiving that of Maria. Retiring to Yucay, the Inca Sayri Tupac sank into deep melancholy, and died after about two years. He left a daughter who was married to Don Martin Garcia de Loyola, a nephew of the Saint and a distinguished officer in the Chilean war.

The Marquis of Cañete had received a promise that he should have a free hand, and that he should receive steady support from home if he succeeded in restoring order to Peru. His measures were strong and severe, and completely successful. The return he received

was that Philip II. listened to the complaint of banished Spaniards, was induced to believe that such vigor was not conducive to the royal interests, allowed some of the bad characters to return, and determined to supersede the viceroy. His successor was Don Diego de Acevedo y Zuñiga, Count of Nieva, who left Spain in January, 1560, and landed at Payta in the following April. But the ingratitude of his king was the last blow to a frame worn out by anxiety and hard work. The Marquis of Cañete died at Lima on the 30th of March, 1561, before the arrival of his successor; after having governed Peru for nearly five years. His work had been thoroughly done. He had restored order among the conquerors, and left to his successors a fair site on which to build up an administrative system adapted to the needs of conquerors and conquered. The marquis had sent home 684,287 ducats, but it was the unceasing demand for money from Spain, which was destined to render nugatory all attempts at good government in the colony. The body of the Marquis of Cañete was sent home, and buried in his native city of Cuenca.

The administration of the Count of Nieva was of brief duration. The beautiful wife of Rodrigo Manrique de Lara was a cousin of the young viceroy, and the jealous husband discovered love passages between them. As the count was passing along the Calle de los Trapitos late at night, he was attacked by a number of people with bags full of sand, and the blows were continued until life was extinct. Next morning the viceroy was found dead in his bed and to avoid scandal, the idea was encouraged that death was caused by a sudden illness. The judges took the same view, and the matter was hushed up. The viceroy's death

took place on the 20th of February, 1564. Philip II. concurred in the view of the judges, and the count's successor was not given the title of viceroy. The selection fell upon an experienced lawyer who was a member of the Council of the Indies, the licentiate Lope Garcia de Castro, who was appointed governor and captain-general of Peru, and president of the Royal Audience. He entered Lima on the 22nd of September, 1564. He had an uneventful term of five years, during which the work of dividing the country into provinces under corregidores was proceeded with, an attempt was made to increase the revenue by imposing custom dues called *almojarifazgo*, and an expedition of discovery was despatched from Callao under the command of Alvaro de Mandaña, a nephew of the governor, who discovered the Solomon Islands. The quicksilver mine of Huancavelica began to be worked in 1566. On the 26th of November, 1569, Lope Garcia de Castro gave up the command to the new viceroy Toledo and, returning to Spain, he resumed his seat in the Council of the Indies.

Don Francisco de Toledo was a younger brother of the fourth Count of Oropesa, belonging to a branch of the same ancient house as the dukes of Alva. He was advanced in years when he received the appointment, being then the king's mayor-domo: a man of great energy and resolution, devoted heart and soul to his public duties, but narrow-minded and unsympathetic. Landing at Payta he traveled through the coast valleys to Lima, closely observing the condition of the people. In him the viceregal title was restored, and he was the fifth viceroy of Peru. He resolved to make a tour of inspection through every province of his government, and in his extended investigations into the con-







CHURCH OF THE JESUITS, CUZCO.  
(On the site of the palace of Huayna Capac.)

dition of the country, and the laws and customs of the natives, he was assisted by three men of great learning and ability, the Jesuit Acosta, the judge Matienzo, and the licentiate Polo de Ondegardo. The valuable and instructive writings of all three of these councilors have been preserved to us. After gaining ample local experience, and with the aid and advice of these trained administrators, the viceroy prepared a code of ordinances for the government of the country; but he first resolved, with cold-blooded cruelty to extirpate the native dynasty. Incapable of understanding the liberal and generous policy of the Marquis of Cañete, it was the belief of the shrewd but narrow-minded Toledo that there could be no security for Spanish rule while the natives retained a feeling of love and veneration for their ancient sovereigns.

There was great rejoicing at Cuzco, among the native population, at the time that the viceroy Toledo arrived there in 1571. The people of the capital, since their rightful sovereigns had been fugitives in Vilcabamba, had looked upon the Inca Paullu, who resided in the palace on the Colcampata, and after his death in 1545 on his son Don Carlos Inca, as their protectors and chiefs. The wife of Carlos Inca had given birth to a son, and when he was christened with the name of Melchior Carlos in the church of San Cristoval, on Epiphany Sunday, 1571, the viceroy himself was one of the sponsors. The Colcampata is a terrace along the length of which there then stood, and still stands, an Inca palace of the earlier period: a wall of unrivaled masonry pierced at intervals with doorways having sides leaning toward each other and monolithic lintels. The terrace was shaded by rows of *molle* trees (the "pepper tree" of the Mediterranean) with their graceful

pinnated leaves, and bunches of red berries. Immediately in the rear of the palace rises the precipice of the Sacsahuaman, on which stands the ancient fortress. In front, the city of Cuzco is spread out at the base of the Colcampata, with its rich plain beyond, and the view bounded by the snowy peaks of Vilcañota. At the east end of the terrace the road continues up to the fortress. At the west end is the main door of the little church of San Cristoval; and near it a steep street leads down into the town.

That Epiphany Sunday was a memorable day in the annals of Peru. Then, for the last time, the Incas were assembled in their splendid costumes to celebrate a national festival. They came from all directions, attended by their vassals. Even the sons of Manco Inca, who still worshipped Uira-cocha and the Sun in the fastnesses of Vilcabamba, were present in disguise. One of them, Cusi Titu Yupanqui, was revered as the rightful sovereign of the land; while Tupac Amaru, his brother, was still a young boy. All attended in the church of San Cristoval, and afterward stood on the Colcampata terrace, under the shade of the *molle* trees. There too was the ominous figure of the viceroy, attended by a crowd of high dignitaries in church and state. A portrait remains, which enables us to picture to ourselves, in imagination, the outward appearance of Don Francisco de Toledo. A tall man with round stooping shoulders, in a suit of black velvet and the red cross of Santiago embroidered on his cloak. A gloomy, sallow face, with high forehead and piercing black eyes is shaded by a tall beaver hat, while one hand holds the hilt of a sword and the other rests on a long stick. The bright crowd of richly dressed children of the Sun moved about, rendered happy by

the honor of his presence, but he, like a bird of rapine, with his bright black eyes noting every trifle, meditates their extirpation. The festival lasted for several days, and at its conclusion Cusi Titu Yupanqui and Tupac Amaru returned to Vilcabamba, secretly as they had come. But their presence became known to the vigilant enemy of their race, and he resolved to send a mission with the object of decoying them into his power.

Vilcabamba is a mountainous region, between the rivers Apurimac and Vilcamayu, with ravines sloping down to the forests of the montaña, where the streams become navigable. It is very difficult of access and was selected, for this reason, by the Inca Manco, for the last refuge of his race. The mission sent by the viceroy, Toledo, consisted of two Augustine monks named Juan de Vivero, and Diego Ortiz, Don Atelano de Anaya and Don Diego Rodriguez de Figueroa as envoys, and a half-caste interpreter named Pando. They brought presents and were well received. Cusi Titu was told that he was expected to visit Cuzco, and swear allegiance to the king, in the person of his viceroy.

He consented, but there were delays from day to day, and the embassy returned, leaving only the priest Diego Ortiz, and the interpreter Pando, with the Inca. Soon afterward the Inca fell ill and was on the point of death. His chiefs told Diego Ortiz that if he was the priest of God he must cure the Inca; who had already been baptized with the name of Felipe by Father Vivero. The Inca became worse and died, and the chiefs were enraged. One named Quispi angrily asked how it was that if the god of Ortiz was so powerful, he had not prevailed upon him to cure their sovereign. He was put to death, and the interpreter Pando was killed with him.

The chiefs and their followers then proceeded to the fortress of Pitcos, which is situated on a lofty hill commanding a glorious view over Vilcabamba. The young lad Tupac Amaru was set in their midst, and they gave him their allegiance as their sovereign Inca and lord. He was made to assume all the insignia according to ancient usage. The leading chiefs then prepared for defence, and encamped on the banks of the river Chuquichaca, the bridge of which is the entrance and key to Vilcabamba. All had happened as the viceroy desired. He now had an excellent pretext for war. He organized a considerable force under Don Martin Hurtado de Arbieto as general, with Geronimo de Figueroa, the viceroy's nephew, and Martin Garcia de Loyola who had married the Inca's sister, as captains. When they reached the bridge over the Chuquichaca they found Tupac Amaru encamped on the other side, and opened fire with their artillery and arquebusiers. The Inca retreated, and the Spaniards followed in pursuit. But the path was narrow, with dense forest on one side and a precipice on the other, so that they could only proceed two abreast. Loyola had a very narrow escape from a chief who sprang out of the undergrowth, and engaged him in a single combat. On reaching the settlement of Oncoy tidings were obtained that the Inca had descended the river in a canoe. He was closely followed and captured with many of his chiefs, on the 4th of October, 1571.

Arbieto returned to Cuzco in triumph, bringing with him the young Inca Tupac Amaru, who was dressed in crimson velvet, with the *mascapaycha* on his head. He was taken direct to the house of Juan de Pancorvo, where Toledo was lodging, and presented to him. The

viceroi ordered his captive to be imprisoned in the palace of the Colcampata. He had already expelled Don Carlos Inca from this residence, on the plea that he had concealed the presence of his cousins at the time of the baptism, and because it was required as a royal fort to command the city. After several days, during which the corregidor of Cuzco took evidence respecting the deaths of Diego Ortiz and the interpreter, Tupac Amaru was sentenced to be beheaded. The poor boy was ignorant of what took place when the priest was put to death, was not present, was in no way responsible, and was perfectly innocent. All the other prisoners were ordered to be strangled. The most illustrious and devoted of these patriots were named Huanca and Ccuri-paucar.

For two or three days the boy was instructed in the Christian doctrine, as it was understood by Spanish monks, by two priests who were good Quichua scholars. They baptized him under the name of Diego. A scaffold was erected in the great square of Cuzco, in front of the cathedral—once the temple of Uira-cocha, and the boy was led forth to slaughter, *tanquam ovis*. He was placed on a mule in mourning trappings, dressed in white cotton with a crucifix in his hands. On one side of him walked the good priest Cristoval de Molina, a master of the Quichua language, and author of the most valuable work that has come down to us, on the subject of Inca civilization. On the other side was the Jesuit Alonso de Barcena, a native of Baeza, who had come out to Peru in the previous year, and was destined to devote the rest of his life to missionary work. They continued to comfort and console the victim of Toledo's ruthless policy through the streets, and ascended the scaffold with him. The exe-

cutioner was a Cañari Indian, and when he brought out the knife, the vast crowd which had assembled set up such a wail of horror and execration that the Spaniards were startled. The Inca lifted his hand, and in a moment there was profound silence. He then said that now his race was run, he saw that he had committed many faults. He had once received a malediction from his mother for an act of disobedience and to this he attributed his violent death. He hoped that parents would take this to heart, and chastise their children instead of cursing them. Here the priests interfered, saying that his death was by the will of God, and not owing to the curse of his mother. They were so eloquent that he repented of what he had said, and prayed that all would pardon him. It was a most affecting scene; and even the stony-hearted Spanish priests were melted to tears. The slaughter of this guileless, innocent boy seemed too revolting. At last there was a general movement among them. The execution was stopped while the bishop-elect of Popayan, the priors of all the religious orders, and the provincial of the Jesuits hurried to the viceroy's lodgings. They threw themselves on their knees and entreated Toledo to spare the young Inca's life. They even claimed a right for him to be sent to Spain, and judged by the king. But they failed to communicate the feeling which had spurred them on to this intercession. The stolid viceroy was unmoved. He was merely angry at the delay. The vast crowd remained in suspense. Soon the Chief Alguazil of Cuzco, named Juan de Soto, was seen with a pole in his hand, and forcing his way through the crowd on horseback. As soon as he was within hearing, he shouted out his excellency's orders that the Inca's head was to be cut off



at once, in execution of the sentence. Tupac Amaru had shown wonderful composure. He now submitted to the fatal blow: and again there was a deafening shout of lamentation, while the bells of the cathedral began to toll. The body was carried to the house of Doña Maria Cusi-Huarca, the Inca's mother, amidst the strongest manifestations of sorrow, both from natives and Spaniards. Next day it was solemnly interred in the cathedral where the service was performed by the whole chapter, and daily masses were continued for nine days.

All this was contrary to the wishes of the viceroy, who caused the head to be stuck on a pike, and set up beside the scaffold. The Indians came in great crowds, silently and in the dead of night, to worship around the head of their beloved sovereign. One night a Spaniard got up and looked out of his window. The moon was shining brightly. To his astonishment he beheld the whole square covered with a mass of kneeling people, their faces all turned, with expressions of deep devotion, to the Inca's head. The circumstance was reported to Toledo, who ordered the head to be taken down and buried with the body. Again a solemn service was performed by the chapter of the cathedral. Public opinion was clearly against the viceroy, and looked upon his conduct as inhuman. But he was quite unmoved. Many other executions followed, and he carried his policy of extirpation to such a length as to commence a ruthless persecution of the half-castes, sons of Spaniards by Inca mothers. Thus the school-fellows of the historian Garcilasso de la Vega, who had passed a happy boyhood at Cuzco, were banished to the fetid swamps of Darien or to the dreary wastes of Chile. All objects that were revered by the people,

or that were likely to recall memories of the past, were destroyed or removed. The mummified bodies of three of the greatest among the Incas were sent to Lima.

This cruel policy succeeded in its immediate object. The hopes of the people were crushed. For two centuries they submitted to their fate.

Toledo then proceeded to compile a body of regulations, founded to some extent on the laws of the Incas, which was intended to be the basis of future administration. These regulations were not all promulgated at once. The first installment was dated at Checacupi near Cuzco on October 18th, 1572. The whole code was known as the "Libro de Tasas."

The country was divided into districts called *corregimientos*, each under a *corregidor* or governor, of which there were about fifty. Each town was governed by a *cabildo* or municipality consisting of an *alcalde* or judge and several *regidores* or magistrates. The *tasas* or rules of the viceroy Toledo not only laid down the duties of all these officials, but also regulated the work of the different tradesmen and the arrangements of the markets. An attempt was made to maintain the organization connected with maintenance of roads, and of supplies in the post-houses, as in the time of the Incas. But the life of the old system was shattered, and could not be revived. Toledo also decreed that the natives, who were called "Indians" in Spanish legislation, should be governed by their own Curacas or chiefs, to whom the title of "cacique" was given, a word derived from the language of the Antilles, or possibly a corruption of "Sheikh" and brought from the old world. Under the cacique there were two officials, called *pichca-pachacas*, placed over five hundred; and

pachacas, for one hundred Indians. This was also an imitation of the old Inca system. These offices were hereditary and their possessors enjoyed several privileges. The caciques were often men of considerable wealth and some of them were members of the royal family of the Incas. They were free from tribute and from personal service, and thus occupied positions of importance among their countrymen. They wore the old dress of the Inca nobles, consisting of a tunic called *uncu*, a rich mantle or cloak of black velvet, intended as mourning for the fall of their ancient rulers, called *yacolla*, and those of the Inca family added a sort of coronet whence a red fringe of alpaca wool descended, as an emblem of nobility. This head-dress was called *mascapaycha*. The caciques and their subordinates had the duty of collecting the tribute which was fixed by Toledo, and imposed on all Indians between the ages of eighteen and fifty. In addition to this tax, the Indians were made liable to personal service in manufactories, and farms. This was called the *mita* and became the instrument of fearful oppression and cruelty. Toledo enacted that a seventh part of the adult male population of every village should be subject to this *mita*, a Quichua word which means a "time" or "turn." The caciques had to send the victims of this law, called *mitayos*, to the nearest Spanish town, where they could be engaged by any one who required their services. This seventh part of the population was exclusive of those employed in the mines; so that the *mita* condemned a large proportion of the people to slavery. There were rules for payment of wages and to regulate the distance men might be taken from their homes, but these were almost universally evaded.

Besides the agricultural and pastoral population there was a class of Indians who were bound to personal service even in the days of the Incas. They were called "Yanaconas." Their origin is traced to the days of the great conqueror, Tupac Yupanqui. It is said that he granted pardon to a large body of captive rebels on condition that they should always be kept apart as servants of the Huaca and the Inca. The amnesty was granted at a place called Yana-yacu; so they were called Yana-yacu-cuna (*cuna* being the plural particle) which became corrupted into Yanacona. The Spaniards made this class of people into household servants. In the time of Toledo they numbered 40,000 souls; and were domiciled on the estates of Spaniards, who enforced service from them, giving them food and clothes, and paying their tribute.

Religion was another source of oppression. A "cura" was appointed at every village, whose duty it was to uproot all signs of idolatry and to catechise. With the cura came further exactions in the shape of fees for masses, christenings, and burials. Toledo enacted that any man who married an idolatrous woman was to receive a hundred stripes, "because that is the punishment which they dislike most." The people were prohibited from using surnames taken from the names of birds, beasts, serpents or rivers, according to their ancient custom. No Indian who had been punished for idolatry, joining in infidel rites, or dancing the *Arauyas* was eligible for any public office. Thus between viceroy and priest the people were between the upper and nether millstone, and they fast began to disappear from the face of the earth.

Don Francisco de Toledo was so prolific in legislation that on the subject of coca cultivation alone, he

issued seventy ordinances. Future viceroys referred to his volume of rules as to a received and authoritative text-book; and one of them declared that "all future rulers of Peru were but disciples of Don Francisco de Toledo, that great master of statesmanship." He ruled the country during thirteen years and having surrendered the government to Don Martin Enriquez on the 28th of September, 1581, he returned to Spain. Philip II. received the executioner of Tupac Amaru with a chilling welcome. When Toledo appeared in the king's presence, Philip said "Go hence to your own house. You were not sent to Peru to kill kings, but to serve them." Toledo died in September, 1584.

Don Martin Enriquez, a son of the Marquis of Alcanizes, had been viceroy of Mexico. He united administrative experience with zeal to continue the legislative work of his predecessor, but his good intentions were cut short by an untimely death. He only had time to found the Jesuit College of San Martin at Lima, and his brief reign was saddened by a terrific earthquake which destroyed the rising town of Arequipa. He died at Lima on the 15th of March, 1583, and it was three years before a successor arrived, the country being governed in the interval by the judges of the Royal Audience. The next viceroy was Don Fernando Torres y Portugal, Count of Villar Don Pardo, who reached Lima on the 20th of November, 1586. He was an old man without energy or much intelligence, and was quite incapable of meeting the calamities of pestilence, famine, and desolating earthquakes with remedial measures. In his time the appalling disaster to the great Spanish Armada was a crushing blow to the mother country. A feeble administration of the Indies increased the danger, and Philip looked

around for an able and efficient successor to the Count of Villar.

The choice fell upon Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis of Cañete, a son of the previous viceroy, Marquis of Cañete. Don Garcia had himself governed Chile under his father, during a memorable period. He was now in the prime of life, and one of the leading statesmen of Spain. He was accompanied by his beautiful and fascinating wife Doña Teresa de Castro, who brought out fifty fair damsels in her retinue. The new viceroy's brother-in-law, Don Beltran de Castro y Cueva, also came out with him. On the 6th of January, 1590, the marquis made his solemn entry into Lima, having landed at Callao after a sea voyage from Panama. His first care was for the protection of the coasts. In the time of Toledo an English ship had first appeared in the Pacific. Francis Drake caused such consternation that the viceroy sent an expedition to the Straits of Magellan under the command of the able and accomplished pilot Don Pedro Sarmiento, who made a valuable survey of the straits; but his attempt to form a settlement ended in disaster. Another piratical vessel appeared on the coast under Cavendish, in the time of the Count of Villar, and committed havoc. The Marquis of Cañete was better prepared. Sir Richard Hawkins arrived on the coast in 1594; but Callao had been put into a posture of defence and Don Beltran, the viceroy's brother-in-law, sailed in command of three armed galleons, encountered the English ship off the bay of San Mateo, and captured her after a desperate action, on the 17th of June. Sir Richard Hawkins was brought to Lima with his fellow prisoners, and claimed by the inquisition, but the viceroy evaded the demand and sent him to Spain. The fail-

ure of Hawkins put an end to these predatory expeditions for some time. In the next year the veteran explorer Mandana was despatched on a second voyage across the Pacific. He discovered an important group of islands, which he named the "Marquesas" after the viceroy, and reached the Solomon Islands, where he died.

The demand for money from Spain continued to be unceasing. Mitayos were sent in crowds to die in the mines, new mines were discovered and worked, but still the cry was for silver and gold from Peru. The viceroys did their best to ruin the colony in order to satisfy the mother country. The Marquis of Cañete collected 1,500,000 ducats to send home, besides plate and jewels. In 1591 the number of Indians who paid tribute to encomenderos was 311,257, the annual sum received 1,434,420 ducats, and the king's fifth 286,884. In addition to this tribute there were other sources of revenue. The *almojarifazgo*, from an Arabic word meaning "to gather the harvest," was a custom duty on exports and imports. The *alcabala* was an excise duty of two per cent on all provisions sold in the markets, and of five per cent on coca. This oppressive tax gave rise to an insurrection in Quito which was put down, and the royal demands were rigidly enforced. The silver mines had increased their yield, and important new veins were discovered in the Hauncavelica province, which received the name of Castro-Vireyna, in honor of the wife of the Marquis of Cañete.

Broken in health, suffering from the gout, and unable longer to endure the cares of office, the viceroy entreated that he might be relieved, after a service of more than six years. At length, on the 24th of July, 1596, Don Luis de Velasco, Marquis of Salinas, who

had been viceroy of Mexico, arrived at Lima. The old Marquis of Cañete, grown gray in the service of his country and shattered in health, returned to Spain, where he was treated with shameful ingratitude. He died in 1599, but honor was done to his memory in the elaborate biography of Cristoval Suarez de Figueroa, the first edition of which was published in 1613.

Philip II. died in 1598, while the Marquis of Salinas was viceroy, after a reign of forty-two years. He had completed the ruin of his country. He found Spain powerful and prosperous. He left her crippled and surrounded by enemies, with provinces in revolt, the navy destroyed, the ports threatened, and trade paralyzed. Useless wars had decimated the population, an absurd fiscal system had ruined the industries of the country, while despotism and the inquisition had destroyed the chivalrous spirit and the virile energy of her sons. All these causes had equally pernicious effects on her colonies, with the additional calamity of being forced to supply the insatiable needs of a decaying power with their hearts' blood. There was a constant drain of wealth from Peru, with no appreciable return.

The exchange of natural products had, however, enriched both the old and the new world. The old world received from America inestimable gifts, including maize, potatoes, chocolate, tobacco, cassava, ipecacuanha, quinine, and many precious trees and fruits. In return horses, asses, cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, chickens and pigeons were naturalized in Peru. Horses came with the first conquerors, and asses arrived at Cuzco in 1557, when the breeding of mules was commenced. As early as 1550 Garcilasso de la Vega saw bullocks at the plough near Cuzco; and in 1559 the



price of cows had come down to six ducats. The other domesticated animals from Europe were introduced within twenty years of the conquest, and multiplied rapidly. The cultivation of wheat was commenced before the death of Pizarro. Alcantara, the half brother of the Marquis, who was killed in trying to defend him, had a house and garden at the northwest corner of the great square of Lima, and a grant of land in the valley of Xauxa. His wife was a lady of great virtue and was alike clever and accomplished. Her name was Inés Muñoz, and she was the first European lady who ever landed in Peru. She was also among the first inhabitants of Lima. It was this lady who introduced the cultivation of wheat. In the year 1535 she had received a barrel of rice, and she was engaged in cleaning some of it, to make a pudding for her brother-in-law, the Marquis, when she found a few grains of wheat. She put them on one side and planted them in her garden with the greatest care. They yielded abundantly, and all the grains of this first Peruvian harvest of wheat were again sown. By this provident system the wheat multiplied so rapidly that in 1539 the first mills were built. In 1543 wheaten bread was sold at two and a half pounds the real. Barley, oats, and lucerne were introduced soon afterward. Maria de Escobar, the wife of Diego de Chaves, whose brother was killed in defending the Marquis Pizarro, has the credit of having introduced wheat cultivation into the valley of Cañete; where she did good service by widely distributing the grains.

After the murder of her first husband Alcantara, Inés Muñoz married Antonio de Ribera, who came out to Lima as procurator in 1560. He brought with him a quantity of young olive plants, but only very few sur-

vived the voyage. He planted them in his wife's garden, with many slaves and dogs to guard them day and night. Nevertheless one was stolen and became the parent of all the olive trees in Chile. Of those that remained only one became a tree, and was the parent of all the olives in Peru. Date palms were introduced into the coast valleys very soon after the conquest; and oranges are said to have been grown by Pizarro himself, in the garden of his house at Lima. The vine was introduced into Peru by one of the conquerors named Francisco de Caravantes, who sent for plants from the Canary Islands. The first vintage was at Lima in 1551, but afterward the vine growing industry was transferred to the valleys of Pisco, Yca, and Nasca; and there was a great trade in wine and spirits from the grapes grown there, throughout the viceregal times. At first wine was very highly prized, and seldom seen at table, even when guests were present. A story is told of a wealthy Spaniard in Peru who invited some friends to dinner. One of the guests asked for a jug of water. The host ordered that he should be given wine, and when he declined because he never drank it, the host exclaimed—"Well, if you do not drink wine, pray come and dine here every day." For in comparison with wine the cost of all other things was then as nothing. The other fruits and the vegetables of Europe multiplied in a marvelous way. Garcilasso de la Vega declares that endives and spinach grew to such a size around Lima that a horse could not force its way through them; and that near Arica there was a radish of such a wonderful size that five horses were tethered under the shade of its leaves.

The sugar cane was brought from Spain to Hispaniola by a citizen of the island named Pedro de Atienza.

The first sugar estate in Peru was formed in the province of Huanuco in about 1545. But it was found that the coast valleys were best adapted for its cultivation. Large plantations were formed, and it was soon proved that the strength of the natives was unequal to the labor of cultivating them. The descendants of the subjects of the Chimu were a clever and naturally joyous race, but effeminate and enervated by the climate. Under the pitiless rule of the Spaniards they soon began to die out. Their language is nearly or quite extinct, and now only a very few coast Indians survive in Eten, Motupé, Sechura, Catacaos, and a few other villages in the north, and at Chilca south of Lima. Their places were taken by negro slaves, who began to be imported in the first years of the conquest. They multiplied, and the labor on the sugar, cotton, and vine estates of the coast was negro slave labor. Severe edicts prohibited a negro from living in an Indian village, flight was punished with shocking cruelty, and it was the Spanish policy to keep the races apart.

These products of the earth, introduced from the old world, are the only benefits which Peru derived from her connection with Spain.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE VICEROYS

The system for the government of the vast colonial empire of Spain had been organized and established in the form in which it was to continue until its disruption, by the beginning of the 17th century. Under the king, America was governed from Spain by the council of the Indies, which was intended to hold its sittings at or near the royal court. It was instituted by Ferdinand V. in 1511, for the control of American affairs, but its powers were much enlarged under Charles V. and his successors. This council had supreme jurisdiction over all the colonies, all the laws and ordinances of viceroys and governors were subject to its approval, and it had power to frame laws. Its chief duty was ordered to be the conversion of Indians. On the occurrence of a vacancy in any government it had to submit three names to the king for selection, and it had special care of the maintenance and despatch of fleets. The council consisted of a president, a grand chancellor and registrar, eight councillors, a fiscal whose duty it was to watch over the interests of the royal revenues, and two secretaries, with a staff of clerks and accountants. There was also a chronicler or historiographer, and a cosmographer whose duties were not

only to construct maps and charts, but also to deliver lectures and to examine officers of the fleet. The Casa de la Contratacion at Seville was of earlier date than the council of the Indies, though it afterward became subordinate. It was originally established by an ordinance of 1503, with authority to grant licenses, to despatch fleets, and to dispose of the results of trade and exploration. Under the council it transacted commercial business, maintaining a strict and exclusive monopoly of all the trade of the Indies for the merchants of Spain.

The viceroy of Peru corresponded directly with this great department at home. Residing at Lima he received a salary of 30,000 ducats, which was 10,000 more than that of the viceroy of Mexico. For he had greater and wider responsibilities: including not only the civil and military government of Peru, but also the supervision of Chile, Quito, Charcas, and even of New Granada and Buenos Ayres, whose captains-general were under his jurisdiction. Thus Lima was practically the capital of Spanish South America. The viceroy lived in considerable state, with a body guard and numerous attendants. He presided over the Royal Audience or chief court of justice, and over the Financial and Revenue departments, and was commander-in-chief of the forces by sea and land. It was the custom for each viceroy to write a detailed memoir on his administration for the information of his successor. These valuable state papers have been preserved, and several have been printed. The corregidores, who governed the districts under the viceroy, held their offices for six years.

Hardly less in power and influence was the church, with its bishops and dignitaries, its convents and fra-

ternities, its parish priests in every village, its missionaries, its complete control over education, and its hideous and crushing inquisition.

The first archbishop of Lima, Geronimo de Loaysa, died in 1575, and the see was vacant for six years. Dr. Toribio Mogrovejo was selected as the second archbishop, and he set out in company with his sister Grimanesa and her husband Francisco de Quiñones, who were to manage his household. He was forty three years of age when he entered Lima on the 24th of May, 1581, having traveled by land from Payta. He at once began to study the Quichua language to prepare for his tours of inspection. As soon as he could converse in it, he set out with two chaplains on foot, taking a mule for baggage. He traveled over sandy wastes, across snowy mountain ranges, and penetrated far into the eastern forests. He stopped at wayside huts, instructing, catechising, and administering the sacraments. At each town he visited all the churches, monasteries, and brotherhoods. He continued this work year after year, during the greater part of his life as archbishop. Two councils had been held by Loaysa to settle church matters, provide for the conversion of the natives, and compile catechisms. The third council met in 1583, and Mogrovejo held two Diocesan Synods. He founded the seminary for the education of priests at Lima, since known as the College of San Toribio. When he set out on his last visitation and his sister was packing his clothes, he said "Grimanesa! may God be with you, for I shall never see you more." Traveling along the coast he reached Saña, and was attacked with fever, in the house of the cura. There this excellent prelate died on the 23rd of March, 1606. The body was brought to Lima, attended by an im-





CHURCH OF SAN FRANCISCO, LIMA.



mense concourse of people and buried in the cathedral. The almost perfect life of this great and good man led to his beatification in 1679, and he was subsequently canonized. The Peruvian prelates were not all like St. Toribio, but not a few strove to imitate his example, which was set forth in the biography of Leon Pinelo, and in the more elaborate work of Montalvo entitled, "The Sun of the New World." The patron saint of Lima was born there in 1586, and baptized by St. Toribio with the name of Rosa. Her parents were good, honest people, but very poor, and her beauty led to many offers. The persistent refusal of the girl to receive suitors enraged her mother, from whom she received many blows. She devoted herself to austerities, watching and prayers and at length her angelic goodness converted her parents, who allowed her to enter the order of St. Dominic in 1606. Her sanctity became so famous that the archbishop caused her to be examined by six theologians, who came to the conclusion that she had never sinned. She died on the 24th of August, 1617, and was canonized in 1671, her feast day being fixed on August 30th, which is still one of the chief holidays at Lima. In the Pitti gallery at Florence there is a portrait of Santa Rosa de Lima, by Carlo Dolce. Peru boasts a third saint in the person of San Francisco Solano who died in 1610, while a Peruvian person of color, named Martin de Porras, was beatified.

There were five bishoprics in Peru. To the two original sees of Cuzco and Lima, were added Arequipa in 1612, Guamanga in 1615, and Truxillo in 1611. There were cathedral chapters and monasteries of Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustines, and Mercedarios in the principal cities. In 1567 the Jesuits arrived in

Peru, and soon acquired great wealth, having a large church and a college in each city, besides an important missionary establishment at Juli, on the banks of Lake Titicaca, which was founded in 1577. The Jesuits introduced printing into Peru, and their first book was a catechism printed at Lima by Antonio Ricardo in 1584. They included in their ranks many devoted missionaries, and learned scholars. Among them Blas Valera wrote an admirable history of the Incas; Arriaga and Teruel have left curious works on native idolatry; Acosta and Cobo were diligent historians and naturalists; Holguin, Torres Rubio, Figueredo, and Bertonio were authors of grammars and dictionaries of the native languages.

The priests kept the education of the people, such as it was, entirely in their own hands. In 1551 the University of San Marcos, the oldest in the new world, was founded at Lima, and twenty years afterward the existing buildings were commenced. They consist of a court-yard surrounded by a cloister, on the walls of which frescoes were painted representing the sciences, and, from the cloister, doors led into lecture rooms and into the great hall of the university. The statutes were revised in 1614, and there were professorships of theology, law, medicine, mathematics, Latin, philosophy, and, for a short time, of Quichua. The ceremonies of the university were performed with great pomp and splendor, and the degrees were conferred in the presence of the viceroy and his court. There were also three colleges at Lima, that of San Felipe founded in 1592 for the descendants of the conquerors, a school for the sons of noble Indians, and the Jesuit College of San Martin. At Cuzco the University of San Antonio Abad was founded in 1598, with professorships of Latin, med-

icine, theology, law, and music; and the College of San Borja was for noble Indians. At Arequipa the College of San Geronimo was founded in 1616, and there were similar colleges at Truxillo and Guamanga. The monasteries all had free schools attached to them, but the secular clergy, in their parishes, taught nothing except catechism. The university education of Peru was not barren. Among many other scholars Antonio de la Calancha wrote a chronicle of the Augustine Order in Peru, which is full of valuable historical information; Bernardino de Cardenas was the author of a history of Peru, Leon Pinelo was a great bibliographer, Sanchez de Viana of Lima wrote a work on the poetic art in Spain in 1580, and Adrian de Alesio composed a life of St. Thomas Aquinas.

The measures taken for the education of the people went side by side with the stupid and brutal machinery for crushing and destroying all freedom of thought with the aid of torture and murder. In 1569 Philip II. decreed the establishment of the "Holy Inquisition" in Peru; with twelve familiars at Lima, and one in every town inhabited by Spaniards. There was one redeeming feature in the decree. All Indians were exempted from the jurisdiction of the inquisition. They were to be considered as catechumens. The familiars were to practice on their own countrymen only; who were exposed to all the rigors of this atrocious tribunal, which shrouded its proceedings in impenetrable mystery, and forced innocence to acknowledge guilt by excruciating tortures. Hanging, burning, flogging, the galleys, and confiscation were inflicted for the smallest difference of religious belief, for suspicion of erroneous doctrine, and even for the hallucination of a weak mind. The first "*auto de fe*" of the inquisi-

sition at Lima took place in November, 1573, when a poor old French Lutheran who had led the life of a hermit on a *huaca* in the valley of the Rimac, was burned to death. In 1578 another "auto de fè" was celebrated with great pomp, in presence of the gloomy tyrant Toledo and the judges of the Audience. There was a procession of sixteen victims with ropes around their necks, including six priests, a lawyer, and a merchant; the sentences being two hundred lashes on some, burning on others, confiscation on all. The next "auto de fè" was in 1581, when there were twenty victims; and so the ghastly work continued during the centuries of Spanish domination, creating a sensation of terror through the land, spreading misery and sorrow broadcast, benumbing thought, and gradually, but very surely, exciting hatred and repulsion.

With these surroundings of ecclesiastical power and inquisitorial cruelty, the viceroys had to rule with their hands more or less tied for any good work by the insatiable cry for money, from home. Most of them had good intentions, but of what avail! The Marquis of Salinas promulgated eighteen rules for the guidance of the corregidores, having for their object the protection of the Indians. These provisions were printed by Antonio Ricardo, the first printer in Peru, in 1603. But they remained a dead letter. The marquis was removed to Mexico in 1604, and died in 1616 when he was president of the council of the Indies. He was succeeded by the Count of Monterey, who died within the year. Don Juan de Mendoza, Marquis of Montes Claros, was the fourth viceroy of that illustrious house. He governed Peru from 1607 to 1615, with the best intentions. He saw clearly the irregularities that were making the laws for the good of the people null and

void, and he fruitlessly strove to check them, but this was beyond his power. The whole official world of Peru was combined in passive resistance to any such reforms. All this is made quite clear in the elaborate memoir drawn up by the Marquis of Monte Claros for the use of his successor. That successor directed his efforts to supplying the needs of his master, rather than to improving the condition of his subjects.

Dcn Francisco de Borja Aragon, Prince of Esquilache (or Squillace) in Calabria by right of his wife, was born at Madrid in 1533, being a grandson of San Francisco de Borja, Duke of Gandia, the third general of the Jesuits. The prince was a poet and a scholar and was only thirty-two years of age when he entered Lima as viceroy in December, 1615. This viceroy assembled learned and accomplished men in his palace at Lima, and held discussions on literary and scientific subjects. He showed his fine taste in art by bringing out good copies of the best masters to adorn the churches of Peru, and he founded colleges for the instruction of noble Indians. But he enforced the *mita* and obligatory service in the mines with the utmost rigor, and strictly exacted the collection of the oppressive *alcabala* dues. By these means he extracted a revenue of \$2,250,000. As the cost of government in Peru was \$1,200,000, he was enabled to transmit to Spain an annual surplus of a million ducats. One additional source of wealth was the silver mine of San Antonio de Esquilache near the Lake of Titicaca, which was opened in 1619, the yield from which was enormous.

The vicerealty of the Prince of Esquilache is memorable for the discovery of the most extraordinary case of a woman personating a man that is to be met with in history. Catalina de Erauso was a young girl of

respectable parentage, who had been placed in a nunnery at San Sebastian in Spain. One evening she escaped into a small wood, and spent some hours in converting her dress into a suit of boy's clothes. Her marvelous career then commenced. She not only assumed the role of a young man, but of a roystering, card playing, quarrelsome bully. Embarking for America she reached Peru and, after several discreditable adventures, the girl enlisted in the army which was sent to fight the Araucanian Indians in Chile. There she did such good service, and behaved with such distinguished bravery that she was raised to the rank of an officer. She killed her own bother in a duel at Concepcion, not knowing who he was, and fled across the Andes to Tucuman. There she became engaged to an heiress, which made it necessary for her to decamp. Having committed a murder at Potosi and another at Cuzco, she ended her wanderings at Guamanga. There Catalina was badly wounded in a street brawl, and she confessed her sex to Dr. Carbajal, the first bishop of that diocese, in 1618. From that time she was known as the "nun ensign." She was sent down to Lima in a litter guarded by six priests and six men at arms. She was presented to the Prince of Esquilache, who was much interested in her marvelous story. As she was not a professed nun she was allowed to dress as she pleased, and she returned to Spain in male attire; and eventually obtained a dispensation from Pope Urban VIII. to continue to wear man's clothes. Having obtained a pension for her military services in Chile, Catalina went to Mexico, where she became a muleteer, and where she died at an advanced age. She was the most remarkable, though not the only instance of a disguised woman having adopted a military career, in

that age. Two were found among the dead after an assault at the siege of Ostend.

As soon as the Prince of Esquilache had completed his six years of service, he returned to Spain without waiting for the arrival of his successor, giving up the command to the judges on the last day of 1621, the year of the death of King Philip III. The prince still had many years of a prosperous life before him, surviving until 1658, when he died at Lima, at the age of seventy-six. His successor was Don Diego Fernandez de Cordova, the first Marquis of Guadalcazar, who came from the Mexican viceroyalty, arriving at Lima in July 1622, with two fair daughters, and his nephew Don Luis as captain of his guard. His German wife had died in Mexico. He was a very diligent administrator, and his minutes and dispatches have been collected in three large manuscript volumes. He had to make provision for the Araucanian war in Chile, for the repulse of piratical attacks on the coast, and for the suppression of some disturbances at the mines of Potosi. He sent his nephew Luis, as captain-general, to establish a strictly defensive system of tactics on the Chilean frontier. He repulsed the Dutch fleet of Jacob L'Heremite which threatened Callao, and for some time occupied the island of San Lorenzo, where its admiral died. These predatory voyages were the natural consequence of the Spanish monopoly, against which the other maritime nations of Europe offered a steady resistance until it was broken down. The trouble at the mines of Potosi arose from the rancorous greed of speculators. The miners were divided into hostile factions called Vascongados and Vicuñas. There were incessant bloody encounters and murders, while neither the authority of the officials nor the exhortations of

priests could appease their rancor. A truce was established in 1625, by a compromise proposed by the royal officers. It is greatly to the credit of the Marquis of Guadalcazar that, although he was powerless to prevent the *autos de fé*, he discountenanced those atrocious exhibitions. Only one took place during his government. He delivered up charge to the Count of Chinchon, and returned to Spain, January, 1629.

Don Luis Geronimo de Cabrera, Count of Chinchon, was a statesman of high rank, descended from an ancient Catalonian family. Spain was utterly impoverished, and when the new viceroy left Cadiz, in August, 1628, the government was clamoring for money from the Indies. Officers who received new appointments were to refund half their first year's salary, voluntary contributions were called for, and the excise duties were increased. Bigotry and bankruptey went hand in hand. Three *autos de fé* were celebrated during the viceroyalty of the Count of Chinchon, at which upward of a hundred persons, several of wealth and position, were sacrificed to the insatiable fanaticism of the priests.

A memorable event took place under the government of this viceroy, conferring lasting benefit on the whole human race. The discovery of the febrifuge virtue of the quinine yielding Chinchona trees was due to the Jesuits. The second wife of the viceroy, Doña Francisca Henriquez de Ribera, accompanied him to Peru. In 1628 she was attacked by a tertian fever. Her physician, Juan de Vega, was unable to cure her. At about the same time an Indian of Uritusinga near Loxa in the government of Quito, had given some fever-curing bark to a Jesuit missionary. He sent some of it to Dr. Diego de Torres Vasquez, who



was rector of the Jesuit college at Lima, and confessor to the viceroy. Torres Vasquez cured the vicequeen by administering doses of the bark. The countess left Peru in 1639, but died at Cartagina on her passage home. The remedy was long known as countess's bark, and Jesuit's bark, and Linnæus gave the name of *Chinchona* to the genus of plants which produces it. The bark derived from Uritusinga and the forests near Loxa was for many years the only kind known to commerce, being exported from the port of Payta. It was known as "crown bark." But various species of this precious tree are found throughout the eastern cordillera of the Andes for a distance of 2,000 miles. The discovery of Peruvian or Jesuit's bark conferred an inestimable blessing on the human race, and renders the viceroyalty of the Count of Chinchon forever memorable.

An insurrection took place in the count's time, among the remarkable people called Urus or Ochozumas, in the southwestern corner of the Lake of Titicaca. Here there are thick beds of rushes several leagues in extent, in the midst of which there is an islet inhabited by these Urus. They made secret lanes through the rushes, which they navigated in their *balsas*. Secure in their lacustrine retreat, they committed many robberies on the high roads between Chucuito and La Paz. The viceroy sent a small force under Don Rodrigo de Castro to chastise them in 1632, and five of their chiefs were taken prisoners and hanged. This only infuriated the Urus. They chose a fierce and audacious Indian named Pedro Laimé as their chief, who suddenly attacked the bridge over the Desaguadero, burned several houses, and carried off the head of one of the chiefs who had been hanged. Castro,

who was a first cousin of the viceroy, then invaded the region of matted reeds, reached the islet, burned several huts, but retired without discovering the fastness of the Indians. In December, 1632, he embarked his soldiers in thirty *balsas*, and, after a long search, he came in sight of a hostile squadron of seventy *balsas* under Laime; but the Urus went in and out among the rushes by winding lanes of water known only to themselves, and baffled the efforts of the Spaniards to overtake them. Tranquility was not restored until 1634; when the viceroy acknowledged that the insurrection of the Urus had been caused by Spanish injustice and tyranny.

The third navigation of the river Amazon also took place during the viceroyalty of the Count of Chinchon. In 1637 two monks descended the river Napo from Quito, and reached Para at the mouth of the Amazon. At that period the crowns of Spain and Portugal were united. On the arrival of the monks an expedition was sent up the river, commanded by a Portuguese named Pedro de Texeira, which arrived at Quito in 1638. It was then resolved that Father Cristoval de Acuña should accompany Texeira on his return down the river, and prepare a detailed report of all he might see. A valuable and useful book by Acuña was the result of this judicious measure.

At the end of his viceregal term the Count of Chinchon was relieved by Don Pedro de Toledo y Leyva, Marquis of Mancera, who made his public entry into Lima on the 18th of December, 1639. The count lost his wife on the way home. She had given birth to a son at Payta when on her journey to Lima as vice-queen, and this youth succeeded as the fifth Count of Chinchon on the death of his father in 1647.

The Marquis of Mancera and his successor the Count of Salvatierra held office from 1639 to 1655. Don Luis Henriquez de Guzman, Count of Alba de Liste and Grandee of Spain, who had previously been viceroy of Mexico, entered Lima in February, 1655. He was the founder of scientific studies in Peru, which had hitherto been wholly neglected. He brought with him an eminent mathematician named Lozano, who was appointed cosmographer and professor at the university. A native of Malines named Kœnig acted as his assistant, taking numerous astronomical observations, constructing a map of Peru, and himself engraving it on silver. Kœnig succeeded to the professorship on the death of Lozano, and published the Ephemerides of Peru from 1680 to 1708. The Count of Alba de Liste also paid great attention to the creation of an adequate navy, and to fortifying the ports. Two frigates were built at Guayaquil, and the two sons of the viceroy were successively admirals of the South Sea.

Don Diego Benavides y de la Cueva, Count of Santistevan, who succeeded the Count of Alba de Liste in 1661, was of the blood royal, being descended from King Alfonso VII. By this time the condition of the Indians of Peru had become almost intolerable. In 1657 a detailed report had been drawn up by the licentiate Juan de Padilla on the cruel and illegal treatment of the Indians, and petitioning for prompt and efficacious remedial measures. It was a fearful indictment against Spanish colonial rule. In this important state paper the clergy are condemned as strongly as the civil authorities. The rules of Toledo respecting the *mita* had become a dead letter. There was a system of kidnapping throughout the country. In many places, where all the male adults had been dragged off to the

mines, the women and children alone were left to till the fields. Boys only six to eight years old were torn from their homes, taken to slavery in factories and cruelly beaten. The expenses of journeys to the mines were never paid, and all wages were withheld. At the mines and factories there were shops for the sale of Spanish goods. The Indians were forced to incur debts at these places for articles they did not want, and then detained in perpetual slavery. Tribute was exacted from the villages and not from individuals, and when the population decreased the same sum was required. The exactions and tyranny of the priests were almost as cruel as the oppression of laymen. The bishops, unmindful of the example of St. Toribio, now scarcely ever visited their dioceses personally. There was no one to control or restrain the greed of the priests. The people were driven to mass, where they were forced to pay fees and, if unable, their clothes were taken from them in defiance of the law. Large fees were exacted from the Indians for their dead, though in most cases the priest had neither administered the sacrament nor performed the burial service.

The persistent outcry of Padilla at length forced the authorities to listen. The judges were ordered to examine the charges and to apply a remedy. Excellent regulations were once more promulgated. In 1664 the Count of Santistevan fixed the hours of work, and the rations to be issued at the mines and factories. He ordered that aged persons and children were not to work, that no one was to be taken to a distance of more than two leagues from his own home, and that wages were to be paid in the presence of a government official. But he did not alter the *mita* as established

by Toledo, and his remedial ordinances were habitually evaded.

The Count of Santistevan died at Lima in March, 1666, and his successor Don Pedro Fernandez de Castro Andrade y Portugal, Count of Lemos, made his public entry eighteen months afterward, on November 21st, 1667. The new viceroy was a grandee of Spain, and a son of the patron of Cervantes. The Count of Lemos was thirty-three years of age, and was married to the beautiful Ana de Borja, daughter of the Duke of Gandia. Three of their children were born in Lima, their godfather being the saintly Jesuit, Francisco del Castillo. Like that of the Marquis of Guadalcazar, the government of the Count of Lemos was troubled by the state of anarchy which prevailed among the Spaniards in the mining districts. The state of affairs at Potosi was disgraceful. Disputes were incessant, and they were invariably settled by a resort to arms. In 1657 a very rich silver mine had been discovered at Laycacota near Lake Titicaca, and the speculator who worked it, named Gaspar de Salcedo, became enormously rich. This caused jealousy among the other mine owners, which resulted in the formation of armed bodies of men and frequent bloody encounters. In 1665 the viceroy proceeded to Arequipa, and thence to Pancar-colla, near the lake, with a suitable force. He then opened a summary court to try offences committed at the mines, assisted by one of the judges of the Audience as assessor, and he executed no less than forty-two persons, including a brother of Salcedo, while upward of sixty more were banished and heavily fined. The Salcedo family protested against this severity and appealed to the king, the lawsuit lasting nearly forty years. Finally the viceroy's judgment was re-

versed. Moreover, he was told by his confessor Castillo that he had been needlessly harsh and cruel, which plunged him in the depths of remorse and contrition. He ordered masses for the souls of the men who had been executed, and he himself acted as sacristan, blowing the organ and attending to the lamps. In the midst of these acts of devotion he was attacked by a dangerous illness at Lima, which carried him off in the prime of life, on the 6th of December, 1672. His body was buried in the church of San Pedro, and the countess returned to Spain with her children.

Don Balthasar de la Cueva, Count of Castellar, the new viceroy, was a younger son of the Duke of Albuquerque, enjoying his title by right of his wife Teresa de Saavedra. He was a zealous guardian of the royal revenues, economical, strict, and upright. In four years he succeeded in transmitting home \$4,462,507, besides the value of quicksilver sent to Mexico, valued at \$221,592. It must be added, to his credit, that he was equally zealous in defence of the Indians, frequently punishing both corregidores and priests for acts of injustice. Some very slight relaxation of the Spanish monopoly was the cause of the viceroy's fall. He permitted some commercial intercourse with Mexico, and this had led to the introduction of a few articles from China into Peru. This caused an outcry from the Spanish merchants, who made loud complaints and, without being heard, the viceroy was summarily superseded, and ordered to be put on his trial. The archbishop of Lima, Dr. Melchor de Liñan y Cisneros, took charge of the government on July 7th, 1678, and the Count of Castellar was ordered to reside at the little village of Surco near Lima, during the trial. It lasted for two years. Eventually he was acquitted, but

strict orders were issued to prevent all trade with China, and to destroy all Chinese articles. Castellar became a member of the council of the Indies, and occupied that post until his death in 1686.

The archbishop held office for three years and a half. Don Melchor de Navarra y Rocaful, Duke of La Palata, arrived as viceroy in November, 1681, and remained until 1691. The duke was an experienced statesman, who had been president of the royal council during the minority of Charles II. His work was difficult and thankless, owing to the vexatious conduct of the ambitious prelate whom he had superseded, while his financial difficulties were increased by the necessity of defending various points along the coast from the attacks of buccaneers. One of his defensive measures was the erection of walls around Lima and Truxillo and he also labored to equip an effective squadron of ships. His successor, Don Melchor Portocarrero Laso de la Vega, Count of Monclova, arrived at Lima on August 15th, 1689, but the duke remained there until the examination into his government, called his "Residencia," was completed, and died at Portobello on his way home, in 1691. The Count of Monclova was a very distinguished military officer, and had lost an arm in the battle of the Dunes near Dunkirk, in 1658. He had been viceroy of Mexico, and came from Acapulco by sea. During his viceroyalty the last king of the house of Austria died; and when he was carried off by a fever at Lima in 1705, the Bourbons were on the throne of Spain, and there was a change of policy.

The treaty of Utrecht, by which the Bourbon Philip V. was recognized as king of Spain, was signed on March 13th, 1713. England acquired the right to import slaves by an agreement called "Asiento de Ne-

gros," as well as to send a ship with six hundred and fifty tons of merchandise, when the galleons went to Portobello, called "Navio de Permiso." The French obtained greater concessions, their ships being allowed to come around the Horn, and to trade at Chilean and Peruvian ports. Thus a breach was at length made in the fortress of Spanish monopoly. The supply of foreign goods continued to be quite inadequate to meet the demand. It gave rise to a strong and increasing desire for more free intercourse with the outside world; while the jealousy of the Cadiz merchants, and the continued desire to use the colonies solely for the benefit of the mother-country, deepened and intensified the dislike of the colonists for Spanish rule.

The Marquis de Castel dos Rios was the first viceroy sent out by the new Bourbon king, and when he died, in 1710, he was succeeded by Dr. Diego Ladron de Guevara, the excellent bishop of Quito. His enlightened policy led to his supersession in 1716, on the ground that his expenditure for Peruvian purposes was too liberal. Don Carmine Nicolas Caraccioli, Prince of Santo Bono, a Neapolitan nobleman of high rank, entered Lima on the 5th of October, 1716, bringing out stringent orders to destroy all foreign trade in the Pacific, burning ships and merchandise. The very slight concessions were already repented of, and the retrograde policy increased the desire of the Peruvians for freedom, while it excited their indignation. Captain Juan Nicolas de Martinet, in command of two frigates, seized and destroyed several French ships. The Prince of Santo Bono was superseded at his own request, in 1720.

Don Jose dè Armendariz, Marquis of Castelfuerte, was the next viceroy, relieving Dr. Morcillo Rubio de



Auñon, archbishop of Charcas, who had held office since the departure of the Prince of Santo Bono. The marquis was an old general whose gallant charge broke the enemy's left wing at the battle of Villaviciosa. He also took part in the siege of Barcelona, and was captain-general of Guipuzcoa when he was selected for the Peruvian viceroyalty. He entered Lima on the 14th of May, 1724. He was a stern disciplinarian. Accusations had been sent against Don Diego de los Reyes, governor of Paraguay, and Don José Antequera was sent to Asuncion with a commission to try the accused official. Antequera assumed the government and put Reyes in prison. The viceroy disapproved of these proceedings and cancelled the commission of Antequera, ordering Reyes to be reinstated. This was not done, so the viceroy ordered Antequera to come to Lima. He refused and called the people to arms. Finally he was arrested and brought to Lima in April, 1726. Society at Lima was in his favor. Great efforts were made to delay his trial. But the viceroy was resolved to punish him, and sentence of death was passed. The judges, the university, the municipality, and the people of all classes petitioned for pardon. The stern old marquis was inexorable, and Antequera was brought out for execution in the great square of Lima, on the 5th of July, 1731. There were cries for pardon, the mob began to throw stones, and there was some danger of a rescue being attempted. Hearing the tumult, the viceroy came out on horseback and ordered his guards to fire. Antequera fell dead, as well as the two priests by his side, and several others. The viceroy then ordered the body to be taken to the scaffold and beheaded. His conduct was approved by the king in a decree dated September, 1733.

The Marquis of Castelfuerte protected the people from oppression, and when the bishops supported the clergy in their shameless exactions, he forced them to yield. He also resisted the excesses of the inquisition. The Holy Office had the audacity to summon the viceroy before its tribunal. He came, but he came with a regiment of infantry and two field-pieces. Placing his watch on the table, he calmly informed the inquisitors that if their sitting was not over in fifteen minutes, and he outside again, the room would be bombarded. This resolute and able old general gave up charge to his successor, and went home by way of Mexico. On his return he was decorated with the order of the Golden Fleece.

The Marquis of Villa Garcia, who was the fifth viceroy belonging to the noble family of Mendoza, entered Lima on the 4th of January, 1736. His viceroyalty was made famous, because under his auspices the measurement of an arc of the meridian was undertaken near Quito, by the French academicians, La Condamine, Bouguer, and Godin, assisted by the accomplished Spanish naval officers Jorge Juan and Antonio Ulloa. The measurement was completed in 1736, and M. Godin became professor of mathematics at Lima for the following ten years. The Marquis of Villa Garcia set sail for Spain by way of Cape Horn in 1745, but died on the passage.

The eighteenth century was a time of some literary activity in Lima, in spite of the incubus of Spanish monopoly and the terrors of the inquisition. Dr. Don Pedro Peralta y Barnuevo, who was a native of Lima, was professor of mathematics and afterward rector of the University of San Marcos, from 1715 to 1717. He succeeded Dr. Kœnig as cosmographer,

and held that office from 1708 until 1743, publishing the ephemerides which were commenced by Dr. Kœnig under the title of "Concimientos de los tiempos." He was a financier, an engineer, a man of science, and a historian. Speaking six languages he was well versed in the literature of Europe. He wrote many works, including a history of the viceroyalty of the Marquis of Castelfuerte, and a treatise on the defence of Lima. But he is best known for his epic poem entitled "Lima Fundada." Dr. Peralta died in 1745, aged eighty. He was certainly one of the most distinguished men of letters produced by the university of Lima.

From the date of the retirement of Villa Garcia there was a change in the class of men selected to fill the post of viceroy of Peru. Hitherto they had been noblemen of exalted rank and position. During the last eighty years of Spanish rule they were generally experienced naval or military officers who, it was thought, would be more in sympathy with the colonists. During thirty years after the departure of the Marquis of Villa Garcia, Peru was governed by two military officers who were instructed to inaugurate a policy of conciliation. These were Don José Antonio Manso, Count of Superunda, and Don Manuel Amat. One form of this conciliatory policy was the conferring of titles of nobility on the colonists. Such titles had occasionally, but rarely, been granted during the last half of the previous century. The viceroys, Manso and Amat, had authority to create noblemen on a larger scale. Altogether one dukedom, fifty-eight marquisesates forty-four countships, and one viscountship were conferred on Peruvian heads of families, with *mayorazgos*, or power to entail their estates. It was too late. The estrangement was too deeply seated; and this measure did not mater-

ially tend to arouse the loyal feelings of the South Americans for the Bourbon dynasty.

General Don José Antonio Manso was a soldier of distinction who had seen active service in the war of succession, and had been captain-general of Chile during an energetic administration of ten years. He made his public entry into Lima on the 12th of July, 1745, and was created Count of Superunda.

A year after the arrival of the new viceroy, a terrific earthquake destroyed the capital. Since the foundation of Lima that city had been nearly destroyed in 1586, in 1630, and again in 1687; but on none of those occasions was the destruction to be compared with that of the 28th of October, 1746. The whole city became a heap of ruins, and more than a thousand persons perished. At Callao, the port of Lima, a great wave destroyed the town, the frigate "San Fermin" was carried far inland, nineteen other vessels were stranded, and 4,600 people perished. The Count of Superunda exerted himself to rescue the buried people, regardless of danger to himself. He took energetic and judicious steps to relieve the wants of the homeless citizens, and devoted the remaining years of his vicerealty to the work of rebuilding the capital and the port. In this he received valuable assistance from M. Godin, who planned and nearly completed Callao Castle. It has a long curtain facing the sea, with two round towers, having smaller towers of less diameter rising from them. The work has often been compared to an ink tray with two bottles rising from it. No viceroy held office for so long a time as the Count of Superunda, from 1745 to 1761, a period of sixteen years.

His successor, Don Manuel Amat, of an ancient Catalonian family, had seen much military service and

had been captain-general of Chile during the previous six years. He made his public entry into Lima on the 12th of October, 1761. He completed what his predecessor had begun and Lima, with its picturesque streets and churches, and its numerous towers, is the Lima of Manso and Amat. The latter viceroy, uniting the two colleges of San Felipe and San Martin, founded the college of San Carlos in 1770, an institution where the elite of the Peruvian youth has ever since been educated. Don Manuel Amat had a passion for everything connected with military affairs. He organized militia regiments, made plans for the defence of the coast, put a small fleet into a state of efficiency and even sent an expedition of discovery to the Pacific Islands. In 1767 it fell to his lot to carry out orders from home for the expulsion of the Jesuits. Immense wealth thus became the property of the government. At and around Lima alone they owned 5,000 negro slaves, \$180,000 in gold and silver, 52,300 *marcs* of silver, 7,000 *castellanos* of gold plate, \$818,000 of credit, and \$650,000 in value of farms. It was necessary to create an office for the management of this confiscated property. Notwithstanding the arbitrary tendencies and soldierly manner of this viceroy he acquired great social influence and made many friends in Lima. His mistress, Mariquita Gallegas, better known as "la Perichola," was famous for her power and fascinating manners. It was said that Amat intended to continue to reside in Lima after resigning the viceroyalty, but he returned to Spain a rich man, and lived a retired life in a country house near Barcelona.

His successor was Don Manuel de Guirior, a Navarrese of good family who had served a long and honorable career in the navy. He arrived at Lima on the

17th of July, 1776. It was the beginning of trouble. The grinding oppression by local officials had exhausted the endurance of the long suffering people. Insurrections broke out in several parts of the country. But still the cry from Spain was for more money. One measure, during the viceroyalty of Guirior, was of permanent utility. A botanical expedition was organized to explore the botany of the Peruvian forests. In 1778 the eminent botanists Josè Pavon and Hipolito Ruiz landed at Callao. They made large collections of plants both near Lima and in the forests of Huanuco and Huamalies, and discovered new species of Peruvian bark trees. Returning to Spain in 1788, they published their great work entitled "Flora Peruviana." Don Manuel Guirior was relieved in 1780 by another Navarrese officer who had been captain general of Chile since 1773, named Agustin Jauregui. Some years previously the council of the Indies had sent out one of its body named José Antonio Areche, with powers which virtually superseded the most important functions of the viceroy. He actually came with instructions to increase the revenue by raising the demands on the people. The guilt of what followed lies at Areche's door.

Throughout the last century of colonial rule, it became more and more evident that efficient supervision over a continent from the court of the viceroy of Peru at Lima, was impracticable. There must be a division of jurisdictions. Accordingly New Granada was raised to the rank of an independent viceroyalty in 1740, with the capital at Bogota. In 1776 Buenos Ayres was also elevated to the rank of a viceroyalty, with a territory including the whole of the presidency of Charcas (the modern Bolivia) up to the northern

shore of Lake Titicaca. Quito continued to be a presidency and Chile a captain-generalship under the jurisdiction of the viceroy of Peru.

## CHAPTER VIII

### REBELLION OF TUPAC AMARU

Two hundred years had passed away since the viceroy Toledo had promulgated his "Libro de Tasas." It was designed to secure wealth for Spain through the labor of the Indians, and at the same time to ensure the welfare of the natives. How had it worked? Spain had become the poorest and weakest power in Europe, while nine-tenths of the Indians had been destroyed from the face of the earth, and the survivors were ground down by pitiless slavery and oppression which had become unendurable. This had all been done with the best intentions. Nothing could be more humane and beneficent than the orders given by the Spanish government respecting the treatment of the Indians. The viceroys frequently issued similar instructions to their subordinates, and made spasmodic efforts to enforce compliance with them. But there was insincerity in all this. The first thing was to strain every nerve to send riches home to Spain. Prohibition to ill treat the people took a secondary place and the first could not be complied with unless the second was disregarded.

Forced labor in the mines, where the unfortunate men were forever separated from their wives and families, was



one cause of depopulation. For the mines of Potosí the *mita* was enforced in the nearest provinces. In 1573 it produced 11,199 laborers. In 1673, the *mita* having been in no way relaxed in the interval, it produced 1,674. These figures speak for themselves. In a century nine-tenths of the people had been destroyed by overwork and cruelty. The mines of Huancavelica, which supplied the quicksilver necessary for extracting the silver from its ores, also desolated the ten adjoining provinces. In 1645 the *mita* amounted to six hundred and twenty, and in 1678, only three hundred and fifty-four. The oppression of the owners of *obrajes* or manufactories of coarse woolen and cotton cloths was as crushing as that of the miners. These manufacturers employed men called *guatacos* to hunt the Indians and drive them into the *obrajes*. The masters then forced their victims into debt to them, and thus obtained an excuse for keeping them in perpetual slavery. Children were dragged from their homes, in defiance of the law, forced to work hard at twisting woolen and cotton threads, and cruelly whipped. Many *encomiendas* which originally contained a thousand adult male Indians and yielded \$8,000 of tribute, were reduced to a hundred within a century; yet the original tribute was demanded from the survivors, and payment being impossible, they were carried off into slavery. Vast tracts were thrown out of cultivation, and the country was rapidly depopulated.

Don Juan de Padilla raised his voice persistently against this atrocious system in 1657. His noble and humane conduct was not without imitation. Don Ventura Santalices, the governor of La Paz, devoted his time to the same holy cause. He forced the authorities to listen, and even obtained a seat in the coun-

cil of the Indies. But he was poisoned on his arrival in Spain. An Indian of Inca blood, named Blas Tupac Amaru, made such energetic remonstrances that he was also summoned to Spain, where he obtained promises of many concessions. He was murdered at sea on his way back. Dr. Gurrachategui, the good bishop of Cuzco from 1771 to 1776 was also an ardent friend of the Indians, protesting against their inhuman treatment in season and out of season. The efforts of these humane and fearless men succeeded in making the dreadful history known in all its shocking details, both to their contemporaries and to posterity. But they failed to secure any mitigation of the evils. The people were reduced to such a state of desperation that they felt death to be preferable to their condition on earth. They only waited for a leader from among the chiefs of their own race.

Josè Gabriel Condorcanqui was a son of the cacique Miguel Condorcanqui by his wife Rosa Noguera. He was born at Tinta, in the valley of the Vilcamayu south of Lima, and baptized at Tungasuca, the birthplace of his father. The young Josè received the first rudiments of his education from Dr. Lopez, the cura of Pampamarca, and a man of considerable talent, and from Dr. Rodriguez, the cura of Yanaoca, one a native of Panama, the other of Guayaquil.

The river of Vilcamayu flows through a rich and beautiful valley, with towns and villages on its banks, and fields of maize and lucerne, with gardens of fruit trees, and small woods of *schinus molle* and willows. On either side are mountains, up which ravines lead to lofty highlands covered with coarse grass, and patches of potato and quinoa around the villages. A few alpine lakes vary the landscape, which consists of rolling

hills, here and there with scarped rocky sides, backed by the snowy peaks of the cordillera. Tinta and Sicuani are in the valley, about eighty miles south of Cuzco. The villages of Tungasuca, Pampamarca, and Yanaoca are on the highlands.

These were the scenes of young Josè's childhood. At an early age he was sent to the college of San Borja at Cuzco, which had been founded by the viceroy Prince of Esquilache for the sons of noble Indians. He was particularly noticed by the professors for his close application, capacity, and excellent disposition. His scholastic acquirements were not inconsiderable. He read Latin with ease, spoke Spanish with fluent accuracy, and his vernacular Quichua with peculiar grace. Before he was twenty, he succeeded his father as cacique of Tungasuca and Pampamarca, and in 1760, at the age of eighteen, he was married to Micaela Bastidas, a beautiful girl of Abancay. In person, Josè Condorcanqui was five feet eight inches high, well proportioned, sinewy, and firmly knit. He had a handsome Inca face, a slightly aquiline nose, full black eyes, and a countenance intelligent, benign and expressive. His address, remarkable for gentlemanlike ease, was dignified and courteous toward superiors and equals; but in his intercourse with the aborigines, by whom he was profoundly venerated, there was a sedateness not inconsistent with his claims to the diadem of the Incas. In mind he was enterprising, cool, and persevering. He lived in a style becoming his rank, and when residing at Cuzco he usually wore a black velvet coat and small clothes in the fashion of the day, a waistcoat of gold tissue, embroidered linen, a beaver dress hat, silk stockings, gold knee and shoe buckles; and he al-

lowed his glossy black hair to flow in ringlets nearly down to his waist.

The chief sources of the cacique's income arose from thirty-five *piaras* or troops of mules, each *piara* consisting of ten, which were regularly employed in the transport of merchandise. He had himself traveled over a considerable portion of Peru, and had resided in Lima two or three times, being always attended in his journeys by a small retinue of servants, and sometimes accompanied by a chaplain.

In 1770 the Cacique of Tungasuca went to Lima to establish his claim to the Marquisate of Oropesa which had been granted to the Inca family by Philip II. After some delay his claim was recognized by the Royal Audience and in a judgment pronounced by the Fiscal Don Serafin Leytan y Mola he was declared to be heir to the marquisate, as eighth in lineal descent from Manco Inca, and heir-at-law of the Inca Tupac Amaru, who was judicially murdered by the viceroy Toledo in 1571. When he returned to Tungasuca, the young Inca dropped his name Condorcanqui, and assumed that of Tupac Amaru. He governed his villages exceedingly well, and was highly esteemed by the corregidor of the province, Don Pedro Muñoz de Arjona, who admired his punctual attention to his duties, and therefore distinguished him above all the other caciques. The Inca habitually cultivated the acquaintance of the Spanish priests and officials, and never allowed an opportunity to pass of representing to them, in impassioned language, the deplorable condition of the Indians. He assisted the distressed, paid tribute for the poor, and sustained whole families which had been reduced to ruin. He cherished the traditions of his people, and such customs as were not inconsistent with his profession of

Christianity; and he especially delighted in the dramatic representations which recalled the glorious memories of the past. One of his most intimate friends was Dr. Antonio Valdez, cura of Sicuani, a perfect master of the Quichua language, and the adapter of the Inca drama of Ollanta for the stage.

The oppression of the Indians excited the indignation of the Inca Tupac Amaru, but he exhausted every means of obtaining redress, before he was finally driven to take up arms in their defence. At length his patience came to an end, and he resolved to make an appeal to arms, not to throw off the yoke of Spain, but to obtain some guarantee for the due observance of the laws. His views were certainly confined to these ends when he first drew his sword, although afterward, when his modest demands were only answered by cruel taunts and brutal menaces, he probably saw that independence or death were the only alternatives.

The most merciless oppressor of the Indians was Don Antonio Aliaga, the corregidor of Tinta. He was the Inca's immediate superior, who determined to commence his revolt by punishing this great culprit. The old tutor of Tupac Amaru, Dr. Rodriguez the cura of Yanaoca, gave a dinner to the cacique of Tungasuca and the corregidor of Tinta to celebrate his name day, on the 4th of November, 1780. The Inca, on pretence that some person had arrived at his house from Cuzco, withdrew from the banquet early. He placed himself in ambush on the road with some attendants, and, making the corregidor prisoner when on his way back to Tinta, conducted him to Tungasuca and placed him in close confinement. Tupac Amaru then wrote a letter marked *reservadissima*, which he obliged Aliaga to sign, ordering his cashier at Tinta to remit the

public money in the provincial treasury to the Inca, assigning as a reason that it was necessary to set out forthwith to the port of Aranta, threatened with a descent by English cruisers. The Inca thus received 22,000 dollars, some gold ingots, seventy-five muskets, baggage, horses and mules. He sent out orders in all directions for recruits to be embodied and sent to Tungasuca.

A considerable force soon assembled. The Inca sent for his old tutor, Dr. Antonio Lopez, cura of Pampamarca, and ordered him to make known to the corregidor that he must die, and to administer to him the consolations of religion. A scaffold was erected in the square of Tungasuca, around which the recruits of the Inca were ranged in three ranks, the first armed with muskets, the second with pikes, and the third with treble loaded slings. Aliaga was then led out and publicly executed on the 10th of November. Tupac Amaru, at the same time, addressed the astonished multitude in Quichua, on his present conduct and ulterior intentions. Mounted on a fiery charger, attired in the princely costume of his ancestors, with a banner of the royal arms granted by Charles V., he exhorted his followers to lend an attentive ear to the legitimate descendant of their ancient sovereigns, promising to abolish the *mita*, and to punish the cruel and extortionate corregidores.

The whole multitude, with one accord, vowed implicit obedience to his orders, and he at once began to form his recruits into companies, and to appoint officers. Next day he marched to Quiquijana, in the valley of the Vilcamayu, thirty-six miles from Cuzco, and entered the town on the 12th. After hearing mass he returned toward Tungasuca, destroying the *obraje*

of Parapuquio on his way, where he found large quantities of woolen cloths, which were distributed among his followers. At the *obraje* of Pumacancha he captured 18,000 yards of woolen cloth (*bayeta*) and 20,000 of cotton cloth (*tocuyo*) some fire-arms, and two field pieces. He had now mustered 6,000 men, 3,000 armed with muskets, the rest with pikes and slings. The whole population, excepting a few whites, was in his favor.

The news of the revolt of Tupac Amaru was brought to Cuzco on the 12th, by the corregidor Cabrera, who had fled from Quiquijana. It caused the greatest consternation, as the city was garrisoned by only two regiments. Requisitions for troops were sent to the neighboring provinces, and an express was despatched to Lima, imploring for speedy succor.

Next day a force marched out of Cuzco to attack Tupac Amaru, under the command of Don Tiburcio Landa, the governor of Paucartambo. It consisted of four hundred and fifty soldiers, and seven hundred Indians led by Juan Sahuaraura, cacique of Oropesa, one of the few who took the Spanish side. The corregidor Cabrera accompanied them. The force advanced to the village of Sangarara, within fifteen miles of Tinta, where Landa halted on the 17th. Next day he found himself surrounded by a superior force of hostile Indians, and retired into the church. Here a desperate resistance was made, but victory was on the side of the Inca. The battle of Sangarara was stained with no cruelties. The wounded were carefully tended, and set at liberty as soon as they were able to travel. Landa, Cabrera, and Sahuaraura were among the slain. The news of this disaster reached Cuzco on the 19th, and caused indescribable confusion. All the citizens were called upon to serve, and Dr. Moscoso, the

bishop, formed the clergy into four companies under the command of the dean, Dr. Manuel de Mendieta. Troops arrived from Calca under Don Pablo Astete, and from other places, and by the end of November there were 3,000 men in arms at Cuzco. Anxious to conciliate the Indians, the municipality then issued a proclamation abolishing the *alcabala*, and declaring that the Indians should never again be forced to work in the *obrajes*, if they remained loyal. Tupac Amaru made a fatal mistake at this juncture. It is probable that he might have occupied Cuzco with little opposition. Instead of this he formed an encampment near Tinta, and issued an edict from his headquarters on the 27th, setting forth the causes of the revolt. He recapitulated the grievances of the people, declared the tyranny of the Spanish officials to be unendurable, and called upon his fellow countrymen to rally around his standard.

Early in December, 1780, the Inca Tupac Amaru crossed the Vilcañota range by the pass of Santa Rosa, and entering the Collao or basin of Lake Titicaca, advanced to Pucara and Lampa. At every village he addressed the people from church-steps, saying that he came to abolish abuses and punish the corregidores. Nothing was heard among the Indians but acclamations for their Inca and redeemer. On the 13th of December, he entered Azangaro, an important town to the north of Lake Titicaca. Here he destroyed the houses of the cacique Chuquihuanca, one of the few who had refused to join the insurrection. The Inca entered Azangaro in triumph. He rode a white horse with splendidly embroidered trappings, armed with sword and pistols, and dressed in blue velvet, richly embroidered with gold. He had on a three-cornered hat, and an *uncu* or mantle,



in the shape of a bishop's rochet, with a gold chain around his neck, from which a large golden sun was suspended.

Having received repeated letters from his wife reporting the threatening assembly of troops at Cuzco, he retraced his steps by Asillo and Orurillo to the valley of the Vilcamayu, and on the 28th of December the heights of Picchu, overhanging Cuzco on the west, were covered with his army. His cousin, Diego Tupac Amaru, was detached to the eastward with 6,000 men, to occupy the provinces of Calca and Paucartambo. Before attempting to force his way into the ancient capital of his ancestors, the Inca addressed letters to the bishop and the municipality on January 3rd, 1781. To the municipality he said that, as the heir of the Incas, the ancient kings of the realm, he was stimulated to endeavor by all possible means to put an end to abuses, and to see men appointed to govern the people who would respect the laws of the king of Spain. He announced the object of his rebellion to be the abolition of cruel exactions, and the establishment of an Indian judge in each province, and of a court of appeal at Cuzco within reach of the people. To the bishop he said that he came forward, on behalf of the whole nation, to put an end to the robberies and outrages of the corregidores. He promised to respect the priests, all church property, and all women and inoffensive unarmed people.

The garrison of Cuzco had, in the meanwhile, been reinforced by Pumacagua, the cacique of Chinchero, and by two hundred mulatto soldiers from Lima, commanded by Don Gabriel de Aviles, a future viceroy. These forces came out to attack the Inca, and there were skirmishes in the broken ground which were

brought to a conclusion by the evening snow. But on the 8th a sanguinary battle was fought in the suburbs and on the heights, which lasted two days. It was indecisive, and the Inca retreated to Tinta to reorganize his forces. His cousin Diego had been defeated by the Spaniards at Yucay, and fell back on Tinta, where a large army was assembled. All the caciques in Peru, with sixteen exceptions, had declared in favor of the Inca, and all the people longed earnestly for the success of this truly national insurrection. The whole interior of Peru was in revolt.

The viceroy, Don Agustín de Jauregui, remained at Lima; while the "visitador" Don José Antonio Areche proceeded to Cuzco with extraordinary judicial powers, and accompanied by Dr. Benito de la Matta Linares, a judge of the Audience, as assessor. A Spanish force was also despatched under the General Don José del Valle, while an officer named Ignacio Flores was sent to suppress the rising in upper Peru. The visitador and general arrived at Cuzco on the 23rd of February, 1781, where an army of 15,000 men was collected, consisting of the followers of the Hispanicized caciques, negroes, and mulattoes from the cast, and a small force of Spaniards.

Early in March General del Valle prepared to commence the campaign. But before his army marched out of Cuzco, the visitador Areche received a long despatch from Tupac Amaru. The Inca represented the earnest endeavors he had made to obtain justice for the people, the habitual violation of the law by the Spanish officials, the cruel and intolerable oppression of the *mita*, and the necessity for a reform in the administration. He concluded by proposing a negotiation by which these ends might be attained without

further bloodshed. This admirable state paper is very ably written and is a monument of the noble and enlightened views of this great, but most unfortunate patriot. The Spanish authorities intended that it should never see the light, and it was only preserved through a curious accident. The reply of Areche was such as could only be expected from a savage. He refused all negotiation, vowed the most horrible vengeance, and concluded by saying that if the Inca surrendered at once, the cruelty of the mode of his execution would be lessened. The Spanish General del Valle protested against the brutality of this reply.

Tupac Amaru prepared to resist to the utmost, as complete independence or death were the only alternatives left by the barbarous policy of the bloodthirsty visitador. It does not appear that he ever proclaimed himself a sovereign, independent of Spain. A draft of an edict, without date, is alleged to have been found among his papers commencing "Josè I. by the grace of God, Inca King of Peru;" but this has been proved to have been a Spanish forgery to be used as written evidence of treason. All his genuine edicts were marked by humanity and good sense.

On March 12th, 1781, the army under General del Valle marched out of Cuzco; and advanced slowly over the mountains to the westward of the valley of the Vilcamayu, suffering much from the snow-storms, and the want of food and fuel. Areche had neglected all commissariat arrangements, and showed himself to be as incapable as he was inhuman. General del Valle was upward of seventy years of age, and unable to endure the excessive cold of the mountains. He, therefore, descended into the valley, and occupied Quiquijana. On the 6th of April the Spanish army advanced

up the valley, meeting with considerable opposition from the Inca's troops. The Inca had taken up a position, defended by a ditch and rampart stretching across the valley, near Checacupe: but he had neglected to provide any defence for his flanks. A Spanish division stole unperceived to the rear of the position, while the main body assaulted it in front. After an heroic defence the Indians fell back to another entrenched work at a place called Combapata, a league from Tinta, where the village was surrounded by a mud wall covered at the top with thorny bushes. Following up their success, the Spaniards cannonaded the wall with their field pieces for several hours, then carried the position at the point of the bayonet and made a bloody entry into Tinta.

The Inca Tupac Amaru, with his wife and three sons, fled to Lanqui, a village about twenty miles to the westward, on the shores of a wild alpine lake. Here he intended to have rallied his scattered and disordered forces. But he and his family were betrayed into the hands of the Spaniards by a villain named Ventura Landaeta. On the same day sixty-seven of his followers were hanged at Tinta, and their heads were stuck on poles by the road side. Diego Tupac Amaru, his nephew Andres Mendagure, and the Inca's second son Mariano fortunately escaped.

The prisoners were the Inca himself, his wife, his two other sons Hipolito and Fernando, his old uncle Francisco, his brother-in-law Antonio Bastidas, his maternal cousin Patricio Noguera, his cousin Cecilia Mendagure and her husband Pedro—parents of Andres, and a number of his captains and officials. They were all marched bare-headed into Cuzco, the Visitador Areche coming out as far as Urcos to meet them.

They were separated from each other, and told that they would not meet again until the day of execution.

On the 15th of May, 1781, Areche pronounced a long sentence, in which he announced that it was necessary to hasten its execution in order to convince the Indians that it was not impossible to put a man of high rank to an ignominious death, merely because he was the heir of the Incas of Peru. He declared his crimes to be rebellion, the destruction of *obrajes*, the abolition of the *mita*, and causing pictures to be painted representing himself in Incaial robes. He condemned the Inca to witness the executions of his wife, his son, his uncle, his brother-in-law and cousins, and his captains. He was then to have his tongue cut out, and afterward to have his limbs secured to the girths of four horses dragging different ways until he was torn to pieces. His body was to be burned on the heights of Picchu, his head to be stuck on a pole at Tinta, his arms and legs in four other towns. His houses were to be demolished, all his goods to be confiscated, his relations to be declared infamous, all documents relating to his descent to be burned by the common hangman, all dresses used by the Incas to be prohibited, all pictures of them to be seized and burned, the representation of Quichua dramas was forbidden, all musical instruments of the Indians to be destroyed, all Indians to give up their national costumes and to dress henceforth in the Spanish fashion, the use of the Quichua language was prohibited, and the reading of the history of the Incas by Garcilasso de la Vega was forbidden.

In the annals of barbarism there is probably not to be found a document equalling this in savage brutality

and folly: and this was written by a Spanish judge, barely a century ago.

The hideous crime was literally carried into effect in all its revolting details. On Friday, the 18th of May, 1781, after the great square had been surrounded by Spanish and negro troops, ten persons were brought forth from the church of the Jesuits. One of these was the illustrious patriot Tupac Amaru. He had been visited, in the early morning in his prison, by Areche, who urged him to betray all his accomplices in the rebellion. "You and I," he replied, "are the only conspirators, you for oppressing the country with exactions which were unendurable: and I for having wished to free the people from such tyranny." The others were his wife Micaela, his two sons Hipolito and Fernando, his brother-in-law Antonio Bastidas, his uncle Francisco, Tomasa Condemaita a lady of Acos, and three captains. Bastidas and the captains were hung at once. The rest were heavily chained, tied up in the bags which are used for packing *maté* or Paraguay tea, and dragged backward into the centre of the square by horses. Francisco and Hipolito Tupac Amaru, the one an old man verging on four score, the other a youth of twenty, then had their tongues cut out and with Tomasa Condemaita, they were garroted with an iron screw, the first that had been seen at Cuzco. Micaela, the beloved and devoted wife of the Inca, was then placed on the same scaffold, her tongue was cut out, and the screw was placed round her neck, in the presence of her agonized husband. She suffered cruelly, because her neck was so small that the screw failed to strangle her. The executioners then put a lasso round her neck and pulled different ways, kicking her in the stomach and bosom at the same time until at last they

killed her. The Inca himself was then taken into the centre of the square, his chains were removed, and his tongue was cut out. He was thrown on the ground, lassoes secured to the girths of four horses were fastened to his wrists and ankles, and the horses were made to drag furiously in different directions. As the body was thus raised into the air, the Inca's youngest son Fernando, a child of ten years who had been forced to witness this hideous massacre of his relations, uttered a heart rending shriek, the knell of which continued to ring in the ears of those who heard it to their dying day. It was the death knell of Spanish rule in South America.

But these unspeakable horrors were not yet over. The horses did not pull together, and the body remained suspended in agony for many minutes. At last the brutal miscreant Areche, who was gloating on the scene from a window in the college of the expelled Jesuits, caused the head to be cut off. The child Fernando was then passed under the scaffold, and sentenced to penal servitude for life.

It seems necessary to describe these revolting details, the exact truth of which is officially attested, because they render it quite unnecessary to give a moment of further consideration to the reason why Spanish rule was hated in Peru. Many of the Spanish citizens of Cuzco were present, but not an Indian was to be seen. They afterward declared that, while the horses were torturing the Inca, a great wind arose, with torrents of rain, and that even the elements were horrified.

The heads, bodies, and limbs of the victims were sent to the different towns of Peru and to the villages around Cuzco, in order to strike terror into the hearts of

the Indians. It had exactly the opposite effect. It goaded them to fury. By the humane exertions of the Inca the war had hitherto been carried on without unnecessary bloodshed. But after the perpetration of these atrocities in Cuzco, it became a war of extermination, and during the following year not less than 80,000 people fell victims to it.

Tupac Amaru was a man of whom his nation may well be proud. Having enjoyed the best education which Spanish policy permitted to the people of the colonies, he brought a cultivated mind, a clear understanding, and devoted zeal for the welfare of his countrymen to his important duties as a wealthy and influential cacique. When he undertook the office of defender of the oppressed Indians he displayed an amount of patient perseverance and ability in the advocacy of their cause, which excited the admiration of the bishop of Cuzco, and others of the more enlightened Spaniards. Finally, after he had unwillingly become convinced that all remonstrance was useless he, in his appeal to arms, combined promptitude of action with great moderation in his demands. His edicts were remarkable for their good sense and humanity. If his efforts had been met by the Spaniards in a corresponding spirit, the whole course of history might have been changed.

While these events took place in the valley of the Vilcamayu and at Cuzco, the whole of the Collao was in a state of insurrection, and all Spaniards had fled for their lives to La Paz and Puno. The town of Puno, on the shores of Lake Titicaca near the northwest corner, had been founded at the time of the Salcedo mining disturbances, and had become an important place. Joaquim Antonio de Orellana, the governor of Puno,



had to defend himself at the head of the fugitive Spaniards. On the 18th of March, 1781, the Indian army occupied all the surrounding heights. Here the dreadful news of the capture and barbarous murder of the Inca reached them. They were excited to fury, defeating the Spaniards under Mendiosala, capturing Chucuito, and committing indiscriminate slaughter in revenge for the Inca's death. On the 9th of May, Diego Tupac Amaru arrived, and resumed the siege of Puno. He was accompanied by Andres Mendagure, Mariano the Inca's son, and Miguel Bastidas, a nephew of the Inca's wife. They had escaped from Lanqui when the other members of the family were captured. On the approach of the Spanish army under General del Valle, the siege of Puno was raised. Del Valle was in a difficult position, owing to want of provisions. Areche had shamefully neglected the needs of the army, being too busy in torturing his prisoners to attend to the commissariat. Under these circumstances the general reluctantly determined to return to Cuzco, taking Orellana and the garrison of Puno with him. Puno was evacuated on the 26th of May, and the Spaniards commenced their retreat, closely followed and constantly harassed by the Indians. General del Valle reached Cuzco on the 4th of July, and had a violent quarrel with Areche. That infamous wretch had been recalled to explain the false accusations he had brought against the viceroy Guirior. Arriving at Lima in August, 1781, he embarked for Spain, taking with him the poor little boy Fernando, youngest son of the Inca, who was condemned to imprisonment for life. Areche was heavily fined for his slanders against the viceroy, but he received no further punishment for his crimes.

Diego Tupac Amaru, after the retreat of General del Valle, established his headquarters at Azangaro, which thus became for a brief period the capital of the Incas. Azangaro is a town nearly 13,000 feet above the sea, on a grassy plain with rounded hills forming undulations on the west, a long ridge of rocky heights to the north, and a fine peaked hill rising up close to the town on the south side. A large river flows southward to Lake Titicaca, within a few yards of the eastern end of Azangaro. In those days the church, with its low, square, red tiled tower, had a magnificent interior; being lined with large copies of old masters in richly gilt frames, while the high altar was plated with massive silver. Near the church is the house where Diego Tupac Amaru lived, with a long sala in which he held receptions. A great treasure is believed to have been concealed under or near the house, but it has never been found.

The Spaniards had retreated into Cuzco, and all southern Peru was in the hands of the Indians. One of the most active among the officers of Diego Tupac Amaru, was his nephew Andres, a son of the Biscayan Nicolas Mendagure by Felipa the sister of Diego. Vilcapasa, a native of Tapatapa, about eighteen miles east of Azangaro, was a much older man, and the ablest general in the native army. He was devoted to young Andres, who was a handsome and gallant youth of about eighteen summers. Their quarters at Azangaro were in the house of the Hispanicized Cacique Chuquiuanca, where still stands a circular edifice, with a most remarkable roof of the time of the Incas, called Sondor-huasi. From Azangaro young Andres, accompanied by Vilcapasa, overran the provinces on the eastern side of Lake Titicaca and captured the town of

Sorata. Returning to Azangaro his visits became frequent to the house of Vilcapasa's sister, where dwelt the beautiful Angelina Sevilla; and the friendship of the young people ripened into love. But evil days were at hand. The hopes of the people were beginning to wane. The time was not yet ripe for independence. Large reinforcements were gathering both on the side of Buenos Ayres and Lima. The slaughter of the Indians had already been prodigious, and the viceroy Jauregui issued a proclamation, in September, 1781, offering a free pardon to Diego Tupac Amaru and all his adherents, on submission.

Dr. Antonio Valdez, cura of Sicuani and the intimate friend of the murdered Inca, was sent to Azangaro to persuade Diego to submit. They held their conferences on the subject, while walking up and down on the banks of the river. Vilcapasa overheard one of these conversations, and remonstrated strongly against the madness of believing the word of a Spaniard. But Angelina united her prayers with those of Dr. Valdez, and Diego yielded. He sent Miguel Bastidas to open a negotiation with the Spanish Colonel Resequin, and on December 11th, 1781, Diego Tupac Amaru, with the two youths Andres and Mariano, surrendered. Bastidas was sent to Buenos Ayres. Diego received his full pardon from General del Valle at Sicuani, on January 26th, 1782, and in order to add sacrilege to perfidy, the bishop of Cuzco solemnly absolved him in the church.

Vilcapasa knew the Spaniards too well. He refused to submit, and held out for some time. But he was defeated by General del Valle, captured in his native village, and torn to pieces by horses in the square of Azangaro. His limbs were stuck on poles by the road

side. The old general was taken ill soon afterward. He died at Cuzco on the 4th of September, 1782, and was succeeded in command of the troops by Don Gabriel de Aviles.

Diego was allowed to retire to Tungasuca; while Andres and Mariano lived at Sicuani. But the Spanish authorities acted treacherously throughout. They never at any time intended to keep faith with the unfortunate Incas, as Vilcapasa foresaw. In January, 1783, all the surviving members of the Incarial family were arrested. The accusations against them were frivolous and without a shadow of proof to sustain them. Diego Tupac Amaru was accused of calling the Indians his sons, and of performing funeral rites for his cousin the Inca. The charge against Andres was suspicious conduct. Mariano's crime was the rescue of his lady love from the nunnery of Santa Catalina at Cuzco, where she was kept against her will. The rest of the family were accused of being relations. Matta Linares, scenting carrion from afar, hurried from Lima to imitate the work of Areche. Diego Tupac Amaru was sentenced to be dragged at the tail of a mule, with a rope round his neck, to the great square of Cuzco and there to be hanged and quartered. His mother was sentenced to be hanged and quartered, and her body to be burned before his eyes. Several other relations were to be strangled. These judicial murders were committed on the 19th of July, 1783. Dr. Valdez, the cura of Sicuani, was forced to witness the slaughter of his friends and his own dishonor, for he it was who had persuaded them to put their trust in the viceroy's word. Andres and Mariano were sent to Lima, put on board a ship, butchered at sea, and their bodies thrown overboard. When the news reached Azangaro

long afterward, Angelina, the betrothed bride of Andres, died of a broken heart.

The viceroy then proceeded to extirpate the family of the Inca, and all who were connected with it by marriage. Ninety members of the family were sent in chains to Lima. Among them was Marcela Pallochahua, mother of the Inca's wife, Micaela Bastidas, and Bartolomè Tupac Amaru, the Inca's great uncle. A life of activity and temperance had given this aged prince the strength to endure months of solitary confinement in a dungeon at Cuzco, to sustain blows from muskets and staves in the great square, to undergo a cruel journey on foot and in chains of four hundred miles, but the horrors of the prison at Lima killed him. He had reached the extraordinary age of one hundred years. The unhappy survivors were shipped off at Callao, in two vessels, and treated with shocking inhumanity. After three years in a prison at Cadiz, Charles III. caused them to be distributed, apart from each other, in prisons in the interior of Spain, where they lingered until their sufferings were relieved by death.

Fernando, the youngest child of the Inca, whose shrill cry smote every heart with electric sympathy when he was forced to look on at the cruel tortures of his parents, was taken to Spain by Areche in 1781. He was then only ten years of age. In 1783, Don Luis Ocampo, a citizen of Cuzco, went to Spain and heard that young Fernando Tupac Amaru was a close prisoner in the castle of San Sebastian at Cadiz. Through the aid of an Irish gentleman, who was intimately acquainted with the town major, Ocampo applied for a pass to visit the poor child, but was refused. He, nevertheless, made his way into the fort and, looking around

at the iron gratings of the cells, he at length caught sight of a boy whose countenance bespoke his origin. While talking to him Ocampo received a blow from the butt end of the musket of a Swiss sentry whom, however, he induced to permit him to continue the conversation. He found that the government allowed Fernando six reals a day for maintenance, but that the soldiers of the guard stole half. Ocampo gave him two or three dollars a week during his stay in Cadiz. This is the last that was ever heard, for a certainty, of the last surviving child of the unfortunate Inca. His fate is unknown. In 1828 a person calling himself Fernando Tupac Amaru made his appearance at Buenos Ayres and he went on to Lima. He became a monk at San Pedro where he died. But he is believed to have been an impostor.

Such was the fate of the last of the Incas. It is one of the saddest stories in the record of human suffering. Yet Tupac Amaru and his family did not suffer and die in vain. Unlike most dispossessed royal races they sacrificed themselves, not for their own selfish ends, but in the hope of serving their countrymen. The reforms which Tupac Amaru demanded were conceded almost as soon as his family had been destroyed. His fall, and the circumstances attending it, shook the colonial power of Spain to its foundation. From his cruel death may be dated the rise of that indignant feeling which ended in the expulsion of the Spaniards from Peru. The Inca Tupac Amaru did not live and die in vain.

## CHAPTER IX

### EVE OF THE REVOLUTION

It usually happens that retribution fails to overtake the most guilty, and that the crimes of rulers are avenged on their more deserving successors. Revolution comes when things are improving, when better government enables the people to feel their strength, and not at the time of their greatest misery. After the final suppression of the Indian revolt, there was certainly a marked and growing improvement in the condition of Peru. When Don Agustin de Jauregui was called upon to report on the causes which led to the discontent of the people, he told the old story—injustice of the *mitta* and misery caused by it, forced labor in the mines, and exactions of the priests. He recommended fair treatment of the Indians, equal justice, and more moderate demands on labor. This viceroy gave up charge in April, 1784, and died from the effects of an accident a few days afterward. His successor was Don Teodoro de Croix, a tall, handsome soldier, native of Lille in Flanders. He had served on the Sonora frontier when his brother, the Marquis de Croix, was viceroy of Mexico. His period of office witnessed the inauguration of reforms to secure which Tupac Amaru died. The corregidors were abolished, and a

court of appeal was established at Cuzco, for hearing native causes. In 1784 it was resolved, in accordance with the plan of Tupac Amaru, to abolish the office of corregidors, and to divide Peru into seven large provinces, called *intendencias*, governed by officers called *intendentes* directly responsible to the viceroy. The *intendencias* were divided into districts called *partidos*, under *sub-delegados* who received their orders from the *intendentes*. These divisions correspond to the *departments* and *provinces* of the republic. The Audience of Cuzco, forming a court of appeal for the natives, was installed in November, 1788, in accordance with the demand of Tupac Amaru. A financial committee was also established at Lima, chiefly with the object of enforcing a uniform system of accounts throughout the colonies. Don Teodoro de Croix retired in 1790, returning to Spain by way of Cape Horn, and leaving behind him a good reputation as an upright, kind-hearted and religious man.

The next viceroy, Don Francisco Gil de Taboada y Lemos came from New Granada where he had held the viceroyalty for some years. A native of Galicia and a sailor, he had the rank of admiral in the fleet. He was also an ardent reformer, an able administrator, a lover of letters, and an active friend to literature. He encouraged the assemblage of learned men, and under his friendly auspices thought was set free and liberal ideas began to prevail. The claws of the inquisition had already been cut, though it still existed. The viceroy, in consultation with literary friends such as Drs. Gabriel Moreno and Hipolito Unanue, two men of high scientific attainments, projected the publication of a periodical called the "Mercurio Peruano." Several military officers and literary ecclesiastics gave



their support, and the first number appeared on January 1st, 1791. The contributors formed a society, or club entitled "Amantes del Pais." A room at the university was set apart for their meetings, by order of the viceroy. The editors of the "Mercurio Peruano" completed twelve volumes from 1791 to 1794, full of useful topographical, statistical, and scientific information. From 1793 to 1798 an annual Official Guide was published, under the editorship of Dr. Unanue, and the viceroy also began the publication of a Gazette. His interest in the navy led the viceroy to form a nautical school, and to open a hydrographic office for the sale of charts. Great encouragement was also given the exploration of the courses of the great tributaries of the Amazon, especially the Ucayali, by missionaries under the lead of Sobreviela and Fray Narcisco Girbal. The expedition of Captain Alejandro Malaspina, in command of the two corvettes *Descubierta* and *Atrevida*, was intended to fix positions along the coast of the Spanish colonies. A survey was made of the west coast of South America, with plans of ports, and much statistical and geographical information was collected. Malaspina returned to Cadiz in September, 1794, and published a narrative of his voyage. The Bohemian botanist, Tadeo Haënke, came out with Malaspina in 1790. He devoted himself to the study of the botany of Peru, and to him belongs the honor of having discovered the *C. Calisaya*, the most valuable of the quinine yielding trees. Haënke died at Cochabamba in December, 1817, leaving many valuable contributions to science. The viceroy took a deep interest in these surveys and scientific investigations. He also superintended the preparation of a map of Peru by the hydrographer Andres Baleato, which was used

to illustrate the elaborate memoir on his administration. It was in his time that the existing towers of the Lima cathedral were built between 1794 and 1797. Don Francisco Gil was the best and most enlightened of the viceroys of Peru. He returned to Spain in 1796, became director-general of marine, and died in 1810.

Some valuable statistical information was collected by the viceroy Gil, and published in 1794. By this report it appears that the population of the seven *intendencias* into which Peru was divided was 1,076,997. These *intendencias* were Lima, Cuzco, Guamanga, Arequipa, Tarma, Huancavelica and Truxillo. Of this population 608,912 were Indians, 244,437 half castes, 136,311 of pure Spanish descent, and 80,000 negroes on the coast. When Toledo numbered the Peruvian Indians in 1575, there were 8,000,000. In 1794 there were 5,496 religious persons, composed of 3,018 secular priests, 2,217 monks and friars, 1,044 nuns and 271 *beatas*. This enumeration takes no account of the wild Indians of the montaña, in the Amazonian basin. The report also contains some financial and commercial statistics. The receipts were \$6,393,206; expenditure, \$4,082,313, leaving a surplus of \$2,935,106 for transmission to Spain. The tithes for the clergy averaged \$291,867 a year, besides fees. The trade between Peru and Spain in 1791 was represented by \$4,183,865 worth of imports, and \$5,699,590 of exports. The tribute exacted from the Indians amounted to \$885,586.

The next viceroy was Don Ambrosio O'Higgins, Marquis of Osorno, whose history was a very remarkable one. A little Irish boy named Ambrose Higgins was born, in about 1740, near the castle of Dangan, on the estate of Summerhill, in county Meath, and he was employed to carry letters to the post for Lady Bective.

He had an uncle who was a priest at Cadiz, to whom he was sent to be educated. When the priest wished to settle his young nephew in life, he sent him out in a ship bound for Lima, with a small packet of goods for sale. But the boy landed at Buenos Ayres, and he rode over the pampas and the cordillera to Santiago. He went thence to Lima, and opened a little shop under the platform of the cathedral. He hawked about his goods as a pedlar in the streets, but found few to buy them. Returning to Chile, he obtained permission to construct the *casuchas* or resting-places for travelers in the pass over the cordillera. This led to other employment, and eventually he got a commission in the army. Being second in command on the Araucanian frontier, he showed so much tact and judgment in his dealings with the Indians, that he was selected for the chief command at Concepcion. There he received La Perouse with great courtesy. He must have romanced a little about his origin, for La Perouse speaks of M. Higuins as belonging to one of those families which were persecuted for their old attachment to the House of Stuart. But the French officer was most favorably impressed by the young Irishman, for whom he felt an affection after the first hour's conversation. The French government applied strongly for his promotion, and in 1788 he became captain-general of Chile. At this time he prefixed the O' to his name of Higgins as being more aristocratic. He constructed the road from Santiago to Valparaiso, and ameliorated the condition of laborers on the estates, who were then little better than slaves. The captain-general sent some money to bankers in London, to be distributed among his relations. Inquiries were made through Mr. Kellett, the priest at Summerhill, whether

it would be better to give it to them in a lump or by degrees, but the latter plan was considered best, as they were found to be very poor and improvident. O'Higgins was created Marquis of Osorno and Baron of Balenar, and on June 5th, 1796, he made his public entry into Lima as viceroy of Peru. He always retained a strong Irish brogue. He died rather suddenly at Lima in March, 1801, leaving a natural son named Bernardo, destined to be the liberator of Chile, and a daughter.

Gabriel Aviles, Marquis of Aviles, who succeeded the Marquis of Osorno, was a very different man. He had been upward of twenty years in South America as a military officer, and had been guilty of great cruelty at the time of insurrection of Tupac Amaru. Indeed he was in command of the troops at Cuzco during the atrocious execution of the Inca. He succeeded O'Higgins as captain-general of Chile, and was viceroy of Buenos Ayres when he was summoned to Lima in 1801. A penurious financier, Aviles undertook no public work and promoted no useful measure. He died at Valparaiso in 1806, when about to embark for Spain.

Don Josè Fernando Abascal, a native of Oviedo, entered the army as a cadet in 1762, and had seen much service in various parts of the world. He made a remarkable journey from Brazil over land, and entered Lima, in July, 1806. Abascal was viceroy of Peru from July, 1806 to July, 1816. He felt that the revolutionary ideas of France were spreading over the world, and that their influence would be felt in South America. He resolved to strive to avert the danger by military vigilance and a policy of active usefulness. He introduced vaccination, founded a hospital attached to the medical college which was established in 1792, prohibited burials in the Lima churches, and built a

pantheon outside the town. He organized an efficient army, built the artillery barrack of Santa Catalina at Lima, and cast upward of fifty four-pound field-pieces. General Pezuela, who arrived from Europe in 1805, was inspector of artillery. The viceroy Abascal was a statesman of great ability and foresight. But he was devoted to the interests of the mother country. He maintained the monopoly of the Cadiz merchants, raised the customs and excise duties and in 1811 sent \$2,000,000 home to Spain.

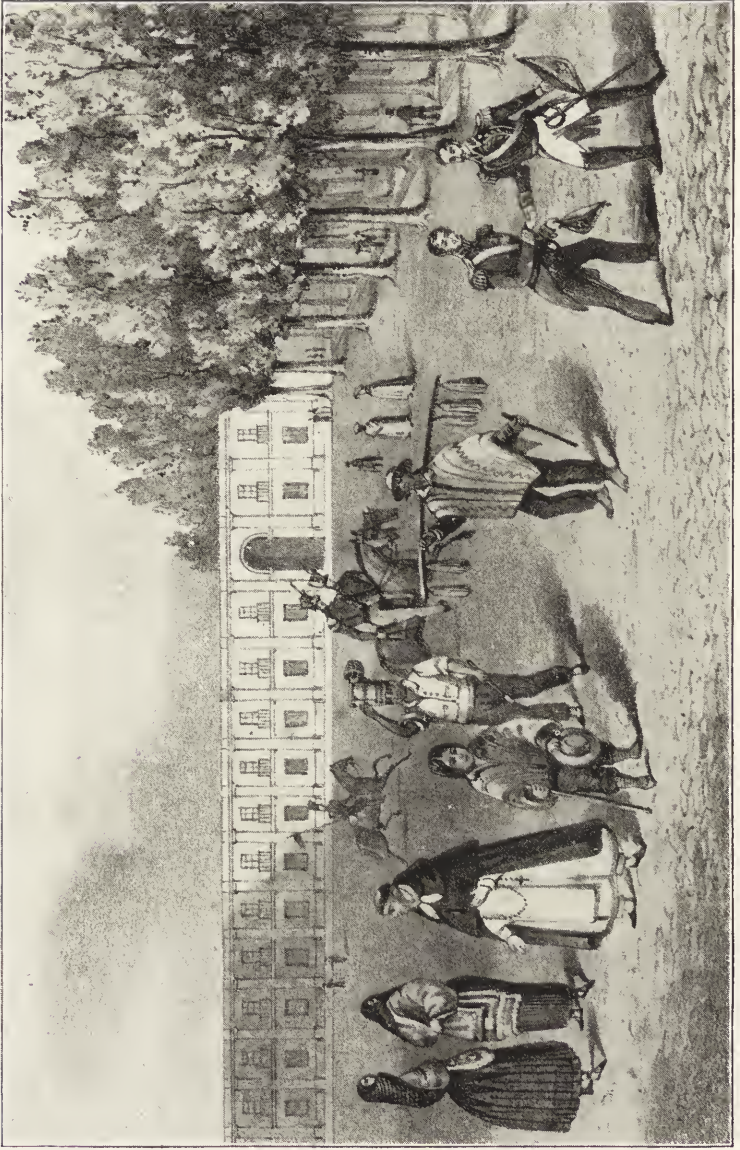
All great revolutions, like armies on the march, advance toward the unknown future with pioneers in front. Such men are sometimes a century, sometimes a few years, in advance of the general movement. They often point out or shed light on the paths of progress by their sufferings, sometimes by their life's blood.

The pioneers of Peruvian independence were Don Toribio Rodriguez de Mendoza, rector of the college of San Carlos at Lima, and Don Jedro Josè Chavez de la Rosa, bishop of Arequipa from 1788 to 1809. The bishop undertook not only to reform what existed, but to create what did not exist. His teaching was denounced, and he was looked upon as a criminal by the Spanish authorities. The college of San Geronimo at Arequipa was the theatre of his fruitful labors. His pupils became most ardent advocates of reform. The most beloved among them were the illustrious Luna Pizarro, a statesman of the independence and finally archbishop of Lima, and Gonzalez Vigil, afterward the most profound scholar in Peru. The influence these and other pupils of the good bishop had on their generation is incalculable. Dr. Chavez de la Rosa returned to Spain, where he sighed for the peaceful rest of some of the little church commu-

nities he had founded in the Andes. Disgraced by the despot Ferdinand VII, he died penniless in his native village of Chiclano in 1819. His funeral oration was pronounced at Arequipa by one of his attached pupils, Andres Martinez. The other inspirer of revolutionary ideas, Rodriguez de Mendoza, was born at Chachapoyas, in the forests of the Marañon. Intrepid constancy and manful energy were combined in him with lofty virtue and enthusiastic love of science. The universality of his learning earned for him the title of "the Bacon of Peru." He was rector of the college of San Carlos, which was established in the cloisters made vacant by the expulsion of the Jesuits, for thirty years. From 1810 the Peruvian revolution had one of its centres in the college of San Carlos, and its life giver, the liberality of whose teaching advanced with giant strides, was the illustrious rector. The college of medicine, presided over by Dr. Unanue, and the oratory of St. Philip Neri were also centres of liberal ideas, where many young students imbibed the feelings of their teachers.

But the lawyers held back. Though there were hundreds of doctors of law at Lima, only very few were distinguished as patriots. Among those few were Josè de la Riva Agüero, the first of the graduates of San Marcos who became an agitator and a soldier; Manuel Telleria, and Mariano Alvarez, true and constant friends of liberty. Still the apathy of the university formed a contrast to the fervent zeal of some of the clergy. It was a priest who first raised the cry of rebellion, and there were several advanced patriots among the village curas, while monks of the different orders fomented liberal ideas in the capital. Most famous among them was a Chilean named Camilo Enri-





COSTUMES OF PERU IN 1820.



quez, who had become a monk of the brotherhood of Buena Muerte at Lima. He was accused before the inquisition in 1809 and fled to his own country, where he began to write in praise of freedom in a periodical which he called the "Aurora de Chile."

The nobility and even the ladies of Lima caught the infection of liberal ideas. The secret club of the most ardent conspirators was held in the house of the Countess of Gisla. The ladies of Lima promoted the cause of liberty by their enthusiasm and their sympathy. Their singular walking costume, called the "*saya y manto*" gave them a mysterious impunity, and was a most useful agent of plots for the advancement of the liberal cause. It was the influence of ladies which enlisted the goodwill of many officers in the royal army.

The first sufferers in the cause were two harmless visionaries. Their story seems worthy of preservation. Manuel Ubalde was a lawyer who practised before the Royal Audience. One day a gentleman of Huanuco, named José Gabriel Aguilar, called upon him and asked him to defend his suit. The intercourse thus commenced ripened into firm and close friendship. Aguilar was a visionary, and when he set out to return to Huanuco, he announced to Ubalde that a dream had revealed to him that he must lead a wandering life until, in some city, he should find another Christ exactly like that which was worshipped at the church of the Descalzos in Lima.

For many years the two friends lost sight of each other. When Count Ruiz de Castilla went to Cuzco as president of the Royal Audience, he took Ubalde with him as an assessor. But the appointment was not confirmed, the lawyer and his family being left in

the deepest destitution. Nearly driven to desperation he was wandering down one of the streets of Cuzco, when his old friend Aguilar rushed into his arms. He had found the exact counterpart of the Christ of the Descalzos at Cuzco, and was going to remain there. The two men combined to work some gold mines in the eastern forests, which had been revealed to them in their visions. Frequent visionary conversations led them to entertain the idea of a revolution. A nocturnal revelation to Ubalde raised their hopes. He dreamed that an eagle came toward Cuzco from the shores of the Pacific, and that another eagle met it, coming from the east. One came alone, but the other carried on four huge feathers that projected from its wings, as many armed men with glittering swords. These men were the dreamer himself, his friend Aguilar, and two intimates at Cuzco named Ampuero and Ugarte. When the eagles met, they flew at each other, and gradually rose out of sight, while the four men fell among armed hosts which proclaimed them their leaders. The interpretation put upon this dream by the friends was that America was to rise against Spain, and that they were to be the prophets and chiefs of the insurrection. The conversations of these visionaries were repeated to the authorities. Ubalde and Aguilar were arrested, and both were executed in the great square of Cuzco. They were punished for a dream, an idea. But it was an idea which was destined to become a reality. The incident shows how liberal ideas were seething in men's minds, while the extreme severity of the authorities is a measure of their terror and anxiety.

The initiative to resistance was given, though timidly, by four learned teachers in Lima, in the year 1808. These were Don Hipolito Unanue, the cosmographer

and chief physician, Don Josè Gregorio Paredes, a professor of mathematics, Don Josè Pezet, the editor of the Lima Gazette, and Don Gaviano Chacaltana of Yca, professor of anatomy, and a man of considerable talent. They assembled in one of the rooms of the medical college of San Fernando at Lima, and reasoned over the destinies of America, over the rights of the colonists, and the best form of government for them. But their discourses were denounced to the viceroy Abascal, and a few private hints from him were sufficient to silence the timid patriots. Still they had sown good seed. For in the next year a law agent named Pardo, and a young advocate named Mateo Silva, held numerous attended evening parties, which were frequented by the rising young men of Lima, who discussed the news of the day. Suddenly Silva and Pardo were arrested by order of the viceroy. Silva was condemned to ten years of close imprisonment, Pardo was sent to Spain, and many others were confined in the fortress of Valdivia in Chile. In spite of this tyranny the people of Lima continued to meet, but more secretly, first at the *Caballo Blanco* opposite the church of St. Augustine, then at *Bartolo*, or at the *Café de Comercio* in the Calle de Bodegonos. Here they discussed the news of insurrections in various parts of South America, and devised plans for the realization of their hopes of freedom.

The young advocate, Josè de la Riva Agüero, became the ringleader of these secret societies. Allied to the colonial nobility, making common cause with educated men by reason of his learning and his profession, with popular manners, and recently returned from a visit to Madrid, he was well fitted for the work of organizing a secret combination. But he was an

agitator, rather than a leader of men, a conspirator rather than a revolution maker. The secret clubs began to meet in his house, and in that of the Count de la Vega, sometimes in rooms hired in the suburbs. The duties of the members were to gain proselytes in all ranks to propagate liberal ideas and when possible to embarrass the government. One place of meeting was the workshop of a silver-smith, on the very spot where the men of Chile assembled, before they rushed out to murder the Marquis Pizarro.

In September, 1810, Riva Agüero was suddenly arrested, and sent to Tarma in the interior. Don José Baquijano, the Count of Vista Florida, then put himself at the head of the constitutional party. Born at Lima of wealthy parents, he was distinguished as a student, and became director of studies at the university of San Marcos from 1806 to 1814. Well versed in history, a poet and an admirable writer, he had been president of the society of "Amantes del País," and wrote in the "Mercurio Peruano" under the name of "Cephalio." The regency of Spain made him a councillor of state in 1812, and his popularity in Lima, which was very distasteful to the viceroy Abascal, was unbounded. He privately discussed and advocated the independence of Peru, and his influence gave considerable impetus to the spread of liberal ideas. There were insurrections, promptly suppressed, at Tacna and Huanuco in 1812. A newspaper, called "El Peruano," was started in consequence of the Cortes at Cadiz having proclaimed the liberty of the press in 1810, but it was suppressed by Abascal within a few months of its first issue. One popular movement, however, could not be put down. When news of the abolition of the inquisition by the Spanish Cortes reached Lima, the

people rose on the 3rd of September, 1813, broke into the prison of the Holy Office, destroyed the archives, and smashed the instruments of torture amidst great rejoicings.

The invasion of Spain by the Emperor Napoleon was the immediate cause of the revolt of the colonies. A regency was organized at Cadiz. All parties were unanimous in refusing to acknowledge Joseph Bonaparte. But while the Spanish authorities in America recognized the Cadiz regency, the colonists as a body declared that they would organize native governments while the king was imprisoned. On September 18th, 1810, the Chileans proclaimed an independent *Junto de Gobierno*; but in 1813 and 1814 the viceroy sent troops from Lima, totally defeated the rebels, and restored Spanish rule in Chile. At Buenos Ayres a similar revolution was successful, and in 1813 General Belgrano was sent to oppose the forces of the viceroy in upper Peru. General Goyeneche was selected, by Abascal, to command the army destined to suppress these risings, with Juan Ramirez as his second in command. He defeated the rebels in every encounter, carried all before him, and inflicted unsparing punishment. As many as eighty-six priests, lawyers, and other leaders of the people were sentenced to death, imprisonment, forfeiture of goods, or corporal punishment. Goyeneche then retired to Cuzco, leaving Ramirez in command at La Paz.

The revolutionary party at Buenos Ayres sent another expedition to upper Peru under Colonel Valcarce, accompanied by Dr. Castelli to represent the new government. Chuquisaca, Potosi, and La Paz declared in their favor. Castelli, with a considerable force, then marched toward the river Desaguadero. He advanced

to Huaqui, sending cavalry to watch the bridge over the river. Goyeneche had not been idle. He had organized militia regiments, had received reinforcements from Lima, and was encamped at Zepita, near the south-west angle of Lake Titicaca. He resolved to give battle. At midnight he advanced his army of 6,500 men to the bridge over the Desaguadero, and on the 20th of June, 1811, he came in sight of the enemy in a strong position, with twelve pieces of artillery at Huaqui. A vigorous assault was made by the militia of Cuzco under Colonel Picoaga, all the guns were captured, and Castelli fled. He returned to Buenos Ayres, but the patriots of upper Peru still held out around Cochabamba and Potosi. They were routed near Sipe-sipe in August, but General Belgrano once more approached with help. At this critical juncture, when the contest was still doubtful, General Goyeneche resigned. He returned to Spain in 1814, was created Count of Huaqui, and eventually a Grandee. His brother José Sebastian Goyeneche became bishop of Arequipa in 1816, and after forty-three years was transferred to the archbishopric of Lima. The brothers were both enormously rich.

On the retirement of Goyeneche the duty of opposing the advance of Belgrano devolved on General Don Joaquin de la Pezuela and Juan Ramirez.

Meanwhile Mateo Garcia Pumacagua, the aged cacique of Chinchero, who had taken the side of the Spaniards against the Inca Tupac Amaru, had repented and joined the patriot cause. On the 3rd of August, 1814, he raised the cry of independence at Cuzco. He was joined by three brothers Vicente, Mariano, and José Angulo, by Don Gabriel Bejar, Hurtado de Mendoza, Domingo Luis Astete, Pinelo, Santiago Prado, and

others. The brothers Angulo were men of low birth, and vulgar both in their language and their persons; but Astete and Prado were gentlemen of good family and position. So unanimous was the feeling against Spanish rule, that the whole population of Cuzco joined heart and soul in the insurrection.

Having occupied Cuzco, the patriots divided their forces into three divisions, which separated in different directions, to excite the other provinces to revolt. Mariano Angulo, Bejar, and Mendoza (who was nicknamed Santafecino) marched to Guamanga, and were joined by a large body of Morochuco Indians. Colonel Vicente Gonzalez was sent against them from Lima, and defeated them near Guanta, but the country remained in a disordered state until Santafecino was finally routed at Matara in April, 1815. Pinela and the cura of Muncas entered Puno without resistance on August 29th, 1814, advanced to La Paz, and, after a siege of two days, took that town by assault on the 24th of February. In October, General Ramirez advanced from Oruro with 1,200 men, attacked the insurgents on the heights of La Paz, who numbered five hundred armed with muskets and the rest with slings. They retreated in good order and Ramirez occupied La Paz, reached Puno on November 23rd, and pressed on to Arequipa.

Pumacagua himself, with Vicente Angulo, and the main body of the Cuzco patriots marched to Arequipa. They encountered the Spanish troops under Brigadier Picoaga in the plain of Cangallo, and defeated them, taking Picoaga prisoner. Pumacagua entered Arequipa in triumph, where the greatest enthusiasm prevailed for the cause of independence. People of all races and classes were burning to throw off the yoke of Spain. Among others the poet Melgar joined the national

army. Mariano Melgar was an enthusiastic youth who had suffered from unrequited love. The fair object of his affections named Paredes, a blonde of exceeding beauty, married another and Melgar was plunged in grief. His plaintive sonnets are written both in Spanish and in Quichua, and some of his *despedidas* possess poetic merit which raise them above mediocrity. Melgar became secretary to Vicente Angulo.

On the approach of Ramirez, the cacique Pumacagua evacuated Arequipa and manœuvred for some days on the lofty plain between Apo and the post house of Pati. Ramirez steadily advanced, and came in sight of the patriot army at a little hut called Chillihua, near the head of the "Alto de los Huesos," on the south flank of the Misti volcano, which overhangs Arequipa. Pumacagua, avoiding a battle, retreated hastily over the snowy cordilleras, and Ramirez entered Arequipa without opposition on the 9th of December. His first act was to shoot Don Juan Astete, and others who had compromised themselves during the time that Pumacagua was in the city.

The enthusiasm of the Indians was so great that, notwithstanding the affair at Chillihua, which one authority describes as a retreat and another as a disastrous defeat, they again flocked to the standard of the old cacique, when he reached Pucara in the Collao. He soon had an undisciplined half-armed force around him, numbering 40,000 men. Ramirez organized a body of 1,200 men, armed with muskets, and fifty dragoons, and commenced his march from Arequipa on the 11th of February, 1815. On the 1st of March he encamped around the town of Lampa, which is twenty miles south of Pucara. On that day he received a letter from Vicente Angulo, protesting against the war



being carried on in a savage and relentless spirit, representing that when a whole people rises in arms, the insurgents should be granted belligerent rights, and urging the propriety of concluding the war by negotiation and not by bloodshed. "It is not fear," concluded Angulo, "that prompts me to write thus, but a feeling of humanity." Ramirez replied that he would listen to nothing but unconditional surrender. On the 4th he advanced to Ayaviri, on the Vilcañota pass which separates the Collao from the valley of the Vilcamayu. Here he received a letter from Pumacagua. The aged cacique asked the Spanish general for whom he was fighting, seeing that Ferdinand VII. had been sold to the French? He declared that there was now no other rule but the caprice of Europeans, and that he desired to establish a national government. Ramirez answered that a general of the king's army would not waste words with vile and insolent rebels, and that his bayonets would soon make them alter their tone.

From the 6th to the 10th of March the two armies marched on parallel lines, separated by the rivers Umachiri and Ayaviri. On the 10th Pumacagua drew up his forces behind a stream called Cupi, which had been swollen by the rains. He had only eight hundred men armed with muskets, and forty field-pieces cast at Cuzco by an Englishmen named George. The rest were unarmed Indians. Ramirez had 1,300 disciplined and well armed soldiers. During the night the Spaniards were annoyed by fire from the patriot field guns. At dawn they waded across the Cupi, near Umachiri, in spite of opposition. They then charged along the whole line, dispersed the Indians, killed a thousand men, and captured all the guns. The rout was complete. There was one little boy among the fugitives,

named Miguel San Roman, who lived to be president of Peru. His father escaped only to be shot by the relentless Spaniards in the square of Puno, but the son hurried down to join the liberators when they appeared off the coast in 1822, and fought in their ranks until no Spaniard remained in Peru. The poet Melgar was taken prisoner, and immediately shot on the battle-field. Ramirez marched to Cuzco, where he arrived on the 25th. He despatched a portion of his troops to pursue the fugitives, who were again defeated near Azangaro. The Spaniards cut off the ears of all their prisoners, flogged them cruelly, and sent them away to tell their comrades that they would be treated in the same way unless they instantly laid down their arms. The Indians fled over the hills, followed by the Spaniards, who again defeated them near Asillo. Among the prisoners at Asillo were the mutilated Indians who had been sent to terrify the rest, still fighting bravely against their tyrants. Of such heroism is the usually meek and docile Indian capable.

After the battle of Umachiri, old Pumacagua escaped to the height of Marangani, but he was betrayed by a man whom he had sent down to procure food, and brought a prisoner to Sicuani. He was seventy-seven years of age, and had repented the error of his youth in joining the enemies of his country against the Inca. His captors knew no mercy. He was hanged, not with a proper halter, but with a lasso. José, Mariano, and Vicente Angulo, Gabriel Bejar, and many others were shot by order of Ramirez, at Cuzco. Thus ended the last great rising of the Indians under one of their own chiefs, after a campaign which lasted ten months.

General Pezuela had been placed in a critical position by the insurrection of Pumacagua in his rear and

the necessity for detaching the force under Ramirez. For he was encamped at Luipacha, with the hostile army of Belgrano, fresh from Buenos Ayres, in his front. He, however, encountered his enemy at Ayohuma, in the province of Cochabamba, and the battle which followed ended in the total rout of Belgrano.

Vengeance was then wreaked on the Indians of the Collao who had supported Pumacagua, by Colonel Gonzalez, whose cruelty obtained for him the post of intendente of Puno. He fought several actions with detached bodies of armed insurgents, killing all his prisoners and sticking their heads on poles, in the different villages. He was reluctantly aided by Lieutenant-Colonel Gamarra, a native of Cuzco and a future hero of the independence, who defeated the Indians at the Apacheta de Collimani, where Santiago Prado, one of the leaders in the army of Pumacagua, was killed. Gonzalez killed one hundred and twenty persons in cold blood, including Miguel Pascual San Roman, the father of the future president, who was shot at Puno. "They fell into my hands, and I shot them," is the statement in the cold-blooded report of this miscreant, dated May 20th, 1816.

In 1814 Spanish power began to be threatened by sea as well as by land. On the 16th of May of that year a British seaman in command of some vessels fitted out by the Argentine insurgents, defeated a Spanish squadron off Montevideo. This was Captain William Brown, who was so encouraged by this first success, that he came around the Horn with four armed vessels under the Argentine flag. On January 20th, 1816, he was off Callao bay and captured several prizes, including two Spanish frigates, before his presence on the coast was known. The viceroy Abascal worked hard

to complete the armaments of five frigates and a brigantine, which sailed in pursuit of Brown's squadron on the 15th of February. Meanwhile Brown proceeded to Guayaquil and silenced a battery, but he was taken prisoner in a boat action. His brother anchored off the town, and threatened to set it on fire unless the prisoner was released. This demand was conceded, and Brown's squadron retired to the Galapagos Islands, where a partition of the booty took place, before returning to the river Plate.

During these operations by land and sea, liberal opinion continued to ferment in the capital. After the banishment of Riva Agüero, another young advocate became the leader of opposition to Spanish rule. Francisco de Paula Quiros was born at Arequipa in 1782, and graduated at the university of Guamanga in 1803. In the same year he came to Lima as an advocate. Shrewd, audacious, and restless, he was imbued with ideas of liberty, and his house became the focus of all revolutionary plans. In 1813 he was seized and imprisoned in the casemates of Callao Castle, but the influence of his relations procured his release. When the insurrection of Pumacagua broke out at Cuzco, Quiros at once began to conspire at Lima, bringing into requisition his friends, his money, his talent, and his audacity. Seeing that Lima had been denuded of troops, owing to the disturbances in the interior, he judged that the moment had arrived for action. There was only a militia regiment commanded by the Count of La Vega, who had himself opened his house to the enthusiasts for independence, and was favorable to the patriot cause. In the prison of the inquisition there had been a young patriot officer who had been taken prisoner at the battle of Ayohuma. In 1813 he was

removed to the casemates of Callao Castle. This was Pardo de Zela, the orphan son of a naval officer at Ferrol, who had been sent out to Buenos Ayres when only fifteen years old. He distinguished himself in the resistance of the people against General Beresford in 1806, and obtained a cadetship. Joining the patriot cause he served in the campaign under Belgrano and was now a prisoner. Quiros selected young Pardo de Zela as a colleague with whom to concert his revolutionary plans, and he gained access to the prisoner on pretence of being his legal adviser. Quiros had many warm sympathizers among the militia officers, and two of his most ardent supporters were the brothers Manuel and Tomas Menendez. Manuel owned the large sugar estate of Bocanegra, near the mouth of the Rimac, and was eventually acting-president of Peru. Among the ladies who took an active part in the movement were the Countess of Gisla and Doña Pepita Ferreyros.

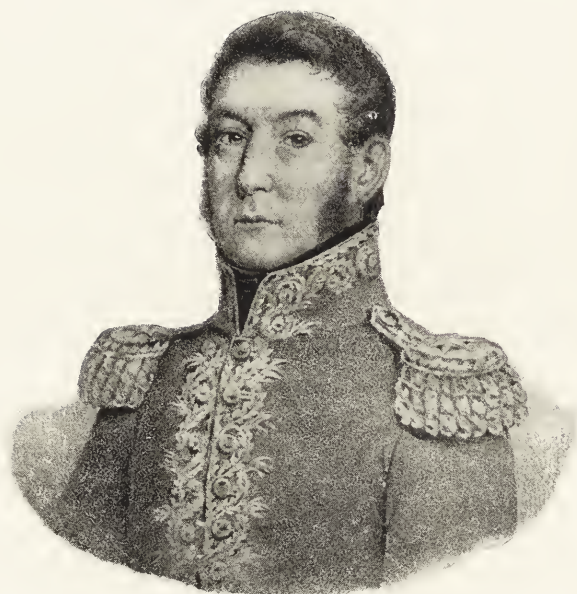
A batallion of veterans of the peninsula war was expected to arrive, and the advice of Pardo de Zela was to raise a popular insurrection before their arrival, liberating six hundred prisoners, and gaining over the militia. But there was vacillation and delay, until it was suddenly announced that the Talavera regiment had arrived at Callao. The plot had been betrayed. The militia regiment was disbanded. The Count of La Vega, whose only discovered crime was his popularity, was thrown into prison, while Pardo de Zela and the other political captives were more closely guarded than ever. Quiros was accidentally killed, while fencing with a Frenchman. He had worked to the last for the patriot cause, and his last words were—"My fate is like that of the chief of Israel. I die within

sight of the promised land." Reaction triumphed for a few more years, and the casemates of Callao Castle were filled with political prisoners loaded with chains.

Don José Abascal had been surrounded by difficulties. He had shown great activity and resource, and at the end of his term of office he saw his policy succeeding in all directions. Chile and upper Peru were reconquered. Resistance was stamped out in New Grenada. Buenos Ayres alone remained free. He thought that Spanish power was restored; while he was merely sitting on the safety valve. It was only a lull before the final storm. Abascal had married his only daughter Ramona to General Peveyra in 1815, and he prepared to return home alone. He was created Marquis de la Concordia. In July, 1816, he was relieved of the viceroyalty by General Pezuela and returned to Spain, where he held the rank of captain-general. He died at Madrid, at the age of seventy-eight, in 1821.

General Don Joaquim de la Pezuela entered Lima, as viceroy of Peru, on July 7th, 1816. He was relieved in the command of the army in upper Peru by General Don José de la Serna, who arrived at Arica in the *Venganza* frigate in 1816. General Ramirez was appointed president of Quito.





JOSE DE SAN MARTIN.



## CHAPTER X

### THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE UNDER SAN MARTIN.

General Don Joachim de la Pezuela was the last legitimate viceroy of Peru. Including the governors he was the forty-fourth from Pizarro. There were full length portraits of all the viceroys in the hall of the palace at Lima, and that of Pezuela just completed them, filling the last vacant place. After the independence these portraits were removed to the national museum. In 1817 Pezuela reported the condition of Peru. He was standing over a volcano. The whole country was ready to rise. He declared that the aversion of the Indians to the king's authority, and their love for the memory of the Incas, were indelible, and as strong as during the first days of the conquest. Hence they were always ready to listen to those who suggested insurrectionary movement. The cholos or mestizos, as the half castes were called, of whom the militia regiments were mainly composed, were said to be not quite so disaffected as the Indians, but still they were only too ready to make common cause with the malcontents. The viceroy could entertain no hope of support. He was conscious of the imminence of the danger, but he was not able to foresee from what direction the blow would come. A scientific officer of great

experience, Pezuela had none of the qualities which would fit him to face the gathering storm.

Buenos Ayres was the place where preparations could best be made to free Chile and Peru, but a guiding hand was required, of no common skill and resolution. Such a hand was providentially ready to grasp the situation when most needed. José de San Martín was a son of the governor of Paraguay, and was born at Yapeyá in the "Misiones" on the 25th of February, 1778. At the age of eight he went to Spain with his family, and was admitted a student of the college of nobles at Madrid. After entering the Spanish army, he so distinguished himself at the battle of Baylen that he obtained the rank of lieutenant-colonel. When he heard of the struggle for liberty in his native land, he resolved to cast in his lot with it. He proceeded to England, where he enjoyed the friendship of the Earl of Fife, and, sailing from the Thames in the ship "George Canning," he landed safely at Buenos Ayres. Soon after his arrival he married Doña Remedios Escalada, by whom he had an only daughter named Mercedes.

San Martín was at once appointed to an important command by the Argentine government. He introduced a regular and scientific system into the organization of the insurgent forces. In 1814 he began the labor of creating an army of the Andes at Mendoza, the nucleus of which was one hundred and eighty recruits from Buenos Ayres. He had conceived the plan of crossing the snowy cordillera of the Andes, and driving the Spaniards out of Chile. But it was a work of two years to increase his little nucleus to an army fit for the invasion of Chile. All that time San Martín devoted himself to the task with sound judgment, abil-

ity, and industry. He secured the full confidence of officers and men. Bernardo O'Higgins, a natural son of the viceroy, Marquis of Osorno, was a fugitive from Chile. He joined San Martin at Mendoza, and received command of a brigade. At length, on January 17th, 1817, General San Martin began his march over the Andes. The force consisted of two hundred and sixty regimental officers with five hundred and seventy mules to carry their baggage. The foot soldiers numbered 2,800, one mule being allowed to each man, and one extra to every five men. The cavalry numbered nine hundred, with 1,400 mules. The staff consisted of seventy-one officers for whom one hundred and seventeen mules were allowed. There were 1,200 militia in charge of the mules, and one hundred and twenty workmen with tools. Provisions were carried for 5,200 men for fifteen days on five hundred and ten mules, a cable bridge and grapnels on sixty-five mules; a field train of artillery with one hundred and ten rounds per gun, 500,000 musket cartridges, and one hundred and eighty loads of spare arms on seven hundred and seventy mules. Altogether there were 1,600 horses and 9,281 mules. The provisions consisted of jerked beef seasoned with capsicum, toasted maize, biscuit and cheese. The three divisions were under Generals Las Heras, Alvarado, and Conde.

Only 4,300 mules and five hundred horses ever arrived in Chile. When the road was comparatively good each piece of ordnance was carried on a bar between two mules, while in bad places it was dragged up by ropes. All the men suffered from the rarefaction of the air caused by the great elevation. This brings on a disease called *soroche* in South America, and many of the men even died of it. San Martin had

supplied onions as a remedy. The summit of the Uspallata Pass is 12,500 feet above the sea, upward of 4,000 feet higher than the pass of the great St. Bernard. This remarkable march, planned and achieved by San Martin, is certainly a greater feat than that of Napoleon in crossing the Alps, and equal to anything of the kind recorded in military annals. It brought deliverance first to Chile, and then to Peru.

In February, 1817, the vanguard of San Martin's army, under Colonel Necochea, drove back a small Spanish force, and the patriots debouched from the mountains, entering Santiago on the 14th. The Chileans elected San Martin to be the head of their government, but he declined the office, which was then conferred upon O'Higgins. The battle of Maypu, on April 5th, 1818, completed the destruction of Spanish power in Chile. San Martin then concentrated his whole attention on the capture of Lima and the liberation of Peru. He made two journeys across the Andes to Buenos Ayres and back, to obtain sanction for his project, and the means of bringing it to a successful termination. The first and foremost necessity was the collection of a fleet of ships at Valparaiso, for the conveyance of his army.

The command of the sea is the one thing needful, from a military point of view, for the invasion or defence of the land of the Incas. This command the Spaniards were about to lose. San Martin urged the Chileans to assist his enterprise by buying ships; for there could be no security for the independence he had won for them, while a Spanish viceroy had his headquarters at Lima. Two old East Indiamen were bought for \$340,000, their names were changed to the "San Martin" and "Lautaro," and they received

armaments of fifty-six and forty-four guns respectively. Captain Martin Guise, an English naval officer, brought out an old British corvette, which was also purchased and re-named the "Galvarino," of eighteen guns, with Guise as her captain. Three brigs, called the "Chacabuco," "Araucano," and "Puyrredon" were added: the whole cost of this little squadron being \$475,000. It put to sea on October 9th, 1818, and captured the Spanish frigate "Maria Isabel" at Concepcion. She was an important addition to the liberating fleet, and received the name of "O'Higgins," fifty guns.

Lord Cochrane, an English naval officer of distinguished services, great ability, and remarkable inventive talent, had accepted an offer of the Chilean government to command the squadron. He arrived at Valparaiso, and hoisted his flag on board the "O'Higgins" on the 22nd of December, 1818. The ships were all commanded by English officers, except Captain Worster, Guise's successor in the "Lautaro," who was an American. Under Lord Cochrane in the "O'Higgins" were Captain Forster, and Major Miller in command of the marines. The "San Martin" was commanded by Captain Wilkinson, the "Lautaro" by Captain Guise, and afterward by Captain Worster, "Chacabuco" by Captain Carter, the "Galvarino" by Captain Spry, "Araucano" by Captain Ramsay, then by Captain Crosbie, and finally by Captain Simpson, and "Puyrredon" by Captain Prunier. The squadron sailed from Valparaiso, and was off Callao early in February, 1819.

The Spanish fleet at Callao consisted of three frigates, the "Esmeralda" of forty-four guns, commanded by Don Luis Coig, the "Venganza" (42) and "Sebastiana" (28). There were also three brigs, the "Pezu-

ela," "Maypu," and "Potrilla," and six armed merchantmen. The "Prueba" frigate of fifty guns, commanded by Captain Villegas, was at Guayaquil.

The Spanish ships were moored under the guns of Callao castle, and Lord Cochrane's scheme for cutting them out was frustrated by a dense fog. The squadron engaged the forts on shore, and Captain Guise of the "Lautaro" was severely wounded. Captain Forster then took possession of the island of San Lorenzo, and Major Miller landed and formed a laboratory with a view to preparing fire ships, but on the 19th there was an accidental explosion by which he was very severely injured. Several young Peruvian patriots succeeded in joining the liberating squadron, among whom was a lad of sixteen named Vidal, who continued to serve as a volunteer. The squadron returned to Valparaiso, from what was looked upon as its trial trip, on June 17th, 1819.

In September Lord Cochrane again sailed for Callao, taking four hundred soldiers under Major Miller, to act as marines. It was intended to make an attack with fire ships and rafts with rockets. The latter were failures and the fire ships exploded prematurely. Two brigs under Guise were sent to Pisco to obtain supplies, a service which was successfully performed, but not without a sharp brush with seven hundred and fifty of the enemy. Captain Charles was killed, and Major Miller was hit in three places. One ball struck him on the right arm, a second permanently disabled his left hand, and a third hit him on the chest and broke a rib. It was the fate of this gallant officer never to go into action without being hit. Lord Cochrane, with the rest of the squadron, proceeded to the north of Callao, and hove to off Santa.

On November 16th, Ensign Vidal was landed with a small party. He captured the town after defeating three times his own number of Spaniards. The squadron returned to Valparaiso from its second cruise, in December, 1819.

General San Martin was nearly ready to embark. He had been indefatigable in overcoming obstacles, and pushing forward the preparations, and in January, 1820, he returned from a second visit to Buenos Ayres. He received much aid, in advances of money and stores, from foreign merchants, and by August, 1820, there was a force of 4,500 men assembled at Valparaiso, ready to embark. There were five infantry battalions, and two regiments of cavalry. Two of the battalions were composed entirely of Argentines. The other three were officered entirely by Argentines, and the men were two-thirds Argentines, and one third Chileans. Of this force not more than ten officers and ninety men continued in active service in Peru until the end of the war. Miller was the only field officer who sailed from Valparaiso and remained to see the war out.

The viceroy had been for two years in a state of the deepest anxiety. He was surrounded by perplexities, caused alike by the disasters to his arms in Chile, and by the seething mass of intrigue and discontent in Lima.

In July, 1818, a plot was discovered among the prisoners, aided by friends outside, to get possession of Callao Castle. Three of the ringleaders, including Colonel Gomez of Tacna, were executed, amidst the deep sympathy of the spectators, two months before the first appearance of Lord Cochrane's squadron. Riva Agüero, with that activity and energy which belonged to his character, continued to foment the desire

for liberty among the upper classes, as soon as he was released and allowed to return to Lima. He was aided by the young and accomplished professor of mathematics, Don Eduardo Carrasco, who was at the head of the nautical school, and had many attached disciples. Carrasco conducted a correspondence with the emissaries of San Martin, and supplied that general with plans and topographical details. Francisco Xavier Mariategui, a clever young lawyer, executed several delicate and often dangerous commissions which required youth and audacity. The students of San Carlos were so thoroughly imbued with patriotic aspirations that the viceroy Pezuela closed the college for three months, and when it was re-opened only a few selected students were admitted, under a reactionary rector.

At this time two emissaries from San Martin, named Paredes and Garcia, were secretly landed at Ancon with a box of proclamations and correspondence, and went on to Lima on foot. An interview with Riva Agüero was arranged in the house of the mother of Paredes, the letters were distributed, and the proclamations were posted up and scattered in all directions. Paredes then traveled along the coast to Truxillo, distributing letters and proclamations. But the whole plan was betrayed to the government. On the 26th of May, 1820, a number of patriots were marched off to prison, including Riva Agüero, Carrasco, and Pezet. They were locked up in the cells of the suppressed inquisition, and Carrasco was put in irons. After three months they were released, owing to want of evidence. The barefooted Franciscan Montenegro saved the patriots from a catastrophe on this occasion, by burning in his cell the correspondence of San Martin with numerous natives of Lima. Pezuela had other



things to think of. He had an army of 23,000 men to resist invasion, 7,815 in Lima and Callao, 8,485 quartered at Cuzco, Arequipa and Xauxa, 6,000 in upper Peru, and seven hundred at Pisco and Cañete on the coast.

On August 21st, 1820, San Martin's expedition sailed from Valparaiso, the fleet being under the command of Lord Cochrane. On September 7th the ships anchored in Paraccas Bay, six miles south of Pisco. Colonel Las Heras the chief of the staff, landed on the 8th, and the general with the rest of the force disembarked on the 12th. Colonel Alvarado, in command of the cavalry, occupied the valley of Chincha. San Martin then organized an expedition to penetrate into the interior, led by General Arenales, an officer aged sixty-five, who had grown gray in the service of the patriots in upper Peru. He left Pisco with two battalions of infantry, eighty horse and two field-pieces on the 5th of October, entered Yca the next day and chased the Spaniards as far as Acari, where a troop of mules laden with military stores was captured, and then began the ascent of the Andes.

General San Martin, owing to intelligence he had received, determined to take up a position to the north of Lima. The army was re-embarked at Pisco on the 26th of October, and landed again at Huacho seventy miles north of the capital. Headquarters were established at the inland town of Huaura on the 9th of November, 1820. Young Vidal had been promoted to the rank of captain by General San Martin, as soon as he landed. He showed wonderful enterprise in command of a body of light cavalry, scouring the country between Huaura and Lima, surprising royalist detach-

ments, creating important diversions, and keeping up communications with friends in the capital.

Having disembarked the army, Lord Cochrane had formed the design of cutting out the Spanish frigate "Esmeralda" from under the guns of Callao Castle. At 11 P.M. on the night of November 5th, 1820, his Lordship led the boats in two divisions respectively under Captains Guise and Crosbie, with one hundred and eighty seamen and one hundred marines. They approached and ran alongside the "Esmeralda" unperceived, boarding on both sides at the same time. There was much rivalry between Cochrane and Guise, who boarded at the same moment on opposite sides, and met on the quarter deck. Cochrane thought he was on board first, and muttered, "Where are you now, Guise?" "Here, my Lord!" was the prompt reply close beside him. They supported each other in the thick of the fight, the Spaniards making a spirited resistance with small arms. Before 1 A. M. the "Esmeralda" was taken. Her cables were cut, sails set, and she was transferred to an anchorage less under the range of the castle. The Spaniards lost one hundred and fifty, the patriots fifty killed and wounded. On the 8th of November the prize was brought to Ancon, and re-named the "Valdivia," Captain Guise receiving the command.

With the consent of General San Martin a small expedition under the command of Major Miller was then sent to the south on board the "San Martin" to create a diversion. Miller was put on shore, with his marines, at the Morro de Sama, and advanced boldly to the city of Tacna, where he received an enthusiastic welcome from the clergy and people. Two detachments were sent against him, one from Arequipa and the other from Puno by way of Torata. Miller had three hundred

and ten marines and seventy horse marines. He marched across a sandy desert and reached Mirabe, where the royalists were posted, on the 20th of May, 1821. There was a rapid stream to cross and Miller got his men over it during the night, mounting a marine behind every horse-marine. At dawn the fight began, and the Spaniards were defeated with heavy loss. On the 22nd Miller chased them to Locumba, where he was joined by two enthusiastic lads of seventeen from the college of Arequipa. Having defeated another Spanish detachment at Torata and visited Moquegua, Miller returned to Tacna, and embarked at Arica on the 22nd of July. Proceeding to Pisco, he landed there and took possession of the town on the 2nd of August, 1821.

The position of headquarters, where San Martin remained for some months, was wisely chosen, being conveniently near the capital. On the 3rd of December, 1820, the whole Spanish battalion of Numancia, six hundred and fifty strong and chiefly consisting of Colombians, came over to the patriots. On the 8th as many as thirty-eight Peruvian officers and several cadets arrived from Lima, including the gallant young Salaverry, a boy of fourteen years. San Martin's line extended from the sea near Huacho, along the right bank of the Huaura river to Sayan, a distance of about twenty miles. The Spanish army, under the viceroy Pezuela, was posted at Asnapuquio, about six miles north of Lima.

Meanwhile General Arenales had marched from Yca across the cordillera to Guamanga and thence to Tarma, where he heard that the royalist General O'Reilly was at Cerro Pasco. He, therefore, pressed onward, defeated the Spaniards on December 6th and took

O'Reilly prisoner. Colonel Andres Santa Cruz, a native of La Paz of noble Indian lineage, also surrendered to Arenales and joined the patriot cause. He was a man who was destined to play an important part in the future history of the country. Arenales returned to the coast, and made a second march to Cerro Pasco in May, 1821, but his movements led to no permanent military result. Indeed they were mischievous, for the poor Indians rose at his call and made a gallant stand at Huancayo, but they were unsupported, and were mercilessly slaughtered by the royalist General Ricaforte.

An important event took place in the Spanish camp at Asnapuquio in January, 1821. San Martin had advanced his camp to Retes, a league north-east of Chancay; but he was resolved to avoid a battle. The viceroy was at a loss what course to take, and the generals of the army were irritated and discontented, because they feared that negotiations might be opened with results prejudicial to their interests. On the 29th of January an insubordinate letter was addressed to the viceroy, calling upon him to resign, and to deliver over his command to General Don Josè de la Serna. The letter was signed by Generals Canterac, Valdez, Rodil, Carratalà, Bedoya, Tur, Narvaez, Garcia Camba, and ten others. It was in fact a deposition and, as the mutineers were leading the army, Pezuela had no alternative. He abdicated after an unquiet and anxious term of four years and a half. He went to live in the village of Magdalena near Lima, until he could find an opportunity of embarking for Europe. His wife, Doña Angela Cevallos de Pezuela, and children, were taken on board H. B. M. S. "Andromache," but Captain Sheriff said that the laws of neutrality prevented him

from receiving the ex-vice-roy. At length the last legal representative of the king of Spain in Peru went across Callao Bay in a small fishing-boat, in the night of the 29th of June, and got on board the schooner "Washington," with three friends. He was taken, by way of Rio, to Falmouth, and thence made his way to Spain, where he published a detailed vindication of his conduct. He was created Marquis of Viluma, and in 1825 he was appointed Captain-General of Castilla la Nueva. He died at Madrid in 1830, at the age of sixty-nine, after a military service extending over fifty-five years.

Immediately after the deposition of the vice-roy, a hundred officers and civilians arrived at the camp of San Martin, from Lima. The most important was Colonel Gamarra, a native of Cuzco, and the future president of Peru, and Colonel Elespuru his devoted friend. San Martin now raised the first battalion of Peruvians. The Spanish generals declared Don José de la Serna to be vice-roy of Peru. This was an irregular and lawless proceeding, but it was eventually recognized from home. The Spanish government sent out a naval captain named Don Manuel Abreu, to ascertain the demands of the patriots and arrange a compromise. He was well received both by San Martin and La Serna, and an armistice of twenty days was established. San Martin proposed as a basis for peace that the independence of the country should be recognized, that there should be a provisional constitution until the election of a congress, and that a Bourbon prince should ascend the throne of Peru. The new vice-roy gave his personal assent to these proposals, but the other royalist generals insisted upon their rejection. The negotiations came to an end in May.

The royalists now resolved to evacuate the coast, being without ships and cut off from all means of communication. General Canterac marched into the interior in June. On July 6th the viceroy, La Serna, after having garrisoned and provisioned Callao Castle, and left it in command of Sub-Inspector Lamar, evacuated Lima. He marched by way of Yauyos, to Xauxa, where he formed a junction with Generals Canterac and Carratalà, at the head of 3,000 men.

In the night of the 9th of July, 1821, General San Martin entered the capital of Peru.

The Independence of Peru was proclaimed at Lima on the 28th of July, 1821. On the 3rd of August General San Martin was declared protector of Peru. He appointed Don Juan Garcia del Rio his minister of foreign affairs, Don Bernardo Monteagudo of war and marine, and Don Hipolito Unanue of finance. On the 28th a decree abolished the *mita* or forced labor of Indians. The establishment of a national library was also decreed. In October the order of the Sun was instituted and titles of nobility, with their entails, were retained. In the following year a loan of £1,200,000 with six per cent interest, was raised in England, through the minister Garcia del Rio. There was the utmost enthusiasm among the native population; but the Spaniards, of whom there were a great number in the capital, had nothing to expect but deprivation and severity.

The protector San Martin sent the specie found in the Lima treasury to Ancon for safety, in his yacht the "Sacramento." Lord Cochrane had long been making bitter complaints that the men of the Chilean squadron were unpaid and consequently discontented. He proceeded to Ancon and forcibly seized the treasure,

on the pretext of paying his men. He alleged that he took \$285,000 for this purpose. After an investigation the protector declared that \$400,000 were missing. He, therefore, ordered Cochrane and the Chilean squadron to depart from Peruvian waters. Out of thirty English officers, fifteen, including Captain Guise, disapproved of the conduct of Lord Cochrane. They went on shore, and Guise was appointed commodore of the Peruvian navy, which was intended to be formed. A commencement was made soon afterward when the Spanish frigate "Prueba" came into Callao and surrendered. She received the name of "Protector."

Lord Cochrane took his squadron, with the fourteen English officers who sided with him, to Guayaquil. He then cruised off the coast of Mexico for Spanish frigates, and returned to Valparaiso on the 13th of June, 1822, after an absence of a year and nine months. He finally left the Chilean service and departed, on the 18th of January, 1823. Thus ended the proceedings of the Chilean squadron, which soon afterward ceased to exist. The "San Martin" had been wrecked off Chorrillos in July, 1821. The "O'Higgins" was sold to Buenos Ayres in 1826, and was lost off the Horn. The "Lautaro" became a store hulk at Valparaiso. The "Valdivia" ("Esmeralda") was wrecked in the bay of Valparaiso. The "Independencia" and "Chacabuco" were sold to Buenos Ayres in 1826. The "Galvarino" sank at her moorings in Valparaiso bay. The "Puyrredon" was wrecked off Ancon in 1821. The "Araucano" was burned by mutineers in 1822. Some of the English officers settled in Chile. Robert Simpson, who had commanded the "Araucano," was for many years commodore of the Chilean navy. Lord Cochrane and the Chilean government disputed over questions of ac-

count and arrears of pay for many long years afterward.

Miller received the rank of colonel, after the action at Mirabe. This distinguished officer was born at Wingham in Kent, England, and served in the field train department of the royal artillery throughout the peninsular war, under Wellington. In 1817 he sailed for South America and was appointed a captain of artillery by the Argentine government. Passing on into Chile, he was captain of marines under Cochrane, and entered the Peruvian service under San Martin. When he landed at Pisco in August, 1821, he found a Spanish garrison of two hundred men commanded by Colonel Santalla who retreated to Yca. Miller followed close on his heels, and cut off the enemy's retreat along the coast, so he retired into the mountains where the Morochuco Indians, who were ardent republicans, rose against him *en masse*, obliging him to disband his troops. Santalla was a tall man of great strength and was double jointed so that he could tear a pack of cards in two with the fingers and thumb of one hand. Colonel Miller now assumed the government of an extensive country with Yca as its centre. But hearing that Canterac was threatening Lima, Colonel Miller marched northward in the direction of the capital. Lurin is the first valley south of that of the Rimac, a desert intervening and as Miller emerged from the bright green fields on to the arid waste he saw the Spanish columns in full march before him. He was too weak to attack them, but reached Lima, to re-inforce San Martin on the 12th of September.

Josè Canterac was the most enterprising of the Spanish generals. He was a Frenchman of a royalist family, who took service in the Spanish army to continue



to serve another branch of those Bourbons who had been driven out of France. He had been in South America since 1815, serving first under General Morillo in New Granada, and from 1818 with La Serna in upper Peru. He was the ringleader in the mutiny against the viceroy Pezuela, and the main support of La Serna. But his march to the coast in September, 1821, showed more dash than judgment. When he entered the valley of the Rimac, San Martin drew up his army outside Lima and preserved a watchful attitude: holding that it would be an advantage if, by an increase of the mouths to be fed, the surrender of Callao Castle was hastened. Canterac, therefore, was allowed to march unmolested to the castle and everything fell out as the protector expected. Canterac's arrival only augmented the difficulties of the garrison. He, therefore, returned to the *Sierra* by the road of Carabayllo and Canta, followed for a short distance by a small force under Colonel Miller.

On the 21st of September, 1821, Callao Castle surrendered to the protector, and its governor General Lamar, a native of Cuenca in the province of Quito, and an officer who had seen much service in Spain, came over to the patriot ranks. At this time a Peruvian legion was organized, with the Marquis of Torre Tagle, a nobleman of Lima, as its general. A regiment of infantry was rendered efficient with Miller as its colonel, who gave the men a blue uniform with red facings, the cavalry was entrusted to a French officer named Brandesen who had served on the staff of Eugene Beauharnais, and the artillery was commanded by Arenales, an Argentine officer. After the surrender of the castle, a field officer of high rank who had joined the patriots, named Domingo Tristan, was sent to assume command

at Yca and the neighboring coast valleys. The indefatigable Canterac determined to attack him. Leaving Xauxa with 1,500 foot and six hundred horse he crossed the cordillera and reached the vicinity of Yca on the 6th of April. Tristan was ignorant of the position of his enemy, and was marching past a place called Macacona near Yca, when he was suddenly attacked on the flank. His troops dispersed immediately, and he lost all his arms and ammunition. But this was merely a transient success, for Canterac was obliged to return to his base of operations in the Sierra. The victory of Pichincha, near Quito, on the 24th of May, 1822, was a counterbalancing event. General Ramirez had been in command at Quito, with the title of president of the Audience, since 1816. When General Bolivar had liberated Venezuela and New Granada from the Spanish yoke, he turned his attention to Ramirez, and invaded Quito. A Peruvian auxiliary division had been sent from Truxillo under Colonel Santa Cruz. At the battle of Pichincha it was these Peruvians who bore the brunt of the action, but the fate of the day was decided by a brilliant charge of Colombians under Colonel Cordova. General Ramirez capitulated, and the independence of Quito was secured. General Bolivar then came to the port of Guayaquil flushed with victory, and full of ambition to add to the lustre of his name by the liberation of Peru. General San Martin was a pure patriot, with little personal ambition. He saw clearly that there could be no room for himself and Bolivar in the same sphere of action, and that it was necessary for the welfare of the common cause that one of them should retire. He did not hesitate to make the sacrifice. An interview was arranged at Guayaquil between the two generals. It took place on the

26th of July, 1822, the protector having delegated his powers in Peru during his absence, to the Marquis of Torre Tagle. The particulars of this interview have never been fully divulged.

During the stay of San Martin at Guayaquil, the minister Montegudo exceeded his powers and treated the Spaniards in Lima with great cruelty. He carried his extortions and tyrannical imprisonments to such a height that he was universally hated. A half-caste of Chuquisaca in upper Peru, he was as unscrupulous and insolent as he was undoubtedly clever. In the protector's absence the people rose and demanded his dismissal. Torre Tagle yielded, and the unpopular minister was sent to Callao under arrest, whence he retired to Quito. Returning to Peru under the patronage of Bolivar, he was assassinated at Lima in 1824, by one of the victims of his tyranny.

The protector San Martin returned from Guayaquil on the 21st of August. In his absence deputies had been elected to form a congress, which was installed by the protector with due formality on the 20th of September, 1822. He resigned all authority into the hands of the representatives of the people, and withdrew to his country house at the little village of Magdalena. He then issued a farewell address. "The presence of a fortunate soldier," he said, "is dangerous to newly constituted states. Peruvians! I leave your national representation established. If you repose confidence in it, you will triumph; if not, anarchy will overtake you. May success preside over your destinies, and may they be crowned with felicity and peace."

The career of San Martin had been honorable and magnanimous. He was an intrepid soldier, an enterprising general, and a disinterested patriot. He had

achieved great ends through his genius for organization, his untiring zeal, and his enthusiasm. He was the liberator both of Chile and of Peru. He did not tarnish his career by self-seeking or by personal ambition. He sacrificed his own future, willingly and spontaneously for the good of the cause he loved. San Martin sailed for Valparaiso, but made no long stay in Chile. His wife died at Mendoza just before he reached that place, on his way to Buenos Ayres. In 1823, he sailed for England, where he remained for some time, also visiting the Earl of Fife in Scotland. He then went to Brussels to complete the education of his only daughter Mercedes. In November, 1828, he again visited England, and sailed thence to Buenos Ayres, but returned almost immediately. His daughter was married in 1832 to Don Manuel Balcarcel, and the general took a small cottage at Grand Bourg where he resided for the rest of his life. He died at Boulogne aged seventy-two, on the 17th of August, 1850. After many years his remains were removed to South America and deposited in the cathedral at Buenos Ayres with magnificent funeral rites, on the 28th of May, 1880. An equestrian statue had previously been inaugurated in the centre of the square which is named in his honor.

## CHAPTER XI

RIVA AGUERO, FIRST PRESIDENT OF PERU AND THE FIRST  
CONGRESS.—CAREER OF BOLIVAR

The first constituent congress of Peru became the sovereign power of the state on the departure of San Martin, and for nearly a year that body conducted the affairs of the country, and directed the operations of war. Dr. Francisco Xavier Luna Pizarro was elected president of the congress, and Dr. Mariategui was secretary. Born at Arequipa in 1780, Luna Pizarro was a student at San Geronimo from 1791 to 1798, and it will be remembered that he was one of the favorite pupils of the good bishop Chavez de la Rosa. He became a licentiate in 1798, took orders in 1799, and went to Spain in 1809 with the bishop. He filled the post of chaplain to the council of the Indies for a short time, and on his return to Peru in 1814 he became a canon of Lima. Dr. Luna Pizarro was an ardent patriot and was in favor of establishing the independence without foreign aid.

The congress appointed an executive committee, called a "Junta Gubernativa," consisting of the Count of Vista Florida, a nobleman of Lima and son of that accomplished count whose great popularity caused so

much anxiety to the viceroy Abascal; General Lamar who had been the royal governor of Callao Castle, but who had now come over to the patriots; and General Alvarado, one of the Argentine officers of San Martin. Don Josè de la Riva Aguero had become a colonel and was made president of the department, while General Arenales commanded the Lima garrison. On the 25th of September all the troops took the oath of fidelity to the congress. Through the exertions of Colonels Miller and Videla, the men were well clothed and equipped. They were popular and well conducted, while the officers were cordially received in Lima society. A ball was given to them in October, the company being received by Doña Rosa de Panizo, who had been the pride of the viceregal court of Abascal.

The congress resolved to send an expedition to the southern provinces of Peru under the command of General Rudesindo Alvarado, an Argentine officer, with Colonel Pinto as chief of the staff. The force consisted of 3,860 men, seven hundred of which formed the first battalion of the Peruvian legion under the command of Colonel Miller. The expedition sailed from Callao in several transports conveyed by the frigate "O'Higgins," and disembarked at Arica.

At this time the viceroy La Serna had established his headquarters at Cuzco; while there were royalist divisions 5,000 strong at Xauxa under Canterac, 3,000 strong under Valdez in the south, and near the coast, and 3,000 strong at Potosi under Olañeta.

Alvarado had shown himself to be an excellent regimental officer under San Martin, but he wanted decision and dash when placed in an independent command. The Spanish General Valdez only had about 2,500 men in the valleys of Locumba, Moquegua and Sama. He

might have been routed at once by the rapid movements of an enterprising opponent, but delay was fatal, for Canterac was hurrying up reinforcements from the north and Carratalà from Puno. Alvarado could not make up his mind what to do, and remained inactive near Arica for several weeks. At last Miller was sent on detached service, embarking at Arica with orders to land at Camaná and endeavor to divert the attention of Canterac and Carratalà. Alvarado advanced to Tacna, and marched thence to Moquegua on the 19th of January, 1823. Valdez was encamped on the heights of Torata, above Moquegua, where he was joined by Canterac, and every attempt of Alvarado to dislodge them proved unavailing.

Miller had rejoined the main body, and Alvarado proceeded to attack the heights of Torata, where Valdez had made a very judicious selection of strong positions. They were assaulted for several hours, and the Peruvian legion behaved with special gallantry. These young troops were led by Colonel Miller, a man of cool and correct judgment, and quite unprejudiced. It will, therefore, be interesting in this place to examine the opinion he formed of the Peruvians as soldiers. His evidence is that the Indians are very strong-limbed and capable of enduring great fatigue. They perform a long journey with marvelous rapidity, and a battalion has been known to march thirteen and fourteen leagues in one day. They are naturally brave, docile, quick at learning their duties, supple in limbs, sober, hardy, cheerful, and subordinate under fatigue and privations, so that they make admirable soldiers. Miller's battalion was cut to pieces in the battle of Torata, but men and officers behaved nobly. The firmness with which the enemy's cavalry charges were repulsed after the

rest of the army had given way, and the *sang froid* with which the battalion maneuvered under fire, drew forth expressions of applause from Canterac himself. Yet they were all recruits. Pedro de la Rosa, Tarramona, Escobar and six other subalterns were killed, leading on their men, all from seventeen to twenty-four years of age. They were officers who would have done honor to any European service, and their contempt of danger inspired their men with enthusiastic valor.

The battle of Torata was fought on the 19th of January, 1823. Toward night Alvarado retreated, but halted on the 21st in a state of indecision. The royalists again attacked him outside Moquegua and there was a complete rout. Alvarado fled to the port of Ylo, where he was only able to embark about a third of his force. Miller, with the small remnant of his battalion, retreated along the coast. They reached Callao on the 12th of March, 1823.

The failure of the Alvarado expedition led to a change of government and, after an existence of five months the executive committee of three was dissolved. On February 26th, 1823, the principal officers of the patriot army near Lima set forth, in an animated and forcible address to congress, the critical state of affairs. They recommended the appointment of Riva Agüero as president of the republic. The document was signed by several who became famous in the future history of their country: including Santa Cruz, Gamarra, and La Fuente. The name also of Juan Pardo Zela appears, the young officer whose conspiracy, when a prisoner in Callao Castle, came to such a fatal termination. He was now a colonel in the patriot army.

The congress concurred, and Don José de la Riva Agüero became the first president of the republic of



Peru. He took the oaths, and was bound with a bicolored scarf of red and white, on the 28th of February, 1823. On the 4th of March, the congress gave him the rank of grand marshal. Santa Cruz received chief command of the forces, with the rank of general of division, Gamarra was appointed chief of the staff, and Miller became a general of brigade. A national flag was adopted, red, white, red, perpendicular.

Riva Agüero displayed great activity, and Santa Cruz brought the army to a high state of efficiency, both as regards numbers and equipment. Peruvians were at the head of affairs for the first time. In three months the president created two armies, formed a plan of campaign, sent an expedition to Arica, and placed Callao in a position of defence. He raised a loan, obtained funds from foreign merchants, organized a reserve force at Truxillo, and increased the little navy which was gradually being formed by Captain Guise. Without the energetic measures of Riva Agüero, at this juncture, the Spaniards would have recovered Peru.

An expedition under the command of Santa Cruz sailed from Callao in May, 1823, consisting of 5,000 men. The principal officers were General Gamarra, Colonels Blas Cerdeña, a native of the Canary Isles, Pardo Zela, Placencia and Elespuru. The force consisted of six battalions of infantry, three squadrons of horse, and eight field-pieces. Santa Cruz formed his little army into divisions under himself and Gamarra.

He entered La Paz August 7th, 1823, having met with no opposition, and Gamarra occupied Oruro. They were thus one hundred and fifty miles apart. The Spanish General Olañeta fell back on Potosi. Valdez, who exceeded even Canterac in the celerity of his movements, was at Andahuaylas. In his march to

Puno he actually averaged twenty miles a day for fifty-seven successive days, in part over a most difficult mountainous road. On the approach of the royalists, Santa Cruz left La Paz and marched to the Dasaguadero, which he crossed, encountering Valdez with 1,800 men at Zepita. The forces under Santa Cruz numbered about 1,600. A battle was fought on the 25th of August, 1823. Colonel Cerdeña, leading on his battalion, was severely wounded and the soldiers, seeing their leader fall, retired in disorder. Two other battalions were repulsed and fled. At that moment a brilliant charge of the Peruvian cavalry retrieved the fortunes of the day. Valdez was routed, and retreated to Pomata on the road back to Puno, on the west side of Lake Titicaca, while Santa Cruz retired behind the Desaguadero, to keep open his communication with Gamarra at Oruro.

The viceroy La Serna was marching from Cuzco to support Valdez, whom he joined at Pomata, three days after the battle of Zepita. The combined force mustered 4,500 men. Santa Cruz hastily retreated toward Oruro, forming a junction with Gamarra on the 8th of September. The royalists crossed the Desaguadero at Calacota in balsas, and followed in pursuit, going over one hundred and ninety miles in eight days. Forming a junction with Olañeta, the viceroy was in overpowering force, and Santa Cruz fled toward the coast. The rapid retreat caused a panic, insubordination ensued, and there was a general dispersion. Many perished in a dreadful snow storm near Ayo ayo. Santa Cruz hurried down to Moquegua with a remnant of his army, barely numbering 1,300 men, out of an army of 7,000. He embarked at Ylo on board a ship commanded by Captain Guise, and arrived at Callao.

The viceroy returned to his headquarters at Cuzco. Canterac received command of the royalist army of the north, to be stationed in the valley of Xauxa, threatening Lima. Valdez became general of the army of the south, at Arequipa and Puno.

In completing the account of the Santa Cruz expedition, events at Lima have been somewhat anticipated. Soon after the departure of the expedition of Santa Cruz from Callao, an auxiliary force of 3,000 Colombians arrived with General Sucre as diplomatic agent for the government of Bolivar. Meanwhile Canterac concentrated 9,000 men in the valley of Xauxa, and prepared to march on the capital. Great consternation and alarm was caused at Lima by his approach. The president, Riva Agüero, summoned a council of war, at which Sucre was elected commander-in-chief. It was determined that Lima should be abandoned, and that the patriot forces should retire under the guns of Callao Castle. Canterac entered Lima on the 16th of June, 1823, with 9,000 well equipped troops and fourteen field-pieces.

Sucre was secretly intriguing to undermine the government of Riva Agüero, and prepare the way for the advent of his master, Bolivar. He, and his colleague Tomas Heres, seduced and corrupted several members of the Peruvian congress, and through their means a revolution was prepared at Callao. On the 19th of June, 1823, the president Riva Agüero was lawlessly deposed. Don José Bernardo Tagle, Marquis of Torre Tagle, a weak, unprincipled man who was the tool of Bolivar, was nominally placed in command of the Peruvian executive with the title of supreme delegate, but General Sucre retained all the power in his own

hands, as commander-in-chief. Canterac evacuated Lima on July 17th and returned to the *Sierra*.

Riva Agüero proceeded to Truxillo, with the loyal majority of the congress, where they resumed their sittings, and where the president assembled a force of 3,000 men. He continued in power there for six months; but on the 25th of November, 1823, he was arrested by Colonel La Fuente, one of his own officers, and placed in confinement. Torre Tagle, at the instigation of Bolívar, sentenced the president to be shot as a traitor, while La Fuente was advanced to the rank of general of brigade.

Fortunately Admiral Guise arrived at Huanchaco, the port of Truxillo, at this juncture. He insisted upon the liberation of Riva Agüero and that he should be allowed to retire to Europe. For this timely interference Guise incurred the lasting enmity of Bolívar.

Don José de la Riva Agüero, who would have been the means of liberating Peru with a Peruvian army if the intrigues of Bolívar and Sucre had not thwarted him, was thus driven into exile. He published a vindication of his administration in London in 1824, and addressed another memoir to the Peruvian congress from Antwerp in 1827. Grand Marshal Riva Agüero was also Marquis of Monte Alegre, and a Knight of the order of Charles III. He married, on the 26th of June, 1826, the Princess Caroline, daughter of Duke Charles Louis Auguste de Loos et Corswaren, at the Chateau de Boulez in Brabant. In 1831 the grand marshal was allowed to return to Peru, but his support of Santa Cruz led to his second banishment in 1839. In 1847 he was once more free to return to his native land, and he died in 1850. One of his sons, in after years, was an accomplished Peruvian statesman.

Riva Agüero is one of the most interesting characters in the history of Peruvian independence. Born to a good position in the days of the viceroys, and with the advantages of a liberal education and of European travel, he devoted all the energies of a young and ardent mind to the cause of his country's independence. He entered upon this work when it was a service of danger, when the public teaching of liberal ideas was punished with imprisonment and even death. Undaunted by the perilous nature of his undertaking he persevered until a public opinion in favor of freedom had been formed in Peru. He thus smoothed the way for San Martín and was the most potent agent in the success of his enterprise. When the independence of Peru was declared, Riva Agüero was the most distinguished Peruvian liberal. His nomination by the congress to the high office of first president of Peru was the goal of his legitimate ambition. He had capacity and the means of leading his country to ultimate victory. The Spaniards, cut off from all communication with the mother country, must have succumbed sooner or later under any circumstances. Foreign chiefs and dictators were not needed, and the intrigues of Bolívar were fraught with calamity to Peru. San Martín was devoted to a noble cause. Bolívar was mainly actuated by personal ambition.

The congress of 1822, which elected Riva Agüero, had promulgated a constitution. It also abolished all titles of nobility, as well as the order of the Sun instituted by San Martín, declaring them to be incompatible with republican institutions. General Bolívar landed at Callao on the 1st of September, 1823, and the members of congress, who had supported General Sucre's revolution, dissolved themselves on the 10th of

February, 1824, and conferred an absolute dictatorship on the Colombian chief.

Simon Bolivar was born at Caraccas on July 24th, 1783, being the second son of Don Juan Vicente Bolivar y Ponte, a colonel of militia in the plains of Aragua in Venezuela, by Doña Maria Concepcion Palacios y Sojo. Both were natives of Caraccas, and "Mantuanas," a kind of aristocracy in Venezuela. The name is Basque. The father died in 1786 and the mother in 1789. Young Simon was left an orphan, with an elder brother who died in 1815, and two sisters. The family enjoyed a good income from the produce of large cattle estates. The favorite residence of the Bolivars was at one of these farms called San Mateo. They also had a beautiful country house in the valley of Aragua, near the lake of Valencia, which was destroyed by Boves in 1814. Simon Bolivar was sent to Spain at the age of fourteen and went thence to France, leading a dissolute life at Paris for several years. In 1802, at the age of nineteen, he returned to Madrid and married Teresa, daughter of Don Bernardo de Toro, whose age was sixteen. They returned to Caraccas in 1809 and his wife died childless a few years afterward. Bolivar then went to Europe a second time, and returned in company with Empan, the new captain-general of Venezuela, appointed by the regency of Cadiz.

On April 19th, 1810, there was a revolution in Venezuela. General Empan was deposed, and a government was formed, consisting of Don Martin Tobar and others. Bolivar declined to join the movement. But he accepted an appointment as envoy to England, to solicit protection for Venezuela; where he was well received by the Marquis Wellesley, then minister of foreign affairs. The mediation of the British govern-

ment was offered and declined by Spain. Bolivar returned in company with General Miranda, who was placed in command of the Venezuelan troops. The opening of the political career of the hero of Colombian independence was not very creditable. Miranda induced him to accept the grade of lieutenant-colonel and the command of Puerto Cabello, the strongest fortress in the country. In June, 1812, Bolivar deserted his post, and embarked in an armed schooner for La Guayra, leaving behind garrison, arms, and stores of ammunition. He retired to his estate of San Mateo, and the Spanish General Monteverde at once took possession of Puerto Cabello. The transaction reveals the man's character. The defection obliged Miranda to come to terms with the Spaniards, and the first republic of Venezuela ceased to exist. Soon afterward, in defiance of the agreement, Miranda was arrested, transported to Cadiz in irons, and imprisoned in a fort where he lingered for some years and died. Bolivar was guilty as an aider and abettor of the arrest. Domingo Monteverde entered Caraccas as captain-general of Venezuela on the 9th of August, 1812.

Bolivar now had the field clear for his own ambitious schemes. He went to Curaçoa and thence to Cartagena, where he obtained command of a small force and proceeded up the Magdalena river, defeating some royalist detachments. He crossed the Venezuelan frontier and, as the Spaniards gave no quarter, he declared a war of extermination. Continuing to be successful in his encounters with royalist troops, he approached Caraccas and entered the city on August 4th, 1813. Bolivar now sacrificed a large portion of his private fortune in maintaining his troops, and conducted the expedition with great skill and persever-

ance. On January 2nd, 1814, he was declared dictator of Venezuela. A counter-revolution was brought about in the *llanos* or vast plains in the centre of Venezuela by a Spaniard named Josè Tomas Boves, who organized a large force of mounted ruffians and occupied the valley of Aragua. Bolivar's troops were dispersed, and he was forced to evacuate Caraccas. He fled into New Granada, and a congress, assembled at Tarija, conferred on him the command of the forces of that country.

The Spanish government resolved to make a great effort to suppress these insurrections. They sent out an army of 10,000 men under General Morillo. When the news of their arrival reached Bolivar, he at once fled to Jamaica, and Morillo reconquered Venezuela and New Granada. He was a ruthless tyrant, and shot the leading patriots at Bogota in great numbers. In 1817 Bolivar made a descent upon Venezuela, landed at Angostura, and fought several indecisive actions with detachments of Spanish troops. An English legion arrived in 1819 to re-inforce the patriots, consisting of disbanded soldiers well equipped and numbering 2,000 men. The Venezuelan congress was installed at Angostura in February, 1819, and Bolivar was elected president of the republic.

Samano, the viceroy of New Granada, then advanced into Venezuela, to unite his forces with those of General Barrero. Bolivar, with rapid military intuition, boldly marched his army so as to interpose between them, before they could form a junction. The battle of Boyaca followed. It was fought on the 7th of August, 1819. The English under Colonel Mackintosh rendered important service, and the victory of Bolivar was complete. Three days afterward he entered Bogota in triumph. On December 25th, 1819, a congress



decreed that New Granada and Venezuela should henceforward form one republic to be called Colombia. Bolivar was chosen the first president with the title of liberator. Morillo returned to Europe in 1820, and General la Torre succeeded him in command of the royalist army. On June 24th, 1821, Bolivar attacked it at Carabobo near Caraccas, and a patriot victory decided the fate of Colombia. The liberator then turned his attention to Quito. Assembling a force at Popayan he advanced southward, preceded by his lieutenant Sucre. The latter won the battle of Pichincha on the 24th of May, 1822, and Quito became part of the vast republic of Colombia. Bolivar entered Quito on the 16th of June, annexed Guayaquil and obtained leave from the obsequious congress of Colombia to proceed to Peru. His age was then forty.

Bolivar was a little man, only five feet, four inches in height. His face was long, with hollow cheeks and livid brown complexion, eyes sunk deep in the head, body thin and meagre. A large moustache and whiskers covered part of his face. He was passionately fond of dancing and of lolling in a Spanish hammock. His character was made up of vanity, ambition, profound dissimulation and a thirst for absolute power. He had read little and was a bombastic writer. He never smoked. His voice was loud and harsh, and he indulged in fits of passion and personal abuse, his temper being fiery and capricious. His manners were generally good, but not prepossessing.

Antonio Josè de Sucre, Bolivar's second in command, was born at Cumana, in Venezuela, on the 13th of June, 1793, the son of Don Vicente Sucre by Ana Maria de Alcala. Entering the army in 1811, he served with credit under Miranda, and afterward under Piar.

From 1814 to 1817 he was on the staff of the Colombian army, and he afterward commanded a division sent to assist the province of Guayaquil. His great military achievement, before his arrival in Peru, was the victory of Pichincha.

For two years and a half the destinies of Peru were placed under the absolute control of these two Colombians, Bolivar and Sucre.





STATUE OF BOLIVAR, LIMA.

## CHAPTER XII

### THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE UNDER BOLIVAR

The Dictator Bolivar made his public entry into Lima on the 1st of September, 1823, and the remainder of the year was devoted to the organization of the army. The patriot forces numbered 7,000 men two-thirds being Colombians. On February 7th, 1824, a serious disaster weakened their position. The garrison of Callao Castle, headed by a mulatto serjeant named Moyano, mutinied and imprisoned the governor, General Alvarado, and the other officers. The men were Chileans and Argentines. They demanded payment of arrears. A royalist prisoner, Colonel Casariego, was made governor, and on the 18th the Spanish colors were hoisted. A letter was then despatched to General Canterac at Xauxa, inviting him to take possession. On March 3rd General Monet, with a royalist division, entered the castle. Eventually General Rodil was left as governor, Monet returning to Xauxa. At this time many half-hearted people at Lima began to vacillate, fearing the consequences to themselves if Bolivar failed and the Spaniards returned to power. Among these doubters were the Marquis of Torre Tagle and his family and the Viscount of San Donas. They went into Callao Castle, and most of them perished misera-

bly during the long siege. Dr. Pezet, the liberal physician and one of the earliest advocates of freedom, was captured by the Spaniards, and forced to edit the Spanish Gazette in the castle, but he also died there, leaving a son who in after years, was destined to become president of Peru.

Bolivar abandoned Lima, when the royalists got possession of Callao Castle. He established his headquarters between Pativilcas and Huara, with a force of 6,000 Colombians and 4,000 Peruvians. In July, 1824, he commenced his march over the cordillera toward Cerro Pasco in quest of the enemy under Canterac. The infantry was in three divisions, two Colombian under Lara and Cordova, and one Peruvian under Lamar. The brigade of cavalry was commanded by General Necochea, the Argentine officer who led the vanguard in the passage of San Martín across the pass of Uspallata. Under him the Peruvian squadrons were led by General Miller, the Colombian by Carbajal and Bruiz. General Sucre was chief of the staff, and Dr. Sanchez Carrion, a native of Huamachuco, accompanied the dictator, as minister of the affairs of Peru. Great attention had been paid to the commissariat and transport departments, and care was taken that the men received their pay. Each soldier got nine dollars a month, of which four dollars were deducted on account of rations. Their cattle followed the army at a distance of two day's march.

On the 2nd of August, 1824, Bolivar reviewed the army on the plain between Raucas and Cerro Pasco. It was 9,000 strong. Canterac had advanced from Xauxa and encamped at Reyes on the 4th. With the object of intercepting the royalists, Bolivar marched along the western border of Lake Chinchay-cocha or

Reyes; and at 2 p. m. on August 6th the opposing forces came in sight of each other. The royalists were a little to the south of Reyes, marching over the plain of Junin, which is 12,000 feet above the level of the sea. On seeing the enemy, the patriot cavalry, about nine hundred strong, dismounted from their mules, removed their saddles to the led horses, quickened their pace, and, somewhat imprudently, advanced to within a mile of the royalist army, which therefore halted. Ordering his infantry and artillery to continue their retreat, Canterac then placed himself at the head of his cavalry, upward of 1,000 strong, and formed in line, each squadron in column, and doubled at each flank. He charged before the patriot cavalry had time to deploy, after passing a defile formed by an extensive morass. Miller, with two Peruvian squadrons, was ordered to outflank the enemy's right. Wheeling to the left he was separated from the rest of the cavalry, but the enemy's right also breaking from the royalist line and diverging to its right, came on too quickly to enable him to accomplish his object. He could only again wheel to the right and charge the enemy in front. His squadrons were soon overpowered, and fled for a short distance along the border of the morass. At this critical moment, Colonel Suarez came up with a fresh squadron, charged the enemy in his rear, checked the pursuit, and gave time for Miller to face about and form again. The enemy was then attacked with renewed ardor, and ultimately routed. All was thought to be lost when the Peruvian cavalry thus turned defeat into victory, for the Colombian and Argentine squadrons had also been driven back, and Necochea was severely wounded. The Spaniards left two hundred and fifty dead on the field, and sixty

prisoners. They retreated in the utmost confusion, while the patriot loss did not exceed fifty killed and wounded. The dictator conferred the title of "Husares de Junin" on the Peruvian cavalry. Not a musket or pistol shot was fired, the formidable lance doing all the work. No infantry was engaged. Necochea being disabled by wounds, the command of the whole of the cavalry devolved upon General Miller. The battle of Junin opened the *Sierra* country to the patriots, for Canterac retired in great disorder to join the viceroy at Cuzco.

Bolivar at once advanced to Xauxa, and the army reached Guamanga on the 24th of August. When the ungrateful Chileans drove their liberator O'Higgins from his native country, he went to Peru, and proposed to accompany Bolivar as a simple volunteer. By hard riding he overtook the army at Huancayo on the 18th, and was cordially welcomed. The army remained a month at Guamanga and then advanced to the Apurimac, within sixty miles of Cuzco. Bolivar reconnoitered the river and, early in October, he took leave of the army and returned to the coast, ordering General Sucre to go into cantonments at Abancay and Andahuaylas. General O'Higgins returned with Bolivar to the coast at Huacho. The Peruvian government granted the exiled Chilean general a pension, and the fine estate of Montalvo in the valley of Cañete. There he lived for many years with his mother and sister, and he died at Lima in 1842.

On hearing of the battle of Junin, and the retreat of Canterac, General Valdez hurried up from the south, so as to concentrate the Spanish army at Cuzco. The viceroy La Serna had a well appointed arsenal there, and a force of 12,000 men. Canterac was his chief of



staff, Carratala adjutant-general. Three divisions of infantry were under Valdez, Monet, and Villalobos. Ferras commanded the cavalry 1,500 strong, and the artillery, consisting of twenty-four field-pieces, was entrusted to Colonel Cacho.

Cuzco was the last stronghold of Spanish power in South America; and from the old city of the Incas, the viceroy was about to march in the forlorn hope of recovering the lost colony. Fighting in a bad cause, and with no bright anticipations, the royalists opened the campaign with feelings of despondency which they could not overcome. It soon, however, became evident that the viceroy intended to commence offensive operations. On the 6th of November the patriot army was at Lambrama about twenty miles south of Abancay, when intelligence was received that the viceroy, in great force, had left Cuzco and was marching, by way of Abancay, to Guamanga, which place he reached on the 16th. He had got between Sucre and his base of operations, and could intercept his line of retreat to the coast. There was nothing left for Sucre to do but to follow the Spanish army. La Serna turned around and advanced from Guamanga to meet him. The advance guards of the hostile forces encountered each other on the heights of Bombon, to the east of the river Pampas, which flows at the bottom of a profound ravine cutting the line of road. A swinging rope bridge spans the gorge. After a sharp encounter, on the 20th of November, the royalists retreated across the river and cut the bridge.

Sucre was in great anxiety to re-open his communication with the coast. He led his troops down the side of the declivitous ravine, and the infantry waded across the river Pampas at a place where it was breast

deep. The passage occupied a whole day, but only two lives were lost. On the 30th the patriots encamped on the malarious river bank. Next day they climbed the western ascent for thousands of feet, and encamped at Matara on the plateau, twenty-five miles from Guamanga.

The retreat was resumed on the 3rd of December and, while defiling into the valley of Corpa-huayccu, the patriots were briskly attacked by a division under General Valdez. The Colombian rifles commanded by Colonel Sands of Dublin were routed and dispersed. Major Duckbury, an Englishman, and about two hundred men were killed. But the rest had crossed the stream, and the attempt of the royalists to follow up their success was repulsed. Sucre continued his march to Tambo-Cangallo, twenty miles south of Guamanga.

The two armies were now marching near each other, on parallel lines. Sucre crossed the deep and ragged ravine of Acroco, and encamped around the village of Quinua on the 6th of December. The royalists continued their parallel march, and headed completely around the patriots, passing through Paccay-casa and Guamanguilla. In the afternoon of the 8th the viceroy moved from Guamanguilla, and occupied the steep heights of Condor-kunka to the eastward, and in full view of Quinua.

The village of Quinua is 11,600 feet above the level of the sea, and within a quarter of a mile of the famous battle-field of Ayacucho, which is on rather higher ground. The range of heights called Condor-kunka (literally "Condor's neck") are very precipitous, and rise abruptly from the little plain which slopes down toward Quinua. They are covered with brushwood.

The plain is of small extent, about a mile broad, bounded on the south by the profound and almost perpendicular ravine of Hatun-huayccu, and on the north by the gently sloping depression of Venda-mayu, through which runs a little stream bordered by alder and *molle* trees. This streamlet, after a course of about a mile east and west, makes a sharp turn, and separates Quinoa from the battle-field. In a corner where the valley of Venda-mayu approaches the mountains of Condor-kunka, is Ayacucho (literally "Corner of Death") where, some five hundred years before, the Inca Yupanqui Pachacutec had routed the Pocras Indians.

General Sucre was a young man of thirty-one, but with many years of campaigning experience. On the 7th of December, 1824, he established his headquarters at a ruined chapel on the plain of Ayacucho, called San Cristoval. For an hour before sunset the light infantry of both sides skirmished at the foot of the heights. It was unanimously resolved, by a council of war called together by Sucre, to fight on the morrow, as the provisions and ammunition were failing. So hungry was the patriot army that the sign and countersign for the night were "pan y queso" ("bread and cheese.") At midnight the young Colombian general, Cordova, marched silently across the plain, with a company of infantry, and poured a volley into the royalist watch fires. This caused the death of the Spanish brigadier Palomares who was lying asleep. A wooden cross now marks the spot where he died.

When morning dawned General Sucre formed his order of battle. General Gamarra was his chief of staff, and Colonel Ramon Castilla was adjutant-general. The Colombian division of General Cordova was posted on the right, with Hatun-huayccu on his right flank.

The second Colombian division, under General Don Jacinto Lara, was in the centre, and the Peruvian division of Lamar was on the left, resting on the Vendamayu ravine. The cavalry, under General Miller, was in the centre. The patriots had one field-piece—a four-pounder. The total number of men was 5,780, of whom 4,500 were Colombians, 1,200 Peruvians, and eighty Argentines.

The viceroy had his encampment on the steep ascent among bushes. La Serna's rank had been recognized by the Spanish government, in spite of the irregularity of his first appointment, and he had been created Count of the Andes. He posted the division of Villalobos on the left, facing Cordova; Monet in the centre; and Valdez on the right. The field-pieces, reduced to eleven, were planted in a place called Chichicancha, on the edge of the ravine of Hatun huayccu. The total number of the royalists was 9,310.

The morning of the 9th of December dawned particularly fine. At 9. A. M. the division of Villalobos began to descend, and the viceroy La Serna, on foot, placed himself in its front ranks. Canterac remained on the heights with a reserve force. The division of Monet began to move a few minutes after Villalobos, the cavalry leading their horses between the infantry of each division. As the troops reached the plain they formed into column.

At this juncture Cordova, shouting, "Onward with the tread of conquerors!" charged with his Colombians in four parallel columns. The Colombian cavalry, under Colonel Silva, charged at the same time, and he fell, covered with wounds. After a fierce and prolonged encounter the royalist infantry lost ground, and was driven back. The viceroy was wounded and

taken prisoner; while Monet and Villalobos retreated up the steep ascent in confusion. Meanwhile Valdez had made a tour of nearly a league, and threatened the left flank of the patriots along the Venda-mayu stream. He opened a heavy fire on the Peruvians under Lamar, and drove them back. A part of the division of Lara, sent to support them, also began to waver and give way.

The royalists crossed the stream and pressed upon them. At this critical moment General Miller led a charge of the "Husares de Junin" against the advancing enemy, and drove them back in some confusion, giving time for the Peruvian infantry to rally and renew the fight. They crossed the stream under the lead of Colonel José Maria Plaza, a native of Mendoza, but naturalized in Peru. The Peruvians now fought so resolutely that the division of Valdez was broken, the cavalry flying in disorder, and the infantry dispersing.

The victory of the patriots was complete. The battle of Ayacucho lasted about an hour. It ended the war. The royalists lost 1,400 killed and seven hundred wounded. Of the patriots three hundred and seven were killed and six hundred and nine wounded. Before sunset General Canterac sued for terms, and a capitulation was signed. The viceroy La Serna, Generals Canterac, Valdez, Monet, Villalobos, Carratala, Landazuri, Bedoya, Ferras, García Camba, Cacho, Pardo, Vigil and Tur, sixteen colonels, sixty eight lieutenant-colonels, four hundred and eighty-four subalterns, and 3,200 privates became prisoners of war. Most of the Spanish officers, in accordance with the terms of the capitulation, received their passports and returned home by way either of Callao or Buenos Ayres. Among them was Baldomero Espartero, the future Duke of Vic-

toria and Regent of Spain, who served about eight years in Peru. When the news of the capitulation reached Arequipa, Don Pio Tristan assumed the title and office of viceroy, but he was unable to maintain his position, and surrendered to General Otero after three weeks. Many years afterward a little, old gentleman, in a brown wig, used to be pointed out at Lima as the last viceroy of Peru.

The Spanish generals, cut off from all communication with the outer world, and left entirely on their own resources, certainly made a very gallant stand. The celerity of their marches was marvelous, and both Valdez and Canterac certainly displayed military talent of a very high order.

Immediately after the battle General Gamarra set out for Cuzco, of which city he was appointed prefect. General Santa Cruz became prefect of Guamanga, and Miller of Puno. The name of the city of Guamanga was changed to Ayacucho in honor of the battle. The news of the great victory was received with transports of joy throughout the country; and with good reason. The chains were burst asunder. They had eaten into the flesh of the country to the very bone, during three centuries. The monopoly was gone. Men could breathe freely, could say what they pleased above a whisper, could go in and out without fear. It was more than a victory. It was a change from death to life. No wonder nothing was good enough for the heroes of Ayacucho. The country felt that it owed them everything. Out of their number Lamar, Gamarra, Salaverry, Pezet, Torrico, Bermudez, Vivanco, and San Roman, no less than eight, became, in after years, either presidents of the republic, or temporary chiefs of the state.

General Sucre rested for a fortnight at Cuzco and

then continued his march southward to Puno, which place he entered on the 1st of February, 1825. The reactionary Spanish General Olañeta still held out in upper Peru amidst daily desertions. At last there was a mutiny, and he was killed by his own troops in April, 1825.

On February 10th, 1825, Bolivar assembled the members of the old congress who had joined in Sucre's conspiracy, and went through the farce of resigning the dictatorship. He was requested to remain at the head of affairs, and consented with much affectation of reluctance. This assembly broke up on the 10th of March, and met again on the 29th with the exclusion of all men who were not entirely creatures of Bolivar. The remnant approved the tyrant's proposal of a life presidentship, and was dismissed on the 1st of May. The dictator then set out on a triumphal tour. Traveling along the coast to Arequipa, he reached Cuzco on the 26th of June, and La Paz, in upper Peru, on the 18th of August. On October 5th, he was at Potosi, and in November at Chuquisaca. The whole tour was one continued ovation. In traveling across the basin of Lake Titicaca, Bolivar was met by a deputation of Indians headed by Chuqui-huanca, the chief of Azangaro, who delivered the following eloquent address of welcome:—"It pleased God to form a great empire out of savages, and He created Manco Capac. The people sinned and He delivered them up to Pizarro. After three centuries of expiation He has taken compassion on their sufferings, and has sent you. You, then, are the fulfiller of the design of providence, and no former deeds appear equal to those which have been done by you. You have liberated five nations. In the great destiny to which they are called, they will raise your fame higher still. As the

ages roll on, your glory will increase, as the shade lengthens when the sun goes down."

At the furthest point of his tour southward, Bolivar created a new nation. In August, 1825, a general assembly had met at Chuquisaca, and decreed that Upper Peru should be a separate and independent republic, with the name of Bolivia in honor of the dictator. Upper Peru had been part of the viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres since 1770. Situated in the heart of the Andes, at vast distances either from Lima or Buenos Ayres, its independence seemed desirable. Although isolated by its mountains, those very mountains contained the richest silver and copper mines in the world, while the eastern forests might be expected to offer prospects of future wealth. It was also arranged that Bolivia should have a small strip of sea coast between the boundaries of Chile and Peru, with Cobija as a seaport. Bolivar framed a constitution for the new republic, the principal feature of which was that the office of president was for life. General Sucre, who had received the title of marshal of Ayacucho, was chosen to be the first president of Bolivia on October 3rd, 1826. Chuquisaca was made the capital, its name being changed to Sucre, but La Paz is the principal town in Bolivia.

During the absence of the dictator an executive committee ruled at Lima, composed of the Colombian General Tomas Heres, Don Hipolito Unanue, and Don Josè Maria Pardo.

The possession of Callao Castle by the Spaniards was a great source of annoyance and disquiet, and Peru now reaped the benefit of the services of Martin Guise, the founder of her navy. The Spanish frigate "Prueba" had received the name of "Protector" after



San Martin, and Guise hoisted his flag on board her, as Peruvian admiral. He made several attacks on vessels moored under the guns of Callao Castle, and one night he went in with his boats, and burned the dismantled frigate, "Venganza," and a brig. In September, 1824, the Spanish seventy-four-gun ship "Asia" and the brig "Aquilas" arrived off Callao. Admiral Guise at once engaged them, and kept up a running fight for an hour. On the 8th of October, he fought another engagement with the "Asia" and two brigs, which continued for seven hours, both squadrons returning to their respective anchorages. But on the 20th the "Asia" made all sail, followed by Guise for two days. Eventually the crew mutinied and the "Asia" was surrendered at Acapulco. The brig "Aquilas" was taken by the Chileans.

Admiral Guise, by the end of the year 1824, had increased the Peruvian navy to five pennants. These were the frigate "Protector," corvette "Pichincha," brig "Chimborazo", and schooners "Guayaquileña" and "Macedonia." With the aid of Captain Carrasco, the patriotic cosmographer and mathematician, he was also training up a generation of young naval officers, including Mariategui, Postigo, Salcedo, Forcelledo, La Haza and others who continued to carry on the work of the Peruvian navy, and were spoken of, in after years, as veterans of the school of Guise.

General Rodil held out in Callao Castle for thirteen months. He finally capitulated on the 19th of January, 1826, and left Callao on board H. M. S. "Briton," commanded by Sir Murray Maxwell.

In January, 1826, Bolivar returned to be present when a new congress met at Lima. But there were ominous signs of a general desire that Bolivar and his

Colombians should depart; so the deputies were ordered to return to their homes. News of disturbances in Colombia effected the deliverance of Peru, and the dictator sailed for Guayaquil. He left Lima on the 3rd of September, 1826, never to return. General Lara remained in command of the Colombian soldiers. But a mutiny headed by Colonel Bustamente, broke out in the night of the 26th of January, 1827. Lara was arrested in his bed, together with other chiefs, and all were embarked in a chartered vessel and sent to Guayaquil. The Colombian troops merely wanted to be paid and sent home. They embarked, under command of Colonel Bustamente, in March, 1827.

As soon as they were free from foreign dictation, the people of Peru declared unanimously against Bolivar and his constitution. Orders were issued by General Santa Cruz for the election of deputies for a new congress to settle the government of the country. Bolivar, after a troubled rule at Bogota of four years, during which a desperate attempt was made to assassinate him, retired to a small country house near Santa Martha, where he died on the 17th of December, 1830. The unwieldy republic of Colombia then divided into the three independent states of New Granada, Venezuela and Ecuador. The latter republic was formed, in May, 1830, out of the old province of Quito, and became the northern neighbor of Peru.

In September, 1826, General Santa Cruz became president of the council of government; and the congress assembled at Lima on the 4th of June, 1827. It was the second free congress; and Dr. Luna Pizarro was again a leading member. This assembly framed the provisional constitution of 1828, by which it was arranged that a national convention should meet in

July, 1833, for the purpose of considering, reforming, and finally sanctioning a constitution. It also abolished all *mayorazgos* or entails. It then proceeded to elect a president, the choice being between Generals Lamar and Santa Cruz, the former receiving fifty-eight and the latter twenty-seven votes. General Lamar was declared president, and the Count of Vista Florida vice-president of the republic, on the 24th of August, 1827. They had been the two leading members of the executive council of three which was in power during the latter half of 1822.

Josè de Lamar y Cortazar was born at Cuenca, in the province of Quito in 1778. Cuenca was included in Bolivar's republic of Colombia, and this fact rendered his election null and void, for by the constitution the president must be a Peruvian born. When very young Lamar went to Spain with his uncle Dr. Francisco Cortazar who had been a judge of the Audience of Quito. At the age of sixteen he entered the Spanish army, and served as a major under Palafox at the gallant defence of Saragossa. Afterward he was in the campaign against Suchet in Valencia, was taken prisoner, and sent to Dijon. He escaped and, passing through Switzerland and the Tyrol, sailed from Trieste to Spain. In 1815 he was sent to Peru with the rank of a brigadier, and was governor of Callao Castle when it capitulated in 1821. Lamar sent his commission to the viceroy La Serna, retired from the Spanish army, and joined the patriots. San Martin made him a general of division. He commanded the Peruvian legion at Ayacucho; but was jealous of the reputation gained by General Sucre, and detested the Colombians.

Sucre had been elected president of Bolivia for life,

and the first measure of Lamar was to reverse all the arrangements of Bolivar in that country. He sent General Gamarra with a force of 5,000 men to the Bolivian frontier, with a demand that a new president should be elected in place of Sucre, that all Colombian troops should leave Bolivia, and that a congress should meet to substitute a new constitution for that of Bolivar. Sucre was obliged to agree to these demands, but they caused a mutiny at Chuquisaca, in quelling which he was wounded in the arm. Gamarra crossed the frontier on the pretext of coming to his assistance, and entered La Paz on the 8th of May, 1828. The Bolivian ministry and Gamarra then signed the treaty of Piquiza on June 2nd, by which all the demands of Lamar were conceded. General Sucre resigned in September and sailed from Arica for Guayaquil. After an interval of a year, General Don Andres Santa Cruz was elected president of Bolivia on January 1st, 1829, and held the office for ten years.

These proceedings naturally excited General Bolivar to fury. He declared war on Peru on July 3rd, 1828; and Lamar was not unwilling. The Peruvian president had the design of annexing Guayaquil, and especially his native place Cuenca, to Peru, in order to legalize his position. Gamarra was created a grand-marshal, as a reward for negotiating the treaty of Piquiza. The first operation was the capture of Guayaquil by the Peruvians after a slight resistance, but the success was dearly bought with the death of Admiral Guise, who was killed at the attack on January 21st, 1829. Lamar then occupied the province of Loxa with 4,000 men, and advanced to within forty miles of Cuenca. He was opposed by General Flores, who proposed as terms of agreement that the boundary

should be delineated by a joint commission. But Lamar also demanded the cession of Guayaquil and payment of all the expenses of the war by Colombia, to which Flores could not agree. Hostilities were commenced, and strategic manœuvres occupied the interval between the 12th and 26th of February, 1829. General Sucre, the marshal of Ayacucho, then came upon the scene in aid of Flores, and resolved to bring on an engagement. The Portete de Tarqui is a high hill, defended on its east flank by scarpes sides, and on the west by a dense forest, while a narrow path crosses it from Giron, near Cuenca. In front of the hill a rivulet flows over a stony bed. General Plaza was stationed near this rivulet with two Peruvian battalions when he was attacked by the Colombians in front and on one flank. In the heat of the fight Lamar and Gamarra came up with all their forces. Sucre then ordered his infantry to charge, and the Peruvians were so badly placed that only a part of the army could get into action. Lamar fought like a common soldier in front of the column of Cazadores, but at last he was obliged to order a retreat. Sucre then offered the original terms, with the addition that Peru was to pay \$150,000, surrender Guayaquil within twenty days, and give up the corvette "Pichincha." Lamar made these concessions, and the agreement was signed on the 28th, in the town of Giron.

General Sucre, the marshal of Ayacucho, was assassinated at a place called Berruecos, in the province of Pasto, on the 4th of June, 1830. He had only reached his thirty-seventh year, and was universally mourned as an able and gallant soldier, warm friend and a generous foe.

President Lamar, with his glory tarnished, and his

ambitious schemes frustrated, retired to Piura. When the time expired for surrendering Guayaquil, he refused to comply with the terms of the treaty; and seemed to contemplate a renewal of the war, ordering up troops in all directions. Suddenly Gamarra rose against him. His house at Piura was surrounded on June 7th, 1829, and he was arrested by Colonel Miguel San Roman, the same who, when a little boy, had been with Pumacagua at the battle of Umachiri. The charges brought against Lamar were that he was breaking the terms of the treaty, that he was illegally delaying the convocation of congress which ought to have met in July, 1828, and that he was of foreign birth. Almost simultaneously General La Fuente, who was encamped at Magdalena near Lima with a division of the army, obliged the vice president, Vista Florida, to resign, and proclaimed himself supreme chief.

On the 9th of June Lamar was put on board a small schooner called the "Mercedes" at Payta, in charge of General Pedro Bermudez and eight soldiers. They landed him at Punta Arenas in Central America. He traveled thence to San José de Costa Rica, where he died on October 11th, 1830, aged fifty-two. In 1847 his body was brought to Peru and interred in the Pantheon of Lima with great pomp, and in the same year his biography was published by Manuel Villaran. His portrait was hung in the museum at Lima. He was married to a lady of his own province of Quito, Doña Josefa Rocafuerte, sister of the accomplished president of Ecuador in 1835—39.

General La Fuente assembled a congress at Lima on the 31st of August, 1829, and resigned the powers he had assumed. This assembly conferred the office

of provisional president on Gamarra, with La Fuente as vice-president. It sat until the 20th of the following December, but no useful work was done. Peace was signed with Colombia in October.

## CHAPTER XIII

### HISTORY OF THE REPUBLIC

#### PRESIDENTS GAMARRA AND ORBEGOSO 1829-1835.

Peru commenced her life of independence under every possible disadvantage. During the centuries of colonial rule, all important posts had been almost invariably given to Spaniards, and no class in the colonies had been trained to high administrative or legislative work. Out of six hundred and seventy-two viceroys, captains-general and governors who had ruled in Spanish America since its discovery, only eighteen had been Americans, and there had been one hundred and five native bishops out of seven hundred and six. The same system of exclusion existed in the appointments of judges of the audiences. The Peruvians had to commence their difficult task with a total absence of experience. The Spanish monopoly, which had excluded Peruvians from all intercourse with the rest of the world, had been still more injurious, and had thrown them back both as regards mental training and material prosperity. These disadvantages ought to receive due consideration in judging the shortcomings of the infant republic. Another misfortune was the preponderance of the military element. This was inevitable after the long struggle for independence, which gave rise to a readiness to appeal



to arms for the settlement of differences; while even an exaggerated feeling of gratitude to the men who had fought for freedom, and especially to the heroes of Ayacucho was natural. Time alone could cure these evils. The Peruvians have great natural abilities, and are quite capable of becoming citizens of a peaceful and prosperous state; but to have established such a commonwealth in two or three generations would have been a miracle, when the disadvantages attending their birth as a free people are considered. Shallow and ignorant critics have demanded a miracle from the South American republics. All that could be expected was a sensible, but necessarily slow advance toward better things; and this has certainly been secured. In the words of old General Miller, toward the close of his life, "Every nation has its beginning, an inevitable and perhaps rough ordeal to undergo, and South America must not be expected to make a leap that no other country has been able to do." Mistakes, self-seeking, factious rebellion, and confusion will form part of the history of the young republic, but always accompanied by other and higher aspirations, and by a longing to secure the blessings of peace and progress. As the decades of years pass on it will be seen that the latter influences become stronger, and are more frequently in the ascendant.

The boundaries of the South American republics were fixed, by a general agreement, in accordance with the *uti possidetis* of the colonies, in the year 1810. Peru's limit to the north strikes the Pacific on the southern shore of the Gulf of Guayaquil, and the line separating the territory from that of the republic of Ecuador commences at Santa Rosa, and passes south, so as to give Peru the basin of the river Tumbes. It then turns east along the river Macara, a tributary of the Chira, to its

source in the cordillera. On the eastern side it follows the Canchis to its junction with the Chinchipe, and the whole basin of the Chinchipe is in Peruvian territory to its junction with the Marañon. Further east Peru has claimed territory as far north as the right banks of the Napo and Putumayu, while Ecuador claims the river Marañon as its boundary. The eastern boundary of Peru follows the river Yavari from its mouth in the Marañon to its source. Further south the eastern limit was undecided. By the Treaty of Ildefonso between Spain and Portugal in 1777, a commission was to have settled the boundary on the spot. One commissioner went out and waited for the others during many years, but died of old age before they arrived. The boundary between Peru and Bolivia is the same line that divided the viceroalties of Peru and Buenos Ayres. It crosses Lake Titicaca from Conima on the eastern shore, passing through the strait of Tiquina to the mouth of the Desaguadero; then passes along the summits of the cordillera to the source of the Loa which it follows to the sea, thus making Tarapaca a Peruvian province.

The internal divisions of the country were arranged by General San Martin by a decree dated February 21st, 1821. The Spanish *Intendencias* were to be called Departments, and the *Partidos* were to be Provinces. When orders were issued for the election of a Congress on April 26, 1822, eleven departments were enumerated.

Lima.

La Costa.

Tarma (afterward called Junin.)

Huaylas (afterward called Ancachs.)

Truxillo (afterward called Libertad.)

Guamanga (afterward called Ayacucho.)

Cuzco.

Huancavelica.

Arequipa.

Puno.

Maynas y Quijos (afterward called Amazonas.)

The departments are governed by prefects, and the Provinces by sub-prefects, both nominated by the executive.

Agustin Gamarra complied with the condition of being a native of Peru. He was born at Cuzco, on the 27th of August, 1785, and was educated there at the College San Buenaventura. In 1809 he entered upon a military career in the Spanish army in Peru, and rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He served under Goyeneche in Upper Peru, under Ramirez in the campaign against Pumacagua, and with the bloodthirsty miscreant Gonzalez. But on two occasions he was suspended on suspicion of being inclined to favor the patriot cause. In 1820 Colonel Gamarra came to Lima with Canterac, and soon afterward was appointed aide-de-camp to the viceroy Pezuela. But in January, 1821, he left the Spaniards, and presented himself at the headquarters of the army of San Martin at Huaura. He served with Arenales in the march to Cerro Pasco, with Tristan at Macacona, and was made a general by the President Riva Agüero in 1823. Gamarra was second in command under Santa Cruz in Upper Peru, and chief of the staff at Ayacucho. Lamar, whom he superseded, raised him to the rank of grand-marshal. His wife Doña Francisca Zubiaga; Doña Panchita as she was called, was a lady of good family at Cuzco, most charming in society, and possessed of great force of character.

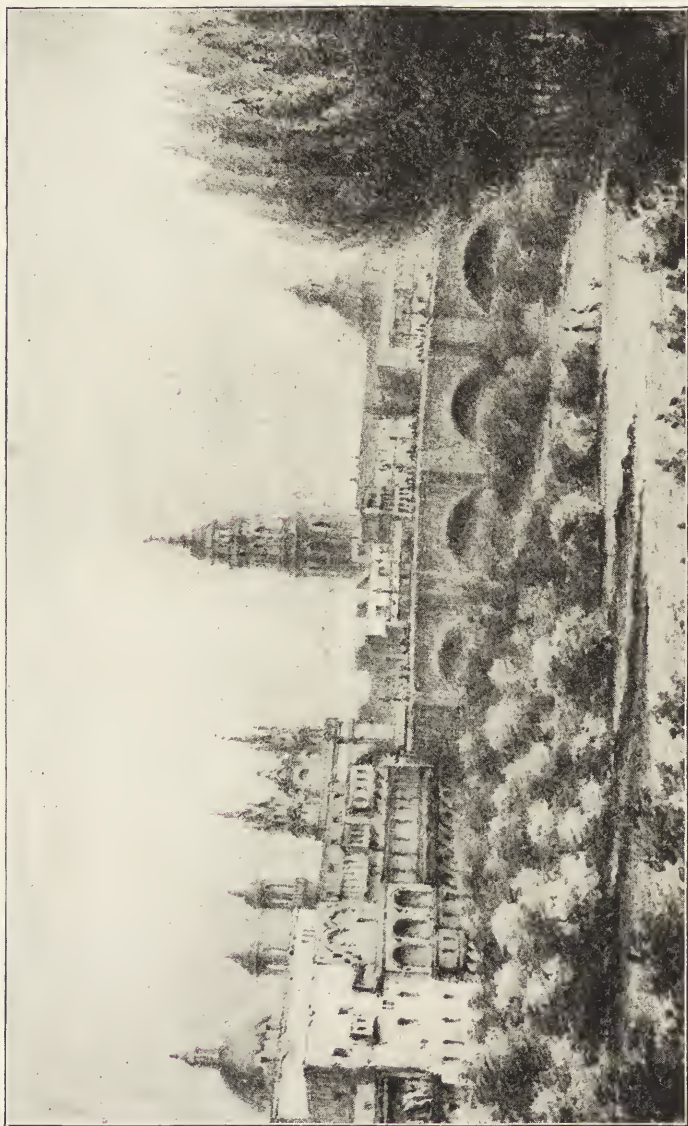
The first term of office served by Gamarra was not a success. He loved his country, but his training had not fitted him for a post of such extreme difficulty. He knew of no way, save force, to solve a question in politics. His acts were often unconstitutional and sometimes tyrannical. On August 31st, 1829, he was inaugurated as President of Peru, with General La Fuente, a

native of Tarapaca, as vice president. La Fuente was the officer who arrested Riva Agüero at Truxillo, in 1823, and seized the government at Lima by displacing the Count of Vista Florida in 1829. He was married to Doña Mercedes Subiras, a lady of Lima possessed of considerable attractions. Gamarra was fully occupied during several months, in the work of organizing the public offices, and getting the machinery of government into serviceable order. But in August, 1830, a local disturbance broke out at Cuzco under Colonel Escobedo, with the object of establishing a federal form of government. Gamarra set out for Cuzco on the 6th of September, leaving General La Fuente in charge of the executive.

When he arrived at the old capital of the Incas, the president found that the rebellion had already been suppressed. General Santa Cruz, the president of Bolivia, then invited him to a personal conference, and they were together for three days, in December, 1830, at the bridge over the Desaguadero. Negotiations were continued at Arequipa, and the result was the Treaty of Tiquina, signed on the 25th of August, 1831, which regulated the commercial relations between the two countries.

In the president's absence a lady's revolution took place at Lima, which is almost unique of its kind. Supported by General Elespuru, the devoted friend of her husband and prefect of Lima, the vivacious and brilliant Doña Panchita assumed the right of acting for her husband in his absence. This gave umbrage both to Vice President La Fuente and to his wife. The misunderstanding culminated in an accusation that La Fuente was meditating a movement against General Gamarra. In the night of April 16th, 1831, some troops suddenly attacked the vice president's house. His wife





LIMA FROM THE ALAMEDA, BRIDGE OVER THE RIMAC.

detained the officer in conversation while La Fuente escaped along the roof. The soldiers then searched the house, and the officer, having climbed to the roof, was mistaken for the fugitive and shot by his own men. La Fuente escaped on board a ship in Callao bay, but the whole affair was kept so secret that when congress met on the 17th, its members were surprised at the absence of the vice president. His place was taken by Don Andres Reyes, president of the senate.

This congress looked on passively at the scandalous deposition of the vice president by the prefect of Lima and Doña Panchita. It passed no useful law, and was dissolved in the following September. Gamarra returned to Lima, and his total want of appreciation of constitutional rights and guarantees rendered his government very unpopular. There were arbitrary increases of taxation, citizens were exiled without trial, and other acts were committed which showed a disregard for legality. Still there was no universal submission to this state of things. When the seventh congress met on the 29th of July, 1832, it was found there was a strong constitutional opposition, ready to maintain the law and to bring the government to account.

In the disorders which accompanied the first years of the republic, when governments appealed to arms and disregarded legal guarantees, there was always a constitutional opposition, which became stronger as years rolled on, and it was in the influence and the traditions of this opposition that the hope of the country lay. In the congress of 1832 it made its voice heard, advocating the cause of law and rational liberty with no uncertain sound. One of the leaders of the opposition was Francisco de Paula Gonzalez Vigil. Born at Tacna, in 1792, Vigil, like Luna Pizarro, was one of the favorite pupils

of the good Bishop Chaves de la Rosa. He was a student of the college of San Geronimo, at Arequipa, from 1803 to 1812, and in 1818 he took orders. He had sat in the earlier congresses, supporting the opposition under the lead of Luna Pizarro, and in 1831 he became rector of his old college at Arequipa. Returned as deputy for Tacna, in the congress of 1832, this undaunted enemy of arbitrary rule, entered upon a course of determined opposition to Gamarra. In an impassioned speech he recapitulated and denounced every illegal or arbitrary act of the administration, and concluded with an eloquent peroration: "I have not hesitated to express my opinion from the tribune," he said, "that my country may know that when the executive has infringed the constitution there are deputies who are ready to protest. Among them I, the Deputy Vigil, have been impelled by my duty to deliver this impeachment. I am called upon to accuse. I accuse." On a division the government was beaten, and the congress was dissolved on the 22d of December, 1832. The last year of Gamarra's administration was darkened by several disturbances, the most serious of which was a military mutiny at Ayacucho, which was not suppressed without bloodshed.

According to the law of 1828 a constituent convention was to meet in July, 1833, to revise the constitution, and the president's term of office ended on the following 20th of December. The convention met, and was composed of a large majority hostile to the government of Gamarra. The Marshal Riva Agüero, returned from exile, was a deputy. Manuel Tellería, the president of the senate, who had been banished, was another. The convention refused supplies until all citizens who had been arbitrarily arrested were released, and all exiles were restored to their homes.



The end of Gamarra's term was approaching. If no new president was chosen, the vice president was charged by the law to assume the office provisionally, but La Fuente was in exile. In his absence the president of the senate took his place, but Telleria was also banished. Then came the vice president of the senate, Don José Braulio del Campo Redondo. The convention was called to revise the constitution, and was not empowered to elect a president. There had been no popular election, and the 20th of December was drawing near. The matter was so urgent that the convention resolved to proceed to an election. The candidate put forward by the retiring president was General Pedro Bermudez, a hero of Ayacucho. The more popular candidate was Don Luis José Orbegoso, a rich proprietor of Truxillo, a tall, handsome man of good reputation and noble lineage, but weak and easily led. A third candidate was Domingo Nieto, a brave and patriotic young officer, native of Moquegua, who had served with distinction at Ayacucho. He was a devoted friend of Dr. Luna Pizarro, who loved him as a son. On the 20th of December, when the convention met, eighty-four members were present. There were forty-seven votes for Orbegoso, thirty-six for Bermudez, and one for Nieto. The public accepted this result, although the election was unconstitutional. It was looked upon as the least among a choice of evils. Orbegoso was installed as president of Peru, receiving the bi-colored sash from the convention on December 30th, 1833.

On the 4th of January, 1834, the ex-president Gamarra proclaimed General Bermudez as provisional supreme chief of Peru, with the support of the Lima garrison. Two companies of infantry attacked the doors of the convention, which were defended by the sentry on

duty. He fought against overpowering odds until he was mortally wounded. His name was Juan Rios. His portrait was afterward hung in the guard room of the Sessions House of Congress. Orbegoso and the convention then took refuge in Callao Castle.

General Bermudez declared that the election of a usurping congress was null and void. He promised that a congress should meet in a few months, and that the people should elect a president. Orbegoso and Bermudez were both in illegal positions, but the former had the public feeling with him; and the people began to arm for Orbegoso and the convention. Even the soldiers deserted from Gamarra in ominous numbers. On the night of January 28th, 1834, Gamarra, Bermudez and their followers evacuated Lima, and began their march to Xauxa. Next day Orbegoso entered the capital in triumph.

Troops were rapidly assembled to pursue Gamarra, under the command of General Miller, who was reinforced by Colonel Salaverry on the 25th of March. Bermudez was posted at Ayacucho. General Nieto held Arequipa for the convention, and was threatened by San Roman. On the 10th of March General Orbegoso followed Miller with the rest of his army, leaving the government at Lima in charge of the Count of Vista Florida, with the title of supreme delegate. Orbegoso formed a junction with Miller at Huancavelica, on the 16th of April. He was accompanied by Marshal Riva Agüero, and Generals Necochea, La Fuente, and Valle Riestra. Here the news arrived that Nieto had been defeated by San Roman near Arequipa, and that Gamarra had left Bermudez to join the victorious troops of San Roman.

Miller took up a position in front of Huaylacucho, and a league from Huancavelica, in the very heart of the maritime cordillera. He was surrounded by lofty mountains on all sides, and the ground was broken and rugged. He had 1,150 men, besides five hundred under Salaverry, to support his left flank. Orbegoso remained in the village of Huaylacucho with his staff. At six in the morning of April 17th the enemy, under Frias, appeared on a height, a little beyond Miller's right flank. Miller wheeled and ordered an attack, but it was repulsed, a rout followed, the troops of Bermudez keeping up a heavy fire on the fugitives. Many were drowned in fording the river at Huaylacucho. Salaverry rallied his men and, by protecting the retreat, saved the army of Orbegoso from destruction. The dispersed troops were re-assembled at the farm of Acabambilla, and retreated to the valley of Xauxa, closely followed by Bermudez, who encamped at Huan-cayo.

On April 22nd an officer presented himself at the camp of Orbegoso, and a rumor spread that the soldiers of Bermudez wished to recognize the authority of the president. Next day the army of Orbegoso encamped on the plain of Maquinhuayo, just outside the town of Xauxa. Then the news came that the troops of Bermudez had declared against sedition, and that Bermudez had fled. General La Fuente was sent to receive their submission. It appeared that the moving spirit in bringing this settlement about was Colonel José Rufino Echenique, a native of Puno, destined, fifteen years afterward, to be president of the republic. At 11 A. M. the army of Bermudez advanced to Maquinhuayo. The troops of Orbegoso ran forward. They embraced each other. The event is known as the "Embrace of

Maquihuayo." A column was ordered to be erected, with the following inscription: "The love of country here united those who, on the same spot and at the same hour, were about to fight, and converted into a field of friendship that which would have been a field of blood." Echenique then retired into private life, managing the sugar estate of San Pedro, near Lima. A similar reconciliation took place between the forces of Nieto and San Roman in the south. Gamarra escaped into Bolivia, his wife, Doña Panchita, who was with him, leaving Arequipa in the disguise of a priest.

Orbegoso returned to Lima and resumed his executive duties on the 6th of May. Meanwhile the convention completed its labors, and the short-lived constitution of 1834 was promulgated. The convention was dissolved on the 11th of August.

The disfavor with which the sedition of Bermudez was received by the people of Peru, and the embrace of Maquihuayo were hopeful signs. They proved that although, from want of training and experience, and from the ascendancy of personal motives, the successive governments might continue to resort to violent and illegal modes of gaining their ends, there was an undercurrent of sound sense, and an attachment to constitutional courses among all classes, which would gradually increase in force until it gained the ascendancy.

Since the fall of Spanish power the church of Lima had been without a head. The venerable and pious Dr. Bartolomé de las Heras, the last Spanish archbishop of Lima, had been expelled by General San Martin in 1821. In a letter to Lord Cochrane the good old man stated his conviction that the independence of Peru was inevitable. He promised that he would represent this to the Spanish government and to the Holy See, and that

he would do all in his power to conquer their obstinacy, to secure peace and to second the wishes of those people of Peru whom he had loved so well. He retired to Spain and died in 1823, aged eighty years. The see remained vacant for thirteen years. At last an agreement was arrived at with the pope, and Dr. Jorge de Benavente was installed as the first republican archbishop of Lima, on the 23rd of June, 1834. The bishopric of Cuzco remained vacant for some years longer, as the bishop, who was appointed under Spanish rule, retired into a religious house at Lima. Dr. Goyeneche, the bishop of Arequipa, was unaffected by political changes, and held the see uninterruptedly from 1818 to 1859, when he was translated to Lima. At Ayacucho the see was vacant for eighteen years, owing to the war of independence. Truxillo was also vacant for many years, and the see was eventually filled, in 1836, by Dr. Tomas Dieguez de Florencia, an ardent liberal of the days of independence, and a deputy in the congress of 1822.

General La Fuente had returned from exile, and served in the campaign against Bermudez; but on his return to Lima, he was accused of conspiring against Orbegoso. Marshal Riva Agüero and the Count of Vista Florida were his enemies, for he had successfully conspired against one in 1823, and against the other in 1829. They were now influential, and La Fuente was sentenced to be banished to Costa Rica without trial. As constitutional Vice-President under Gamarra he was, from a strictly legal point of view, the only legitimate authority. Gamarra was also condemned to perpetual banishment, while Salaverry, for his services at Huaylacucho, was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general.

On November 9th, 1834, owing to disturbances in the

south, President Orbegoso left Lima at the head of an army and marched to Arequipa. The Count of Vista Florida, as vice president, remained in charge of the government at the capital. The president was no sooner gone than difficulties arose. The irrepressible General La Fuente came back to Callao, and demanded a trial. On the 1st of January, 1835, the garrison of the castle declared in his favor. Salaverry was the inspector-general of the national guard. General Nieto advanced from Lima with a small force to suppress the mutiny at Callao, taking Salaverry as his chief of staff. The troops were posted at the village of Bella Vista, within a mile of the glacis of Callao Castle. At 10 A. M. of the 2nd of January, Salaverry approached the castle alone, to parley with the mutineers. He promised the ringleader that he should not be punished if he surrendered immediately. The reply was a threat to shoot him, so he turned his horse's head and rode away, but stopped at a house in Callao, to ask for a glass of water. While he was drinking it, warning reached him that soldiers were coming out of the castle to seize him. He went off at full gallop to Bella Vista, called upon the troops to follow him, and made a rush for the open gate of the castle. This was done so quickly and audaciously that resistance was overcome, and the place was taken. This is the only time that Callao Castle has ever been taken by assault. The ringleaders were tried and shot.

Tranquillity was restored, but it lasted for very few days. Salaverry remained in command of Callao Castle. At midnight on the 23rd of February, 1835, he rose at the head of the garrison, declaring that the government of Orbegoso had been no improvement on that of Gamarra, and that both were equally tainted with illegal arrests and banishments, and unjust exactions. The Count of

Vista Florida offered the command of such troops as were in Lima to Generals Necochea and Vidal, but they declined to act, and Nieto had been shipped off to Panama, by the insurgents. Vista Florida, therefore, fled to Xauxa; and a few minutes afterward General Salaverry galloped into Lima. On February 25th, 1835, he proclaimed himself supreme chief of Peru.

The life of this remarkable man is interesting as a type of Peruvian character. Eager and enthusiastic, full of life and fervor, impelled by generous and lofty motives, and clearly seeing what was right and what was best for his country, in his calmer moments; he was hasty and quick-tempered, and was hurried into actions of which he soon repented. He was overpowered by personal ambition. He knew what was right, but his life was a series of actions against his better judgment. His career explains the history of his country for twenty years after the independence. It was a nation of Salaverrys.

## CHAPTER XIV

### HISTORY OF THE REPUBLIC

#### THE CAREER OF SALAVERRY.

Felipe Santiago de Salaverry, son of a father with the same name, and of Doña Micaela de Solar, was born at Lima on the 3rd of May, 1806. His father had been accountant-general of tobacco rents at Arequipa, and his maternal grandfather, Don Mariano de Solar, was superintendent of the revenue warehouses at Lima, in viceregal times. His father was a native of San Sebastian in Guipuzcoa. Salaverry was a Basque, born in Peru. He had one brother Mariano, two half-brothers Juan and Pablo, and a sister Narcisa.

After receiving instruction at private schools, he was occupied in the study of Latin at the college of San Carlos for two years. He next went to San Fernando to work at mathematics. He passed a brilliant examination for his age; and the rector, Dr. Heredia, always spoke of his precocious talent with enthusiasm. The remarkable vivacity of young Salaverry was accompanied by a rich imagination; and in his boyhood he was vehement and passionate. One day he was at an upper window of the Augustine Convent, learning music with some companions. The day was hot and a negro passed with some



chirimoyas, a delicious fruit of the *Anona* genus only found in perfection in Peru. Salaverry lowered down a basket with two reals, and called to the man to fill it with two reals' worth. This was done, but the boy complained that the seller was not putting in the best. The negro gave a saucy answer, which the hot-headed student could not stand. Without thinking of the height, he jumped out of the window to thrash the fellow, and would have been killed if his companions had not caught him by the legs, and pulled him back. As it was, he was stunned for several hours by the blow on his head from the outer wall.

The arrival of Lord Cochrane on the coast aroused the enthusiasm of the youths of Lima. Salaverry could no longer attend to his studies. On December 8th, 1820, this boy of fourteen and a half years presented himself at the camp of General San Martin as a volunteer. Many other schoolboys came with him, including his friend Juan Antonio Pezet, son of the liberal physician, and destined hereafter to be president of Peru. Young Vidal had preceded him by a year, having joined Lord Cochrane in 1819. Salaverry was appointed a cadet, and from that time he was present at nearly every action in the war. He marched with Arenales to Cerro Pasco, served at the siege of Callao Castle, was at the battle of Torata under Miller, with Santa Cruz at the battle of Zepita, at Junin and Ayacucho. These were his services between the ages of fourteen and eighteen, when most boys are at school. "We must seek danger," he used to say to his companions, "and we shall soon be made officers." He served with Lamar at the battle of Portete de Tarqui, who promoted him to the rank of lieutenant-colonel.

At the age of twenty-four he began to feel strongly the

guilt of civil dissension, and the necessity that Peru had for repose. In 1832 he composed some lines on the subject, which were set to music and became popular.

"Warriors of freedom! Champions of right!  
Sheathe your weapons and rest from your pains,  
No bayonet should glitter, no patriot should fight,  
Where glorious liberty reigns.

"Turn your lances to plough-shares, your swords into spades,  
Let furrows appear on the land.  
Pray, when longing for glory and victory fades,  
That plenty may flow from your hand.

"No honor is reaped in rebellious ways;  
No glory awaits civil strife.  
A soldier can only be worthy of praise,  
When for country he offers his life."

Salaverry was deeply impressed with these views when he accepted an appointment from President Gamarra, and became sub-prefect of Tacna. There he met a lady of high spirit, and of congenial tastes and aspirations. He was married to Doña Juana Perez in July, 1832, and soon afterward returned to Lima. Disapproving of the government of Gamarra, he wrote a strong protest against it. In March, 1833, he was arrested, and kept in prison until July, during which time he wrote "The Fatherland in Mourning." On July 11th, he was put on board the frigate "Monteagudo," his young wife obtaining leave to share his exile. Landing at Huanchaco, the port of Truxillo, they were immediately sent to the remote town of Chachapoyas, in the forest-covered valley of the Marañon, and thence to Huayaga, a wretched village about twenty miles from the banks of the river.

Salaverry was not the man to rest quietly in such a place. A month had barely elapsed before he marched to Chachapoyas with a band of Indians, arrested the prefect, and began to drill and arm his men. But Gen-

eral Raygada marched against him, he was taken prisoner, and brought to Caxamarca. Here the troops rose in his favor, and he marched to Truxillo at their head. Gamarra sent General Vidal against him, Lord Cochrane's gallant young volunteer. Salaverry and Vidal had been students together, as boys they fought through the war of independence with generous emulation, and now alas! as young men they were facing each other in civil strife. Salaverry came out of Truxillo to await his antagonist's approach at a place called Garita de Mochi. On November 19th, 1833, Vidal, supported by Colonel Torrico, led his force of five hundred men against the insurgents. Both leaders displayed their accustomed gallantry, and the soldiers fought desperately. Twice the contest was renewed. The troops were decimated. Vidal had two horses shot under him. Salaverry, in a short blue cloak, fought like a subaltern, while he directed operations as a general. At length the combatants were worn out, and rested with a distance of only twenty yards between them. A wounded man cried out to Salaverry—"How long will you continue to shed blood?" He replied, "Until only Vidal and I remain." A man levelled his musket at Salaverry, but Vidal made him lower it. Salaverry turned in his saddle and exclaimed: "Thanks! generous one."

When the contest was renewed, there was a sudden charge on the flank of Salaverry's line, delivered by the troops under Torrico. The infantry broke. Salaverry put himself at the head of the cavalry and charged, but was repulsed. Vidal gained the victory. The battle had lasted five hours, from 7 until 11 A. M. There were six hundred killed and wounded. Next day Salaverry fled to Lambayeque, and Vidal entered Truxillo. The young rebel escaped from San José, the port of Lam-

bayeque, to Payta in a balsa, and sought safety in the far north, at a farm called Sulpra in the Macara valley. Some troops arrived there, and the sergeant saw a man having his breakfast in a hut, in a baize jacket, torn cotton drawers, an old straw hat and bare feet. But he recognized Salaverry and took him prisoner. Gamarra had ordered him to be shot wherever he was found. Vidal spared his life, and allowed him to go on board a ship at Payta.

Then there was a transformation scene. Salaverry persuaded the captain to land him at San Josè, the troops at Lambayeque declared in his favor, Torrico and Vidal fled, and the proscribed outlaw entered Truxillo in triumph. Thence he marched, at the head of a division, to take part with Miller in the campaign against Bermudez, at the conclusion of which he became a general.

Salaverry was twenty-eight years of age when he proclaimed himself supreme chief. He was a very tall young man, six feet, two inches in height, slightly built, and with broad shoulders. His forehead was high and broad, and his eyes were gray and restless under two strongly marked brows. His face was pale, the features well cut, and nose slightly aquiline. He had a full, loud voice and was very active and vigorous. He had great facility of speech, quick intelligence, and both conceived and executed his plans with lightning speed. His usual dress at this time was a dark blue, single-breasted coat, with light blue collar and cuffs.

Salaverry had been joined by Torrico, and as many other officers followed his example, the Count of Vista Florida gave up the contest, and returned to Lima as a private citizen. On the other hand General Valle Riestra landed at Pisco under the orders of Orbegoso,

and issued a threatening proclamation, but his own men arrested him, and he was brought to Callao Castle as a prisoner. In an unlucky hour Salaverry received news that his two brothers had been shot, which afterward proved to be false. He had crushed his leg the day before, and was ill in bed. The news goaded him to fury, and he ordered Valle Riestra to be shot as a reprisal. His wife entreated him to suspend the order, urging that Valle Riestra had a wife and children, and that the news might not be true. She was importunate, and at 3 A. M. he yielded, reversing the order for the execution of Valle Riestra. It was too late. The deed was done. It was fatal to Salaverry's cause. Sanguinary reprisals always bring ruin on those who resort to them.

The first operation undertaken by Salaverry was to march against General Nieto in the north. He advanced to Caxamarca, thence to Truxillo, and made an extraordinarily rapid counter-march to Huaraz. But the troops of Nieto revolted against him, and declared for the new supreme chief, an example which was followed all over the country. He was recognized everywhere but at Arequipa, where Orbegoso remained. The fleet also gave in its adherence, consisting of the frigate "Montegudo," the brigantine "Arequipeño," and schooner "Peruviana." A congress was ordered to meet at Xauxa in October. Salaverry occupied himself zealously with administrative business. He re-organized the public offices, began the publication of the budget, and of all important orders, established an efficient superintendence of the customs at Callao, opened the ports of Malabrigo, Chancay and Supè, created the new province of Chiclayo, and increased the funds of San Carlos college.

But lowering clouds were gathering in the south, which were destined to overwhelm him. General Santa Cruz, the president of Bolivia, had conceived the idea of uniting Peru and Bolivia in one confederation. When Gamarra escaped from Arequipa, Santa Cruz induced him to give in his adherence to this ambitious scheme. But he only intended to make use of the fugitive ex-president as a thorn in the side of Salaverry. The Bolivian president, however, supplied his guest with arms, and on the frontier he was met by Colonel Lopera with a body of troops, at the head of which he entered Cuzco on the 20th of May, 1835. All the time Santa Cruz was secretly negotiating with Orbegoso at Arequipa, and signed a treaty with him on June 24th. Santa Cruz undertook to enter Peru with an army to restore order, while Orbegoso promised to convoke two assemblies in order to recognize a confederation consisting of three states, North Peru, South Peru, and Bolivia.

When Gamarra found that he had been deceived, he was furious. He at once recognized the authority of Salaverry. Santa Cruz entered Peruvian territory on the 16th of June, 1835, not waiting for the signature of the treaty with Orbegoso, and advanced rapidly toward Cuzco at the head of five thousand veterans. Lopera strongly advised Gamarra to retreat behind the Apurimac and form a junction with Salaverry. But Gamarra resolved to give battle. Santa Cruz had encamped in the bottom of a small valley called Yupalca, surrounded by hills, about twenty miles south of Cuzco. Lopera led the way up a ravine leading to these hills, marching all night, until he reached the heights at the foot of which is the lake of Yanacocha; while Gamarra brought the rest of his troops to the banks of the lake. He had about 2,600 soldiers, and 8,000 Indians armed with

sticks. It was 10 A. M. in the forenoon of the 13th of August, 1835. Santa Cruz began the battle by attacking Lopera, who resisted so successfully that he was soon able to take the offensive. But meanwhile General Blas Cerdeña, the Canary Islander, who had been so severely wounded at the battle of Zepita, had routed the Peruvian's right and outflanked the centre. Lopera could not see the extent of the disaster at once, owing to the uneven ground, but suddenly his men turned and fled. The victory of Santa Cruz was complete by 2 P. M. There were five hundred killed, besides wounded. The Peruvian officers Lopera, Elespuru, and Frisancho behaved with distinguished valor, but the battle of Yanacocha was hopelessly lost. Gamarra fled, and was so closely pursued by General Moran, that he could not stop until he reached Lima.

Santa Cruz rapidly occupied Cuzco and Ayacucho. It became necessary for Salaverry to take the field. He had organized a small army at Bella Vista, consisting of six battalions of infantry, two squadrons of cavalry, a few field-pieces, and about 3,500 men. He was beloved by the men, and inspired the officers with his own enthusiasm. His chief of staff was Don Juan Pablo Fernandini, an officer who had joined San Martin when a student in Lima, and had commanded a company at Ayacucho. Tall, handsome, and courteous, Fernandini was respected for his ability and soldier-like qualities, and he had no enemies. The other members of the staff were Colonels Vivanco, Medina, and Plasencia. The fleet consisted of the corvette "Libertad" (twenty-two guns) with the flag of Admiral Postigo, the brigantine "Congreso" under Salcedo, the "Arequipeña" commanded by Mariategui, and the schooner "Limeña." Colonel Quiroga was sent by sea, with two hundred and

sixty men, to capture Cobija, the only Bolivian port. The service was successfully performed, and he returned to Pisco in October.

Salaverry made his headquarters at Yca, to study the movements of Santa Cruz and act according to circumstances. At this time Gamarra arrived at Lima, in his flight from Yanacocha. There he tried to incite a revolt, was arrested in the act, and sent to Yca. Salaverry said: "Gamarra deserves death. But I know that if the country is lost, if I die, he is the only man capable of undertaking the delivery of Peru." On October 19th, 1835, Gamarra was banished to Costa Rica.

Santa Cruz had his headquarters at Cuzco, while General Moran with his vanguard of eight hundred men was at Huancavelica. Salaverry resolved to operate with the object of getting between Moran and his base at Cuzco. Late in October he set out over one of the wildest passes of the cordillera, between Yca and Ayacucho. After a wonderful march, in the height of the rainy season, Salaverry reached Ayacucho just two hours after Moran had left the town, in his retreat. Colonel Deustua was sent in hot pursuit, with orders to cut off the enemy's retreat, if possible, at the gorge of the Pampas. He succeeded in attacking Moran's rear-guard, but the main body just had time to escape across the river.

Salaverry, finding that the whole army of Santa Cruz was advancing from Cuzco, adopted another plan. He divided his army into three columns, all eventually uniting at Arequipa. Fernandini and Vivanco took the route over the mountains by Parinacochas to Vitor, Salaverry proceeded to the coast at Pisco, where he received reinforcements under Colonel Medina, while a small division, under Colonel Porras, was to remain in



the *Sierra* to watch the movements of Santa Cruz, eventually uniting with the rest. Salaverry paid a hurried visit to Lima, and then embarked at Pisco for Ocoña, the port of Vitor, near Arequipa.

Moran was ordered by Santa Cruz, to recross the Pampas, and fall upon the division of Porras, which retreated to Cangallo, closely followed. Provisions failing, Porras surrendered on condition that his life and the lives of all those under his command should be spared. Santa Cruz ordered his execution, but General Moran declared he would retire from the army if such an act was perpetrated. The life of Porras was thus saved, and on the 25th of November, Santa Cruz reviewed his army at Ayacucho.

General Salaverry formed a junction with Fernandini at Siguas, and was joined, a few days afterward, by the cavalry which had come by the coast deserts under Colonel Mendiburu. Arequipa was evacuated by the Bolivian troops under General Broun, who fell back on Moquegua, and on the 31st of December, Salaverry's army entered that city.

Lima had fallen into a state of anarchy, after the departure of the supreme chief. He had unfortunately left the capital in charge of an incapable council, with Colonel Solar in command of the troops. The members of council abdicated their functions, and Solar retired into Callao Castle. The country around Lima was infested by gangs of mounted negro robbers, called *montoneros*, up to the very gates of the city, and one day a band of these ruffians, led by a negro named Leon got possession of Lima and began to sack the houses, until they were checked by one hundred and fifty foreigners landed from the ships in Callao Bay. On the 30th of December, General Vidal, who had risen against Salaverry at Hua-

cho, entered Lima and restored order, and on the 8th of January, 1836, the President Orbegoso arrived, followed by General Moran, with six hundred men. Thus Salaverry lost Lima on the day before he entered Arequipa. Solar surrendered Callao Castle on the 21st of January.

Salaverry raised a forced contribution of \$100,000 in Arequipa, made recruiting obligatory, and obliged the artisans to work for the army. These measures made him unpopular. He encamped his forces at Challapampa, a mile to the north, and Colonel Mendiburu was made prefect of the city. Santa Cruz had ordered all his forces to concentrate at Puno. One division, under General Quiros, marched around the base of the Misti volcano, at the foot of which Arequipa is built. He was attacked in flank by Salaverry, but succeeded in his object of uniting with the main Bolivian forces, and even carried off some prisoners, including Colonel Vivanco and his company. The president of Bolivia had an army of 10,000 men in four divisions, commanded respectively by Generals Anglada, Brown, O'Connor, and Ballivian. He marched to Arequipa, and entered the city at 10 A. M., on the 30th of January, 1836, Salaverry evacuating it on his approach. The supreme chief had thrown up an entrenchment, mounted with two guns, at the head of the bridge which spans the river Chile. The Bolivian troops at once advanced to the bridge in pursuit, but were repulsed, and fire was kept up on both sides. General Cerdeña began to throw up a breastwork of wool bales to protect his Bolivians, and to encourage them he advanced alone upon the bridge. He was struck by a bullet in the mouth, and was carried off the field, which ended the combat for that day. Next morning the fusilade was continued along the banks of the river Chile, but the losses were

heavy, and Salaverry withdrew his army to the village of Uchumayu, twelve miles from the city.

The Campiña of Arequipa is a green and fertile plain some thirty miles long by ten broad, surrounded by deserts. To the east the snowy peaks of the cordillera bound the view, the lofty peak of the Misti volcano, 19,000 feet high, rising immediately above the city. The Campiña is bounded on the south-west by an arid and rocky range of hills, called the cordillera of La Caldera. The rapid river Chile, issuing from the mountains on the north side of the volcano, passes along the north-west side of the city where it is spanned by the bridge, flows across the plain, and then skirts the Caldera range to Uchumayu. At the foot of these hills it is joined by another stream called Huasacachi, which also skirts the south-west range. Situated at a height of 8,000 feet above the sea, the Campiña of Arequipa enjoys a temperate climate. It is dotted with villages, and covered with fruit trees and fields of corn and lucerne.

On the 4th of February, 1836, Salaverry occupied strong positions around Uchumayu, where the river is spanned by a bridge. Soon the Bolivians appeared on the surrounding heights, and General Ballivian advanced to carry the Uchumayu bridge. A heavy fire was opened upon his columns, and he was forced to retreat. General Santa Cruz then ordered Anglada to cross the river a league above the bridge, while the bridge itself was again assaulted. Salaverry forestalled this plan by directing a night attack, under Colonel Cardenas, on the enemy in front whom he forced back. Hence when Anglada had completed his long march and attacked the rear of the Peruvians, he was easily repulsed. Thus ended the encounters of February 4th, which resulted in three successes for Salaverry, the enemy losing three

hundred and fifteen killed, and two hundred and eighty-four prisoners.

At 8 A. M. of the 5th, Colonel Sagarnaga presented himself at the Peruvian camp for a parley on the part of Santa Cruz. He brought a proposal to regulate the proceedings of war and to spare prisoners. Salaverry agreed. He liberated two officers, asking for Vivanco in exchange. He declared that he had never wished to carry on a sanguinary war, and that if he had declared war to the knife at Lima, it was because General Santa Cruz had forced him to do so by his treatment of officers, after the battle of Yanacocha. In the afternoon Santa Cruz returned to Arequipa.

Salaverry now determined to make a flank march by La Congata, Tingo Grande, and Socabaya, to the heights of Paucar-pata, with the object of cutting off the retreat of Santa Cruz, and depriving him of the means of communicating with his base at Puno. The danger of this movement consisted in the necessity for passing around Arequipa in a semi-circle, while Santa Cruz could attack along a straight line at any point of the curve. The Peruvians now only numbered 1,893 men; the enemy had about the same number, seven hundred being cavalry. The supreme chief began his march on February 5th, passing the night at La Congata. At 2 A. M. of the 6th he marched to Tingo Grande, and at dawn on the 7th he continued this hazardous flank march. The news came to Santa Cruz on the 6th, and he gave orders for an attack on Salaverry's army; detaching a division, at the same time, to occupy the heights of Paucar-pata. The Bolivian army advanced with Ballivian on the left, Anglada on the right, and O'Connor in reserve. The Peruvians were crossing a country covered with tall maize crops, and traversed by many walls. There was

a hill with three peaks, called "Tres Tetras," where the advanced column of Salaverry was posted when the battle began. In front was a small plain, approached by a slope called the "Alto de la Luna." The Peruvian general pushed forward a detachment to occupy it, but the Bolivians were too quick for him, and opened fire as the Peruvian light column hurriedly came up. But two battalions of the Bolivians had been repulsed when Lagomarsino charged at the head of the hussars of Junin, dispersing the column led by Sagarnaga, and another in rear of it. The gallant Peruvian lost half his men in this brilliant charge, and the success was counter-balanced by the dispersal of four Peruvian battalions among the maize fields. Then the Bolivian cavalry charged the dragoons of Callao and killed their commander, Zavala, while the forces of Santa Cruz advanced along the whole line. By 11:30 A. M. the battle of Socabaya was fought, and the Bolivians were victorious, with a loss of two hundred and forty-two killed and one hundred and eighty-eight wounded. The Peruvians lost three hundred and fifty killed, and six hundred prisoners.

The last charge was led by Salaverry in person, but he strove in vain to rally the fugitives. Santa Cruz had sent a small force under General Miller, to occupy the valleys of Vitor and Tambo on the coast, and so cut off the retreat of the Peruvians. On the 7th he took up a position with thirty-seven mounted men, at the head of the gorge of Guerreros, five miles from the port of Islay. The fugitive cavalry formed in the valley of Tambo and began a retreat northwards along the coast, under Colonel Solar, who went to sleep in his saddle and was taken prisoner. The rest, consisting of ninety officers and two hundred men, approached Guerreros in a dense

morning mist. Suddenly a loud voice was heard shouting: "Do not advance! Do not advance! Here are enemies." It was Miller's voice, and Colonel Mendiburu knew it, and approached until he was in the general's presence. He agreed to surrender the whole force, Miller promising that their lives should be spared, and that the officers should have a free pass to go away. Only Colonels Iguain and Coloma refused, and they escaped. Miller sent the rest to the olive grove of Catarindo where they slept, and were afterward taken to Arequipa.

Salaverry, accompanied by Colonel Cardenas and two others, took another road to Islay, riding all day, and continually drinking from a water flask. When it was empty he was devoured by thirst. At length, after crossing the desert, they came to a little brook in the Tambo valley. The fallen chief dismounted, and drank out of the hollow of his hand. He rose, and putting his hand on the shoulder of one of his companions, his eyes filled with tears, and he exclaimed: "Do you believe for a moment that the battle would have been lost if it had not been for the folly of this villain?" (meaning himself). On the 9th he reached a hut within six miles of Islay. Miller heard of it, and sent to inform him of the convention with Colonel Mendiburu. Salaverry and Cardenas surrendered under its terms. Admiral Postigo landed his men to rescue the supreme chief, but Salaverry, relying on the treaty with Miller, authorized the surrender of the fleet to Orbegoso at Callao.

Salaverry was sent to Arequipa. His second in command, General Fernandini, had been taken prisoner on the field of battle. Santa Cruz appointed a commission to try the prisoners, in accordance with a sanguinary decree of war to the death, issued in August, 1835.

The prisoners claimed their lives under the convention with Miller, and also on the ground that the blood-thirsty decree had been superseded by the agreement at Uchumayu. Anglada, who presided, suspended the proceedings to consult Santa Cruz. That authority merely destroyed the written evidence, and ordered sentence of death to be pronounced. The name of the Bolivian Colonel, Baltazar Caravedo, deserves here to be recorded with honor. He was the solitary member of the court who refused to sign the sentence. For this noble conduct he was cashiered.

On February 18th, 1836, Santa Cruz confirmed the sentences against the Supreme Chief Salaverry, General Fernandini, Colonels Solar, Cardenas, Rivas, Carrillo, Valdivia, Moya, and Picoaga. He committed the other prisoners to long terms of imprisonment. Four hours afterward the condemned officers were taken out into the great square of Arequipa and shot. The Bolivian troops surrounded the square, and behind them there was a dense crowd. Salaverry had made a solemn protest against these murders. He walked with a stick, being lame from a fall. He wore the uniform of the Peruvian Legion. He was in his thirtieth year. He left a will leaving all to his wife, and desiring to be buried in the Panteon of Lima. He also left a pathetic letter to his wife, entreating her to live on for their children, to educate them to virtue, and to make known to them his unmerited death. At the time of the executions Santa Cruz was at dinner in a country house outside the town. They made the permanent success of his designs impossible. They revolted the feelings of all ranks. People recoiled from him as a man of blood. The country was against him, though repressed and silent, and all the numerous friends of Salaverry and Gamarra, including

the best military talent in Peru, became his active and relentless enemies.

General Miller reported that he had guaranteed the safety of their persons, and liberty to return to their homes, to all the prisoners. Santa Cruz replied that Miller had not done well in conceding such guarantees, and that he had no authority to do so. The general protested, and did all in his power to save the lives of Salaverry and his officers, but in vain.

The life of Salaverry was written by Manuel Bilbao. When he was preparing the second edition he consulted General Santa Cruz, who was then in exile at Versailles. It was too late, but Santa Cruz confessed his fault, and expressed regret for his treatment of Salaverry. Carlos Agosto Salaverry, the son of the supreme chief, became an accomplished man of letters, and one of the leading poets of Peru.

It seemed well to throw the chapter on the career of Salaverry into the form of a biography because his life is typical, and is representative of the enthusiastic and generous youths of that disturbed period. With ample capacity for thought and the acquisition of knowledge, and with clear and correct judgments, when they gave themselves time for consideration, the Peruvians of that time allowed themselves to be carried away by ambitious impulses. The seizure of power by Salaverry was a sudden impulse, quite opposed to his own ideas and principles. The execution of Valle Riestra was a hasty act, contrary to his better feelings, to be bitterly, but vainly regretted immediately afterward. The other acts which composed his life story, need not have caused him the same remorseful feelings. They were generally gallant and generous, if seldom wise or judicious. The failings, not less than the fine qualities of the Peruvian



youth, are typified in the history of the generous and enthusiastic victim of Santa Cruz. Among the best examples of gallantry and patriotic devotion, impelled by high and lofty aspirations and generous thoughts, Peru will always cherish the honored name of Felipe Santiago Salaverry.

## CHAPTER XV

### HISTORY OF THE REPUBLIC—THE PERU-BOLIVIAN CONFEDERATION AND THE "RESTORATION" UNDER GAMARRA

The ambitious project of Santa Cruz was fated to receive a very brief trial, but it comprised a memorable period and he has left his mark on South American history.

His origin was mysterious. In the middle of the last century Don Cypriano Santa Cruz was living in a corner house, in the great square of Guamanga. His brother was dean of the cathedral. One night a baby was found in the doorway of Don Cypriano's house, and he benevolently adopted it, giving it the name of José Santa Cruz. The young José became a colonel of militia at Cuzco and eventually removed to La Paz. There he married the Indian Cacica Calaumana of Huarina, a lady of the blood royal of the Incas.

Their son, Andres Santa Cruz, entered the Spanish army and had attained the rank of colonel when San Martin arrived on the coast of Peru. After the defeat of O'Reilly by General Arenales, Santa Cruz went over to the patriot side. He did good service at the battle of Pichincha, and commanded the unfortunate expedition to the south, when he fought the battle of Zepita. He was in charge of the executive at Lima for a short time, and was deeply mortified when he

failed to secure sufficient votes, and his competitor, Lamar, was elected president of Peru in his place. He went on a mission to Chile, and soon afterward, when Sucre was expelled, he became president of Bolivia. For ten years he had revolved schemes of ambition in his mind, which were developed into a plan to form a Peru-Bolivian confederation with himself as its head. The battle of Socabaya enabled him to realize this plan, for Orbegoso was his tool, and all his opponents were dead or in exile. But the execution of Salaverry and his officers, showing the sanguinary character of the man, was a fatal blunder as well as a crime.

The plan of Santa Cruz was to form three states, North Peru, South Peru, and Bolivia. Assemblies were convoked at Huaura for the north, and at Sicuani for the south, which decreed the formation of two separate states, General Herrera being nominated president of South Peru, and Orbegoso of North Peru. Santa Cruz himself was proclaimed protector of the confederation. He made his public entry into Lima in August and the confederation was proclaimed on the 28th of October, 1836.

Santa Cruz was afflicted with childish vanity and was avaricious. He received the legion of honor from Louis Philippe, instituted a similar order for the confederation, and his salary was \$80,000 a year. His conduct at Arequipa shows him to have been of a cruel and sanguinary disposition. But, with all his faults, he was an able administrator, and Peru flourished under his rule. He was very laborious and a friend of order, zealous to ensure purity in the public administration, and willing to listen to the advice of able or instructed men. Such men were Garcia del Rio, his minister of finance, and Josè Joaquin de Mora, the

editor of his interesting periodical "Eco del Protectorado." The "Comercio," the oldest existing newspaper in Peru, was also commenced in 1839, under his rule. He was both an excellent organizer and administrator of civil affairs and an able conductor of the discipline and government of an army. As regards foreign affairs his policy was sincerely peaceful. The federal union of the three states was sanctioned on May 1st, 1837, by a convention of delegates which met at Tacna. The protector, Santa Cruz, was a small man with the Indian type of features. He was well informed and accomplished, and possessed courteous and pleasing manners.

The confederation found an implacable enemy in the Chilean government. Chile, which had been a colony and subordinate government of the viceroy during Spanish times, was also a financial drain on the resources of Peru. She had never paid her own way, and needed an annual Peruvian subsidy. Since the independence her productive powers had been developed and her commerce had increased. But the mass of the people were too ignorant to make their voice heard, and political power had fallen into the hands of an oligarchy composed of a few leading families forming a party known as the "Pelucones." There was a liberal party, but it was too small, and met with too little support to make its influence much felt. This state of parties has continued to the present day, varied by three sanguinary civil wars, and numerous less violent attempts of the liberals to shake off the yoke of the "Pelucones."

The Chileans had expelled their liberator, O'Higgins, in 1823, who found an asylum in Peru. Some few liberal concessions were made in succeeding years, but

this led to a violent "conservative reaction," and Diego Portales, the representative of the "Pelucones" became minister in 1830. His party had seized the government by force, broken faith, and persecuted all who were inclined to entertain liberal ideas. At length the liberals were driven to take up arms, and General Freire, a hero of the independence, was their leader. The battle of Lircay was fought between Generals Freire and Prieto, the latter gained a complete victory, and 2,000 dead and wounded remained on the field. Freire fled to Peru. The "Pelucones," as they were called, made Prieto their president, with Portales as his minister, in September, 1831. Their first step was to replace the liberal constitution by a reactionary one which still continues in force. It gives the executive such excessive powers that it is really only republican in name. It was this oligarchy, led by Portales, which sought pretexts for a war with Peru. The leading Chilean families regarded with bitter jealousy the prosperity of a neighbor.

The pretexts for war were that Arica had been made a free port, that advantages were given to vessels that had not touched at any place in Chile, and that General Freire had been allowed to buy two vessels in Peru. The commercial differences between the two countries did not supply the shadow of a cause for declaring war. As regards the expedition of Freire, General Santa Cruz did not even know of it, and he offered all the satisfaction in his power. Portales resolved to add treachery and national dishonor to injustice. He sent two vessels, the "Aguiles" and "Colocolo," to Callao under Victorino Garrido, and, in time of peace and in the dead of night, this Chilean officer treacherously seized the Peruvian fleet of three vessels, lying

unarmed and unmanned, on the 21st of August, 1836. The Chilean historian, Vicuña Mackenna, has characterized the proceeding as "one of the most odious acts recorded in the annals of our republics." Having thus perfidiously deprived Peru of the means of defending her coasts, the Chilean government proceeded to declare war on the 11th of November. The same historian says—"The war was not only unjust, but unjustifiable." General Blanco Encalada sailed from Valparaiso, in September, 1837, with eight men-of-war and twenty transports, and landed at Islay with 3,500 men. On October 12th, he advanced to Arequipa. Here General Cerdeña commanded the protector's army of 6,000 men, and with great skill and vigilance, he cut off all supplies from the Chileans. On the 17th of November, 1837, the treaty of Paucar-pata was signed by Blanco Encalada. The Chileans were allowed to depart on condition that the war was not renewed, that the stolen men-of-war were restored, and that a treaty of commerce and reciprocity was signed. Blanco Encalada returned and resigned his command in December.

The Chileans did not hesitate to increase the dishonor of their country, by refusing to abide by the treaty of Paucar-pata, and employing the men who had been released under its terms. They immediately began preparations for renewing the contest. But this wanton and unjust war was very unpopular. Portales was reviewing some troops at Quillota, when a mutiny broke out, officers and men declaring in favor of liberal government and against an unnecessary foreign war. Portales was shot on the 6th of June, 1837, but the mutiny was suppressed, and preparations for a second expedition were pushed forward. In July, 1837,

the Chilean Generals Bulnes and Cruz sailed from Valparaiso with 6,000 men. Then came the proof of the folly of Santa Cruz, in perpetrating the military murders at Arequipa. The Chilean invasion was the Nemesis of Salaverry. Unstained by that crime, all Peru would have rallied around Santa Cruz and there would have been an ignominious repetition of the Paucar-pata surrender. As it was the Chilean ships were crowded with Peruvian exiles, without whose aid the invaders had no chance of success. There were Gamarra, La Fuente, Torrico, San Roman, Castilla, Elespuru and many others. Santa Cruz was further embarrassed by the defection of President Orbegoso and General Nieto, who declared against him at Lima. But they were equally opposed to Gamarra and his Chileans.

The Chilean force was landed at Ancon on the 6th of August, 1837, and marched upon Lima. The advanced division was under La Fuente and Castilla, followed by troops under Torrico and Deustua. Gamarra commanded the reserve. Orbegoso and Nieto came out to meet their enemy, and fought an action at Portada de la Guia, but they were defeated and fled to Callao Castle. Gamarra entered Lima and tried to persuade the Count of Vista Florida to assume command as president of a council of state. But he declined, and Gamarra was then proclaimed provisional president. Orbegoso embarked on board a small vessel, and retired to Guayaquil. A Peruvian force was raised at Lima under Torrico and Frisancho, and on September 18th Torrico marched up the valley of the Rimac to Matucana, and defeated five hundred Bolivians.

On October 15th, the Chilean Bulnes was declared

general-in-chief of the united armies, and Gamarra assumed the office of director-general of the war. On the approach of Santa Cruz the allies evacuated Lima and retreated up the coast to the Callejon de Huaylas.

The protector was incensed at the defection of Orbegoso. He appointed the grand marshal, Riva Agüero, to be president of the northern state in his place, and Don Pio Tristan to the southern state. On November 9th, 1838, the Protector Santa Cruz entered Lima. But he could not make a long stay, for it was necessary to follow up the invaders with all possible speed. Reaching the long gorge of Huaylas, he attacked the rear guard of the allies at the bridge of Buin on January 6th, 1839, but was repulsed. During the ensuing fortnight there was some maneuvering, but at last Santa Cruz posted his army on a hill near Yungay called the "Pan de Azúcar." The vanguard of the allies, commanded by Torrico and Elespuru was composed of various Peruvian corps. The second line was led by Vidal, and the cavalry was under Castilla. The "Pan de Azúcar" was attacked and carried by battalions under Frisancho, Ugarteche, and Deustua. The allied loss amounted to two hundred and thirty killed, including General Elespuru, and four hundred and fifty-five wounded, but their victory was complete. The confederation troops were routed and fled in all directions. The protector escaped to Arequipa, and embarking on board H. B. M. S. "Samarang" at Islay, he was taken to Guayaquil. Eventually Santa Cruz retired to Europe, and lived at Versailles, where he was many years minister for Bolivia, and where he died in 1865. The following notables were banished from Peru, as supporters of the confederation: Grand Marshals Riva Agüero, Santa Cruz, Cerdeña, and Miller; Generals Pio



and Domingo Tristan, Orbegoso, Otero, Pardo Zela, Moran, Necochea and twelve others; Señor Garcia del Rio and seventeen other civilians.

General Miller embarked on board H. M. S. "Samarang" with Santa Cruz on February 22nd, 1839, thus closing his military career. His name was expunged from the list of officers in the Peruvian army, without being heard or judged. His honorable career of twenty years, during which he had fought in almost every battle of the war of independence, both in Chile and Peru, should have shielded him from injustice. In 1843 the British government appointed him consul-general to the Sandwich Islands, a post which he held for many years. In 1845 the decree against Miller and the other officers of the confederation was revoked as unjust. In 1859 he returned to Peru, and the congress reinstated him on the army list of the republic on the day of the anniversary of Ayacucho. All his claims were acknowledged in a most handsome way, and without a dissentient voice. General Miller died on board H. B. M. S. "Naiad" in Callao Bay on the 31st of October, 1861. His remains were interred in the cemetery of Bella Vista with all the honors which the Peruvian government could bestow. Citizens of Callao, where he had been governor and where he was much beloved, carried the coffin. In person General Miller was remarkably handsome and six feet high. He was possessed of great military talent, and his bravery and powers were proved in a hundred engagements. He was a man of scrupulous integrity, and great warmth of heart. In society he was exceedingly agreeable, and there was a peculiarly gentle and winning expression on his countenance when engaged in conversation. While his body was being embalmed, two bul-

lets were found in it, and it was scarred with twenty-two wounds. General Miller's memoirs were published by his brother, both in English and Spanish. They contain the fullest and most interesting account of the war of independence in Chile and Peru.

The confederation was doomed to failure from the first. Tainted with blood unjustly shed at the outset, and with more than half the ablest soldiers and statesmen of the country actively plotting against it, the plan could not have a fair trial. With a purer origin, and under happier auspices it is possible that it might have succeeded, but on the whole the two republics will do better to work out their respective destinies as independent, though friendly neighbors. The battle of Yungay effectually destroyed a fabric which had been built up with such painful care and at the price of so much bloodshed. The Chileans departed well pleased at their work of destruction. Santa Cruz had himself dissolved the confederation before going into exile, by a decree dated February 20th, 1839. Gamarra, now provisional president, entered Lima on the 24th, and Callao Castle was surrendered to him on the 8th of March. General Velasco, a friend of Santa Cruz, became president of Bolivia in 1839.

A congress was convoked to assemble at the little town of Huancayo, in the valley of Xauxa, being elected according to the law of the constitution of 1834. It met on the 15th of August, 1839, and declared Gamarra to be constitutional president of Peru, with the title of Restorer. All the acts of assemblies which met during the confederation were declared to be null and void, and the very liberal constitution of 1834 was also annulled. Out of the sixty-two deputies assembled at Huancayo, sixty voted for its abolition. It had only

two defenders, Dr. Navarrete, a judge of the superior court of Lima, and Dr. Alvarez, a learned lawyer of Ayacucho. Both protested against that increase of the power of the executive, and that lowering of the judicial power which forms the main difference between the constitutions of 1834 and 1839.

The constitution elaborated by the congress of Huancayo was proclaimed on November 10th, 1839. The congress was to be composed of a senate and chamber of deputies, a third of the deputies being renewed every two years and half the senate every four years. Deputies were elected by colleges, one for every 30,000 souls, and for every two deputies, a substitute was elected. The senate was composed of twenty-one citizens elected by the departments from among residents. The congress was to meet every two years. The president was elected for six years, another six years elapsing before he could be re-elected. There was to be a council of state consisting of fifteen members, elected by the congress, the president and vice-president of which were elected by the congress each session. On a vacancy of the presidency, the president of the council of state was to succeed, and to convoke the colleges for a new election. The supreme court of justice was a court of appeal at Lima, composed of seven vocales and a fiscal, named from a double number presented by the council of state to the executive.

There was a superior court of justice in the capital of each department, a judge in each province, and justices of the peace in each district. Each department is governed by a prefect, and each province by a sub-prefect nominated by the president, under whom there were local governors of districts. All Peruvians were equal before the law, no slave could be born in

the country, there was to be complete liberty of the press, gratuitous primary instruction was guaranteed, and prisons were to be places of detention, not of punishment.

The constituent congress of Huancayo was dissolved on July 11th, 1840, and six months afterward an insurrection broke out in the south, headed by Colonel Manuel Ignacio Vivanco. This young native of Lima was the last Peruvian public man of the type of his friend Salaverry. Gifted with remarkable talent, highly accomplished, and with most ingratiating manners, Vivanco was more fitted to shine as a diplomatist than as a soldier. His adherents, Colonel Valentino Boza and Colonel Juan Balta declared for him at Cuzco and Puno, and Vivanco issued his justification at Arequipa. He declared that Gamarra had obtained power by the aid of foreign bayonets, that he had betrayed the liberal constitution of 1834 with the assistance of an assembly deliberating under foreign influence, that this was in defiance of the law providing for the reform of the constitution, and that his government was consequently a usurping government and incapable of securing the happiness of the people. Vivanco further declared that Gamarra had ceased to rule, and solemnly accepted the office of supreme chief on the 4th of January, 1841, with the title of "Regenerator."

General Castilla received the chief command against the insurgents, assisted by General San Roman, and they recovered Cuzco; while La Fuente was sent to Islay. In March the president himself embarked at Callao, leaving Don Manuel Menendez, the president of the council of state, in charge of the executive. On the 25th the regenerator obtained an unimportant success over Castilla at Cachamarca, and returned in triumph

to Arequipa, leaving two officers named Ugarteche and Lopez to follow his opponents. The two forces met at a place called Cuevillas, where the troops of the regenerator were utterly routed, and on the 5th of April, Castilla entered Arequipa. Vivanco fled to Bolivia, and the "regeneration" came to an end after a brief existence of three months. The president made Castilla prefect and superior chief of the southern departments, and returned to Lima, where his restless spirit led him on to his last fatal campaign.

General Santa Cruz had remained at Guayaquil engaged in conducting various intrigues in Bolivia with a view to the recovery of that high station which he had lost, but was never destined to regain. Gamarra viewed these proceedings, the importance of which were exaggerated, with annoyance and probably real alarm. He had never in his life had any notion of gaining his ends by any means but force. He, therefore, sought and obtained the sanction of the council of state to make war upon Bolivia, with the object of expelling the adherents of Santa Cruz. War was declared on July 6th, 1841. Don Manuel Menendez was again left in charge of the executive at Lima, and General La Fuente received command of an army of observation in the north. The president then marched, by way of Ayacucho and Cuzco, to the Bolivian frontier. Velasco, the friend of Santa Cruz, resigned in favor of General Ballivian, who became president of Bolivia. The new president sent to Gamarra, objecting to any further advance of the Peruvian army into Bolivia, seeing that there was no longer any party in favor of Santa Cruz. The Peruvian president haughtily replied that Ballivian was himself a partisan of Santa Cruz, and that consequently the advance of the

Peruvian army would be continued. On the 24th of October, General San Roman gained a success at Mecapaca, routing some of the best regiments of the Bolivian army. But less than a month afterward the fatal battle of Yngavi was fought. The name of the place was Incague, but the Bolivians changed it to Yngavi, which is an anagram of Yungay. The Peruvians were entirely defeated, Gamarra himself was killed, and great numbers of Peruvian officers were taken prisoners and sent to Oruro and Santa Cruz de la Sierra. San Roman escaped to Peru. The date of this disaster was the 20th of November, 1841.

Agustin Gamarra was fifty-six years of age at the time of his death. As a young man, in the Spanish army, he was honorably distinguished for repeated efforts to mitigate the fate of his insurgent countrymen. He fought gallantly for his country throughout the war of independence. He properly put a stop to Lamar's fratricidal war with Colombia. But his own first term of office was a failure, and his factious conduct at the end of it was inexcusable. His early training rendered him incapable of comprehending the duties of a public servant under a free government. His proceedings, which led to the battle of Yanacocha, are very questionable, and his complicity with the Chilean invasion was unpatriotic. The constitution of Huancayo was a retrograde step, and the war with Bolivia was unjustifiable. Yet, with all his faults, Gamarra loved his country, and sought its welfare according to his lights. He attached to himself many loyal and devoted friends who continued to revere his memory. He had a wife who passionately loved him, and she was a woman of high courage, great ability, and refinement. Gamarra had received the news of his

wife's death when he was at Lima after the battle of Yanacocha, in October, 1835, surviving her for seven years. In August, 1845, a decree of congress declared that Gamarra had deserved well of his country, and that his name should be respected. His remains were conveyed from Bolivia, in 1849, and brought to Lima with great solemnity. A mausoleum to his memory was erected in the Panteon, in accordance with a law of December 21st, 1849.

Ballivian, elated by his victory at Yngavi, invaded Peru. The whole country flew to arms. The men of Puno promptly offered resistance, and routed the invaders in several partial encounters. General San Roman organized troops at Cuzco, Nieto at Arequipa, Torrico was named commander-in-chief in the north, and La Fuente in the south. Castilla was a prisoner of war in Bolivia. Meanwhile the Peruvian diplomatists Mariategui and Lavalle negotiated a peace between Peru and Bolivia which was signed at Acora on the 7th of June, 1842.

Don Manuel Menendez, on the death of President Gamarra, became, by the constitution, the acting president of the republic. But the generals in command of forces assembled to defend the country, took a most erroneous view of their duties. Brought up in the school of Gamarra, they formed plans of their own instead of loyally obeying the constitutional authority, and as those plans were antagonist, collisions became inevitable to the detriment of their common country. For, Castilla being a prisoner, they were all about equal in mediocrity, and there was no one of leading talent and ability. La Fuente set the example of turbulence, and President Menendez issued a decree forbidding all aid or obedience to him. In reply La

Fuente and Vivanco refused to recognize Menendez, and on July 28th declared General Francisco Vidal, who was vice president of the council of state, to be head of the state. Meanwhile General Torrico, adopting a still more factious course, marched to Lima, deposed Menendez, and declared himself supreme chief. He was joined by General San Roman.

Civil war prevailed over the country. Colonel Lopera was sent from Lima by Torrico, and encountered the forces of Vidal at Incahuasi in the valley of Xauxa, commanded by General Zubiaga, the accomplished brother-in-law of Gamarra. In the encounter which ensued on the 26th of September, Zubiaga was mortally wounded, leaving a young wife and a yet unborn son at Ayacucho to mourn his loss.

Vidal and La Fuente marched down to the coast from Ayacucho, and encountered the troops of Torrico and San Roman on the 17th of October at a place called Agua Santa, in the fields of La Yesera de Caucato, near Pisco. After a hard fight Torrico and San Roman fled, and Vidal entered Lima, promoting Vivanco to the rank of general.

The gallant Vidal, Lord Cochrane's young volunteer of 1819, was an ardent patriot, but no politician. He, at least, was disinterested in the midst of this scramble for power, and he felt grave doubts of the legality of his position. When Vivanco rebelled against him at Arequipa, followed by Colonel Pezet at Ayacucho, General Vidal patriotically resolved to sacrifice his own interests, and to prevent further civil war by resigning his post. He, therefore, handed over charge of the executive to Don Justo Figuerola, the second vice president of the council; Menendez having left Lima. Five days afterward Figuerola was deposed by



Colonel Aramburu, who declared in favor of Vivanco. The former "Regenerator" marched to the capital, by way of Ayacucho, declaring that he would assemble a congress and re-establish the reign of law. He entered Lima on the 8th of April, 1843, while his fascinating and accomplished wife, Doña Cipriana Latorre, secured Arequipa. Vivanco was proclaimed supreme director of Peru. He did not fulfill his promise to convoke a congress. He nominated his own council of state, made new laws of his own, and committed other unconstitutional acts.

This confusion was the natural consequence of the sudden death of the head of the state, and of the existence in the country of several generals at the head of troops, brought up in Gamarra's school, which taught that force was the only remedy, and without any leader of preponderating influence or talent. The only hope of the country was in a man with such power and force of will as would enable him to put an end to the confusion and not only restore, but maintain the reign of law and order. Peru found such a man in her great and urgent need, in Ramon Castilla.

The first twenty years of the republic had passed away. In narrating the history of the executive government the course of events appears to be a succession of civil conflicts. Such events certainly crowd upon the scene, and they retarded the progress, and arrested the prosperity of the country. Experience was being acquired, an inevitable ordeal had to be undergone, and in spite of all drawbacks useful lessons were being learned, and steady, though slow progress was being made. The proof of this is that in the second twenty years there was a decided improvement.

## CHAPTER XVI

### HISTORY OF THE REPUBLIC—PRESIDENT RAMON CASTILLA

The gorge of Tarapaca, in the far southern part of the coast region of Peru, commences in the cordillera, with the frowning volcano of Isluga, 17,000 feet above the sea, rising up on its northern side, and the mighty peak of Lirima to the south. A stream flows down the ravine which is lost when it reaches the desert, and when there are thunder storms in the mountains great floods, called *avenidas*, carry destruction down the valley. There are green lucerne fields on each side of the stream, and a few hamlets along its course. The town of Tarapaca is far down the stream and not far from the desert. It consists of a few mud houses, and a small square with an old church much shaken by earthquakes. There are fig trees and willows around the little town, and a few fields of lucerne, but the valley is only six hundred yards wide, the steep sides of the ravine rising up abruptly, with nothing but arid deserts to be seen on reaching the ridge, stretching away on one side to the horizon, and on the other to the foot of the cordillera. On the 30th of August, 1796, Ramon Castilla was born in this little town of Tarapaca. His father Pedro was a son of Don Pedro Pablo Castilla, a native of Santillana in the Asturias,





DON RAMON CASTILLA.

who went out with a government appointment to Buenos Ayres. The son Pedro came to Tarapaca on a mining speculation and married Francisca, daughter of Juan Bautista Marquesado of Genoa by Magdalena Romero, an Indian girl of Tarapaca. It is said that Pedro Castilla worked the refuse silver ores of the mine of El Carmen, and that he was the discoverer of the class of ores called *lecheador* (chloro-bromide of silver). There is a tradition that little Ramon was his father's woodcutter, toiling over the desert to collect branches from the scattered clumps of carob trees. If so it must have been when he was very young.

At the age of fifteen Ramon Castilla was taken to Lima by his elder brother Leandro, and thence to Concepcion in Chile. There he joined the Spanish army as a cadet, and was taken prisoner after the battle of Chacabuco and sent to Buenos Ayres. He was released by president Puyrredon at Buenos Ayres, and went by sea to Rio de Janeiro. From Brazil young Castilla, then only nineteen, made a very remarkable journey, and reached his own country after encountering many hardships and dangers. In 1821, with many other young Peruvians, he went to the camp of San Martin, and obtained a commission in the patriot army. He was a colonel, on the staff of General Sucre, at the battle of Ayacucho, and was twice wounded. When independence was secured, Castilla was rewarded for his services, with the appointment of prefect of his native province of Tarapaca in 1824. Following the fortunes of Gamarra, he commanded the Peruvian cavalry at the battle of Yungay, suppressed Vivanco's rebellion at Cuevillas, and was taken prisoner on the fatal field of Ingavi. Castilla was married to a stately

and talented lady of Arequipa, of the respectable family of Canseco.

When General Castilla was released from his Bolivian captivity, he found his native country in a deplorable state, torn by the factions of contending generals. Castilla, according to his lights, always maintained what he believed to be the cause of constitutional law and order. The cause he upheld succeeded through his own fearless audacity and force of will. He now conceived it to be his duty to restore Don Manuel Menéndez to his legal position as acting president of the republic, and he resolved to do his duty in spite of the odds against him, and in defiance of all obstacles.

Ramon Castilla was a small, spare man with an iron constitution and great powers of endurance. His bright, fierce little eyes, with thick overhanging brows, stiff bristly moustaches and somewhat projecting under lip gave his countenance a menacing expression. But he had a resolute look and an air of command which was certainly dignified. He was an excellent soldier, brave as a lion, prompt in action, and beloved by his men. His political management almost amounted to genius, while his victories were never stained by cruelty, and his antagonists were seldom proscribed for any length of time, generally pardoned at once, and often, if men of ability, raised to posts of importance in the service of the republic. His nature was masterful, impatient of opposition, but generous and forgiving. His resistless energy and force of will were the qualities which raised him above his contemporaries.

General Castilla commenced his enterprise by landing at Arica with five men. He walked across the square and was fired upon from the side streets. He entered the barrack yard in the hope that the soldiers

would join his cause, but they also fired upon him. Undaunted by this reverse, and with two bullets through his coat, he coolly walked across the square again, mounted a horse and rode out of the town with his five men, who had stood by him. They grew to fifty, then to two hundred. General Nieto had agreed to work with him, and got possession of Cuzco, as leader of the constitutional party.

Vivanco sent his friend General Guarda in pursuit of Castilla and they met at a place called San Antonio near a small stream, on the 28th of October, 1843. On one bank were two hundred raw recruits, on the other a superior force of disciplined and well armed soldiers. Castilla rode across to the hostile army, quite alone, and entering the tent of Guarda, he proposed a capitulation. He was dissembling. Guarda readily agreed and they shook hands. "By the bye," said Castilla, "your men must be tired and thirsty, let them pile arms and go down to the rivulet and drink." He himself coolly went out of the tent and gave the order himself in the most natural way in the world, which was at once obeyed. He then made a preconcerted sign for his own men to advance at the double, and re-entered the tent. Fiercely curling up his moustache, he said to the astonished General Guarda, "You are my prisoner!" The disarmed men by the rivulet were easily overpowered, and most of them joined Castilla's ranks.

The supreme director, Vivanco, became alarmed, and leaving the executive in charge of the prefect, Don Domingo Elias, he made a long and painful march to Arequipa. Reverses were following each other thickly in his path. Colonel Echenique, the hero of the embrace of Maquihuayo, declared against him at Xuaxa ;

and Don Domingo Elias at Lima. At this time General Nieto died very suddenly at Cuzco, and Castilla became head of the constitutional party. Vivanco was at Arequipa; and Castilla, with San Roman and Cisneros, advanced across the desert to attack him; although he was reduced to extremities for want of provisions. It was the intention of Vivanco to avoid an engagement, but it was brought on by Colonel Lopera on the 17th of July, 1844, at a place called Carmen Alto, near the banks of the river Chile. The army of the supreme director was hopelessly defeated. He had watched the combat from an adjacent church tower, and when he saw the result he galloped off to Islay, and retired to Chile. Castilla proclaimed a general amnesty for all political and military offences.

Don Manuel Menendez was restored to his post as acting-president, and on August 10th, 1844, he convoked a congress for the election of a constitutional president of the republic, for a period of six years. The congress met on the 16th of April, 1845, and on the 20th Grand Marshal Don Ramon Castilla was elected President of Peru. This was the tenth congress, and it was dissolved on the 22nd of October. A durable peace was established, chiefly because there were no proscriptions. The decree banishing the officers of the confederation was revoked as unjust in 1845, and another law restored them to their rights in 1847.

The blessings of peace and security conferred on the country by Castilla soon began to be felt. Commerce thrived, and numerous enterprises were undertaken. In 1840 Mr. Wheelwright had commenced a service of mail steamers between Callao and Valparaiso, and in a few years the company had increased the number of steamers, and extended the line to Panama. An electric



telegraph was constructed between Callao and Lima in 1847, and a railroad was opened between the port and the capital in 1851. Castilla introduced steamers into the navy, and in his time it consisted of the screw corvette "Amazonas" armed with two sixty-eight, and four twenty-four pounders, the paddle steamer "Rimac," brigs "Gamarra" and "Almirante Guise," and schooner Limeña."

The remarkable source of Peruvian wealth derived from the guano on the desert islands off the coast, and the nitrate in the deserts of Tarapaca was fully developed during the long peace established by Castilla. The use of bird manure was well known to the Incas, and was resorted to by the agriculturists of the coast valleys. It was the demand for this precious fertilizer from Europe which temporarily raised the Peruvian finances to such a prosperous condition. It was found that the three Chincha Islands, in the bay of Pisco, had on them a total of 12,376,100 tons of excellent guano. Hundreds of ships annually went there to receive guano, and about 400,000 tons were taken away each year; the monopoly bringing in an annual revenue to the state of \$14,850,000.

The nitrate of Tarapaca is a still more extraordinary source of wealth. It is found in the ravines of the hill range intervening between the sea coast and the great desert, called the Tamarugal, which extends to the foot of the cordillera. The nitrate is found in inexhaustible quantities, and was used by the Spaniards in the manufacture of gunpowder. The present nitrate trade was founded by a young Frenchman settled at Tacna named Hector Bacque. He formed some nitrate works at La Noria in 1826, and his example was followed by Zavala, Smith, Gildemeister, and others, until nitrate be-

came a great and important branch of Peruvian commerce; employing thousands of tons of shipping, and giving work to many thousands of hands. In Castilla's time the export amounted to over 1,000,000 tons, and was another valuable source of revenue.

This financial prosperity enabled Castilla to commence the payment of the interest of the national debt. The Peruvian government contracted a loan in London of £1,200,000 in 1822, and another of £600,000 in 1825, at six per cent. As no interest had been paid, the accumulated interest amounted to £2,027,118: making a total debt of £3,843,118. Señor Osma, who was employed to negotiate with the bond holders, arranged to issue new bonds at four per cent, the rate to increase annually one-half per cent to six per cent, and arrears of interest to be capitalized. The interest of the foreign debt was regularly paid from 1849 until 1876. The foreign debt was annually reduced by means of a sinking fund. Castilla also took steps to consolidate the internal debt of the country. He was careful only to admit real claims properly attested, and none were to be received after July, 1852. When he resigned the internal debt amounted to \$4,320,400.

A congress was sitting from August, 1847, to March, 1848, and another from June, 1849, to March, 1850. They both did some useful work, and the latter passed a measure for the consolidation of the internal debt.

The riches derived from the guano and nitrate gave rise to great prosperity. Public works were undertaken, the naval and military services were well and punctually paid, pensions were multiplied, and fortunes were made. But these temporary sources of income were in reality the curse of the country. At the

time government was enabled to dispense with almost all taxes, except customs. The consequence was that a habit of reckless finance was engendered, waste and extravagance were encouraged, and that self-restraint and economy which alone can ensure the continuance of prosperity had no existence in the country.

After six years of profound peace and increasing prosperity the constitutional period of the term of office of Grand-Marshal Don Ramon Castilla came to an end. The candidates to succeed him were San Roman, Vivanco, Echenique, and Domingo Elias, the great vine grower at Pisco and Yca. Echenique was elected.

José Rufino Echenique was a native of Puno, born in 1808 of good family and Basque descent. As a lad he joined the patriots, but was a prisoner on the island of Esteves in Lake Titicaca, at the time of the battle of Ayacucho. He brought about the "embrace of Maquinhuayo" in 1834, and at the battle of Yungay he served on the side of Santa Cruz and the confederation, but made his peace with Gamarra. Declaring against Vivanco in 1843, he became a member of Castilla's council of state, and was elected constitutional president of Peru on April 20th, 1851. Echenique was influentially connected. He married Victoria, daughter of Don Pio Tristan, the last Spanish intendente of Arequipa, and for a few weeks nominally viceroy of Peru. General Torrico was his minister of war, Don Manuel Tirado of foreign affairs, and Dr. Charun (Bishop of Truxillo) of justice. General Echenique had little military talent or experience, and had passed many years of his life in agricultural pursuits.

For three years of Echenique's administration, Castilla's peace was maintained. The curse of too easily acquired wealth had, however, brought with it corrup-

tion and a want of conscientiousness among the servants of the state. A congress met in 1853 and extended the period for receiving claims with regard to the internal debt. A sum of \$8,000,000 was added to it, and there was a suspicion that a profligate manipulation of this sum was in progress, for the benefit of ministers and their friends. The country became scandalized. Discontent began to show itself in open revolt. When the congress of 1853 concluded its sittings, Don Domingo Elias made a solemn appeal to the nation, against the government. Gathering around him his tenants at Pisco and Yca he rose in rebellion, but was defeated in the battle of Saraja on January 7th, 1854. Castilla hesitated long. It was contrary to all the principles of his life to rise against a constitutional government. The blessings of peace, which he had secured for his country, had been enjoyed for ten years. On the other hand the government was very unpopular, and was disgracing the country by its self-seeking and corruption. Reluctantly he made up his mind to head the movement against Echenique. He went to Arequipa, and was there joined by Don Domingo Elias.

In March 1854 General Torrico, the minister of war, was sent to put down the revolt. He encamped on the heights of Paucar-pata for several days, but eventually declared that an attack upon Arequipa would infallibly bring upon him a fate similar to that which overtook General Whitelocke at Buenos Ayres. He, therefore, returned to Callao. Leaving Elias at Arequipa, Castilla then proceeded to Cuzco where he organized an army, and was joined by General San Roman. On June 1st, 1854, he published a decree in which he declared that he accepted the supreme mag-

istracy as provisional president. He then commenced his march to Ayacucho.

The government sent a second expedition to the south under General Moran. The civilian Elias advanced against him from Arequipa in the direction of Moquegua, and the two forces encountered each other at Alto del Conde. Moran was victorious, and, following up his success, he attacked Arequipa. The city was fiercely defended by the inhabitants, who barricaded the streets and fought all night of November 30th, 1854. In the morning Moran found himself beaten and was forced to capitulate. Two hours afterward, having been declared by the people to be a "sanguinary stranger," he was shot in the great square of Arequipa. He was a Colombian who had served for many years under Santa Cruz. Castilla marched from Ayacucho on the 29th of June, the troops of Echenique retreating before him. On the 5th of July he decreed the abolition of the tribute paid by the Indians. Echenique, in person, concentrated his forces in the valley of Xauxa, and the two armies came in sight of each other at the bridge of Iscuchaca on the 2nd of August. Castilla tenaciously defended the passage for several hours, and at last Echenique, though in largely superior numbers, retreated to Xauxa and remained inactive. Castilla then conceived the idea of making a circuitous march so as to get between his rival and the capital. This obliged Echenique to fall back toward Lima. Castilla advanced on a parallel line. At last Echenique commenced a precipitate retreat in the end of October. Castilla was reinforced by 2,300 men under General San Roman. At Huancayo he decreed the immediate emancipation of all negro slaves.

On the 10th of December the march to the coast

was commenced, and on the 29th the army reached the valley of the Rimac near Miraflores. Once more the two armies were in sight of each other. That of Echenique was encamped outside of Lima, with cavalry and artillery, under the command of General Pezet. For six days there was a cannonade. On the 5th of January, 1855, the battle of La Palma was fought, and Castilla was completely victorious. He entered Lima in triumph, and General Echenique embarked at Callao. The ex-president was allowed to return as a private citizen in 1862, and, after having again been a candidate for the presidency in 1872, he died at Lima, at the age of seventy-eight, in January, 1887.

A congress was convoked in February, and it was opened by Castilla on July 14th, 1855. He was elected constitutional President of Peru. His acts in abolishing the tribute paid by the Indians, and in the total abolition of negro slavery were approved and confirmed. The congress then became constituent, and framed a new constitution which superseded the constitution of Huancayo. It was completed in October, 1856, and was finally revised by a commission and ratified on November 25th, 1860.

There was not much change in the two houses which form the congress, or in the mode of electing representatives, but a new provision was inserted that, in the interval between two sessions of congress, there was to be a permanent commission of the legislature elected at the end of each session, consisting of seven senators and eight deputies. The chamber of deputies may accuse the president of infractions of the constitution and the senate decides.

The president is elected by the people for four instead of six years, and he cannot be re-elected until

a similar period has elapsed. The office is vacated by death by making a contract prejudicial to the integrity or independence of the nation, by illegally dissolving congress or suspending its session, and at the end of the term. Instead of the council of state, there are two vice presidents. When the president is commanding an army in the field the exercise of his office is suspended, and the first vice president takes his place, succeeding for the rest of his term in the event of his death. There is a council of ministers, and every decree or order of the president must be countersigned by one of them. They can speak in either chamber, but can not vote.

The system of government by prefects, and the judicial system were not altered. Forced recruiting was declared a crime.

Municipal committees were formed in each district to arrange local affairs, and have charge of local funds.

The constitution of 1860 is the one which is still in force.

Peace had continued during Castilla's second term of office for nearly two years, when an insurrection broke out at Arequipa. In the evening of the 31st of October, 1856, a few half-castes, led by two young men of good family named Gamio and Masias, got possession of Arequipa, and were joined by the troops, who were nearly all natives of the town. Next day General Vivanco was declared president and that restless politician arrived from Chile in December. General San Roman was sent by the government to make proposals for an amicable arrangement, but this was looked upon as a sign of weakness, and the overtures were scornfully rejected. The outbreak was, however, quite local, none of the others cities joining Arequipa. It would

have been quickly suppressed, if it had not been for the mutiny of the fleet.

The fleet then consisted of the "Apurimac" frigate, and the "Loa" and "Tumbez," small steamers. The captain of the "Apurimac" was a rough old Chilean sailor disliked by his officers, named Salcedo. He went on shore at Arica to have luncheon with Mr. Nugent, the British vice-consul, on November 16th, 1856. While he was sitting in the consulate it was observed that the "Apurimac" was getting up steam, and soon afterward she proceeded to sea. Captain Salcedo could scarcely believe his eyes. He ran down to the beach, swearing and shouting, and calling upon the boatmen to take him out to his ship. The leader of the mutiny was one of the lieutenants named Lizardo Montero, a native of Piura, aged about twenty-seven. The service he did to the insurgents was of immense importance. He steamed to Islay, was joined by the "Loa" and later by the "Tumbez," and took possession of the port in the name of Vivanco.

But the whole country remained faithful to the government, and the insurrection was confined to Arequipa and the mutinous frigate. In this respect a great change was perceptible. There was no longer an exhibition of reckless love of change at the first seditious cry.

General Vivanco went on board the "Apurimac" and proceeded to Callao, but he did not attempt to land. He then went northward in the "Loa," and his reception was so cold at the different ports, which all remained loyal, that he returned to Callao. In April, 1857, he landed some troops which were repulsed by the national guard with the deaths of Generals Plaza and Lopera. This concluded Vivanco's cruise,



and he returned to Islay without having effected anything.

President Castilla, bereft of his navy, retained all his old audacity and pluck. He brought an old steamer called the "Santiago," and took the resolution of running the gauntlet of the insurgents' fleet. Landing at Arica, he organized an effective force, and marched to the valley of Arequipa in July, 1857. In August he encamped at the villages of Sachaca, Tingo, and Tiavaya, so as to cut off communications between Arequipa and the ships at Islay. Vivanco was thus reduced to great straits, supplies daily growing scarcer.

Meanwhile the *cholos* or half-castes were throwing up barricades and digging trenches in the streets, while the old president remained at Sachaca, organizing his army and biding his time.

The seizure of Arica by Montero, made it necessary that Castilla should end the campaign. His clear judgment told him that the hour for action had come. In the evening of March 5th, 1858, he occupied the Pantheon. Two battalions under General San Roman left the camp at night, followed by two more under Colonel Buendia. They had orders to attack the church of San Antonio. Three pieces of artillery were brought up, which soon cleared the street, and the troops captured the church. The defenders of Arequipa then retreated to San Pedro, which had been barricaded around. Here there was a fierce struggle which lasted four hours, the *cholos* contesting every inch of ground. Driven from San Pedro, they barricaded themselves in the convent of Santa Rosa and it took another four hours to dislodge them. The old president came up to inspect the position and seeing that it was impregnable in front, he broke in by a back street which the defenders

had overlooked. They held out with wonderful daring and tenacity, night closing on the fight. Next day, March 7th, the remaining barricades were taken with a rush, and all resistance ceased.

Vivanco took refuge in the house of Messrs. Gibbs, the English merchants, whence he escaped to Islay in the disguise of a friar. Castilla connived at his departure, knowing quite well where he was. He returned to Chile. Arica was given up directly the news arrived, and Montero surrendered the "Apurimac" to the government at Callao. He remained in exile until 1860, when he was allowed to return. The insurrection at Arequipa lasted about fifteen months, from December, 1856, to March, 1858. But it was confined to one town; thus differing widely from previous civil wars. It caused some loss, but it did not check the progress of the country, which had been continuous since the establishment of Castilla's peace.

Order was completely restored. In 1858 it was found that Ecuador, in making an arrangement with her creditors, was preparing to grant to them some territory which was claimed by Peru. Decided measures seemed advisable. In the autumn of 1859 the Peruvian fleet blockaded Guayaquil, and Castilla landed, with a small force, at Mapasinga above the town. No actual encounter took place, a treaty was made with the Ecuadorian president, and the Peruvians returned in February, 1859.

The fifteenth congress met at Lima on the 28th of July, 1860, and the revised constitution was adopted. Under its provisions first and second vice presidents were inaugurated. The first was Don Josè Manuel del Mar, a native of Cuzco, and an active public man of

good reputation who had been in official life since 1830. The second was General Pezet.

Juan Antonio Pezet was the son of the eminent physician who, with Dr. Unanue, had been one of the very earliest advocates of freedom in Peru, and who perished in Callao Castle during the siege. Born at Lima in 1810, his son was only twelve years old when he escaped from college and joined the patriot ranks. In 1831 he married Doña Juana Tirado y Zegarra, a lady of Arequipa, by whom he had an only son, Federico. Young Pezet was aide-de-camp to General Sucre at Ayacucho. He became a colonel in 1833, and was aide-de-camp to President Orbegoso. Removed from the army list in 1839, for his adherence to the fallen cause of the confederation, he was restored in 1842, and was made a general by La Fuente, on the battlefield of Agua Santa. He was wounded and taken prisoner at the battle of Carmen Alto, where he was on the side of Vivanco, but Castilla, seeing his ability, appointed him prefect of Moquegua in 1847. Echenique made him inspector-general of the army, and he was again on the losing side at the battle of La Palma. He was, however, only banished for nine months, and in 1859 Castilla made him minister of war. The second vice president was a very tall, handsome man of soldier-like appearance, and was possessed of considerable administrative talent.

Toward the close of Castilla's second administration, in a period of peace and settled government, the country had made a considerable stride toward prosperity, while a generation was rising up to whom the first turbulent twenty years of the republic was only known as a traditional warning. The following figures give some idea of the condition of Peru in 1860—

Income (including \$15,875,352 from guano).....	\$20,954,791
Expenditure (including interest of dcbt).....	20,387,756
Foreign debt.....	24,205,400
Internal debt.....	9,639,670
Value of exports (exclusive of guano).....	16,715,672
"    imports.....	15,319,222
Guano sold in Europe (£12 a ton).....	138,797 tons.
Army.....	9,500 men.

The navy consisted of the "Apurimac" and "Amazonas" frigates, "Loa," "Tumbez," "Ucayali." Railroads had been opened from Lima to Callao in 1852, from Arica to Tacna in 1857, and from Lima to Chorrillos in 1858. But the most important and useful measures adopted during Castilla's administration were connected with the improvement of prisons and the condition of prisoners. Don Mariano Paz Soldan had devoted his attention to this subject for many years, and in 1853 he had visited the prisons of the United States, and submitted an elaborate report. The penitentiary of Lima was commenced, under his superintendence, in 1856. The foundations, basement, and first story are entirely built of a hard porphyritic stone brought from a quarry in the neighboring hills, a tram-road connecting it with the works. The entrance is by a flight of four steps cut out of one stone. The second story is of brick, and the iron for gratings and doors came out ready made from England. The wards for men, women, and boys are separate, each with a large well ventilated work-room and a court-yard for exercise. In the top story is the house of the governor, the infirmary, and chapel. The penitentiary holds two hundred and eight men, fifty-two women, and fifty-two boys, and everything is arranged on the best models. It is creditable alike to the patriotic zeal and intelligence of Señor Paz Soldan, and to the enlightened and progressive policy of Castilla's government.

On October 24th, 1862, Grand Marshal Ramon Castilla resigned his office as president of the republic into the hands of his friend and successor Grand Marshal Miguel San Roman : General Pezet became first, and General Pedro Diaz Canseco, the brother-in-law of Castilla, second vice president. Castilla lived in retirement at Lima and Chorrillos for three years, and in 1865 became president of the senate. Since he restored the reign of law in 1844, a period of eighteen years had elapsed. Except one year occupied in expelling Echenique, and the purely local outbreak at Arequipa, the whole period had been one of peace and of moral and material progress. For this inestimable blessing the valiant old warrior deserved well of his country. He was a rough soldier, with arbitrary notions on some points. But he respected the law, and he loved his country.

Miguel San Roman, the new president, fought for Pumacagua at the battle of Umachiri in 1815, by the side of his father, when he was a very little boy. His father was afterward taken prisoner, and shot by the Spaniards in the square of Puno, in the boy's presence.

Young Miguel naturally imbibed intense hatred for Spanish rule, and when he heard of the arrival of Lord Cochrane on the coast, he hurried down from his mountain home as a volunteer of freedom. San Roman was a captain at the battle of Ayacucho. He was a man of unswerving loyalty. He became an adherent of Gamarra, and served him with undeviating fidelity until his death. He then attached himself to Castilla, and remained true to him with the same loyal devotion until he was elected as his successor. San Roman was remarkable for his skill in rapidly collecting and organizing a force, and for his marvelously rapid marches.

He had a handsome face of Indian type, and his thick white hair was brushed off his forehead. He was an interesting companion, full of anecdote, and held liberal and enlightened views. He spoke both Quichua and Aymara fluently, was beloved by his soldiers, and possessed minute topographical knowledge, indeed he knew every foot of the Andes. Unfortunately San Roman died within six months of his election. He was succeeded, in accordance with the constitution, by the first vice-president, Pezet, who was absent in Europe. General Canseco, the second vice-president, had charge until his return, and on August 5th, 1863, President Pezet assumed office. During his administration the decimal system of coinage was introduced into Peru, the "Sol" taking the place of the old "Peso" or dollar.

The period of Pezet's presidentship was wholly occupied with a dispute with Spain. The mother country had signed a treaty of recognition with Peru in 1853, and Don Joachim de Osma was appointed minister at Madrid. In 1863 a Spanish squadron commanded by Admiral Pinzon, who flew his flag on board the "Resolucion," came out to the Pacific, ostensibly with scientific objects, but a special envoy named Mazarredo, with the peculiar title of royal commissary, arrived at Lima at the same time. Cause of quarrel soon arose. Seventy families of Basques from Guipuzcoa had been engaged to settle on the cotton and rice estate of Talambo in the coast valley of Jequetepeque, belonging to a wealthy proprietor named Manuel Salcedo. They arrived in 1860 and were to be employed on cotton cultivation, with plots of land of their own. They complained that the contract with them had not been kept. When some of them went to the proprietor's house to discuss their grievances in August, 1863, it

was alleged that they were attacked by armed men, one Basque being killed and four wounded. The punishment of the offenders was tardy, and there were long delays in the supreme court. This was the "Question Talainbo." It formed grounds of just complaint, but it might easily have been settled if the Spanish commissary had desired a peaceful solution. He evidently did not, but raked up other frivolous complaints, made a preposterous claim of \$3,000,000 as indemnification, and demanded that the Spanish squadron should receive a salute of twenty-one guns. Having made these demands Mazarredo suddenly went on board a Spanish gun-boat, and Admiral Pinzon, with the two frigates "Resolucion" and "Triunfo," seized upon the Chincha Islands on April 14th, 1864, as a material guarantee. General Pezet's government had only the "Apurimac," "Loa," "Tumbez," and some smaller wooden ships available, but when the seizure of the Chincha Islands took place, the "Esmeralda," a Chilean ship, was lying in Callao, and the Peruvian government asked Señor Montt, Chilean minister, with whose government Peru was trying to make alliance in case of war, to allow his ship to join the Peruvian squadron in order to attack the Spaniards. Montt's reply was to give the "Esmeralda" orders to leave Peruvian waters that same evening, and so Peru lost a splendid opportunity of destroying the Spanish ships. The "Triunfo" was accidentally burned in Pisco Bay in the following November, but reinforcements were on their way from Spain.

President Pezet temporized. He felt that he was too weak to reject the demands of Spain at the moment; but two ironclads, the "Huascar" and "Independencia" and two wooden corvettes "Union" and "America" were

being built for Peru in Europe and government commissioners were purchasing the necessary war materials in order to be prepared for any emergency. The government expected before long to be able to assume a different tone. Meanwhile it was necessary to gain time. Pinzon had been relieved by Admiral Pareja in December. Pezet employed General Vivanco to negotiate with Pareja, and on the 27th of January, 1865, the Peruvian government agreed to an arrangement, which was considered derogatory by the great bulk of the nation. In February there was a popular outbreak at Callao. Castilla was president of the senate, and he went to the palace and had a violent altercation with Pezet. On the 6th of February the ex-president was seized, hurried on board the brigantine "Guise" and eventually landed in England. He remained in Europe for about a year. His brother-in-law, the second vice-president, General Canseco, proceeded to Arequipa.

Admiral Pareja, having forced the government of Pezet to agree to his terms, believed himself to be irresistible, and proceeded to pick a quarrel with Chile. He had five frigates and three gun-boats under his command at Callao. The "Numancia" was an iron clad with forty guns, the "Villa de Madrid" forty-six guns, "Resolucion" forty guns, "Blanca" thirty-six guns, "Berenguela" thirty-six guns, gun-boats "Covadonga," "Vencedora," and transport "Marques de la Victoria," altogether two hundred and seven guns. In September all the Spanish fleet proceeded to Valparaiso, except the "Numancia" which remained at Callao under command of Mendez Nuñez. The Chilean navy then consisted of the "Esmeralda" and "Maypu," which escaped southward. Pareja, in the "Villa de Madrid," sent in an ultimatum demanding indemnifications for



alleged wrongs. Compliance was at once refused, and he began the blockade. Chile then declared war on September 25th, 1865. The first event was the capture of the Spanish gun-boat "Covadonga" by the Chilean corvette "Esmeralda" with an armament of sixteen thirty-two pounders in the following November, followed immediately by the suicide of Pareja. Admiral Mendez Nuñez then took command of the Spanish fleet.

Interpreting the public feeling in Peru, the prefect of Arequipa, Colonel Mariano Ignacio Prado, a native of Huanuco, declared against the government of General Pezet, and made preparations to march on Lima. The success of this movement was most important to Chile, and a sort of envoy with very full powers was sent to Arequipa. Don Domingo Santa Maria was an advanced liberal, strongly opposed to the oligarchy which ruled in Chile, and he had suffered for his cause from illegal persecution and banishment on two occasions. But his rare abilities and talent for affairs induced him to take office under President Perez, and to accept this delicate mission to Prado. There were many delays, but at last the insurgents commenced their march along the coast, Prado being accompanied by the second vice-president Canseco, which gave the movement a certain air of legality, and by the Chilean envoy Santa Maria, but his men were half armed and undisciplined.

Pezet had a splendidly equipped army, and he could have scattered Prado's rabble with ease. But he felt that his motives had been misunderstood, and that public opinion was against him. He followed the patriotic example set by Echenique at Maquinhayo, and by Vidal in 1843. In order to save his country from a civil war, he voluntarily resigned, and went on board

a British man-of-war, at Callao, on the 6th of November, 1865, whence he sailed for England. He returned after the feeling against him had calmed down, in 1871, and he lived a retired life at Chorrillos, always refusing to enter public employment again. When the war with Chile was imminent, his old opponent, General Prado, told his ministers that the man best fitted to take chief command of the army of the republic was General Pezet. He died in 1879 universally regretted, and all feeling against him was buried in his tomb. President Prado himself was represented at the funeral as one of the pall-bearers.

Colonel Prado was declared supreme chief, while General Canseco, who had become chief of the state according to the constitution, was set aside. Prado at once formed a close offensive and defensive treaty with Chile under the auspices of Santa Maria, which was signed on December 12th, 1866, and Peru declared war with Spain almost at the same time. The declaration was signed by Prado as supreme chief, Josè Galvez (minister of war), Pacheco (of foreign affairs), Manuel Pardo (of finance), Quimper (of the interior), and Tejada (of justice), on January 14th, 1866. The first measure was to place the allied vessels of war, which were unable to cope with the powerful Spanish fleet, in a place of safety. The intricate channel of Abtao was selected, between the main-land and the island of Chiloe. Besides the "Amazonas," Peru had three new corvettes, the "Union" (twelve guns), "America" (twelve guns) and "Lerzundi." Unfortunately the "Amazonas" and "Lerzundi" were lost on the passage; but the "Apurimac" commanded by Don Manuel Villar, the "Union" under Captain Grau, and the "America" formed a junction with the Chilean squadron, consisting of

the Esmeralda," "Maypu" and the captured Spanish gunboat "Covadonga," in the Abtao Channel, in February, 1866. They waited anxiously for the Peruvian iron-clads "Huascar" and "Independencia," which, however, did not arrive in time. They repulsed an attack from the Spanish ships "Villa de Madrid" and "Blanca," but it was merely a cannonade at long range: chiefly maintained, on the part of the allies, by Villar and Grau on board the "Apurimac" and "Union."

The Spanish ships returned to Valparaiso on the 15th of February, and on the 31st of March Mendez Nuñez proceeded to bombard that unprotected sea-port.

The government of Prado, expecting an attack from the Spanish fleet as soon as Valparaiso had been bombarded, made active preparations for defence. The Peruvians had now received part of the armament ordered by the previous government, and had four Armstrong 300 pounders, five 450 pound Blakeleys, one 110 pounder, and forty-seven guns from 68 to 32 pounders, and altogether fifty-seven guns; under the general command of Colonel Ugarteche. Three Blakeleys were in the "Santa Rosa" and another battery of sand bags, near the railway station. Then came three batteries armed with 68 and 32 pounders. A tower, somewhat roughly protected with iron plates, was armed with two of the Armstrongs, and next it were two batteries armed with 32 pounders. These formed the northern defences under the command of Colonel La Cotera. The southern defences, under Colonel Inclan, consisted of the "Ayacucho" battery armed with two Blakeleys, directed by Colonel Caceres, the "Pichincha" battery with 32 pounders, the "Junin" iron-clad tower with two Armstrongs under Major Tomas Iglesias, and the "Independencia" with six 32 pounders. For the defence

of the town, the "Loa" of seven hundred tons, under Captain Camilo Carrillo, was moored head and stern, with a 110 pounder on board, the "Victoria" a small monitor, and the "Tumbez" with two 32 pounders under Lieutenant Lizardo Montero. This action is memorable as the first in which iron-clad towers have been engaged.

The Spanish fleet arrived on the 27th of April, 1866, and declared the blockade of Callao. The patriotic excitement at Lima and Callao was intense. The veteran generals, La Fuente, Echenique, La Puerta, and others came forward as volunteers. All flocked to Callao. The students of the naval college were not allowed out, but they effected their escape, climbed over the roofs, and fifteen reached the batteries, resolved to die for their country. Two were killed. Among the ladies who nursed the wounded, foremost were the wife of Colonel Prado and the widow of Vice-President del Mar.

The Spanish fleet consisted of the formidable iron-clad "Numancia" with forty guns, the "Almanza" (fifty guns), "Villa de Madrid" (forty-six guns), "Resolucion" (forty guns), "Blanca" and "Berenguela" (thirty guns each), and "Vencedora" gun-boat with three guns. The total number of guns was one hundred and forty-five, chiefly 68 pounders, but only seventy-two were available at one time.

At about noon of the 2nd of May the action was commenced by Admiral Mendez Nuñez, who opened fire from the "Numancia." It was quickly answered from the shore, and soon the fire was general all along both lines. The "Villa de Madrid" was struck by a Blakeley shot from the "Ayacucho" battery under Caceres, disabling thirty-five men and making an enor-

mous breach. The engines were rendered useless, and she was towed out of action. The "Numancia" was close in. She had her bridge shot away, and the admiral was wounded. The "Blanca," engaging the southern batteries, blew up the iron-clad tower, and then helped the "Numancia" to silence the "Santa Rosa" battery. Don José Galvez, the minister of war, was in the tower, and was blown to atoms. At 5 P. M. only five guns were replying to the Spanish fire. At sunset the "Numancia" made the signal to retreat, and the fleet anchored off the island of San Lorenzo. The "Numancia" was struck fifty-two times, one shot penetrating twenty-five centimetres, and the "Almanza" sixty-times. The "Berenguela" was disabled by two enormous projectiles. The "Resolucion" and "Blanca" were struck thirty times, with slight injury, but the "Villa de Madrid" was completely disabled. The Spanish loss was one hundred and ninety-four killed and wounded.

The Peruvians suffered much more severely, their killed and wounded amounting to 2,000. Among their dead were the minister of war, five colonels, and twenty other officers. They had fought a very gallant action, which restored their self-respect, and excited the admiration of their Chilean neighbors. The Chilean minister, in writing to his government, spoke of Peru as "that valiant and noble nation." The city of Santiago presented Prado with a sword, the letter of presentation being signed by Santa Maria.

On the 9th of May, 1866, the Spanish fleet sailed from San Lorenzo, and abandoned further hostilities. Some of the ships returned to Spain by way of the Philippines, others by the Atlantic. The officers and men of this squadron deserved well of their country. With a squadron of six frigates, five of them wooden, at

a distance of 12,000 miles from their own country, without resources beyond what could be found on board the ships themselves, without a single port in which they could repair damages, for a distance of 3,000 miles, and after a long campaign, they did not hesitate to attack very formidable fortifications armed with guns of large calibre. Their gallant conduct was worthy of the renown of Cosme de Churruca and of the other naval worthies of their nation. A medal was struck in their honor after their return to Spain. In 1871 a truce was arranged through the mediation of the United States, and on the 14th of August, 1879, a treaty of peace was signed at Paris between Spain and Peru.

When the great enthusiasm caused by the action of the 2nd of May, which will be a red letter day for Peru for all time, had subsided, Colonel Prado began to find that the unconstitutional character of his position as supreme chief was not forgotten. The terrible old grand-marshal, Don Ramon Castilla, was opposed to all forms of illegality, and he had returned from Europe. He considered that the constitution must be respected; according to which General Canseco was acting-president of Peru until the result of fresh elections was known. Castilla resolved, once more, to enforce the reign of law. He landed at Pisagua, on the coast of Tarapaca, in May, 1867, and advanced up the desert ravine of Tiliviche with a very small escort. But he was past seventy. He required too much from his aged and enfeebled frame. He was taken ill, and died by the road-side, wrapped in his military cloak, his head resting on the breast of his nephew Eugenio Castilla, on the 30th of May, 1867. No country ever had a

truer or more devoted servant, or one who did it more signal service.

His cause triumphed. Colonel José Balta headed an insurrection against Prado, at Chiclayo in the north, and General Canseco, the vice-president, rose at Arequipa in September. Prado attempted to take the place by assault on the 7th of January, 1868, but was repulsed. He then gave up further opposition and retired to Chile. General Pedro Diez Canseco assumed his constitutional position in charge of the executive. He at once convoked the electoral colleges for the election of a constitutional president, whose term of office was to commence on the 2nd of August, 1868. The choice fell on Colonel José Balta.

## CHAPTER XVII

HISTORY OF THE REPUBLIC—PRESIDENTS BALTA AND PAR-  
DO—PERUVIAN PUBLIC WORKS—CHILEAN PRETEXTS FOR  
WAR

A new period in the history of Peru commenced with the administration of President Balta. The heroes of Ayacucho had passed away from public life. General Pezet was the last who held the office of president of the republic. Balta was only eight years old when Ayacucho was fought, and he did not enter the army until 1833. As a young man he attached himself to the fortunes of Salaverry, and was taken prisoner at the battle of Socabaya when he was only nineteen. He was kept in captivity at Santa Cruz de la Sierra for nearly three years, but he was at the battle of Yungay with Gamarra, and at Carmen Alto and La Palma with Castilla. He was a short time minister of war in 1865, and was present at the action of the 2nd of May. Colonel Balta was in his fifty-second year when he became president, a man of great energy and resource, and full of schemes for the material progress of his country. The history of his government is the history of gigantic public works executed by means of vast loans. It was a period of peace and prosperity, but



also of reckless disregard for the consequences of drawing, without limit, on the near future.

Balta increased the public debt enormously. Up to 1868 it amounted to £3,800,000 which was not more than the country could bear. But in 1870 a loan of £11,920,000 was raised, and in 1872 another was negotiated of £36,800,000 to include the old debt. Government also guaranteed £290,000 for the Pisco and Yca railroad. So that the whole foreign debt of Peru became £49,000,000 and the interest about £2,500,000, a sum which it would be quite impossible for the country to pay out of ordinary revenue. Then the famous contractor Henry Meiggs and others were called in, and colossal public works were inaugurated.

All the fertile coast valleys to the north of Lima were to be provided with lines of railway to convey their produce to their respective ports. These lines were contracted for in 1872 and, being in short lengths, they will doubtless be remunerative. The most northern line is sixty-three miles long, and connects the city of Piura with the sea-port of Payta, tapping a rich cotton-producing district. The two next lines run from Pimentel to Chiclayo and Lambayeque, and from Eten to the rice fields of Ferrenafe, the latter fifty miles long. The railway from Pacasmayu to Magdalena, ninety-three miles long, furnishes the fertile valley of Jequetepeque with the means of transport, and is eventually to be extended to Caxamarca. Next there was a project to serve the rich sugar and rice estates of the vale of Chicama, by a railway twenty-five miles long from Malabrigo to Ascope. The line, eighty-five miles long, from the new port of Salaverry to the city of Truxillo, connects the capital of an important department with the sea. Only fifty-two miles are fin-

ished of the line which is to extend eventually for one hundred and seventy-two miles from the sea at Chimbote to Huaraz. There are two lines from Lima to Callao, one from Lima to Chorrillos, and one from Lima to Chancay, forty-two miles long. The railroad from Pisco to Yca has a length of forty-eight miles.

For the convenience of the nitrate works in Tarapaca three railroads were constructed; and one for the silver mines at Cerro Pasco, fifteen miles long.

Two main lines were projected to cross the Andes. That from Callao, by Lima, to Oroya in the valley of Xauxa was commenced in 1870, and is to be one hundred and thirty-six miles long. Of this distance eighty-seven miles to Chicla, are finished. It rises 5,000 feet in forty-six miles, tunnels the Andes at 15,645 feet, and terminates at Oroya 12,178 feet above the sea. There are sixty-three tunnels, and the bridge of Verrugas spanned a chasm five hundred and eighty feet wide, the central pier of hollow wrought iron being two hundred and fifty-two feet high. The completion of eighty-seven miles of this railroad cost £4,625,887.

The other great line across the Andes connects the sea-port of Mollendo with Puno, on the banks of Lake Titicaca, passing by Arequipa. It has a branch to Juliaca, which will eventually be extended to Cuzco. The portion from Mollendo to Arequipa, running for one hundred and seven miles over a waterless desert, was completed in 1870. In order to supply Mollendo with water, an iron pipe has been laid down along side the line for eighty-five miles. It starts from an elevation of seven thousand feet near Arequipa, crosses the desert, and discharges 433,000 gallons of water at Mollendo, in twenty-four hours. This is the largest





MOLE AND HARBOR, CALLAO.

iron aqueduct in the world. From Arequipa to Puno the line is two hundred and thirty-two miles long, the highest embankment being one hundred and forty-one, and the deepest cutting one hundred and twenty-seven feet. There is only one short tunnel and four bridges. The summit is crossed at 14,660 feet above the sea. On January 1st, 1874, the first locomotive reached the shore of Lake Titicaca; upon the waters of which active steps were taken to introduce steam navigation. A factory was established at Puno, two screw steamers were sent out in pieces from London of twenty tons each, called the "Yaravi" and the "Yapura," and by March, 1874, they had been successfully launched. The cost of the Puno railway was £4,346,659.

Balta's whole scheme of state railways, when completed, will have a length of 1,281 miles, private lines seven hundred and forty-nine; altogether twenty-two lines with a length of 2,030 miles. They were to cost £37,500,000.

But the attention of Balta's government was not confined to railroads. The improvement of the ports was an object which gave rise to numerous schemes. In 1870 a new work was commenced at Callao, called the "Muelle y Darsena." The bed of the bay was excavated to a depth of sixteen and a width of one hundred and forty feet, on the site of an intended sea wall. This space was then filled with rubble-stone and gravel, up to within twenty-six feet of high water mark, so as to make an artificial foundation, upon which the concrete blocks forming the dock walls were built. The total length of these walls is 4,520 feet, enclosing a space of fifty-two acres with berthing accommodation for thirty large vessels. A sea wall was also built to reclaim thirteen acres from the shallow

waters of the bay, for bonded warehouses. There are eighteen steam cranes for loading and unloading, a triple line of railway along the whole length of the dock wall, lighthouse, capstans, and supplies of fresh water at eight places for shipping. Other sea-ports have been improved to keep pace with increasing trade. At Pisco, where there is a heavy surf, Mr. Wheelwright completed an iron pier seven hundred yards in length, in 1859. At Eten the new mole on screw piles is eight hundred yards long. At Pacasmayu an iron pier was constructed six hundred yards long, another at Salaverry two hundred and fifty yards long, and another at Mollendo.

The work of opening up the vast forests to the eastward of the Andes by means of the Huallaga, Ucayali, and Marañon, Peru's great fluvial highways, was pushed forward by President Balta, but was commenced before his time. As early as 1861 two steamers were built in London for Castilla's government, called the "Pastaza" and "Morona," one hundred and eighty feet long, five hundred tons, and with engines of one hundred and sixty horse power. At the same time two others were ordered for exploring the rivers, called the "Napo" and the "Putumayu." Materials for a factory on the banks of the Marañon were also sent out. The two larger steamers went up the Amazon through Brazilian territory, and reached Peruvian waters in 1863. They began to run from Yurimaguas on the river Huallaga to the Brazilian frontier station of Tabatinga, a distance of seven hundred and forty miles, touching at eleven ports. The colony of Yquitos was founded on the left bank of the Marañon, and became the central station for Peruvian navigation on Amazonian waters. Here the factory was established, and houses were built for

officials and artisans. The traffic by means of these steamers created a thriving trade which has a tendency to increase. Yquitos is the capital of the department of Loreto, and the centre of exploring enterprise. In 1866, the steamer "Putumayu" ascended the Ucayali with a view to finding the nearest navigable point to Lima. She entered the tributary called the Pachitea, and reached the Mayru, at a place called Puerto Pardo, being the nearest point to Lima ever reached by a steamer on Amazonian waters. In 1870 the river Perene was explored by a steamer called the "Tambo," to find the nearest navigable point to Tarma, and work of the same kind was done in other directions. These energetic measures to complete the examination of the fluvial highways of the Peruvian montaña were intended to prepare for the establishment of regular traffic, opening up a busy and lucrative trade in the not distant future.

The energetic president embellished the capital, built a new bridge over the Rimac, and made the port of Ancon fashionable by selecting it for his marine residence. He also conceived and carried out the idea of a national exhibition at Lima. The scheme was sanctioned in 1869, and the building was commenced in 1872, from the plans of Don Manuel A. Fuentes, the historian of Lima and an eminent statistician. The space allotted to the palace and other buildings and to the gardens, was forty-eight acres, and the works were proceeded with, General Vivanco undertaking the office of president of the executive commission. The palace itself is a handsome building of adequate size, and it contained many objects of interest. The noble picture of the obsequies of Atahualpa by the Peruvian artist Monteros was among its finest ornaments, and there

were many other objects of native art and industry, including the admirably sculptured figures of alabaster, by the Indians of Ayacucho. The exhibition was opened on the 1st of July, 1872.

At the close of Balta's term of office, Don Manuel Pardo, who had been minister of finance under Prado, was chosen as his successor. The day was approaching for the resignation of the greatest constructor of public works that had ever filled the presidential chair, and everything was expected to pass off peacefully, when a terrible catastrophe ended Balta's career. His great mistake, so far as his own fate is concerned, was the preferment of worthless relations. He gave colonelcies to four brothers who were low born and full of vulgar ambition. These were Tomas, Silvestre, Marceliano, and Marcelino Gutierrez, members of a muleteer's family in the valley of Majes, near Arequipa. In the afternoon of July 22nd, 1872, the great square of Cuzco was suddenly occupied by a battalion of soldiers, at the head of which was one of the four brothers whom Balta had raised from the dust. Another brother, Silvestre, with a few men, then forced his way into the president's study and, with a revolver at his head, obliged him to enter a coach. He was driven to the convent of San Francisco, where troops were then quartered, locked up in a room, and allowed to see no one. Fortunately Don Manuel Pardo was warned in time, and escaped on board a Peruvian man of war. Next day Tomas Gutierrez issued a proclamation in which he declared himself supreme chief. On the 26th, Silvestre Gutierrez went to the railway station to proceed to Callao, and was shot dead by the mob. The news struck the other brothers with panic, and Marceliano went to San Francisco and murdered the president.



He then marched his mutineers down to Callao Castle, but a shot from a rifle ended his existence. Tomas was killed by the mob, and the youngest brother Marcelino was got safe into prison. He retired to a little farm near Arequipa, living in the deepest seclusion. The people called him "El Sobrado" or "the Survivor." President Pardo once kindly offered to restore him to his rank. He declined, but when the Chileans invaded Peru, he joined the force under Colonel Leyva, and fought gallantly for his country. This wretched mutiny was a mad attempt which could only have been conceived by hair-brained and very ignorant men. The satisfactory aspect of the affair is the promptitude with which all classes of the people rose on the side of law and order.

Don Mannel Pardo was inaugurated as constitutional president of Peru on the 2nd of August, 1872. Born at Lima on the 12th of August, 1834, and educated at San Carlos college, he was the son of Don Felipe Pardo y Aliaga, a distinguished statesman of the independence, a scholar and a poet. His mother belonged to the ancient family of Lavalle. After leaving San Carlos, young Mannel studied at the universities of Santiago de Chile, Barcelona, and Paris. He returned from Europe in 1853, and passed some time in charge of the estate of Villa near Chorrillos, belonging to the Lavalles, and in the valley of Xauxa. In 1858 he married a daughter of the eminent Lima merchant, Don Felipe Barreda, by a sister of Don Joaquin Osma, the Peruvian minister at Madrid.

Manuel Pardo, in conjunction with other young men, founded a periodical called the "Revista de Lima," in 1858, which reached to seven volumes. He contributed articles on political economy, and a series of studies on

the climate and capabilities of the valley of Xauxa. In 1858 he was under-secretary of finance. He established the first bank in Lima, and in 1864 he again visited Europe, as financial agent in London. From 1866 to 1868 he was minister of finance, and in the latter year Pardo became director of the "Sociedad de Beneficencia" in Lima, at a time of great sickness; and he received a public vote of thanks and a gold medal in recognition of his services. In 1869, he was head of the municipality of Lima, and did much to improve the sanitary condition of the town. He was the first civilian who became president. His minister of foreign affairs was Don Josè de la Riva Agüero, son of the first president of the republic.

President Pardo found the country on the verge of bankruptcy, owing to the reckless expenditure of his predecessor, and of the late finance minister, Don Nicolas de Pierola. A sum of £2,450,000 was needed to pay the annual interest of the foreign debt. Pardo struggled with the difficulty nearly to the end of his term of office, but the disaster was inevitable, and the payment of interest on the loans ceased in 1876. One immediate cause of the inability of Peru to meet her debt was the fall in the price of guano, owing to the large production of artificial manure in Germany. All the new president could do, was to curtail expenditure in every department. He also strove to obtain a larger revenue from the nitrate deposits in Tarapaca, and in 1875 the state was authorized to buy up all the nitrate works and establish a monopoly. The predatory ambition of the Chilean oligarchy had long threatened disaster both to Peru and Bolivia. The Chileans looked upon the wealth derived from the nitrate deposits with a jealous and greedy eye. Their threatening encroach-





THE EXPOSITION PALACE, L.I.M.

ments alarmed their neighbors, and in February, 1873, a treaty was signed between Peru and Bolivia, guaranteeing the integrity of their respective territories against aggressors, but reserving the right of each of the contracting parties to decide whether any particular injury received by the other came within the meaning of the previous article; and no action was required until such *casus fœderis* had been declared. All conciliatory measures, including arbitration, were to be tried, before proceeding to hostilities; and it was now provided that other American states should be invited to join the defensive alliance. An additional article provided that the treaty should be kept secret so long as the contracting parties, by common accord, did not consider its publication necessary.

The Chileans used this purely defensive treaty, by which arbitration is provided for before there can be a *casus fœderis*, as a pretext for war: but this was in the dark days that were to come, when the good President Pardo had passed away.

The government of Pardo was actively engaged in promoting useful measures and reforms in every department. The Chinese immigration had become a question of growing importance. Chinamen first began to arrive in Peru in 1849, and 2,560 landed between that year and 1853. In 1856 the immigration was prohibited by a law of congress, but it was again authorized in 1861, and the emancipation of the negro slaves in the coast valleys created a demand for more reliable free labor. Between 1861 and 1872, the number of Chinamen that arrived was 58,646. They contracted to serve for eight years, receiving wages and food. Unfortunately the business of emigration fell into the hands of private speculators whose sole object was to

make money out of the traffic. There was kidnapping, over-crowding, and disgraceful treatment. But the ships taking coolies from Macao to Callao were of two classes. Those of the Lima Emigration Company were large and well equipped, with sufficient space for each emigrant and wholesome rations. Those of private speculators, generally French, were often disgraceful in every respect.

In 1874 the Portuguese at Macao abolished contract emigration altogether and this prohibition was intended to confine it to direct emigration from China under government superintendence, and on fixed conditions arranged by treaty. This was the desire of President Pardo, and in October, 1873, congress enacted that all contracts for coolies should be registered in the prefecture of Lima, and that their fulfilment should be enforced. Two Asiatics, as agents of police and interpreters, were attached to the sub-prefecture of every province in which contract emigrants were employed. At the expiration of a contract the master is bound to report that the laborer is free, on pain of a fine, and if the man desires to return to his own country the introducer is bound to find him a free passage.

Thus Pardo made sincere endeavors to ensure justice and proper treatment to the Chinese laborers in the coast valleys of Peru. He also determined to take steps with regard to their engagement and passage, by direct negotiations with the Chinese government. Don Aurelio Garcia y Garcia, a captain in the Peruvian navy, was selected for this important mission, and the instructions for his guidance were embodied in a very able state paper by Don Josè de la Riva Agüero, the minister of foreign affairs. The envoy was to secure freedom for Chinese subjects to emigrate, and to give

guarantees for good treatment during the passage, and for the strict performance of contracts. He was to propose the adoption of rules which were agreed to between England and China in March, 1866, and to make the spirit of those rules the basis of his negotiations. After signing a treaty between Peru and Japan, Captain Garcia y Garcia arrived at Pekin in December, 1873. The treaty between Peru and China was signed on June 26th, 1874. Free emigration was allowed under certain conditions, and a Chinese commissioner was to visit Peru and inspect the condition of his countrymen. The commissioner found many Chinamen, who had served out their indentures, engaged in business or in domestic service. There were two prosperous Chinese firms in Lima receiving large consignments, a Chinese club and theatre, and two Chinese benevolent societies. Captain Garcia y Garcia conducted these difficult negotiations with ability and success.

President Pardo paid great attention to statistics. A census was taken in 1876 on a better system and with more care than had ever been attempted before. The result gave the population at 2,673,075 souls. A statistical department was established at Lima under the superintendence of Don Manuel A. Fuentes, divided into branches for census, territory, archives, movement of population, death rate, judicial and police, commerce and agriculture. The first publication of the department was a work on the political divisions of the republic, with an enumeration of cities, towns, and villages; also tracing the history of the political divisions, since the conquest. A map of Peru was also engraved under the superintendence of Professor Raimondi; and the president founded a geographical society which came to an end on the breaking out of the Chilean

war, but which has since been revived under happier auspices.

Another useful measure was the official publication of the great work on Peru by Dr. Antonio Raimondi. This accomplished geographer and naturalist was a native of Milan and came to Peru in 1850. He visited every part of the republic, surveying, collecting, and annotating during a course of years. The first fruits of his labors was the publication of a topographical account of the department of Ancachs and of its mineral wealth, in 1873. Three volumes of his great scientific work on Peru subsequently appeared; and do honor alike to Professor Raimondi and to the Peruvian government. He has devoted his life to his adopted country, and Peru has known how to value so precious a gift.

Many other enlightened measures were adopted by Pardo with a view to promoting and improving education, inviting immigration, facilitating commercial transactions, and increasing the number and efficiency of lighthouses. In order to utilize the exhibition palace he founded a fine art society with the duty of maintaining and administering the buildings and garden, and conducting the work of the museum, and of the schools of painting, sculpture, and music. The salons of the exhibition palace were destined for the establishment of a general museum, a school of painting and sculpture, and a hall of music. Most valuable results would have been secured from the wise and enlightened administration of President Pardo, if all progress had not been checked by the fell work of a destructive war.

The navy received careful attention from the government of Pardo. It had been increased by two iron-clads since the Spanish aggression, but no vessels had



been ordered after the retirement of General Pezet. The turret ship "Huascar" was built at Birkenhead by Messrs. Laird in 1866, being two hundred feet long, 1,130 tons, and three hundred horse power. The armor around her revolving turret was only five and one-half inches thick, and there was a protecting belt of four and one-half inches. She was armed with two twenty-inch Armstrong three hundred pounders and two forty pound Whitworths. The "Independencia" was a broadside iron-clad of the old type, built at Blackwall in 1865, two hundred and fifteen feet long, 2,004 tons, and five hundred and fifty horse power, with only four and one-half inch armor. She was armed with twelve seventy pounders on the main-deck, and two one hundred and fifty pounders, with some smaller guns, on the upper deck. The "Union" was a wooden corvette armed with twelve seventy pounders and capable of going thirteen knots; the "Pilcomayu" a smaller vessel, was armed with two seventy pounders, four forty pounders and four twelve pounders. There were also two antiquated old monitors built in the United States called the "Atahualpa" and "Manco Capac," and purchased in 1869. They had ten inches of iron on their turrets, and were armed with two fifteen inch smooth bore Rodman guns: but they were merely floating batteries, unfit for work at sea.

A naval school was established at Callao in 1870, under the superintendence of Captain Camilo Carrillo, who was professor of astronomy at the university. It was on board the "Marañon" and was to consist of thirty students. In 1874 a preparatory naval school was added on board the "Meteoro" with one hundred and forty students, also under Captain Carrillo; and a school of boys was established on board the old frigate "Apu- rimac," for a course of three years training in seamanship

and gunnery. In 1878, Captain Carrillo went, with some of his students, to Payta, to observe the passage of Mercury over the sun's disc. This observation was especially interesting to Peruvian naval officers, because it was the same by which Humbolt fixed the longitude of Lima in 1802.

Pardo made considerable reductions in the army for the sake of economy, Whereas in 1870 it numbered 12,000 men, in 1875 the nominal strength was 4,500 men, consisting of three battalions of infantry of five hundred each, three regiments of artillery making a total of 1,000 men, and two brigades of cavalry. He re-established the militia called "guardia nacional," which suppressed Pierola's revolt, and which was afterward the basis of the army of defense against the Chileans.

The mischievous sedition of Nicolas de Pierola, who had been minister of finance under Balta, disturbed the peaceful course of Pardo's administration. In 1874 he chartered an English steamer called the "Talisman," embarked men in Chile and arrived off Pacasmayu. The captain and some of the crew were arrested, but the steamer got away and proceeded southward to Pacocha. Here she was captured by the "Huascar," but not before Pierola had landed with his men. Passing through Moquegua, he entrenched himself on the heights of Los Angeles, the very spot where the patriots under Miller were worsted by Canterac and his royalists in 1822. The president was prompt and energetic. He took the field in person, accompanied by General Buendía, reached Moquegua in December, and encamped at Charsaques, a village at the foot of Los Angeles. The insurgents had a thousand men, Pardo 1,300. He detached Captain Montero of the navy

to attack Pierola in the rear, and when he calculated that Montero had about completed the movement, he ordered an attack in front. Having fully attained his object, which was to draw off attention from the march of Montero, he withdrew his men. Then Montero fell on the rear of the rebels, and completely routed them. Pierola escaped into Bolivia, and the insurrection was at an end.

During Pardo's time the palace was given up for public offices, the president residing in his private house, where he was always accessible to all ranks of his countrymen. His term of office came to a close in August, 1876. The candidates to succeed him were Colonel Prado and Admiral Montero, the former being successful. Don Manuel Pardo, after his resignation, retired for some time from Peru. Returning to Lima he continued his career of public usefulness and was elected, by congress, president of the senate. On the 16th of November, 1878, he was assassinated, by an obscure wretch, on the steps of the senate house. He was forty-four years of age. The first civilian who had been elected head of the state, Pardo was the best president that Peru has ever known. He achieved a great social and political object in developing public spirit among the working classes in Peru. Before his time political interests had been controlled by one class of the community only.

Colonel Don Mariano Ignacio Prado became constitutional president of Peru on the 2nd of August, 1876, with General Don Luis de la Puerta as first, and Don José F. Canevaro as second vice-president. In the following year the restless Pierola again created a disturbance. He found partisans in two hair-brained young fellows named Bernabè and Manuel Antonio

Carrasco, who seized the iron-clad "Huascar" by a *ruse* at Callao, and took her down to Cobija, where Pierola embarked. On May 27th, 1878, they seized the port of Pisagua in Tarapaca, but the rest of the Peruvian squadron went in chase, and there was an engagement which lasted about two hours. When darkness came on the "Huascar" decamped, having been declared a pirate by President Prado. The British Admiral de Horsey in the flag-ship "Shah," determined to try and seize the "pirate" on the ground that she had boarded an English steamer and taken some one out of her. On the 29th of May, the "Huascar" encountered the "Shah" and "Amethyst" off Pacocha. Admiral de Horsey's summons to surrender was indignantly rejected and the "Shah" opened fire which was returned rather wildly. But the young Carrascos, considering their total want of experience, did not handle the ship badly, and at all events got her safely out of action at dusk. The "Huascar" ran down to Iquique and, the fun being over, she surrendered to the "Independencia" on May 29th. The matter was not treated very seriously and Pierola was allowed to return to Chile.

In this year the approach of the dreadful war which was soon to spread desolation and misery over Peru loomed like a black cloud on the southern horizon. Since the war of 1839 power in Chile had continued in the hands of the same party, in spite of much discontent and two sanguinary civil wars in 1851 and 1859. Lima had been crowded with Chilean exiles of the liberal party, including Santa Maria, who took such a leading part in urging Peru to declare war with Spain. Santa Maria was the ablest statesman in Chile and in spite of his strong liberal views, he was induced to take office under Pinto, who was elected President of

Chile in 1876, and was less reactionary than his predecessors. It was Santa Maria who guided the warlike policy of the Chileans at this time. Ever since the desert of Atacama and the province of Tarapaca began to yield great wealth, their possession had been coveted by the Chilean oligarchy. Such possession would add enormously to the resources of the Chileans, and they were quite unscrupulous as to the means of obtaining it. Force would be necessary. Two powerful iron-clads of the newest construction had been ordered. They were designed by Reed, and built at Hull in 1875—sister ships named the "Almirante Cochrane" and the "Blanco Encalada" of three hundred and fifty-six tons and 2,920 horse power. They carried six nine-inch Armstrong twelve ton guns, some light guns, and two Nordenfelt machine guns. The armor was nine inches thick at the water-line, and six to eight inches around the battery. Both were fitted with twin screws. Chile also had two sister corvettes, the "Chacabaco" and "O'Higgins," armed with three one hundred and fifty pound seven ton Armstrong guns, the "Magallanes," "Abtao," "Esmeralda" wooden corvette, and "Covadonga" gun-boat. The "Huascar" and "Independencia" of the Peruvian navy were obsolete, and their armor was worse than useless against new Chilean ships, for the Chilean shells would penetrate and burst inside the Peruvian iron-clads. The Chilean army had also been carefully trained for active service, and was supplied with the latest inventions and improvements.

Thus being admirably prepared, the Chileans began by encroachments on the territory of their Bolivian neighbor. The limits of the South American republics were, by general agreement, fixed according to the *uti possidetis* of 1810. On this principle the boundary of

the Bolivian province of Atacama extends to the northern limit of Chile. That northern limit was clearly defined before 1810, and was fixed at a place called El Paposo in  $25^{\circ} 2' S$ . It is thus defined in the ninth law of the Indies (*Titulo 15. Book ii.*), and in the official description of Dr. Cosme Bueno. It is shown on the well known map of de la Rochette, based on the survey of Malespina, and was accepted by the Chileans themselves before they began to covet the territory of their neighbor. In the official map of Claudio Gaye, Chile ends at Paposo; and when Admiral Fitz Roy executed his surveys, enquiries were made of the Chilean authorities as to the position of the boundary and it was placed to the south of  $25^{\circ}S$ . It was only when the great value of the Atacama minerals was discovered that any question was raised. Then Chile claimed the 23rd parallel. Her boundary was the 25th. Next she offered to take the 24th as a concession on her part, having no more right to the 24th than to the 23rd. This pretended concession was only made on the condition that the value of half the custom dues from minerals exported between the 24th and 23rd parallels was paid to her. Having by this encroachment established such complicated relations with her neighbors as that pretexts for a dispute could easily be found, the completion of her scheme could be effected when it was found convenient. In 1879 all the Bolivian ports, Antofagasta, Cobija, and Tacapilla were seized and occupied by Chilean troops.

Under the treaty of 1873 Peru offered her good offices as a mediator. She had no suspicion that war with her was also intended, with a view to the conquest of Tarapaca. Don José Antonio Lavalle was sent to Santiago, and the pretence of negotiations was kept up with him by Santa Maria for a short time. Grievances

against Peru were then alleged, and complaints were made that the nitrate monopoly would injure Chilean interests, and that the Chilean government was kept in ignorance of the treaty of 1873 between Peru and Bolivia. As these were the only pretexts for war that were alleged, it will be well to consider them in this place. To the first the Chilean historian, Vicuña Mackenna, himself gives the answer—"It is necessary to confess" he says, "that in adopting any course relating to a Peruvian product the Peruvian president was within his right according to the law of nations, because he was free to legislate on domestic affairs as seemed best for the interests of his country." The provisions of the treaty of 1873 had been public since 1874 certainly, for the Chilean minister at La Paz, Carlos Walker Martínez acted on his knowledge of them and referred to them in a book published in 1876. Moreover the Argentine Republic was officially invited to become a party to the treaty and the question was publicly discussed in 1877.

These pretexts were, therefore, illusory. No others were even hinted at. Lavalley was allowed to offer suggestions for settling the dispute between Chile and Bolivia by arbitration, and he made proposals which would have been doubtless acceptable, if a settlement had been desired. But Chile had no such desire. On the contrary she intended to fix a quarrel on Peru also. Santa María suddenly made three demands, to be treated as an ultimatum. Peru was at once to cease all defensive preparations, to abrogate the treaty of 1873, and to declare her neutrality. No nation with a spark of self-respect could possibly accept such terms. They were made, because it was impossible, and because the Chileans were now ready to enter upon their career of depredation. Señor Lavalley was dismissed

and the Chilean government declared war upon Peru on the 5th of April, 1879.

The Chilean minister afterward confessed the truth that "the nitrate territory of Tarapaca was the real and direct cause of the war." The declaration of war in April, 1879, was caused by the knowledge that the Peruvian ships stood no chance against the new iron-clads of Chile. The intent of Chile was conquest. The Peruvians fought in defence of their native land, the noblest and best cause in which a man can draw his sword.

Just before the war, in 1878, the value of Peruvian exports was \$47,000,000: the largest item being 6,000,000 cwts. of nitrate, worth \$17,500,000: then sugar \$13,000,000 (2,000,000 cwts.): wool \$4,000,000: precious metals about \$4,500,000: guano \$3,600,000: Peruvian bark, skins, etc. \$1,500,000. The customs, taxes, railways, and other sources of revenue produced \$8,860,000; nitrate and guano \$9,000,000; total \$17,860,000.



## CHAPTER XVIII

### THE CHILEAN INVASION—GLORIOUS FIGHT OF THE "HUASCAR"—CAMPAIGNS OF TACNA AND TARAPACA

It was a saying of old General Castilla that when Chile bought one ship, Peru ought to buy two. It is certain that a successful invasion or defence of Peru depends upon possession of the sea. This was as true in the days of Gonzalo Pizarro and Lord Cochrane as it was in 1879. Yet, although Chile had an overpowering preponderance, the Peruvian fleet delayed the invasion for six months. This result was mainly due to the heroism and skill of one man.

Miguel Grau was the son of a Colombian officer whose father was a merchant at Cartagena. The name points to Catalonian ancestry, and in the veins of the naval champion of Peru flowed the same blood as gave life and vigor to the fleets of Aragon. His father, Juan Miguel Grau, came to Peru with General Bolivar and was a captain at the battle of Ayacucho. His comrades returned to Colombia in 1828, but the attractions of a fair Peruvian induced the elder Grau to settle at Piura, and there young Grau was born in June, 1834. The child was named after the patron saint of his native town. His father held some post in the Payta custom house, and the son was shipped on board a merchant

ship at the very early age of ten years. He knocked about the world as a sailor boy, learning his profession thoroughly by hard work before the mast, for the next seven years, and it was not until he was eighteen that young Grau obtained an appointment as a midshipman in the, then, very humble navy of Peru. He was on board the "Apurimac" when Lieutenant Montero mutinied in the roadstead of Arica against the government of Castilla, and declared for Vivanco. The lad probably had no choice but to follow the fortunes of the insurgents until the downfall of their leader; besides Montero was his fellow townsman, being also a native of Piura. As soon as the rebellion was suppressed in 1858, Grau once more returned to the merchant service, and traded to China and India for about two years.

Miguel Grau was one of the best practical seamen in Peru, well known for his ability, readiness of resource, and courage, as well as for his genial and kindly disposition. When, therefore, he rejoined the navy in 1860, he at once received command of the steamer "Lersundi," and soon afterward was sent to Nantes with the responsible duty of bringing out two new corvettes, the "Union" and "America." He attained the rank of captain in 1868, and commanded the "Union" for nearly three years, handling her with great skill during the Spanish attack in the channel of Abtao. In 1875, he was a deputy of congress for his native town and an ardent supporter of the government of Don Manuel Pardo. He was married to Doña Dolores Cavero, a Peruvian lady of good family.

Grau commanded the "Huascar" when the Chileans declared war. He conveyed President Pardo to Arica, where an army was assembling, in May, 1879, with the

"Huascar" and "Independencia," and then proceeded to Iquique, where the Chilean corvette "Esmeralda" and gun-boat "Covadonga" were blockading the port. The "Huascar" rammed and sank the corvette, while her consort pursued the gun-boat; but following too close in shore the "Independencia" ran upon some rocks and became a total wreck. This fatal accident was a death blow to the cause of Peru. The strength of the Chilean fleet, before unequal, was now overpowering. Complete preponderance was only delayed for a time by the brilliant exploits of Grau. He exchanged a few shots with the "Blanco Encalada," but easily evaded her, and returned to Callao on June 7th, 1879. The "Huascar" had now become the sole hope of Peru. While her gallant commander out-manuevered the superior forces of the enemy, the coasts were safe from serious attack. For nearly four months this feat was achieved, and Peru was safe-guarded by her heroic son.

During July, the "Huascar" was engaged in harassing the enemy, and keeping him in a constant state of alarm and preparation. Accompanied by the "Union" the "Huascar" even made a successful cruise along the coast of Chile, and captured the large Chilean transport "Rimac," with a regiment of cavalry on board. The "Rimac" was armed as a cruiser, and thus increased the small Peruvian navy. The successes of Grau, who had been promoted to the rank of admiral, excited great discontent in Chile. The two iron-clads were ordered back to Valparaiso to undergo a thorough overhaul of hulls and machinery. The capture of the "Huascar" was now the main object of the Chilean government; for she effectually prevented the prosecution of those schemes of depredation and conquest upon which the predatory little republic had entered.

On the 1st of October, 1879, a squadron consisting of two iron-clads and several other war ships, all carefully and thoroughly refitted, was despatched from Valparaiso for the purpose of forcing the "Huascar" to fight, single-handed, against hopeless odds. After their cleaning the speed of the Chilean iron clads was superior to that of the "Huascar." The Chilean admiral ordered his fastest ships, the "Cochrane," "O'Higgins," and "Loa" to cruise about twenty-five miles off the land, between Mexillones Bay and Cobija, while the "Blanco," the "Covadonga" and "Matias Cousiño" patrolled the coast between Mexillones and Antofagasta. The "Huascar" and "Union" were cruising together in the vicinity of Antofagasta on the 8th of October. Early in the morning the weather was thick and foggy. As the dawn gradually broke the mist lifted and they were able to make out three distinct jets of smoke appearing on the horizon to the north-east, near Point Angamos, the western extremity of Mexillones Bay. Admiral Grau signaled the presence of the enemy to his consort, and then hauled up to the north-west. Soon the light enabled him to recognize the iron-clad "Blanco," the "Covadonga" and "Matias Cousiño," but he was gradually increasing his distance from his pursuers, when at 7:30. A. M. three more jets of smoke came in sight, in the very direction in which he was steering. It was soon discovered that they were issuing from the funnels of the iron-clad "Cochrane," the "O'Higgins" and the "Loa." Grau's situation now became critical in the extreme. Escape was barred in every direction, for it was evident that the "Huascar" must be intercepted before she could cover the distance between her position and safety. The admiral fully realized his danger. Seeing that escape

was impossible, he resolved to make a bold dash at his enemies, and fight his way through, or perish in the attempt. He prepared his ship for action, while he ordered the "Union" to exert her utmost efforts to escape as, with the "Huascar" gone, she would be the only effective vessel left to Peru. This, in consequence of her great speed, she had no difficulty in accomplishing. At twenty-five minutes past five the first shot was fired from the "Huascar," at the "Cochrane's" turret, at a distance of 3,000 yards. It fell short, so did the second and third shots, but the fourth took effect. Up to this moment the guns of the "Cochrane" had been silent. She now opened fire, and the battle was kept up with spirit, on both sides, until the end. The "Huascar's" turret was worked by hand, not by steam, and the fourth shot from the "Cochrane" struck it, temporarily deranging the revolving apparatus. The ships had closed considerably, and Grau made an attempt to ram his antagonist, but the maneuver was frustrated by the quickness of the "Cochrane's" movements. Being fitted with twin screws she was able to turn in half the space that was required by the "Huascar." Several subsequent attempts to ram also proved unsuccessful. The ships were now engaging at distances from three hundred to one hundred yards, an incessant mitrailleuse and rifle fire being kept up on both sides. At 9:55 A. M. just half an hour after the action had commenced a shell from the "Cochrane" struck the pilot tower of the "Huascar" and exploded. Admiral Grau and one of his lieutenants were inside. They were blown to atoms. Only a portion of a leg of the brave admiral was afterward found. He fought and died off Point Angamos. His deeds of patriotic devotion

will never be forgotten in Peru, and Grau is known in history as the "Hero of Angamos."

Up to the moment of the bursting of the fatal shell the "Huascar" had been fought with skill and daring; but the firing on both sides was indifferent, a small percentage of the shots taking effect. Shortly after 10 A. M. the "Blanco," which had been pounding up astern ever since daylight to close with the enemy, reached the scene of action and on coming within six hundred yards, fired her first shot at the doomed "Huascar." Don Elias Aguirre, the senior officer, had taken command on the death of the admiral, but a shell from the "Blanco" took his head clean off. Don Manuel Carbajal, the next in seniority, was severely wounded by the explosion of the same shell which killed Aguirre. No sooner had Lieutenant Rodriguez succeeded to Carbajal, by virtue of his rank than he, too, was added to the long list of slain. He was succeeded by Lieutenant Enrique Palacios, who, before the end of the action, was in his turn severely wounded by a fragment from a shell. The command then devolved on one of the junior officers, Lieutenant Pedro Garezon.

By this time the "Huascar" was quite disabled. Her steam steering gear had been rendered useless by the same shell which killed the admiral, and from that time the ship had to be steered by relieving tackles hooked below. A shot had also entered the turret, injuring one of the guns to such an extent as to render it useless, besides killing and wounding several men. The turret was also disabled. Still the unequal contest was maintained. Several attempts were made, on both sides, to bring the matter to an issue by ramming, but all failed. At the short ranges the effect of the machine gun fire was very deadly, the Gatling-guns in

the "Huascar" top being silenced by the more effective fire of the Nordenfelts, with which the Chilean iron-clads were armed. At 11. A. M., one hour and a half after the commencement of the action, the flag of the "Huascar" was at length hauled down. Out of a complement of one hundred and ninety-three officers and men, with which the "Huascar" began the action, sixty-four were killed and wounded. The "Cochrane" fired forty-six and the "Blanco" thirty-one rounds, out of which only twenty-four took effect on board the "Huascar," but the shells burst after penetration, showing that the weak armor of the "Huascar" was worse than useless. The "Huascar" fired forty rounds, her guns being served with great rapidity, but there was little precision in the aim, owing to want of practice.

The "Huascar," an obsolete vessel with thin armor that the enemy's shell could penetrate, was opposed to two iron-clads with thick impenetrable armor, so far as she was concerned, fitted with twin screws, with Nordenfelt machine guns, and great superiority in size, weight of metal, and number of men, and also to four wooden vessels, six to one. The odds against her were overwhelming, and the action fought by Admiral Grau and his heroic companions was most glorious. It is a very bright episode in the struggle which the Peruvians made in defence of their fatherland.

The captain of the "Blanco," with some feeling of respect for brave enemies, said in his despatch that the combat ended after a resistance which did honor to the valor of the captain, officers, and crew of the "Huascar." The Chilean government actually made him expunge this passage from his official despatch, and substitute the words—"after a tenacious and vigorous

resistance." This incident explains much that happened afterward and shows the spirit in which the Chilean governing class was entering upon the war.

The sea was now under the absolute control of the Chileans. Under such circumstances it becomes almost an impossible task to defend such a coast line as that of Peru. It is a rainless region, and its fertile valleys occur at long intervals between vast tracts of waterless deserts. In Tarapaca these deserts cover nearly the whole area, while in rear of the coast region rise the stupendous cordilleras of the Andes. With the ports blockaded, the movement of troops from one threatened point to another is impossible within any required time.

It was unknown at what point the invasion would commence. The capital might be attacked, or Tacna, or the coveted province containing the nitrate deposits. It was believed that Tarapaca would be attacked first, because the difficulties of a defending force are there most formidable. Great efforts were, therefore, made by President Prado to concentrate a force in Tarapaca before communications by sea were cut off. Including the Bolivian allies the number of men in Tarapaca, by the end of May, was 9,000, but the cavalry was not properly mounted, and the field artillery was antiquated. The commander-in-chief was General Juan Buendia, with Colonel Belisario Suarez as his chief of staff; both men of staunch loyalty. But the most noteworthy soldier among the defenders of Tarapaca, was Colonel Andres Avelino Caceres, the future president. He commanded the second division. His second in command, Juan Bautista Zubiaga had hurried from Cuzco with his men, marching over the wildest pass in the Andes. Cut off from the rest of Peru by trackless deserts. the



forlorn hope in Tarapaca was as isolated and as unequally matched as the "Huascar" had been, and like the gallant crew of the "Huascar," it was prepared to fight and die for the fatherland.

The invading army consisted of 10,000 men, including eight hundred and fifty admirably mounted cavalry, and thirty-two long range field guns, embarked on board four men-of-war and fifteen transports. A very gallant resistance was made to their landing at Pisagua; the Chilean men-of-war sending six hundred and ten shells into the ranks of the defenders, and 4,380 rifle shots. The shattered survivors were led away by General Buendia, and Pisagua became the scene of most disgraceful excesses, the drunken Chilean soldiery robbing, burning, and destroying. This was on the 2nd of November. The Chileans advanced to a hill called San Francisco, where they had communication with the sea shore by rail, and abundance of fresh water. Buendia was in extreme difficulty. Want of provisions and water necessitated immediate action. He resolved to attack the enemy, 10,000 men posted on the hill, behind a row of thirty-two field guns, with cavalry massed below. The defenders advanced against this formidable host in three parallel columns, and in perfect military order. The sun was burning fiercely. The Peruvians dashed up to the guns; Colonel Espinar of Cuzco leading them on. The Chilean artillery men were falling back. At that supreme moment a ball pierced the head of Espinar. The hero of Cuzco had fallen with his feet under the invader's gun. Then a close mass of Chilean infantry dashed down with their bayonets at the charge. The men of Cuzco and of Ayacucho long stood firm, so firm that two of them were transfixed at the same moment that they transfixed their antagonist.

Overpowered by numbers they at length fell back, and retreated down the hill, disputing every inch of ground. They were not followed. It was five in the evening. The Peruvian dead numbered two hundred, the wounded seventy-six. Suggestive proportion! Colonel Suarez called together the reserve and the surviving heroes of the assault, at midnight of that sad 18th of November, and retreated to the village of Tarapaca, the birthplace of brave old Castilla, near the base of the cordilleras. They were left to retire unmolested, without cavalry or artillery, without food, without stores or resources, without a base. It was indeed a forlorn hope!

Suarez had galloped to the ravine of Tarapaca in advance, to collect food for his famished troops, leaving Colonel Bolognesi in command, a brave and accomplished officer of Arequipa. That veteran brought them safely to the green oasis. Few soldiers in the world could have fought so valiantly, and then have endured the extremities of thirst, hunger, heat and fatigue as these poor Indians had done. Without supplies and without chance of succor, General Buendia felt that his men had done all that honor could require, and he prepared to retire from the province. The Chilean general, after hesitating for several days, sent a carefully selected force to attack them, consisting of 2,000 picked infantry, one hundred and fifty cavalry, and one hundred and fifty artillery with ten long range field guns. The plan was to effect the complete destruction of the Peruvian troops at Tarapaca by three separate attacks, one up the ravine itself, and the other two along the ridges on either side. The 27th of November's dawn saw the three columns advancing. The unsuspecting Peruvians were resting

under the willow trees, with arms piled, ready to resume their retreat. Suddenly a muleteer galloped up to Colonel Suarez, and reported that the enemy was close upon them. In another moment the sky line of the ridges on either side of the ravine was broken by moving columns of armed men. Buendia and Suarez made their dispositions on the instant. They seemed to be surrounded. The division of Caceres was to climb the ravine side and attack the enemy actually in sight, Bolognesi was to protect the south side, and General Buendia was to defend the ravine. The first division had already marched, and a messenger was despatched with orders for it to return. Colonel Suarez, on his white horse, led the division of Caceres up the steep hill by a precipitous winding path. On the summit, with rifles at the ready, and four Krupp guns, stood the Chilean foe. Caceres and Zubiaga were in the front, and there was a shout of triumph as they reached the crest. The Chileans formed a semi-circle and opened a withering fire, expecting to hurl the Peruvian's back and down the precipice. Then the men of Cuzco, instead of falling back, charged with Zubiaga at their head. One ringing cheer and Zubiaga fell to rise no more, like Espinar at San Francisco, under the muzzle of a Chilean gun. He died in the moment of victory. Seeing their leader fall, the Indians set their teeth and charged steadily and in earnest. The Krupp guns were captured and for an hour the Chileans continued to give way. For once the two sides were on equal terms, and the best men would win. At noon more Krupp guns were captured; and the Chileans were beaten all along the line. They fled toward a sand hill in the desert, and were saved from total rout by their cavalry. Meanwhile Buendia gallantly held his

own in the ravine, but at a terrible cost. Many officers fell around him, young Pezet, grandson of the president, was severely wounded, one hundred and seven dead bodies were on one spot. The little band of survivors defended the place with desperate tenacity, and the Chileans in the ravine began to fall back at the same time as their comrades on the heights. At this juncture the return of the Peruvian first division completed the victory.

This was a Peruvian victory. They had driven the Chileans back at all points, had retained the whole battle-field, had captured eight guns and one standard, and could now continue their retreat unmolested. The Chilean loss amounted to six hundred and eighty-seven killed and wounded. The Peruvians had nineteen officers and two hundred and thirty-six men killed, sixteen officers and two hundred and sixty-two men wounded. The valiant little army, terribly thinned in its heroic efforts to save the province of Tarapaca, began its sad and weary march to Arica, with fifty-two Chilean prisoners, on the following day. They arrived at Arica on the 18th of December. Sorrow and mourning spread over the valleys of the Andes. Yet there was consolation. The lost ones were not rapacious invaders. They fell in a just and holy cause—the defence of their native land.

The loss of the "Huascar" and then of Tarapaca, made President Prado despair of success, with the means at his disposal. He handed over the command at Tacna and Arica to Admiral Lizardo Montero on the 26th of November and returned to Lima. There he came to the extraordinary resolution of abandoning his post and going to Europe to raise a loan and purchase iron-clads. Leaving the executive in charge of

the vice president, General La Puerta, he sailed for Panama on the 17th of December. His term of office would have ended on the 2nd of the following August.

Lima was in a state of excitement and anger at his unaccountable desertion. The troops broke out in mutiny, and when General La Cotera, the minister of war, tried to quell it, his followers were fired upon. The armed populace then declared openly for revolution. This was an opportunity not to be missed by the restless Pierola. He placed himself at the head of the movement, the vice-president was persuaded to resign, and Don Nicolas de Pierola was declared supreme chief of the republic on December 23rd, 1879.

Pierola comes of a Catalonian stock. His family had settled at Camaná on the coast of Peru, and there he was born on January 5th, 1839. His father, with the same name, was a man of science, a botanist of some eminence, and director of the Lima museum. He died in 1857, leaving his son to be educated at the College of San Toribio at Lima. The younger Nicolas became a lawyer, Balta made him minister of finance in 1869, and since the death of that ill-fated president, he had been incessantly intriguing for power. He was a charlatan, but it was no time for civil dissensions when the enemy was at the gate, and all Peruvians, in this moment of danger, rallied round the *de facto* head of the state, whoever he might be. On this Pierola had probably counted. Among his ministers were Don Nemecio Orbegoso, a son of the former president, and Colonel Miguel Iglesias, a landed proprietor at Caxamarca, who took charge of the war department.

In the beginning of 1880, the Chileans, who now had three iron-clads, began the blockade of the ports of

Arica and Callao. They had also bought an Irish pig boat, called the "Belle of Cork," which they re-named the "Angamos." She was a fast steamer and they armed her with one 180 pound, eight inch Armstrong gun with a range of 8,000 yards, far out of reach of any Peruvian gun, so that she could bombard an enemy, while she herself remained perfectly safe. With her formidable weapon she was a terror to the batteries of Arica and Callao. But, after doing a large amount of mischief along the coast, this gun one fine day recoiled so violently that it disconnected itself from the carriage, and went overboard. It had been fired three hundred and eighty times in ten months.

Arica is an open roadstead protected to the south by a lofty cape called the Morro, and the rocky island of Alacran. The town stretches along the beach from the foot of the Morro, and the surrounding country is desert and sandy, though there is a fertile valley along the water course of the Azapa, which reaches the sea to the north of Arica. The railroad to Tacna runs forty-eight miles northward. The Peruvians had ten rifled guns on the Morro, and ten in forts north of the town under the command of Captain Camilo Carrillo. The harbor defence monitor, "Manco Capac," under Captain Josè Sanchez Lagomarsino, was moored under the forts. There was also a small torpedo brigade on the island of Alacran, under Lorenzo Prado, a son of the president. At first the Chileans ventured close in, but the "Huascar" was twice hit with serious consequences, and the "Magallanes" was rather severely mauled by the "Manco Capac," after which the long range fire of the "Angamos" was resorted to. The Peruvian navy was reduced to one wooden corvette, the "Union." In March, 1880, it was resolved that she

should attempt to run the gauntlet of the whole Chilean fleet, and throw supplies into Arica. On the 17th the gallant little "Union," commanded by Captain Villavicencio, set out from Callao, eluded the Chilean fleet, and safely landed six Gatling guns, several thousand rifles with ammunition, and clothing for the troops at Arica. The iron-clads steamed in to attempt her destruction, but would not venture within range of the guns on the Morro. Their fire was not very effective, and they soon moved northward to intercept the "Union" on her return. Captain Villavicencio, closely observing their movements, slipped out of the anchorage, steamed full speed to the south and, having got a good start of his pursuers, returned safely to Callao. He had landed the stores in spite of the whole iron-clad fleet of Chile.

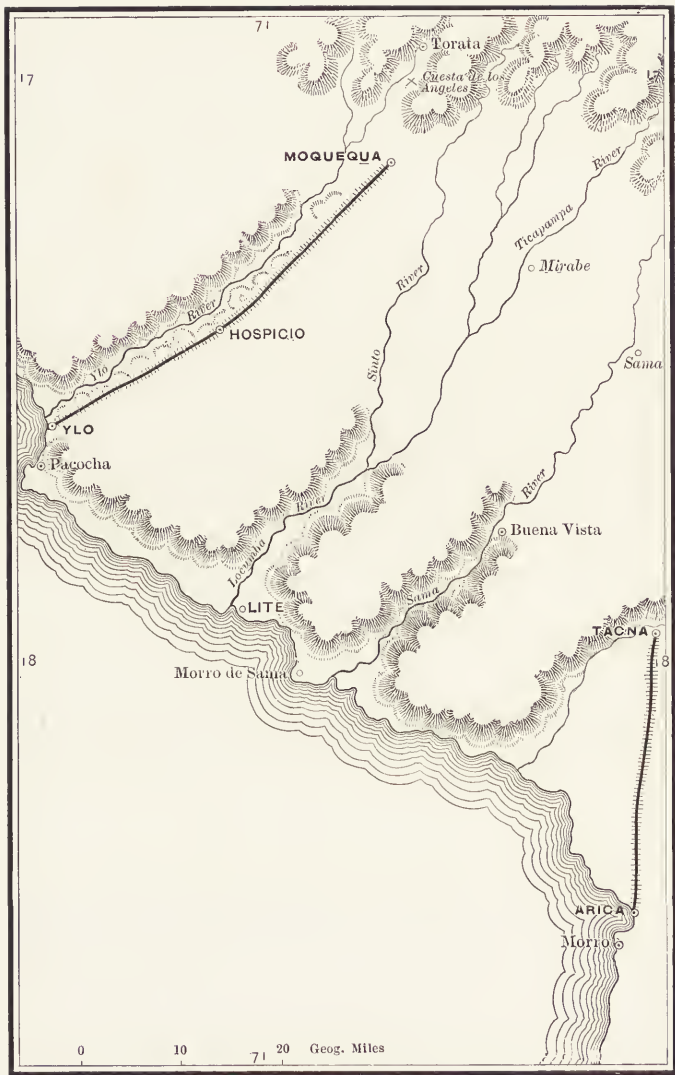
On the 10th of April, 1880, the Chilean fleet commenced the blockade of Callao, which was kept up for nine months. Besides the two old historical round towers of Callao Castle, the defences consisted of two armored turrets, the "Junin" and "Mercedes," each with two five hundred pound Armstrongs, a 1,000 pound smooth bore Rodman on the spit of land to the south, forts "Ayacucho" and "Santa Rosa" with two five hundred pound Blakeleys, and six batteries with smaller guns of little use. The "Atahualpa" harbor defence monitor, the "Union," and three school ships were moored inside the *Darsena*. Thus the desolating work continued, and now the Chileans had arrived to extend havoc and destruction over this thriving and important commercial sea-port. Pierola devoted his attention to the organization of a torpedo brigade, and to the contrivance of engines for the destruction of the blockading ships. On May 10th the Chileans bombarded the town of Callao with four hundred projectiles, and suc-

ceeded in sinking one of the school ships. They also added two swift torpedo boats, fitted with outrigger torpedoes, to their squadron, called the "Janequeo" and "Fresia." They were armed with Hotchkiss machine guns. These, with three smaller boats, the "Guacaldo," "Colo-colo," and "Tucapel," were used to keep watch over the Peruvian ships and boats at night. On May 25th, on a pitch dark night, the "Janequeo" and "Guacaldo" suddenly found themselves close to a Peruvian steam launch, manned by a few soldiers, with a mitrailleuse, and commanded by Lieutenant Galvez, son of the minister of war who was killed in the action with the Spanish fleet. Closely chased by the Chilean boats who failed in the management of their torpedoes, Lieutenant Galvez threw a one hundred pound case of powder on the deck of the "Janequeo" and exploded it by firing his revolver. She filled and sank. The boat of Galvez sank also, and he was taken prisoner, with his surviving men, by the "Gaucaldo." The Peruvians also succeeded in blowing up a Chilean armed transport, and the gun boat "Covadonga." Later in the course of the blockade, the Chilean admiral threatened to bombard the defenceless towns of Chorrillos, Ancon, and Chancay, if the "Union" was not surrendered to him. He was told that the ship in question was in Callao harbor, that he had better come and take her, and that, as for the threat of bombarding defenceless towns, it was worthy of the manner in which the Chileans were carrying on the war. The threatened bombardments were actually carried into execution, to the disgrace of the invading navy.

The Chileans had now conquered and occupied the coveted nitrate province, the annexation of which was the object of the war, and they had destroyed the Pe-







BATTLE OF TACNA.

ruvian fleet. All reasonable pretext for further operations, involving bloodshed and destruction, had ceased to exist. The continuation of such work was unnecessary for the invader's object. But a nation that once enters upon such a career will not readily desist. The conquerors of Tarapaca determined to spread their desolating inroads over the Peruvian departments of Tacna and Moquegua, and to destroy the allied army assembled at Tacna. The plan was for the invading forces to effect a landing to the northward, cut off Tacna from her communications, and then fall upon the allies in their isolated position. With complete command of the sea, and superiority in every military point of view, except personal bravery, this was not a difficult undertaking. In the end of February, 1880, a force of 14,000 men was put on shore at Ylo and Pacocha. Ylo and Moquegua are connected by a railway, and a small Peruvian force under Colonel Andres Gamarra, a son of the former president, occupied the heights of Los Angeles above Moquegua, with the village of Torata in its rear. Here Canterac repulsed the patriots led by Miller in 1823, and it was here that President Pardo routed Pierola, in 1874. The Chilean general imitated the tactics of Pardo, by sending a detachment to make a long detour and attack Gamarra's rear. For more than an hour the Peruvians, though overmatched and surrounded, held their ground, but they eventually retreated on March 22nd. The Chilean general's object in occupying Torata was to close one road by which Tacna could communicate with the rest of Peru. The distance between Ylo and Tacna is eighty miles: a desert intersected by the two narrow, but fertile valleys of Locumba and Sama. The Chilean General Baquedano set out from his camp at Hospicio,

on the Ylo and Moquegua river, on the 27th of April, and encamped near Buena Vista in the Sama valley.

The Peruvian army at Tacna was in command of Admiral Montero. It consisted of the remnant of the heroes of Tarapaca, with such recruits as had since been collected. The total number of fighting men, including the Bolivians under General Campero, did not exceed 9,000, with defective artillery, poorly mounted cavalry, and no transport. The Chileans had 14,000 men, including batteries of Krupp guns and well equipped cavalry. General Campero, the president of Bolivia, who commanded in chief, took up a defensive position outside Tacna, on a ridge defended on the flanks by steep ravines, with a sloping glacis in front. Each soldier was provided with a sack to fill with sand, as a protection against rifle fire.

Basquedano advanced to the attack at 10 A. M., opening a tremendous fire from his long twelve pound Krupp guns which have a range of 4,000 yards, cutting up and demoralizing the defenders of the position long before their few short range guns could return the fire. The Chilean infantry, formed in four divisions of 2,400 men each, were then led to the assault, the artillery continuing its plunging fire over their heads. The weakest point was held by the Bolivians. They stood their ground bravely for a long time. At length, decimated by the terrible fire, they gave ground. The young volunteers of Cochabamba, "Libres del Sur" as they called themselves, were almost cut to pieces. Campero sent up reserves in support, and for a moment there was a flash of hope. The Chilean column wavered, and was hurled down the slope to the point where the assault commenced. But the advantage could not be maintained, owing to a protecting charge of cavalry,

and to a renewal of the artillery fire. For two hours the Bolivians stood their ground against hopeless odds, and it was not until near two in the afternoon that they finally gave way. Montero, with the survivors of the victory of Tarapaca, also made a gallant stand, resolutely facing the artillery fire, and repelling charge after charge. The Chileans had lost 2,128 killed and wounded before the defenders of their country were overwhelmed. The slaughter was most grievous, the invaders butchering the wounded in cold blood, with long knives. Campero and the Bolivians retreated in good order. Montero retired by way of Torata, after one hundred and forty-seven officers had fallen. Sad and heart-broken, the gallant knot of survivors strove to encourage each other, but their anguish could not be repressed altogether. Some expression of it was wrung from them. "I confess," wrote Colonel Caceres, "that I had the weakness to weep over so terrible a disaster."

The allied army had fought a good fight. "Some of the corps covered themselves with glory," wrote the Chilean historian. Their inferiority in numbers, in experience, and above all in artillery and cavalry, told fatally against them. If there had been anything like equality in these respects, the heights of Tarapaca tell how different would have been the result.

The Chileans occupied Tacna, and commenced operations for the capture of the sea-port of Arica. The town had a population of 3,000, and to the south of it is the Morro, a cliff seven hundred feet high, with a perpendicular sea face. Two sand-bag forts, each with four small guns, were constructed on a ridge leading to it, while on the Morro itself there was a fort containing nine heavy guns. North of the town there

were three batteries close to the sea shore, with the monitor "Manco Capac" moored off them. The defence of Arica was entrusted to the brave Colonel Bolognesi, one of the heroes of Tarapaca. On the Morro was Captain Moore, the ill-fated captain of the lost "Independencia," with two hundred and fifty of his ship's company. He was in plain clothes, refusing to wear a uniform until the loss of his ship had been atoned for by good service. By his side was the gallant young Alfonso Ugarte, a wealthy native of Tarapaca who had flown to arms when his country was invaded. The garrison consisted of three hundred artillery apprentices, and about 1,400 volunteers, besides the men of the "Independencia."

On the 5th of June the Chilean artillery opened fire and the fleet commenced a bombardment, answered by the "Manco Capac" and shore batteries. One shell from the Morro entered a port on board the iron-clad "Cochrane," ignited a charge of pebble powder, and disabled twenty-eight men. The forts were but slightly defended on the land side, and on the 7th they were carried by assault, as well as the sand-bag defences on the ridge. The Chileans, in overpowering numbers, then entered the fort on the Morro, killing ruthlessly and giving no quarter. The Chileans intimated to Bolognesi to surrender, but he refused and resolved to perish. He was quite aware of his fate, for his men were very few. There stood the accomplished Bolognesi, the brave Moore, the youthful Ugarte and several others. The Chileans slaughtered them without compunction. Bolognesi was pierced by a rifle bullet, and his brains were beaten out. Ugarte was killed and the body hurled over the cliff into the sea. The heart-broken mother offered a large reward for even a scrap of the clothes of her heroic son,

but nothing was ever found. The whole affair was a massacre. As many as six hundred of the garrison were bayoneted, most of them in cold blood. About one hundred and fifty ran down the steep side of the Morro and reached the town, but they were followed and shot down. Captain Lagomarsino sank the "MancoCapac," by opening all the valves.

After the capture of Arica, the United States minister reported that the Chileans "behaved more like a band of roving savages, than like a regularly organized soldiery of a country calling itself civilized. They murdered the wounded. They found a number of fugitives in the British Consulate, dragged them out into the square and shot them, and then sacked the house. It was not war but wholesale murder."

In September, 1880, the Chilean government deliberately organized an expedition of 2,000 men, commanded by an Irishman serving in the navy, named Patrick Lynch, to proceed to the Peruvian ports north of Lima, for the purpose of destroying private property, seizing merchandise, and damaging public works. These instructions were contrary to the usages of civilized warfare. It is important to record a passage in the declaration of the Chilean government, at the opening of the war. "There will be no senseless destruction of property, which benefits no one and redounds to the injury of ourselves, there will be no criminal violence against defenceless people." This insincere statement was either intentionally written to deceive, or conveyed no meaning to the minds of those who wrote it.

The history of Lynch's expedition was written by a Chilean, and will best be given in his own words. "The Chileans sent an expedition to carry the torch of havoc, of desolation, and of provocation to implacable war and

eternal rancour, along the coast of Peru. This crusade of violence and destruction is that which is known as the expedition of Lynch. Its object was to desolate the rich valleys and factories of the north of Peru. It is impossible to conceive an undertaking more unreasonable, even leaving its barbarity out of consideration. Although destined against Peru in appearance, it was in reality injurious to ourselves. We were reviving the days of pirates in our midst, when the whole world, by common consent, has agreed to put an end to them. Events have established the truth of this, and the ample justification for the protest which the author of this history, in his position as a senator, made against these enterprises. One great evil arising from them is the employment of our soldiers on work which will not advance their morality nor our civilization. Another is that such deeds will inevitably alienate the sympathies of foreign countries when they become known.

“In the first days of September was commenced the fatal, inglorious, desolating expedition which was confided to Patrick Lynch. It consisted of 2,230 men of all arms in two steamers. They left Arica on the 4th. On the 10th they arrived at Chimbote. Near this port were the great estates of Don Dionisio Derteano, called Puente and Palo Seco. Here were railways, artificers' shops, thirty-six houses of dependents built of iron and wood, sent out from the United States, the house itself was a palace splendidly furnished, there was a factory with elaborate machinery for producing sugar, beautiful gardens, stables containing valuable horses and a foal (sire “Gladiator”) which had cost £1,500 in England, and large works for the rice crops, with houses and excellent barns. The principal buildings had been completed in 1876. Lynch landed and proceeded at once to these



peaceful and flourishing centres of industry. He demanded \$100,000 to be paid in three days. The sum not being paid, the scene of destruction commenced. The steam machinery was blown up with dynamite, as well as the iron pillars of the noble buildings. The still, the machinery for pressing the cane, the boiling houses, were all burned. The house with all its rich furniture, large mirrors, books, pianos, pictures, became a smouldering pile of ruins. The fields, with their crops, were desolated and became vast calcined surfaces. A few choice books from the library, and the most valuable horses alone were saved from destruction, to be purloined by the marauders. Next the valuable sugar estate of San Nicolas de Lao, with its machinery and buildings, was destroyed. The custom house of Chimbote was burned, locomotives were blown up with dynamite, while cavalry destroyed the telegraph line. The Chilean soldiers killed a flock of five hundred sheep, which they could not carry off.

“These valleys in the north of Peru produced over 80,000 tons of sugar in 1879. The expedition of Lynch destroyed this industry between September 4th and November 10th, 1880. After the work of destruction was completed at Payta, the same odious scenes of destruction were repeated at many other points in the coast valleys and at the ports.”

This is the opinion of a Chilean. Yet it is a historical fact that the Chilean government not only approved of the expedition, so diametrically opposed to their own declaration, but promoted the officer whom they employed, thus sanctioning every detail of his proceedings.

At the very time when the Chileans were thus employed, the United States ministers to Chile and Peru had come to Arica on an errand of peace. They induced the

Chilean government to consent to a conference with Peruvian commissioners on board the United States corvette "Lackawanna." Captain Aurelio Garcia y Garcia, and Dr. Antonio Arenas were appointed on the part of Peru. The commissioners met on the 22d of October, 1880. The Chileans demanded the cession of Tarapaca, payment to Chile of \$20,000,000, return of the captured "Rimac," the abrogation of the Treaty of 1873, retention of Tacna and Arica until the conditions were complied with, and an obligation on the part of Peru never to fortify Arica. Señor Arenas said that annexation through conquest were recognized in other times and in distant regions, but that they had never before been invoked in Spanish America, having been considered incompatible with republican institutions. Captain Garcia y Garcia proposed that the questions in dispute should be referred to the arbitration of the United States. The Chilean representatives peremptorily refused, showing their determination to make a reasonable settlement impossible.

For the Chileans had resolved still further to extend the horrors of war, by sending an expedition against the capital of Peru. The invaders actually possessed all they demanded, and yet they still persisted in their sanguinary career. An expeditionary force consisting of 30,000 men of all arms was organized, transports were purchased or chartered, and the resources of Chile were taxed to the utmost for objects of mischief and destruction.

## CHAPTER XIX

THE CHILEAN INVASION—FALL OF LIMA—CONTINUED RESISTANCE BY CACERES.—PEACE MADE BY CHILE WITH GENERAL IGLESIAS—FALL OF THE CHILEAN NOMINEE—CACERES ELECTED PRESIDENT

Lima was threatened with all the horrors of war. The population of the capital of Peru exceeded 100,000 souls, and it included 15,000 foreigners. Lima was full of foreign merchants' houses, of contractors and speculators, of French and Italian shops, and of industrious mechanics. A great and busy city, throbbing with thousands of different aims and desires, with manifold interests, gay and pleasure seeking in one phase, wrapped in official and business cares in another. A mighty and complicated machine, not lightly to be mangled and broken, without heavy guilt resting on the destroyer.

That destroyer was almost at the gates. The gay and thoughtless youths, students, clerks, and mechanics, all were suddenly called upon to face death in defence of their homes, all that could bear arms. The national army was destroyed, and the conquerors were landing on the coast. The army could do no more. It had fought well and bravely far away in the south. It was scattered in ghastly piles along the deserts of Tarapaca. It whitened the sand hills of Tacna. It sleeps

with Bolognesi on the Morro of Arica. Pierola strove to call up another army. The venerable Buendia was by his side, Admiral Montero escaped from Tacna, Suarez and Caceres who had seen the Chilean infantry fly before them down the slopes of Visagro, Canevaro and Iglesias—all good men and true. But how few! If 2,000 veterans could gather around the surviving chiefs it would be all; but there were barely as many as that. Every male resident of Lima between sixteen and sixty must bear arms. Alas! decrees can not create an army. Crowds could be sent to the sand hills to fight bravely and die. They were patriots, but not soldiers. There were to be four divisions commanded by Suarez, Caceres, Davila, and Iglesias. General Silva was chief of staff. All were called to arms. The young men of fashion formed a corps under Don Juan de Aliaga, Count of Luringancho, the lawyers under Dr. Unanue, journalists under the wealthy Derteano, whose property was destroyed by the marauder Lynch, Dr. Milon Duarte arrived from the mountains with a thousand Indians of Xauxa, the freedom loving Morochucos came pouring in from Ayacucho, numerous Italians and other foreigners enrolled themselves to strike a blow in defence of their adopted country.

Two lines of defence were selected, when it became certain that the invaders would land to the south of Lima. One passed along the line of arid sand hills on the southern verge of the valley of the Rimac from the Morro Solar, a cliff which overhangs the fashionable watering place of Chorrillos on the sea, to the base of the cordillera. The time was very short, and it was only possible to dig a few ditches and throw breastworks up in front of the guns. For the line was six

miles long and broken by barren hills. A second line was prepared just outside the village of Miraflores, which was surrounded by handsome villas, and only six miles from Lima. There were many unserviceable guns, thousands of gallant young fellows, who were not soldiers, ready to die for their country, and a rabble. Yet it was right that a stand should be made. It was very sad to think of those thousands falling in heaps, in a fruitless attempt to bar the way, in a vain effort to save the capital. Yet by the memory of such achievements do nations, rising from the ashes of adversity, learn the lessons which bring prosperity and strength.

The Chilean army consisted of 24,956 men and 1,202 officers, the newest types of Armstrong and Krupp guns, seventy-seven mountain guns, eight Gatlings and two Nordenfelts, all well equipped. Commissariat, ambulance corps, carriers, and camp followers brought the numbers up to 30,000. One division landed at Pisco, the rest at Curayaco, about three miles north of Chilca. The march from Pisco was accompanied by devastation and slaughter, the burning of towns and destruction of property. Having assembled his army at Lurin, the Chilean general assaulted the first line of defence on the 23rd of January, 1881. The resistance of the people of Lima was steady and tenacious. The right wing of 5,000 men, under Iglesias, was at last driven back, and retreated up the Morro Solar. The Chileans then carried the defences in front of the farm of San Juan at the point of the bayonet, and there was a frightful slaughter of the volunteers under Canavaro. But the division of Caceres, after suffering heavy loss, retreated in good order toward Chorrillos. Among the dead was Colonel Reinaldo Vivanco, eager

and zealous, and brave to audacity. The name will recall the heroic death of a gallant son, as well as the restless ambition of the accomplished father. Near him fell his captain, young Felipe Valle-Riestra. The boy had recently returned from a course of study in France, and had no inclination for the career of a soldier. But when his country was invaded, he flew to arms. On that fatal morning he stood face to face with the foe. In his right hand was the sword inherited from his uncle, Admiral Guise, which that officer had worn when a midshipman at the battle of Trafalgar, "the sword of Trafalgar" as it was called in the family. It received fresh honor from the youth who wore it in the lines of San Juan. Valle-Riestra was among the first to fall, mortally wounded. A faithful servant bore him out of the press, to die in great agony some days afterward. The night before he sent a note which reached his mother. "Be confident that I shall bear myself valorously, and that I shall not fall back a step." He was wounded where he stood, at dawn. He had not fallen back a step. Vivanco and Valle-Riestra rest side by side in the Panteon of Lima. Another lad who was killed at San Juan, was young Castilla, only son of the president. He fell, sword in hand, pierced by Chilean bullets, when in the act of rallying his brigade. "He was a noble young man" wrote a foreign friend, "a dashing soldier, a true and enthusiastic patriot, cheery and hospitable, and excelling in all field sports."

Having carried the line, Baquedano occupied Chorillos with one division of his army, while the other assaulted the Morro Solar. After a desperate and gallant defence Iglesias surrendered.

The Chileans gave no quarter. They bayoneted not

only all the wounded, but the defenceless civilians in Chorrillos, including the respected old English physician, Dr. Maclean, whom they foully murdered. The town was burned amidst hideous scenes of slaughter and rapine. Dreadful as were the atrocities committed by the Chileans during the day, they were as nothing compared with the horrors enacted after dark. There were no more Peruvians of either sex to kill, so the drunken soldiers turned upon each other. No less than forty of them were thus killed, fighting with senseless fury, or being burned by the flames they had themselves kindled. In the battle of Chorrillos 2,000 Chileans were killed and wounded. Of the defenders 4,000 bodies of the young students and mechanics of Lima were scattered along the first line of defence.

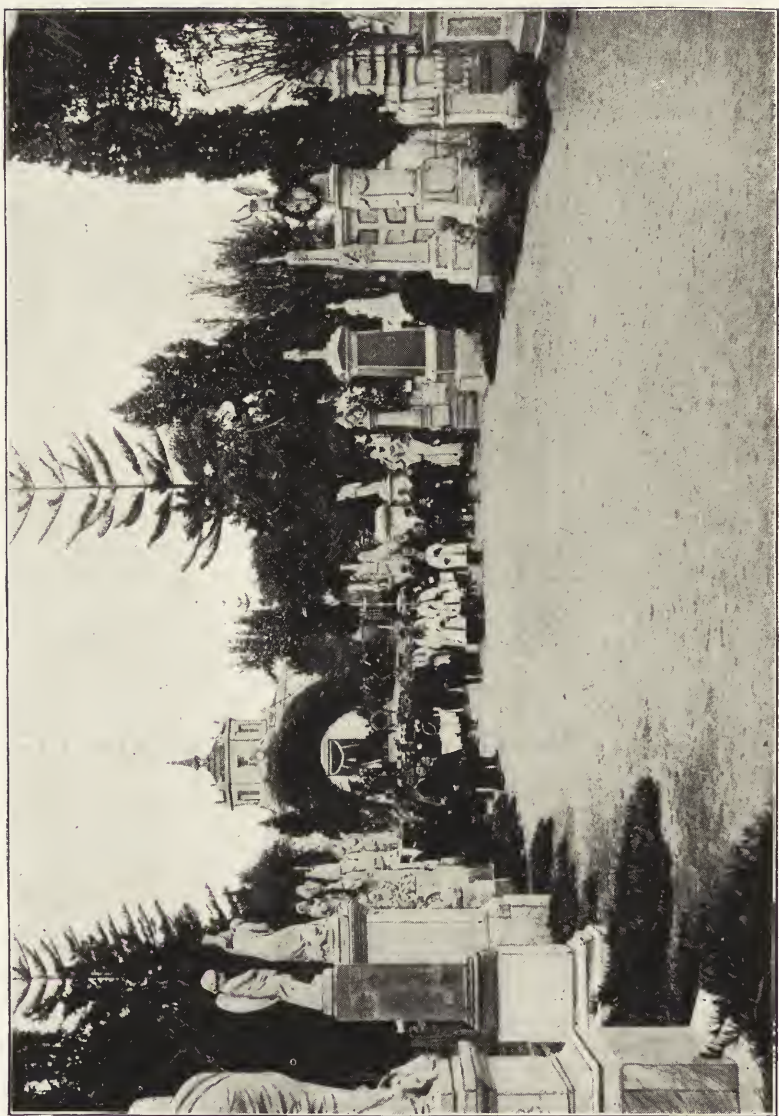
An armistice was arranged, but it was broken by the Chilean general, apparently through some mistake, and he attacked the second line of defence at Miraflores on the 15th of January. There were five redoubts on the line, mounted with artillery. In one was Deputy Sanchez with his followers, in the next was Ribeiro with the students and journalists, then came the merchants under Manuel Lecco. A fort with two guns between Miraflores and the sea was defended by Caceres. The Chileans, 13,000 strong, began the assault at 2:25 P. M. with a cannonade of the fort held by Caceres, from artillery on shore, and from the whole Chilean fleet. Caceres made a brilliant defence, and it was not until all his ammunition was expended that the enemy at length got possession; the defenders falling back to reinforce the centre. Meanwhile the Peruvians on the right made a desperate attack on the Chilean line, Colonels Caceres and Fanning leading. The latter was killed. For a moment there was a gleam of hope.

The enemy wavered, but large reinforcements came up, and a battery of artillery opened fire. The defenders were forced back, and their redoubts were carried at the point of the bayonet. They were filled with dead—poor young lads from the desk and the counter, students, and men of fashion. In one place there was a heap of a dozen Italian youths, who would not see their Peruvian friends go forth without helping them—lads of the "Garibaldi Legion." Most pathetic was the wall of youthful dead which the invading soldiery must trample over before the doomed city could be reached. But there were old men as well as young among the dead—Dr. Pino, a judge of the superior court of Puno, aged sixty; Ugariza, secretary of the Lima chamber of commerce; Los Heros, chief clerk of the foreign office; Marquez the diplomatist; two editors, members of congress, magistrates, landed proprietors, all dead in defence of their country's capital. The defence of the second line was bravely maintained for nearly four hours. Caceres received five wounds, Silva, Canevaro, and the venerable Vargas Machuca were wounded, and a son of Iglesias was killed. Another tale of 2,000 dead swelled the number of mourners in Lima.

As soon as resistance ceased, Miraflores was committed to the flames, all the country houses around it were sacked and burned, and the lovely gardens uprooted and destroyed. Lima, the great city, would have shared the fate of Chorrillos and Miraflores if the Chileans had had their way. Its rescue from destruction was due to the firm stand made by the foreign ministers, and still more by the foreign admirals. On the 17th the Chilean troops took possession of Lima. Its capture had cost them 1,299 men killed and 4,144 wounded.







THE PANTHEON, LIMA.

At Callao all remaining ships were destroyed to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy—the monitor "Atahualpa," the school ships "Apurimac," "Metoro," and "Marañon," the frigate "Union," and the steam transports "Rimac," "Chalaco," and "Talisman."

During their occupation of Lima the Chileans seized the university hall for a barrack, destroying and throwing away the archives. The public library contained 50,000 printed volumes and 8,000 priceless manuscripts. It was appropriated as another barrack, the books being sold as waste paper, or thrown into the street. The pictures and everything of value in the exhibition building, the laboratory and appurtenances of the school of medicine, all the models and appliances for teaching in schools of art, sciences, and trade, and public monuments were destroyed or carried off. The benches in the lecture rooms were cut up, to make packing cases for the plunder. The United States minister reported that these proceedings were "violations of the rules of civilized warfare which call for an earnest protest on behalf of all civilized nations." Finally, on May 4th, 1881, they appointed Captain Lynch, the hero of the raid along the coast, to be Chilean commandant at Lima.

Pierola escaped into the interior after the battle of Miraflores, and he assembled a congress at Ayacucho in July, but in November he resigned and proceeded to Europe, having been in power for nearly two years. At first the Chilean government seemed to be inclined to treat, giving out that they would allow a provisional executive to be formed for the purpose at Lima. Some of the leading citizens at the capital held a meeting and induced an eminent lawyer to undertake

the thankless task of presiding over such an executive. This was Dr. Francisco Garcia Calderon, who was born at Arequipa in 1832. His "Dictionary of the Jurisprudence of Peru" is a work of great erudition and research, and he was legal adviser to several leading mercantile houses. The village of Magdalena was selected as his residence, he formed a respectable ministry, and was installed on March 12th, 1881. Some members of the last congress also assembled at Chorillos in July. The government of Calderon was recognized by the United States, Switzerland, and the Central American Republics. On August 4th, he had an interview with the Chilean plenipotentiary, but the claims of the invaders were excessive. Hope was entertained that the United States would offer to mediate. To prevent this the Chileans abolished the government of Garcia Calderon on September 28th, 1881, and sent him a prisoner to Chile in November, with many other leading civilians. A forced contribution of \$1,000,000 a month was extorted from those who remained in Lima. During 1882, from custom dues alone the plunder amounted to \$28,694,000. Fortunately Admiral Montero, who wisely kept out of the Chilean lines, had been elected first vice president, and Caceres second vice president, in the government of Garcia Calderon.

Admiral Montero became the constitutional head of the state, after the imprisonment of Garcia Calderon, and the retirement of Pierola. He established the seat of his government at Arequipa and convoked a congress. Iglesias was in command in the northern departments, Caceres in the center, Suarez and Camilo Carrillo at Arequipa. The election for deputies took place in all parts of the country not occupied by the

enemy, and the congress met at Arequipa in March, 1883. The United States disapproved of the Chilean invasion, but declined to interfere, except with friendly advice. President Arthur, in his message to congress for 1882, said—"It is greatly to be deplored that Chile seems resolved to exact such rigorous terms of peace, and indisposed to submit to arbitration the terms of an amicable settlement. No peace is likely to be lasting that is not sufficiently equitable and just to command the approval of other nations."

The congress of Peru met at Arequipa, and on June 6th, 1883, elected Dr. Garcia Calderon president, Admiral Montero first, and General Caceres second vice-president.

The Chileans were engaged, during the remainder of their occupation, in the despatch of destructive raids into all parts of Peru that could be reached, which were conducted on the principles of the notorious Lynch expedition. Truxillo, Pacasmayu, Yca and other towns were occupied and plundered, a rush was made for the silver mines of Cerro Pasco, the people of Huanuco were massacred, and a force 5,000 men under Colonel del Canto was sent up the railroad to Chicla, and occupied the Xauxa valley. But there he had to deal with General Caceres.

Caceres had fought in almost every encounter with the Chileans since they landed at Pisagua. He still devoted all his energies to resisting the invaders, because he saw no other way of securing a honorable peace, and because it was thus that he understood the will of the nation. He organized a small army at Ayacucho, his native place, and advanced against Canto, occupying the town of Pucara on the river Mantaro, in February, 1882. The Chileans marched from Huan-

cayo, and opened a heavy fire on the town from field guns and rifles. Leaving one battalion on the right bank of the river, to keep the enemy in check while he took up a new position on some heights, Caceres formed his little force. After a battle lasting five hours the Chileans were driven back to their original positions, and the Peruvian general retreated unmolested to Izcuchaca. The battle of Pucara was glorious to Caceres who only had 1,810 men and no artillery; against four battalions of Chileans with eight field guns. He again routed the Chileans at Concepcion on the 9th of July, 1882, and Canto was obliged to retreat to the railway, evacuating the Xauxa valley. The Chilean second in command, being embarrassed with his prisoners, formed them in a line and shot them down, the wounded being despatched, in cold blood, with long knives.

In September, 1882, the Chileans advanced from Truxillo to Caxamarca, the home of General Iglesias. They demanded \$60,000 from the town, and when only \$30,000 could be collected, they set two churches and several houses on fire. Hearing that Iglesias was at Chota they proceeded to that place, and entirely destroyed it. Plundering as they retired to the coast, they collected \$45,620 altogether, from the ruined and starving people.

General Iglesias reflected, about this time, that there could be no way to peace save through complete submission. But he began to act independently, instead of remaining loyal to the government. His first proposals were coldly received. In October, 1882, he issued circulars inviting the northern departments to send representatives to Caxamarca, but he met with little encouragement, and General Caceres issued a counter-circular urging loyalty to the government at

Arequipa. Meanwhile the plunder of private citizens at Lima proceeded apace. Those who escaped were threatened with death, their houses being broken into and furniture seized, while the prisoners, many of them aged and venerated men, were sent to captivity in the unhealthy climates of Chillan and Rancagua.

In 1883 the Chilean invaders again overran some of the interior provinces. General Caceres had a small force at Tarma, with which he advanced to Cerro Pasco in May, and continued his march northward in search of an invading army commanded by Colonel Gorostiaga. That officer fell back to Huamachuco to form a junction with some reinforcements coming up from the coast. The Chileans then numbered 2,000 men, while Caceres only had 1,380 under his command, besides four hundred brought up by Colonel Recabarren. Although the enemy had the advantage of numbers and position, Caceres resolved to attack him at Huamachuco.

In the evening of the 8th of July, 1883, General Caceres reached the heights to the south-east of Huamachuco, at the same time that Don Jesus Elias, son of the great vineyard proprietor at Pisco, brought up a body of volunteers from Santiago de Chuco. Colonel Secada occupied a height called Cuyulgo, which commanded the town of Huamachuco, while Colonel Recabarren advanced on the left flank. As soon as the enemy perceived these movements, he abandoned the town, and retired to a hill called Sazon, a lofty and strong position to the north, covered with ruins of ancient buildings, which he used as entrenchments. From his new position he opened a heavy artillery fire which continued until night.

On the 9th the artillery fire was resumed, and con-

tinued throughout the day. Caceres determined to assault the Chilean position at dawn on the 10th. But the enemy forestalled him by coming down the hill, and attacking his right. The valor displayed by the Peruvian officers and men was above all praise, and after a long contested fight, they drove the enemy behind their original entrenchments on the heights of Sazon. Caceres sent his aides-de-camp in all directions to check the advance, while the ammunition of the different battalions was replenished. But it was impossible to check the ardor of the soldiers, and they intrepidly marched against the position on the heights, in the face of a deadly fire from the entrenchments. When the ammunition failed, they had no bayonets, and were forced to retreat. The Chilean cavalry then appeared in the rear, and the Peruvians fled in all directions. All the efforts of Caceres to rally them were in vain. General Silva, fighting as a volunteer, was killed. Young Leoncio Prado had a leg crushed and a ball in his chest. He was carried into a hut, where he was killed in cold blood by order of the Chilean commander. The Peruvian dead numbered six hundred, including ten colonels, no quarter being given by the invaders, who now overran the northern departments. On his retreat from Huamachuco, Caceres, accompanied by two officers and an orderly, met a detachment of sixteen mounted Chilean soldiers. He saved himself by a feat of cool audacity. He advanced alone to the Chilean serjeant who was in charge, mentioned that he was followed by several battalions, gave him a safe conduct, and quietly proceeded without hindrance. Caceres arrived at Ayacucho, in August, 1883, where he hoped to organize another force.

While Caceres was nobly defending his country,







and fighting the battle of Huamachuco, Iglesias was negotiating with the Chileans, with a view to obtaining peace by submitting to any terms they might demand. He did this without reference to the constituted authorities at Arequipa. Chilean troops placed Truxillo and other towns, including the custom house at Salaverry, in his power, and on October 20th, 1883, his commissioners, Lavalle and Zaldivar, signed a treaty at Ancon with the Chilean plenipotentiary Jovino Novoa. Iglesias then declared himself president of the republic, and he entered Lima on the 25th of October. The Peruvian flag was hoisted over the palace, all the bells of the city ringing, and the people bareheaded. The Chilean occupation of Lima had lasted for two years and nine months. Captain Lynch at the head of 4,000 men proceeded to Chorrillos and Barranca in the forenoon of the 22nd, taking everything they could lay their hands on. The plunder required 3,000 wagons to carry it. Nothing remained of the palace, and other public edifices, but the bare walls. They destroyed what they could not take away.

The Chileans proceeded to hand over Peru to their nominee. Three columns marched to Arequipa, and Admiral Montero was forced to retire into Bolivia, leaving General Caceres as constitutional head of the state, on October 25th, 1883. Dr. Puga rose at Caxamarca and occupied Truxillo, but a Chilean force was embarked at Chorrillos and recovered the town for Iglesias, who was thus entirely propped in his place by Chilean bayonets. Lynch remained at Chorrillos until the treaty dictated to Iglesias was ratified by an assembly, receiving \$3,000 a month for the maintenance of his troops. The treaty was ratified on March 8th, 1884. Its terms were as follows:—

- I. Relations of peace and amity were re-established.
- II. Tarapaca was ceded to Chile unconditionally and forever.
- III. The territories of Tacna and Arica, as far as the river Sama, are to be held by Chile for ten years, and it is then to be determined by popular vote, whether those territories are to belong to Chile or Peru. The country to which they may be annexed is to pay \$10,000,000 to the other.
- IV. By a decree of February 9th, 1882, the Chilean government ordered the sale of 1,000,000 tons of guano, the net proceeds, after deducting expenses, to be equally divided between the Chilean government and the Peruvian creditors. When the sale is completed, the Chilean government will continue to pay to the Peruvian creditors fifty per cent of the net proceeds of the guano actually being worked, until the deposits being worked are exhausted. The product of the deposits that may hereafter be discovered in the ceded territory to be the exclusive property of Chile.
- V. If deposits of guano are hereafter discovered in territory belonging to Peru, the two governments will jointly determine as to the conditions to which each must bind itself in disposing of the article, and this holds good as regards the Lobos Islands when they are delivered over to Peru, the object being to avoid competition between the two governments.
- VI. The Peruvian creditors referred to in Article IV must agree to the registration of their documents, and to the other regulations of the decree of February 9th, 1882.
- VII. The obligation of Chile under Article IV is to be observed whether the guano be extracted by virtue of the contract for the sale of 1,000,000 tons, or by any other contract, or on account of the Chilean government itself.
- VIII. The Chilean government, as regards nitrate, does not recognize lien of any nature whatsoever that may effect the territories acquired by this treaty.
- IX. The Lobos Islands to be held by Chile until the exportation of the 1,000,000 tons of guano referred to in Article IV and VII is completed, and then to be restored to Peru.
- X. The Chilean government agrees to cede to Peru the fifty per cent of net proceeds of Lobos Islands guano, corresponding to the said government.

Chile thus gained the object of her war. She ac-

quired the nitrate province, and repudiated all the obligations connected with it. The nitrate was hypothecated to the creditors of Peru who were thus defrauded by the conquerors. Chile got the coveted manure, and with it she acquired a large increase of wealth. But she demoralized her army and navy by the way in which she carried on the war, and lost the respect of her neighbors. The congress of Venezuela thus expressed the general opinion. "Chile, by invading the territories of Peru and Bolivia, and spreading desolation and death over them, pretends to resuscitate the absurd right of conquest, and by committing repeated acts of cruelty and barbarity on brother nations, she appears before the world as a sinister apparition of the most retrograde ages in history. We solemnly protest against the iniquitous and scandalous usurpation of which Peru and Bolivia are the victims, in spite of their heroism, and we beseech the God of nations to look favorably on the prompt restoration of lawful sovereignty, as a security for peace and concord among the sons of America."

Chile holds the Peruvian nitrate province as the result of all this bloodshed. But she has not been mindful of the proverb—"La codicia rompe el saco." Tarapaca, with an ample revenue in itself, is separated from Chile by the vast deserts of Atacama. It is practically an island. At any moment a mutinous fleet can seize it and carry on a civil war without risk and in safety. Chile is thus at the mercy of any ambitious commander who can gain over the fleet. This was foreseen. Within seven years it had actually happened. By using Tarapaca, a civil war was raised which could not have been attempted without it. The Cantos and Barbosas who massacred the poor Peru-

vian Indians, in 1881, were flying at each others' throats in 1891. Two sanguinary battles were fought. The Chilean government was upset, a revolution was successful, and the "Pelucones" returned to power, with the successful admiral as president.

Peru has suffered from no fault of her own. She has suffered cruelly. Crushed to the earth, and bleeding at every pore, she can yet have the consolation of feeling that her sons bravely and nobly did their duty. The 15th of January, 1884, was set apart at Lima, as a day of mourning for the heroic dead. The church of La Merced was hung with black cloth, and covered with wreaths of white flowers. The solemn *requiem* mass was celebrated in presence of a vast concourse of people, and Dr. Manuel Tovar delivered the funeral oration.

There was yet work to be done. The Chilean nominee was not the choice of the nation. General Caceres was the constitutional head of the state, and the whole interior of Peru desired that he should restore the reign of law. He proposed that Iglesias should resign power into the hands of the vice president under Prado, or to some other properly constituted authority, and that free elections should then take place. Iglesias refused. He held possession of the executive by force, banishing many influential citizens and silencing editors. In August, 1884, Caceres made a sudden and audacious attempt to seize the capital, but he had been misinformed as to the support he would receive and, after some hard fighting in the streets, he was forced to retire. He retreated to Arequipa. The Iglesias party also recovered Truxillo, in October, after a severe contest.

In the end of March, 1885, General Caceres once more

left Arequipa at the head of 4,000 well armed troops, with an advance guard under Colonel Morales Bermudez. On the 30th of April he was at Ayacucho, and in May, Truxillo was retaken by the constitutional party. In July Caceres established his headquarters at Tarma, and formed a ministry. In September Iglesias sent an army of 3,000 men under Colonel Relayze to the interior. Caceres retreated slowly to Xauxa, very skillfully inducing his opponent to follow him further and further from his base. On the 15th of November, Relayze encountered a division of the army of Caceres at Huaripampa near Xauxa, on the left bank of the river. He succeeded in driving his adversaries back, and in their endeavor to join the main body, the wire bridge, spanning the rapid, swollen river, broke and there was some loss of life. Relayze thought he had gained a great victory, and that Caceres was in full retreat southward. He was in a fool's paradise.

The river was now between the forces of Caceres and Relayze; and Caceres was also between Relayze and his base of operations at the Chilca railway terminus. That able strategist saw and seized the opportunity of terminating the contest. On the 16th of November he began a rapid march to Chicla. On the 24th he was there, and captured the rolling-stock. He at once took his forces down the line to Lima. The news threw Iglesias and his partisans into a state of consternation. All their troops had been sent away. The Chilean nominee filled the palace with the small garrison, and awaited his fate.

On December 1st, 1885, Caceres entered Lima, was joined by many influential citizens, and sent an appeal to Iglesias to refrain from useless resistance. "Let commissioners be named by each of us," he said, "let

us remember that we are Peruvians and not enemies." Iglesias consented. Both generals were to resign their commands, and a council of ministers in charge of the executive was formed, with Dr. Antonio Arenas to preside. A general amnesty was proclaimed, and the troops of Relayze laid down their arms.

Thus did General Caceres, after fighting the enemies of his country with untiring energy and distinguished valor, during six weary years, finally restore peace to Peru. On the 5th a decree was issued calling for elections of a president, vice-presidents, senators, and deputies, and congress was ordered to meet at Lima on the 30th of May, 1886. With some reluctance General Caceres accepted the candidature that was pressed upon him. Iglesias and his family left Peru on December 25th, 1886, while many exiles, including General Prado and Admiral Montero, returned joyfully to Lima.

General Caceres became President of Peru amidst the hearty congratulations of all parties. His popularity was unbounded.







GENERAL DON ANDRES A. CACERES.

## CHAPTER XX

### REGENERATION

Andres Avelino Caceres was born at Ayacucho on the 11th of November, 1838, and was educated in his native town. When Castilla began his revolution against the government of Echenique in 1854, Caceres was just sixteen. The army passed by Ayacucho, and the lad solicited and obtained a sub-lieutenancy in the Ayacucho battalion, attached to the division of the vanguard. He served in the battle of La Palma and throughout that campaign. For his good service at La Palma young Caceres was promoted, and at the assault of Arequipa under Castilla, he again distinguished himself and was severely wounded by a spent ball under the eye. It left a disfiguring scar, but did not injure his sight. Recovery from the effect of his wound was slow and the president, who had noticed the young fellow's zeal and gallantry, spontaneously arranged for him a journey to Europe, appointing him military attachè to the Peruvian legation at Paris under the minister Galvez. After residing for a year at Paris and London, and traveling over several parts of Europe, he returned to Peru. On his return he became a major in the "Pichincha" battalion, and joined Colonel Prado when President Pezet's government was over-

thrown. Caceres served in the action of May 2nd, against the Spaniards at Callao; but on the fall of Prado he retired, and was not employed during the Balta administration. Indeed he was in prison for a year.

Don Manuel Pardo appointed Caceres lieutenant-colonel of the "Zepita" battalion. There was a mutiny at Callao, and Caceres displayed remarkable firmness and gallantry in its suppression. Accompanied by a few men who remained faithful, he confronted the whole regiment, and shot down two ringleaders. He was appointed colonel of the battalion, which he marched into the montaña of Chanchamayu, and in the course of a year, brought his men into such an excellent state of drill and discipline that the "Zepita" was looked upon as the most reliable corps in the army. In 1877 he became prefect of Cuzco. General Caceres is very agreeable in society, a favorite with ladies, cheerful and merry, very affable to his subalterns, kind and indulgent to the men, strictly obedient to the orders of his superiors, and a blind follower of the call of duty. He was in Cuzco when Chile declared war, and hurried to Tarapaca with his battalion. He fought in almost every battle during the war. In the reserve at San Francisco, his prowess conduced to the victory of Tarapaca, and he stood foot to foot with the foe at Tacna, Chorrillos, Miraflores, Pucara, and Huamachuco. Never despairing of his country, undaunted by reverses, he was ready to fight on until an honorable peace was won. When thwarted by intrigues with the enemy, he still held his ground, and the expulsion of the Chilean nominee completed his service to Peru.

General Caceres was inaugurated as constitutional

president of Peru on the 3rd of June, 1886 ; with Colonel Bermudez as first, and Don Aurelio Denegri as second vice president. His prime minister was Don Pedro Alejandrino del Solar, a native of Lima of long official experience. During the war he did admirable service as prefect of Tacna, organizing field hospitals and ambulances, and fighting gallantly in the battle. He was afterward prefect of Arequipa, where he worked hard at the organization of new forces. In 1881 he retired to his estate at Magdalena near Lima, until the conduct of Iglesias aroused in him warm sympathy for the patriotic aims of General Caceres whom he joined, entering Lima by his side.

President Caceres entered upon a most difficult and distressing task. Everywhere there was ruin, misery, and sorrow. The slaughter, and repeated massacres of Indians, had materially reduced the population. The treasury was empty. The country had been robbed almost to the last dollar. Yet hope and energy were left. With peace and sufficient time the people would take heart, and industries would revive. Meanwhile the strictest economy was necessary in every department.

A circular to the prefects was issued, declaring the president's policy to be the establishment of the Indian population on an equal footing with Peruvians of Spanish descent, and the securing to them of the same rights and privileges. The aspirations of Tupac Amaru were thus realized, and the noble cause for which he was a martyr, had at length completely triumphed.

The army was reduced to an effective force of 3,500 men, and a police force of 1,500, six battalions of infantry of four hundred men each, two bands, two regiments of cavalry besides a squadron as an escort,

four batteries of mountain guns, and some horse artillery. In subsequent years this little force was made thoroughly effective, and supplied with the best and most improved weapons.

The Peruvian navy was reduced to two small steamers, the "Peru" and the "Santa Rosa." But it had traditions of the past, a staff of officers with professional experience and distinguished services, and hopes for the future. Officers would find employment in various ways. The nucleus of a navy was entrusted to Captain Villavicencio, the gallant hero of the "Union," and to José Galvez, the young lieutenant who sank the Chilean torpedo boat.

Great efforts were made to repair the injury done to the institutions at Lima. The destruction of the public library was the most atrocious act of Vandalism perpetrated by the Chileans. The library contained 56,127 volumes in 1880, including several rare editions of the Bible, Elzevir and Delphin editions of the classics, a very complete collection of standard works on philosophy, history, and science, and on American archaeology. Among rare works there was the defence of the church by Henry VIII., the discovery of the Amazons by Acuña, the relation of the Autos de Fè at Lima, a Venice breviary of 1489, an edition of Plato of 1491, and the Muzarabe Missal of Toledo of 1500. Every work that had been issued from the press of Peru since 1584 was also in the library. The actual perpetrator of this crime against civilization must take his place with Alaric and Omar. His name was Pedro Lagos. Early in May, 1881, he seized the rooms of the library, turned them into a Chilean barrack, and scattered the books to the four winds. They were either sold as waste paper, thrown into the street, or stolen. To

Don Ricardo Palma, the eminent Peruvian author, belongs the honor of having partially restored the library, after many months of hard and zealous work. He recovered many books from those who had bought them as waste paper. Several public spirited men employed themselves, during the Vandalic occupation, in collecting scattered leaves. Spain and the Argentine Republic, the United States and Ecuador came forward with generous presents of books. The whole number of books recovered was 8,315. The series of portraits of Spanish viceroys, which were in the library, was also recovered and repaired, excepting those of Pizarro, Gasca, Vaca de Castro, Nieva, and Amat, which were stolen. The portrait of Carbajal is safe, and those of Presidents Castilla, San Roman and Prado. Many Peruvians combined in their efforts to assist the patriotic labors of Palma; and on July 28th, 1884, the national library was solemnly re-opened, 27,894 volumes having been collected.

The edifice of the university of San Marcos, the most ancient in the New World, had also been desolated by the Chileans. Dr. Francisco Garcia Calderon, who had patriotically accepted the presidency at a time of danger and calamity, and had suffered a long imprisonment in an unhealthy climate, returned to become president of the senate and rector of the university. Dr. Garcia Calderon, zealously assisted by professors and students, worked hard at the restoration of the venerable institution. It had actually been turned into a cavalry barrack. Its gradual restoration to efficiency was a work of time and great difficulty, owing to want of means, but by the end of 1886 its halls and lecture rooms were rendered fit for occupation. On December 24th, 1886, they were restored to their proper use,

and President Caceres was present, with his ministers, at the distribution of prizes to the students.

The invaders had wantonly laid waste the beautiful gardens of the exhibition, destroying everything that could not be carried off as plunder. A society, formed for the purpose, restored the gardens so far as was possible, and they were again opened to the public, on June 10th, 1884.

Peru was weighed down by a foreign debt which could never be redeemed, while payment of interest out of the revenue of the ruined and impoverished country was impossible. The nitrate of Tarapaca had been secured to the creditors, but of this, the only possible means of obtaining payment, they had been defrauded by the Chileans. It was a most serious outlook, and there seemed an inevitable prospect of the country having to struggle on without credit, and without hope. The revenue at the close of the term of office of President Caceres (June 1st, 1889, to May 31st, 1890,) was as follows:—

Customs (actual amount received).....	\$4,955,944
Taxes on consumption of tobacco.....	\$276,049
“ “ “ “ alcohol.....	250,476
“ “ “ “ opium.....	233,430
“ “ “ “ miscellaneous.....	154,194
Telegraphs.....	\$ 30,651
Postoffice.....	150,352
Railways.....	36,306
Various.....	310,022
Balance.....	513,921
	<hr/>
	\$6,957,349

The expenditure was reduced within the smallest possible limit, strict economy being enforced in all departments.

Salaries of Deputies of Congress.....	\$ 253,458
Civil Departments.....	759,533
Foreign Affairs, Missions, etc.....	220,807
Instruction, Justice, Ecclesiastical.....	412,579
Finance and Trade.....	1,076,632
Army and Navy.....	2,257,976
Supplementary credits of former years.....	733,916
Miscellaneous.....	339,061
	<hr/>
	\$6,073,967



The impossibility of meeting the obligations of the foreign debt with no other resources than are shown by the above financial statement was obvious, even after the former prosperity of the country has been restored by long years of frugality and industry. Mr. Michael Grace of New York, representing the foreign holders of Peruvian bonds, nevertheless submitted a proposal to the government of President Caceres which received serious consideration. It was referred to a committee consisting of the Vice President Denegri, Dr. Garcia Calderon, and Dr. Rosas, who reported in favor of its acceptance. The scheme was that the bond-holders should form a company to receive from the Peruvian government all the railways for a long term of years, mining privileges, and grants of land for immigration. In return the bond-holders were to deliver over to Peru one-half the obligations issued by her abroad, looking to Chile for settlement of the other half. The foreign debt would thus be cancelled. The plan was about to be submitted to congress when the Chilean minister protested, declaring that, in spite of the nitrate deposits being hypothecated to the Peruvian creditors, Chile would refund nothing. The terms of the Grace contract were, however, fully and carefully discussed in four special sessions of the Peruvian congress.

Chile was wrong, even according to the terms of her own treaty of Ancon. It announced the intention of defrauding the creditors as regards the nitrate, but it provided that one-half the proceeds of 1,000,000 tons of guano, if existing in Tarapaca, should be set aside for the creditors of Peru. The European powers protested, but did no more, though the British government took action with the object of obtaining an arrangement of

the bond-holders' claims, at least so far as the treaty of Ancon was concerned. Chile long persisted in her refusal, but at length a protocol was signed between Peru and Chile on January 8th, 1890, which enabled General Caceres to make an agreement with the representative of the foreign bond-holders. Chile ceded to Peru, and Peru transferred to the bond-holders the money derived from the sale of guano, which was deposited in the bank of England (£558,565), eighty per cent of the sums received from guano by the Chileans since 1882, (£489,143) and the product of the guano deposits now being worked, including those on the coast of Tarapaca, for eight years. The guano is estimated at 80,000 tons, and a revenue is anticipated of £160,000 a year.

Before this question with Chile was settled the Peruvian congress, on October 25th, 1889, finally approved of the Grace contract as a solution of the question involved by the external debt of Peru. The debt, with interest up to 1886, amounted to £51,423,190. The loan of 1870, with interest, amounted to £18,160,775; the loan of 1872, including the old debt, with interest was £32,858,778; and the loan for the Pisco and Yca railway in 1869, with interest, £403,607. The enormous obligation was now to be wiped off by means of the Grace contract. This important instrument, in the form adopted by congress, consists of thirty-five clauses.

The bond-holders released Peru from all responsibility for her foreign debt. In return the Peruvian government ceded to the bond-holders all the state railways for sixty-six years, namely—

Mollendo to Puno.	}	Across the Andes.
Callao to Chicla.		

Juliaca to Santa Rosa (to be continued to Cuzco.)

Pisco to Yca.	}	On the coast.
Lima to Ancon.		
Chimbote to Suchinan.		
Pacasmayu to Guadalupe.		
Salaverry to Ascope.		
Payta to Piura.		

also the free use of the quays at Mollendo, Pisco, Ancon, Chimbote, Pacasmayu, Salaverry and Payta. The bond-holders undertake to finish the line from Chicla to Oroya within three years, the line from Santa Rosa to Sicuani within four years, and to complete one hundred and sixty kilometres within six years, on other alternative lines, also to repair all the existing lines, and put them in proper condition for traffic within two years. The Peruvian government also ceded to the bond-holders the right of free navigation on Lake Titicaca, the vessels being commanded by officers of the Peruvian navy; also all the guano existing in the territory of Peru, up to the amount of 3,000,000 tons, Peru retaining the guano remaining on the Chincha Islands for its own agriculture. Further the government agreed to pay to the bond-holders thirty annuities of £80,000 each, secured on the Callao customs, making a total of £2,400,000; payments to commence from the fourth year. The bond-holders were empowered to raise money by mortgaging railways and guano, up to a sum not exceeding £6,000,000. In accordance with the 29th clause, a company was formed in London, in April, 1890, called the "Peruvian Corporation," the bond-holders becoming share-holders by exchanging their six per cent bonds, at the rate of £100 bond for £24 preference, or £30 ordinary shares—this was done by practically all the bond-holders. Half the railway employes are to be Peruvians.

The Peruvian railways were handed over to the Peruvian Corporation on the 30th of June, 1890; and the government did everything that could reasonably be expected to facilitate the working of the various concessions, smoothing away difficulties in the transfer of the properties conceded. The Cerro Pasco mines were transferred to the corporation by Mr. Grace, who had received the concession. The Earl of Donoughmore, who proceeded to Lima as representative of the bondholders in August, 1888, and returned in 1891, submitted a report to the directors of the Peruvian Corporation, in which he attributed the success of his mission to the firm and wise administration of General Caceres and his successor. All the railway lines had been restored to efficiency and were working with regularity by the beginning of 1891.

Peru was thus relieved of all foreign debt. The interest and sinking fund of the internal debt, amounting to about £7,000,000, will be provided for by the tax on alcohol, five per cent of the custom duties, and some other taxes especially set apart for the purpose.

In return for the cancelling of their bonds, the foreign creditors have acquired concessions of great value. Peru has, at the same time, been freed from a heavy and desolating load of debt by this statesmanlike measure. Working hand in hand with the corporation, her government will be enabled to restore prosperity to the country. Already, toward the close of the administration of Caceres, the traces of the war were fast disappearing. The signing of the Grace contract is a noble termination of the presidency of General Caceres. He fought the enemies of his country desperately and tenaciously to the bitter end. He then became constitutional president for four years, and closed his admin-

istration by a measure which freed his country from debt and, in all human probability, ensured its future prosperity.

On the 10th of August, 1890, General Caceres resigned the office he had held for the legal period of four years, and on the same day Colonel Don Remijio Morales Bermudez was inaugurated as President of Peru, with Dr. Pedro Alejandrino del Solar as first, and Colonel Don Justiniano Borgoño as second vice-president. In April, 1891, General Caceres proceeded to Europe as Peruvian minister to Great Britain and France.

Remijio Morales Bermudez was born of good parentage, on the 30th of September, 1836, in the enchanting little oasis of Pica, in the province of Tarapaca, famous for its lucerne fields, and its vine-covered hills. He was educated in this secluded spot, and at the age of eighteen he became a sub-lieutenant in a regiment organized in Tarapaca, in 1854, to co-operate with Castilla against the government of Echenique. Young Morales Bermudez was at the battle of La Palma and became a major in 1862. Under Balta he did useful service on the Amazon, as commandant at Iquitos, and Pardo made him sub-prefect of Truxillo. Serving gallantly in all the battles of the Chilean invasion he attached himself loyally and zealously to General Caceres, and rose to power with him. President Morales Bermudez has already shown that he possesses qualities which fit him for his exalted position; preferring the good of the state to his own interests. In a letter dated October 26th, 1891, to the president of the congress, he acknowledged the receipt of a resolution of congress conferring upon him the rank of general. He declined the honor on the ground that, in his opin-

ion, such promotion should be reserved for officers who had distinguished themselves by acts of great valor or by professional ability, while he, as a soldier, had merely done his duty. "If" he concluded, "as chief of the state I have done well in the judgment of the representatives of the people, the approval of my fellow countrymen will be my sufficient reward."

Dr. Solar, the first vice president, is an official of great experience, did admirable service in the Chilean war, and, as a trusted minister of Caceres, shared in the statesmanlike measures of the late administration. Justiniano Borgoño, the second vice-president, son of General Pedro A. Borgoño, was born at Truxillo in 1836. He passed several years in the management of the family estate in the valley of Chicama; but when the Chilean invasion commenced he flew to arms. He fought at the battle of Chorrillos in the right wing under Iglesias, on the Morro Solar, but was wounded and taken prisoner. Afterward he supported Caceres with zeal and ardor, and was again wounded at the battle of Huamachuco. Disapproving of the conduct of Iglesias, he continued with the constitutional party until the descent to Lima secured final victory, and he was in the ministries of Caceres in charge of the portfolios of war and marine.

Peru now has a firm and stable government, bent on peace and on the steady fulfilment of obligations. Few countries have passed through such terrible and, for the most part, such undeserved misfortunes.

The Spanish conquest destroyed a very remarkable civilization, perfectly adapted to the people who lived under it, and the colonial policy of Spain entailed intolerable sufferings and nearly annihilated the native population, in the course of three centuries reducing

it from ten to less than one million. Spain gave in return many valuable European products, and brought into the country an upper stratum of population consisting of families of Spanish descent, whose descendants became Peruvians, and were partially welded with the aboriginal stock. We have seen how these later people of Peru imbibed noble ideas of freedom, and fought bravely and resolutely until they secured their independence. At first they were inexperienced and often unwise in the management of that precious gift. They had to learn its use, and to pay dearly for the lesson. But they did learn, and made steady progress. The assertions so often made that Peru is a country of incessant, unmeaning revolutions and disturbances is false. In the whole period of its existence, from 1829, to 1879, the republic had seven years of civil and foreign war, and forty-two years of peace. In the last thirty years it had two and one-half of civil war and twenty-six and one-half of peace: and one civil war of one year and four months was confined exclusively to a disturbance in a single town.

The Chilean invasion was unprovoked and was an undeserved calamity. The material loss was enormous. But material gain and loss are not all that a nation lives for, as the gainful victors will find to their cost. There was some gain for Peru, in the midst of her mourning and her desolation. The Chilean historian has truly remarked—"In many ages Peru will not forget the cruel hecatomb sacrificed on the lines of Miraflores; but her own blood thus generously and freely shed in the cause of duty, will perhaps serve hereafter as a stimulus to regeneration." The deeds of valor, of self-denial, and of devotion to duty will be memories fondly treasured by the people, and will be incentives to perseverance

in the only course which leads to prosperity and peace. That path appears now to have been taken by the government and people of Peru.

The history of Peru is perhaps a sadder record than is met with in most nations, but it is full of stirring incidents, and affords much subject for thought. Pursued by calamities, obstructed by difficulties, the people have struggled on toward their ideal; and, as they now stand, still helpful and hopeful amidst their ruined work, they deserve the friendly sympathy of the civilized world.



## CHAPTER XXI

### THE PEOPLE OF PERU

The people of Peru are not homogeneous, but are composed of two or more races, and of the inter-marriages between them. The Spanish colonial system had reduced the population from 10,000,000, when Toledo founded that system in 1580, to 1,232,122 in 1795, figures which suggest a harrowing tale of cruelty and oppression. Since the independence there has been a slow increase. In 1836 the population was 1,373,736, but this slight improvement was due to the addition of the Puno province, which was counted in the Buenos Ayres viceroyalty in 1795. In 1850 the figures 2,001,203 probably mark a real improvement, which was still more apparent in 1862, and in 1876 the census gave a population of 2,704,998. The Chilean devastation has no doubt caused a sensible diminution. There were massacres of hundreds of Indians at Huancayo and at Huanta. Undoubtedly the great need of Peru is, and will long continue to be, the increase of her population.

The upper class is mainly composed of Peruvians of pure Spanish descent, with a small number of half-castes or mestizos, and some pure Indians. The population of the *Sierra* consists of Inca Indians and mestizos; while the laboring population of the coast is negro and Chinese.

The official language throughout Peru, and the general language of the coast is Spanish; but Quichua, the language of the Incas, is still the general language of the *Sierra*, although Aymara is spoken somewhat.

Spaniards continued to arrive and settle in Peru throughout the 290 years of Spanish domination, establishing their families in all the towns of the coast and the interior, and the number of families of pure Spanish descent, especially in Lima and the other coast cities, is considerable. A few, such as the Astetes of Cuzco, trace their descent from the old conquerors, but the majority derive from Spanish officials or merchants who arrived in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A considerable number of the more wealthy and influential received titles of nobility from the kings of Spain; which had to be abandoned on the advent of the republic. The Peruvians derive their ancestry from all parts of Spain. Many names are Castilian and Galician, Andalusian names are also numerous, Catalanian are common, and there is a very large sprinkling of Basque. Salaverry, Echenique, Mariategui, Mendiburu, Lizarzaburu, Zubiaga, Elespuru, Goyeneche, Gorrichategui, Izaguirre, Ormasa, are names of men who took a prominent part in Peruvian history, and they are all pure Basque.

Climate has had some influence in the formation of character, and on the physique of descendants of Spaniards. The people of Lima and the coast cities are more brilliant and versatile than their brethren in the *Sierra*, whose qualities are generally steadier and more solid; while numerous traits appear in the characters of individuals which indicate Basque, Castilian or Andalusian ancestry. The sudden and complete emancipation of thought on the removal of viceregal repression, and the patriotic ardor called forth by the war of independ-





GENERAL VIEW OF LIMA, SHOWING CATHEDRAL.

ence had a marked influence on the first and second generations of republicans. The memorable flight of half the schoolboys at Lima to the the camp of San Martin is an example of the generous ardor as well as of the impulsive rashness of the Limeños. The same youths did not, however, wax faint when the novelty of camp life had worn off. Most of them fought on to the end, and we have the high testimony of General Miller to their gallantry and fine qualities as soldiers. The youths whose dead bodies were piled in heaps along the lines of Chorrillos and Miraflores were their worthy descendants. The Peruvians of Lima, called Limeños, are generous and hospitable, but inclined to extravagance. They are a talented race, but their intellects are generally developed at too early an age, and a promising youth often disappoints the expectations that are naturally formed of it. Ardent imaginations and brilliant intellects give a charm to the company and conversation of the younger men, but these qualities do not always bear solid fruit in ripper years. The Peruvians form warm and lasting friendships, and their family affections are very strong. Their resentments, though violent and tempestuous at the outset, are soon appeased. They are not cruel, even when aroused to anger, and their civil dissensions have been singularly free from executions or proscriptions of long duration.

The ladies of Lima maintain a high standard of beauty, and are remarkable for their graceful carriage and small feet. They are intelligent and imaginative, and have always taken a keen interest in politics. Their kindness and love of hospitality, and their desire to give pleasure, make the *tertulias* or evening parties, often combined with dancing, the most charming feature of Lima society. Very reserved when walking to church or in the *alamedas*,

they exert themselves to make their houses agreeable when they receive guests, and their animated conversation and genuine kindness render these reunions most attractive. The younger generation is highly educated, and most young Peruvians of the upper class, of both sexes, speak French or English fluently. In the early decades of this century, before and immediately after the independence, the national dress of the ladies of Lima and Truxillo, when visiting or going to mass, was the *saya y manto*. The *saya* was a skirt gathered in very narrow pleats so as to fit close to the figure, and the *manto* was a hood fitting into the waist, and drawn up to cover the head and face. The fair wearer held it so that only one eye appeared. Admirably adapted for carrying on intrigues, whether political or social, much of the work connected with the propaganda for liberty, in the time of the last viceroys, was carried on by fair lovers of freedom in the *saya y manto*. The narrow pleated *saya* began to be considered unbecoming in the days of President Orbegoso and the *saya Orbegoseña*, with full skirts, took its place. This singular but interesting dress held its own for many years, but modern innovation crept in, and now nothing is worn but dresses in the latest Paris fashion.

At Lima, as in all the chief cities of Peru, the ceremonies of religion occupied much of the time of the ladies and, in a lesser degree, of the sterner sex, but in this respect things have changed very much of late years. Lima was full of churches, and they were once crowded with worshippers, but so large a number is no longer needed. Some have been converted to secular uses. San Juan de Dios is now a railway station, San Francisco has been used as a barrack. The cathedral was rebuilt by the viceroy, Count of Superunda, after

the earthquake in 1746, and its towers were completed fifty years later. Dr. Luna Pizarro, one of the most ardent workers in the cause of independence, was archbishop of Lima from 1846 to 1855, and was a great benefactor to the cathedral. The picture of St. Veronica by Murillo, in the chapel of St. Toribio, was presented by Archbishop Luna Pizarro, as well as the organ built in Belgium. His successor, Dr. Goyeneche, was the senior prelate of Christendom, and by far the richest. He became bishop of Arequipa in 1818, and he died archbishop of Lima, at the age of eighty-eight, in 1872. Dr. Francisco Orueta y Castrillon, who was archbishop from 1873 to 1886, during the saddest period of Peruvian history, patriotically granted the treasures of the churches to the public needs, and showed his love for his unfortunate country in many ways during the Chilean occupation. Born at Lima, of ancient Basque descent, Dr. Orueta was a good example of the best type of Peruvian priest, as pious as he was patriotic. The present archbishop, Dr. Bandini, the son of a Spanish naval officer and of a lady of Arequipa, was born at Lima in 1820. He was formerly rector of the college of San Toribio, where he introduced a higher course of study, and for several years he was coadjutor of his predecessor. The archepiscopal palace is on the same side of the great square as the cathedral.

Formerly the streets of Lima were crowded with monks of the different orders in their picturesque dresses, the Augustine monks in black, the Dominicans in black and white, the Franciscans in grey, Mercedarios in white, Buena Muertes in black with a red cross on cassock and cloak. The church and convent of San Francisco, with its spacious cloisters, was the most sumptuous in Lima; that of San Domingo, with its tall

single tower, is the most venerated, containing the mortal remains of Santa Rosa. The church of San Pedro, with its cloister, belonged to the Jesuits, but since their expulsion in 1767 it has been occupied by the fathers of St. Philip Neri. Lima contains more than a dozen nunneries, and there have been the college of the Sacred Heart, since 1876, under American and Irish nuns, and the college of Belen under French nuns, where young ladies receive a finished education.

Among the educational establishments of Lima the college of San Carlos has faculties of philosophy, letters, mathematics, and natural sciences, the courses extending over five years. Here the greater part of the Peruvian youth of good family is educated, but those intended for the church become students of the college of San Toribio. The school of medicine was famous in the early days of republican ideas for the boldness and patriotism of its students, and it was immensely improved by Dr. Cayetano Heredia, the late rector. He raised medical science in Peru to a height which did honor to the country, and gave new life to scientific studies. There has been another medical institute since 1884, known as "La Academia Libre de Medicina," and President Pardo established a school of mines and civil engineering in 1874. Besides these educational institutions, a naval school and a sailor's training school are established on board two ships at Callao, a military school at Lima, and a soldier's preparatory school at Chorrillos. There are also several practical mining schools in the mining districts, and a nautical college at Payta.

The public amusements of Lima are of a very different character from what they were a few years ago. Bull fights were always confined to Lima, and they are now of rare occurrence, while public cock-fights have been



prohibited by law, since 1879. Instead, there have been cricket clubs, both at Lima and Callao, for the last twenty-five years and, as so many young Peruvians now study in England, these clubs have many native members who take a great interest in the game, and matches are very frequent. There are also four or five good lawn tennis clubs. The Peruvian Jockey Club has a race course half-way between Lima and Callao, and there are at least four meetings every year, which are well attended. During the Chilean invasion all the best horses of English breed, which had been imported at great cost for stud purposes, were shipped off to Chile. Both at Callao and Chorrillos there are boating clubs, and the annual regatta excites great interest. Nearly every foreign colony in Lima has a shooting club, and the Peruvians are very keen at this sport, having established at least one such club in every large town in the republic.

Numerous social clubs have been formed in recent years. In Lima there are the "Union," "Nacional," "Centro," "Militar," "Ateneo," "Literario," "Fotos," "Sociedad Filarmonica," all of which are Peruvian, and there are also several clubs of foreign settlers. Formerly the most frequented promenades were in the *alamedas* or avenues on the left bank of the Rimac, and on special days there were excursions to the hill of Amancaes at the season when it is covered with yellow lilies, and processions on the day of Santa Rosa in August, and on other occasions. Now the favorite promenade is the exhibition grounds where the military band plays twice a week during the winter season, and it is here that the children of the upper classes assemble to romp about and play. The grounds are well laid out, and are without dispute the prettiest pleasure gardens in South America. The great boulevards around Lima, which

were built by Mr. Meiggs, the well-known contractor, were totally destroyed by the Chilean invaders.

The sanitary arrangements of Lima are good. Formerly the *azequias* or water channels flowed down the centre of the streets. Now the drains traverse every street at a depth of two yards, and are constantly flooded by channels from the river Rimac. The water supply is excellent: 170 gallons of water per head of inhabitants are supplied from filtration of the Rimac every twenty-four hours. Gas is used in every house, electric lighting and telephones have been introduced; and there are fifteen miles of street railways.

There have always been residents in the country among Peruvians of Spanish descent, who were the owners of estates in the coast valleys, producing cotton, sugar, and vines.

Until 1855 the estates on the coast of Peru were worked by negro slave labor. The buildings were handsome and extensive, consisting of a dwelling house, with large, airy rooms, handsomely furnished, a chapel with a priest attached, a *trapiche* or sugar mill, boiling house, refining rooms, and store rooms. The proprietors were generally intelligent and most hospitable country gentlemen, surrounded by charming families, and kind to their slaves and dependents.

Interchanges of visits, with occasional picnics, kept up a feeling of kindliness and good will among the owners of neighboring estates. A flower and fruit garden is attached to each house, where groves of the tall *chirimoya*, the lofty and graceful *palta*, oranges and lemons supply delicious fruit, and the *granadillas*, the fruit of the passion flower, hang over the trees in rich profusion. Near the other buildings, but separate, was the *galpon* of the slaves, a village of huts with a small





A STREET SCENE IN LIMA ON A HOLIDAY.

square in the centre, surrounded by a high wall. The slaves received clothing, food, and lodging, and had numerous holidays. Early in the morning the women and girls repaired to the door of the chapel, before going to work, and chanted a hymn. This was repeated at sunset, when the day's work was ended.

The emancipation of the negro slaves, in 1855, altered the conditions of life and labor on the coast estates. Many left the *galpones* and went to live in the neighboring towns. They came to work for a few days and left off, as the humor took them. This led to the introduction of Chinese labor. There is no doubt that, on some estates, the coolies were very cruelly treated and were, on several occasions, driven to such despair as to rise against their task-masters. This ill treatment occurred, in most instances, on estates where the proprietors did not reside, and where the management was left to a major-domo, who was often a foreigner. There are now about 50,000 Chinese in Peru, and their condition is much improved. They voluntarily contract themselves on the sugar estates for two years, being comfortably housed, with fixed hours of labor and regular wages. Lord Donoughmore has reported that they appear industrious and contented, and are well treated.

In some parts of the coast the deserts become covered with beautiful wild flowers from June to December, and in happier days the families of proprietors of estates used to encamp among the flowers in large parties, while the younger men hunted the deer and guanacos in the adjacent mountains. On the plains around Piura, a few showers bring out abundant pasture and innumerable bright colored flowers. The climate is delicious, "the warmth is not heat, and the coolness is not cold." On these *lomas* of the Peruvian coast there is no

sickness, all life is pleasure, while the verdure and the cool climate lasts. Among the most delicious *lomas* are those of Tallamolle and Alfarillo, between the rivers of Moquegua and Locumba. When the verdure appeared, the proprietors of estates in the valleys turned their cattle and sheep on these *lomas*. In the month of October all the families of the Locumba valley used to encamp on the bright green *lomas* of Tallamolle, under the shade of olive trees. Life, at the encampment, was a long period of pleasure and entertainment. Riding and sea bathing in the mornings, dancing after breakfast, then racing their horses on the sandy beach, or resting among the flowery meads, listening to songs with guitar accompaniments; and after supper dancing until midnight. The young men often went from tent to tent, singing the national *yaravis*. There was no formality, all considered themselves members of one affectionate family. Those were happy times. Now the estates in the Locumba valley, desolated by the Chilean invaders, are abandoned, their proprietors ruined. The days of prosperity have departed, but not, it may be hoped, forever.

The Peruvians of the mountainous interior, called *Serranos*, live in a very different climate and are surrounded by circumstances which are distinct from the coast environments. The difficulties of traveling, though now partially removed by railways, are very great and require much preparation. Most of the roads are merely mule tracks, and they are taken over passes of the Andes from 14,000 to 17,000 feet above the sea, amidst snow and ice. In some places the only shelter is a cave, but, as a rule, there are stone huts serving as post-houses, at intervals, but containing no furniture or provisions. The traveler has to make his preparations before starting, both as

regards carriage and food. A good riding mule, an *arriero* or muleteer who could act as a guide, and two or more baggage mules are necessary for a long journey in the *Sierra*. One mule carries two bullock hides sewn together, called an *almofrex*, containing mattress, pillow, and bed clothes, besides many articles of clothing, for the post-houses furnished nothing. The hospitality of the people renders inns in the large towns unnecessary.

There are many families of pure Spanish descent in the large towns of the interior, such as Caxamarca, Huanuco, Tarma, Xauxa, Ayacucho, Cuzco, Puno and Arequipa, not a few passing several months of each year on their estates. Brought up among the Indians, and learning the Quichua language from their nurses, the Serranos are thoroughly Peruvian, while the cold, healthy climate and the mountainous country tend to the production of a robust and active physique. Several families retain the auburn and flaxen hair of their Gothic ancestors, but the majority have black, or very dark brown hair, but are taller and of larger build than their brethren of the coast.

The houses of the *Sierra* have red tiled, sloping roofs, and are built around a court-yard with an upper story, and usually a wide veranda or balcony running around it. There is a *sala* or reception room and a *comedor* or dining-room, but the family usually sit and receive intimate acquaintances in the balcony. Warm cloaks and *braseros* supply the places of stoves or fire grates. All the members of a Serrano family can converse with the Inca Indians in their own language; and the relations between the two races are, in many places, friendly and cordial. Ladies and children thread their way among the market people in the early mornings, making purchases and exchanging news with their humbler friends.

In Cuzco and Ayacucho, in spite of the great difficulties of transit, nearly every house contains a pianoforte, and the young ladies are generally good musicians. The men have received the best education their colleges can supply; but it is their natural curiosity and desire for knowledge which gives such a charm to the society of the people of the *Sierra*. In Cuzco and other towns great attention is being paid by them to the study of Inca antiquities, while, in Rivero and Melgar, Arequipa has produced poets of no mean order.

The Indian population is little changed in appearance since the days of the Incas; while great numbers of *mestizos* or half-castes have retained most of the Inca characteristics. Tupac Amaru, as a statesman, was one of the most remarkable men Peru has produced. General Santa Cruz, whose soaring ambition so nearly succeeded in its object, had Inca blood flowing in his veins. Other men of the blood royal of the Incas survive, in spite of the efforts of Toledo and Areche to exterminate them. Among them were Dr. Pablo Justiniani, who collected the dramas and songs of his ancestors in his remote mountain home, and Clemente Tisoc, who met a soldier's death at the battle of La Palma. With intellectual powers fitting them to rise to the highest positions in church or state, under favorable surroundings, the Indians still form nearly the whole laboring class in the interior of Peru.

Like his ancestors the Indian of the present day is robust, and capable of enduring great fatigue. His countenance is usually clouded with a look of profound melancholy, the indelible stamp of centuries of intolerable oppression. The worst forms of tyranny disappeared with the expulsion of the Spaniards in 1824, and the tribute was abolished in 1855. But the crushing



oppression of the Spanish conquerors made a deep impression on their victims, which has produced a lasting effect. It instilled a natural hatred of their cruel enemies into their minds, as well as a profound aversion for their civilization. But they were equally impressed with the tremendous power of men who could utterly annihilate the rule of those Incas whom they revered almost as gods. This induced a feeling of hopeless despair. All the down-trodden people could do was to oppose a passive resistance with a constancy peculiar to their temperament, and this attitude has become hereditary. Even now the Indians mistrust the liberty which they themselves helped to win as soldiers of the independence. The moral condition of the Indians has sunk to a low level through the bad conduct of many of the parish priests, who not only set them an evil example, but give cause for drunkenness and immorality by their feasts and processions. These unfortunate results of contact with a spurious kind of Christianity have been at work for a long time, indeed ever since Padillo raised his voice against them two centuries ago. In later times the constant changes in the executive have at last destroyed all respect for authorities, and in some places the Indians have risen against the whites and mestizos within the last few years. Even now they have made themselves practically masters of Guanta, and of the rich valley of Andahuaylas. Defying the sub-prefects, they are obedient to their own *alcaldes*.

Yet the Indians, as a race, were capable in the past of achieving a high civilization, and they are equally capable of great things in the future, under intelligent direction. They need officials and priests whom they can respect, and a settled government. They have always been ready to combine for the execution of any use-

ful public works at the call of their *alcaldes*, and all their own traditions lead them to obey an authority when they are convinced that his orders are for their benefit. Their rebellious and violent conduct, when it shows itself, is due entirely to misgovernment.

The Inca Indians are excellent cultivators. They construct terraces, with great care, up the sides of the mountains, conduct channels of water to irrigate them, and produce the finest crops in the world of potatoes and Indian corn. The cultivation of coca, which calls for the greatest skill and care, is also peculiar to them. They also cultivate quinoa at immense altitudes, and several edible roots unknown elsewhere. As shepherds they excel by reason of their patience and kindness to animals. It is probable that no other people could have successfully domesticated so stubborn an animal as the llama, so as to use it as a beast of burden; and constant watchfulness and attention alone enable the Indians to rear their flocks of alpacas, which need assistance in almost every function of nature, and to produce the large annual out-turn of wool. As miners they are exceedingly apt at the work of extracting the metal from the ores; and no people in the world are to be compared with them in ability to endure the extremes of heat and cold.

The Peruvian Indians live in stone huts, roofed with red tiles, or with the long grass called *ychu*, and they are well supplied with food and clothing. Since the insurrection of Tupac Amaru, when their ancient costumes were prohibited, the dress of the men has been a coat of green or blue baize, with long, soft nap, having short skirts and no collar, a red waistcoat with ample pockets, and black breeches, loose and open at the knees. The legs and feet are usually bare, but in cold

weather they wear knitted woolen stockings without feet, and untanned llama hide *usutas* or sandals. The *montero* is a velvet cap, with broad straw brim, covered with cloth, and ornamented with colored ribbons and gold or silver lace. At Cuzco the *montero* is worn both by men and women, but at Ayachuco the women use a graceful head dress, consisting of an embroidered cloth lying flat on the head, and hanging down behind. The men wear their hair long and twisted into small plaits. The dress of the women is a white or red bodice, blue or green skirt, reaching a little below the knees, and a *lliclla* or mantle of some bright color, secured across the chest by a large pin, usually with a spoon bowl at one end, of silver or copper. The men have an embroidered cloth bag, called *chuspa*, slung by a line over one shoulder, in which they carry their coca leaves.

The people are fond of singing, especially when at work, and the little shepherd lads enliven their long hours of solitude with plaintive tunes on their *pincullus* or flutes. The memory of former wrongs has tinged their most popular songs with sadness. The young mother lulls her infant to sleep with verses, the burden of which is sorrow and despair; and the love songs usually express the most hopeless grief. Still there are many festivals when the people indulge in cheerful intercourse, and but too often in an excessive use of their *chicha*, a pleasant fermented liquor made from maize. They are fond of singing birds, kept in cages, of flowers and bright colors. Their artistic talent, though not of a high order, is far from contemptible. The paintings of Quito, the wooden images of Cuzco, and the alabaster figures and groups of Ayacucho show decided talent, and the work of the Ayacucho sculptor, Medina, at the Lima exhibition, was universally admired. The mem-

ory of ancient times is preserved in songs and traditions, and it is believed that delegates, composed of the leading Inca chiefs, periodically meet in secret congress, and discuss matters relating to the welfare of the people. The wisest course for the men of Spanish descent is to secure real and practical equality of all before the law.

The Inca Indians make faithful and trusty servants, and become admirable soldiers. They are most affectionate in their family relations, and have an intense love of home. They are endowed with perseverance and industry, and serve the office of magistrates in their villages with a proper sense of responsibility. The *alcaldes* or magistrates are generally old men, dressed in sober-colored ponchos, and broad brimmed hats, made of wool, dyed black. They carry a staff of office with brass head and ferule, and brass rings around it according to the number of years that the holder has held the post of *alcalde*. A deep interest must always attach to these people, because they are the descendants of men who conceived and created a civilization and an administrative system which was unsurpassed in fitness and efficiency, and even now they retain many of the virtues and high qualities of their ancestors. They are all that is left, after centuries of oppression, of a once imperial race.

Some of the tribes which formed the Inca empire have merged and become one. The Incas of Cuzco, the Chancas of the Apurimac, the Pocras of Ayacucho, and the Huancas of Xauxa are now practically one people. But the Morochucos of Cangallo retain their individuality, displayed in their passionate attachment to republican freedom. Led by their own chief they came down to Lima in a body, to strike a blow for liberty in the fatal lines of Miraflores. The Yquichanos, in the inac-





TYPES OF THE NATIVE RACES.

cessible mountains east of Guanta, are equally brave and tenacious; but not such lovers of liberty. They were on the side of the royalists in the war of independence, and also took the part of Santa Cruz and the confederation. But during the Chilean invasion they were true to their country; and there was a massacre of seven hundred Yquichano Indians at Guanta in October, 1883, by the savage Colonel Urriola.

The wonderful tenacity with which the Indians of Peru have clung to existence in spite of adverse circumstances which would have swept most races off the face of the earth, gives ground for the hope that, under a more humane rule, and better auspices, they may once more begin to increase and multiply. From the massacre of Pizarro, in 1532, to the massacre of Urriola, in 1883, their cruel treatment has reduced them by millions, but it has not annihilated them. Good government will not only invite immigration, but ought also to lead to a steady increase in the aboriginal population.

The first step towards good government must be taken in the direction of a more careful selection of executive officers and a longer and more certain tenure. The departments into which Peru is divided are governed by prefects, and the provinces, into which they are divided, by sub-prefects, all appointed by the presidents during pleasure, while the governors of districts are nominated by the prefects. Thus there is a strictly centralizing system, resulting in a total disregard for local wishes or requirements. The appointments have hitherto been made almost entirely as rewards for military or political support. A long continuance of settled government will, there is reason to hope, cause a change, and any improvement in these appointments will be conducive to better government and more confidence

among the Indians. At present the only officials they respect or cheerfully obey are their own *alcaldes* or magistrates.

It is equally important that there should be an improvement in the character and position of the parish priests. At present ecclesiastical government in Peru is in a somewhat dislocated position. Dr. Bandini, the archbishop of Lima, is an active prelate of high character, and the sees of Truxillo and Arequipa are filled by Dr. Medina and Dr. Huertas. The bishopric of Chachapoyas, which was created in 1802 for the settlements in the valley of the Amazon, has a zealous occupant in the person of Dr. Risco. The dioceses of Huanuco and Puno were created in 1864, and the bishops are now Drs. Puyrredon and Sardina. There are also two bishops, "*in partibus infidelium*," Dr. Manuel Tovar, and Dr. José Maria Carpenter. Thus the five bishops of Spanish times have been increased to eight. But the sees of Cuzco and Ayacucho are at present vacant. That constant supervision of the conduct and practice of the parish priests, which is absolutely necessary to secure improvement, is neglected or entirely wanting. Yet such improvement is one means, and not the least important, of promoting the welfare of the Indian population; and it is one to which the attention of Peruvian prelates ought to be frequently and urgently called.

Education has received some attention since the establishment of the republic, but much remains to be done. There is a department of instruction under one of the ministers at Lima, and commissions in the departments and provinces, each consisting of two persons, with the prefects and sub-prefects presiding. The central educational institution is the ancient university of Lima, and there are lesser universities at Cuzco, Are-



quipa, Ayacucho, Puno, and Truxillo. The state was also credited, before the Chilean invasion, with the support of thirty-three colleges for men and eighteen for women in the principal cities, and 1,578 schools for boys and seven hundred and twenty-nine for girls. The expenditure on education in 1877 was estimated at \$2,124,407. At that time Señor Leubel prepared a return according to which there were twenty-one public colleges, actually working, and twenty-four private colleges, four hundred and fifty public and two hundred and six private schools, the total number of scholars being 32,555.

The present government is making efforts to improve the means of education throughout the country, by the purchase of books and materials, the appointment of inspectors, and the collection of statistics. In 1889 there were only eight hundred and forty-four elementary schools, and an increase of one hundred and fifty was made in 1890. But the higher schools and colleges are still much crippled for want of funds, and it will be some time before they can recover the position, as useful and active educational establishments, that they had attained before the Chilean invasion. Much depends upon the zeal and public spirit of the instructors, and in this respect the staff of the Cuzco and Arequipa colleges have particularly distinguished themselves. The miseries of the war have been felt in all departments, but the way in which it has thrown back the education of the people will perhaps leave its mischievous influence longer than where material progress has been checked. The dislocation of work and the loss of funds have necessarily paralyzed instruction, more or less, all over the country, and recovery can only be slow. Yet encouragement and material help in the re-organization of the

schools and colleges on the part of the government and the congress is one of their most important duties.

Peace, careful selection of executive officials with reference to fitness, improvement in the character and position of the parish priests, and liberal promotion of educational efficiency, are the great needs for securing the welfare of all classes, and especially of the Indian population. Immigration and the execution of public works will be provided for, and if the Peruvian government wisely and zealously adopts measures for the moral needs of the people, prosperity will be secured with the improvement in the welfare and the increase in the numbers of the population.

The following list gives the political divisions of Peru at the time when the last census was taken:

	DEPARTMENTS.	PROVINCES.	
I.	PIURA.	The most northern department divided into 5 provinces.	
		1. Tumbes.	} on the coast, 3 cities, 7 towns.
		2. Payta.	
		3. Piura.	} in the Sierra, 3 cities, 5 towns.
		4. Ayavaca.	
		5. Huancabamba.	
II.	LIBERTAD.	1. Lambayeque.	} since made a Depart- ment.
		2. Chiclayo.	
		3. Pacasmayo.	} on the coast, 5 cities, 33 towns.
		4. Truxillo.	
		5. Otuzco.	} in the Sierra, 3 cities, 29 towns.
		6. Huamachucos	
		7. Pataz.	
III.	ANCACHS.	1. Santa, on the coast.....	10 towns.
		2. Pallasca.....	10 "
		3. Pomabamba.....	4 "
		4. Huaylas.....	2 cities, 11 "
		5. Huaraz.....	2 " 29 "
		6. Huari.....	1 " 15 "
		7. Cajatambo.....	64 "

			TOWNS.		
IV.	LIMA.	1. Chancay.	40	} on the coast, } in the Sierra.	
		2. <i>Lima</i> .	11		
		3. Cañete.	10		
		4. Canta.	48		
		5. Huarochiri.	36		
		6. Yauyos.	41		
V.	CALLAO.	1. <i>Callao</i> .....	1 city,	1 towns.	
VI.	YCA.	1. Chincha .....	4	"	
		2. <i>Yca</i> .....	12	"	
VII.	AREQUIPA.	1. Camaná.	} coast, 4 cities, 24	" "	
		2. <i>Arequipa</i> .			
		3. Islay.			
		4. Union.			
		5. Caylloma.			} Sierra, 1 city, 54
		6. Condesuyos.			
		7. Castilla.			
VIII.	MOQUEGUA.	1. <i>Moquegua</i> .	} 3 cities, 35	" "	
		2. Tacna.			
		3. Arica.			<i>Tacna and Arica are occupied by the Chileans.</i>
IX.	TARAPACA.	1. Camiña.	} This department is occupied by the Chileans.	" "	
		2. Pisagua.			
		3. Chiapa.			
		4. Sibaya.			
		5. Tarapaca.			} 18 towns.
		6. Mamiña.			
		7. <i>Iquique</i> .			
		8. Pica.			

The above departments are on the coast, although some include provinces in the *Sierra*. The rest are entirely in the interior:

X.	CAXAMARCA.	1. Jaen .....	1 city, 12 towns.
		2. Chota .....	2 cities, 11 "
		3. Hualgayoc.....	5 "
		4. Celendín.....	1 city, 5 "
		5. <i>Caxamarca</i> .....	1 " 11 "
		6. Contumaza.....	4 "
		7. Cajabamba .....	1 city, 4 "
XI.	AMAZONAS.	1. Bongara.....	10 "
		2. Luya.....	22 "
		3. <i>Chachapoyas</i> .....	1 city, 27 "
XII.	LORETO.	1. Alto Amazonas .....	13 "
		2. Bajo " .....	7 "
		3. Moyobamba.....	2 cities, 4 "
		4. Huallaga.....	1 city, 13 "

XIII.	HUANUCO.	1. Huamalies.....	13	towns.
		2. Dos de Mayo.....	23	"
		3. <i>Huanuco</i> .....	1 city,	21 "
XIV.	JUNIN.	1. Cerro Pasco.....	1	" 48 "
		2. <i>Tarma</i> .....	1	" 29 "
		3. Xauxa.....	2 cities,	16 "
		4. Huancayo.....	1 city,	16 "
XV.	HUANCAVELICA.	1. Tayacaja.....	24	" "
		2. <i>Huancavelica</i> .....	1 city,	14 "
		3. Angaraes.....	14	" "
		4. Castro-Vireyna.....	1 city,	34 "
XVI.	AYACUCHO.	1. Huanta.....	10	" "
		2. La Mar.....	7	" "
		3. <i>Ayacucho</i> .....	1 city,	15 "
		4. Cangallo.....	1	" 39 "
		5. Lucanas.....	57	" "
		6. Parinacochas.....	20	" "
XVII.	APURIMAC.	1. Andahuyalas.....	25	" "
		2. <i>Abancay</i> .....	14	" "
		3. Cotabambas.....	24	" "
		4. Aymaraes.....	26	" "
		5. Antabambas.....	14	" "
XVIII.	CUZCO.	1. Convencion.....	3	" "
		2. Urubamba.....	1 city,	2 "
		3. Calca.....	11	" "
		4. Paucartambo.....	7	" "
		5. Anta.....	11	" "
		6. <i>Cuzco</i> .....	1 city,	2 "
		7. Quispicanchi.....	7	" "
		8. Paruro.....	26	" "
		9. Acomayo.....	17	" "
		10. Chumbivilicas.....	8	" "
		11. Canas.....	9	" "
		12. Canchis.....	9	" "
XIX.	PUNO.	1. Caravaya.....	15	" "
		2. Lampa.....	1 city,	14 "
		3. Azangaro.....	15	" "
		4. Huancané.....	8	" "
		5. <i>Puno</i> .....	2 cities,	15 "
		6. Chucuito.....	9	" "

The 19 departments and littoral provinces into which Peru is divided contain 93 provinces and 748 districts, 58 cities, 1,405 towns, 643 villages, 6,187 rural hamlets, and 110 hamlets on the seashore; hamlets being collections of habitations with more than 50 inhabitants.

The population of Lima, the capital of Peru, was 103,956 in 1891, of which number 35,335 were Peruvians of Spanish descent. The negro and mulatto population was 7,494; Indians, 18,660; Mestizos, 25,481; foreigners, 12,310, and Chinese, 4,676.

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## CHAPTER XXII

### LITERATURE OF PERU

The literature of republican Peru is not without its traditions and its precursors. In spite of the inquisition and of the censorship, the Peruvians wrote voluminously, and sometimes well, even in the times of the viceroys. The Jesuits introduced printing in 1582, to circulate their catechisms and grammars of the native languages; but they did not confine themselves to such work. The most noteworthy writers on divinity belonging to the company, were José Buendia and Juan Perez Menacho. The famous Dr. Lunarejo, of Cuzco, whose real name was Espinosa Medrano, was an enthusiastic admirer of Gongora and imitated his style. He was also an excellent Quichua scholar, preaching and writing in that language in prose and verse. Don Pablo de Olavide, of Lima, was the author of a remarkable work entitled, "El Evangelio en Triunfo." Leon Pinelo was a great bibliographer whose work is still constantly referred to by Spanish scholars, and Don Pedro de Peralta y Barnuevo, published upwards of sixty books on philosophy, history, science, and literature. His best known work is the epic poem entitled "Lima Fundada." The publication of the "Mercurio Peruano" gave a great impetus to authorship, and one of its contributors, Don Hipolito

Unanue, of Tacna, a physician and a statesman, brought out an excellent work entitled "Observations on the Climate of Lima." But poetry was the branch of literature which was most cultivated, not only by the Peruvian subjects of the viceroys, but by the viceroys themselves. The Prince of Esquilache composed a poem called "Napolés Recuperada," the Count of Santistevan left a book of verses entitled "Floras Sucesivas," and the Marquis of Castel dos Rios was the author of a tragedy entitled "Perseus," which was acted in the palace at Lima. Under such patronage the poetic muse flourished in viceregal times. Among many others Don Juan del Valle y Caviedes, in his satiric vein, was not second even to Quevedo. He exercised his wit against the doctors in a charming volume of verse called "Diente del Parnaso," which only saw the light about twenty years ago in the collection of Odriozola. This poet died in 1690, at the age of forty. The physician Valdez, also a native of Lima, made a scholarly translation of the psalms. The lyrics of Melgar, both in Spanish and Quichua, possess poetic merit of a high order; and with him the list of colonial authors fitly closes. Melgar lost his life fighting for the freedom of his native land.

The dawn of independence infused new vigor into national thought, and emancipated minds which were more or less fettered and confined under the colonial regime. Ideas of freedom and liberty of thought and action appealed strongly to the imagination and at first these ideas and aspirations found expression chiefly in poetry. Olmedo, a native of Guayaquil, won fame by his ode on the victory of Junin; and the satirical works of Don Felipe Pardo and Don Manuel Segura, who both died in the decade between 1860 and 1870, became

known wherever the Spanish language is spoken. The comedies on the customs of Lima, especially "Un Paseo a Amancaes," "La Saya y Manto," and "Catita," by Segura, scarcely have a rival in the whole range of the theatrical literature of Spanish America. These were the fathers of Peruvian poetry.

From the year 1848 great progress in the cultivation of literature was made by the youth of Lima, and especially in the poetic art. From this period date the first poetical productions of Arnaldo Marquez, Manuel Nicolas Corpancho, Adolfo Garcia, Clemente Althaus, Pedro Paz Soldan (under the *nom de plume* of "Juan de Arona"), Carlos Augusto Salaverry, Luis Benjamin Cisneros, Trinidad Fernandez, Constantino Carrasco, Narciso Arestegui, José Antonio Lavalle, and Ricardo Palma.

Arnaldo Marquez is confessedly the poet, in this generation, who has reached the highest excellence in purity of versification and wealth of poetic sentiment. The "Flor de Abel" is a creation of great merit, original and ingenious in conception, and full of tender sentiment beautifully expressed. Corpancho was a poet of the romantic school. He was the author of dramas, which were represented with much applause in Lima, and of a bright little volume of verses entitled "Brisas." The young poet, for he was barely thirty, lost his life in a shipwreck off the coast of Mexico, when employed on a diplomatic mission. Adolfo Garcia is a versifier rich in imagery and fanciful allusion, and he has written much, but only one small volume of his selected pieces has been published. Among them some verses to Bolivar have great merit. The genius of Garcia would doubtless have soared to higher flights, but unfortunately the horrors of Chorrillos and Miraflores played upon his mind, and he has lost his



reason. No Peruvian poet has been more careful in the form of his verses and the selection of appropriate words, more elegant in his expression of ideas, more tender and graceful than Clemente Althaus, who died at Paris in 1880. His works are voluminous, but the most beautiful are the "Disencanto," in which the desolation of a soul reflecting on the awful certainty of oblivion is depicted in the "Canto Biblico," and the "Night of Solitude." "Juan de Arona" is an accomplished scholar, well read in the Greek and Latin classics. He is an example of a youth who was the son of a country gentleman living on his estate, and who was brought up in the country. Young Paz Soldan assumed the name of "Juan de Arona," in memory of the country house in the valley of Cañete, where he passed his childhood. Born at Lima in 1839, he left college early and passed several years at his home in the village of Cañete, studying nature and cultivating his poetical gifts. He then undertook a long course of European travel, returning to Lima in 1863. One of his earliest poems "Descripcion de un Valle," is devoted to memories of his own home in the valley of Cañete, its village festivals, its scenery, its fruits and flowers, and above all the beloved features of the home itself with its tower seen from afar among the trees, its wide verandah, and the people singing before its chapel door. Some of the descriptions of fruits and flowers are exquisite in their delicacy of touch, and their truthfulness. Another poem entitled "Espejo de mi Tierra," graphically depicts the state of society in Peru and the "Cuadros y Episodios Peruanos," is written with the same object, but many of the sketches are peculiarly interesting, because they depict incidents in country life. Many of the passages are brim full of humor and fun, and are witty without a sign of coarseness. "Juan de

Arona" is above all things an original poet, who loves his country and dwells with fondness on the sight and scenes of his home. He does not hesitate to use local words and expressions which, far from injuring his style, gives it a racy flavor which enhances the interest with which his poems are read.

The publication of the volume entitled "Peruanismos" by "Juan de Arona," followed naturally on the frequent use of native words in his poetry. "Peruanismos" is a dictionary, with interesting comments and quotations, not only of Quichua words which have crept into the general language, of Spanish corruptions, and of words invented by the Peruvians from Spanish roots, but also of many Spanish words which have received a different or more extended signification, or which, from being less used in ordinary conversation, belong more to a serious or poetic style of writing in Peru than is the case in Spain.

The lyrical poetry of Don Carlos Augusto Salaverry, son of the unfortunate general who was himself a poet, is quite in the first rank, among modern Peruvian versification, and he has also written several dramas. Among those who have written little, but always well, is the lyric poet Luis Benjamin Cisneros, whose novels entitled "Julia" and "Edgardo," have also served to give him a solid reputation. Trinidad Fernandez and Constantino Carrasco are two poets who died very young. The former left a volume of lyrical pieces called "Margaritas Sylvestres," while the most notable work of Carrasco is the translation of the Inca drama of "Ollanta" into Spanish verse. Lavalle and Arestegui were novelists rather than poets. The former rests his literary fame on a romance entitled "Olavide," while the novels written by Arestegui who, like Corpancho, lost his life in a ship-

wreck, are numerous, the most appreciated being "El Padre Horan."

Ricardo Palma, the public spirited restorer of the national library at Lima, is an author of great merit. In his youth he published three books of poetry, entitled "Armonias," "Verbos y Gerundios" and "Pasionarias." Since 1870 he has devoted his attention to writing the historical traditions of Peru, work which has entailed much laborious research, and which he has presented to his readers in a most interesting style and with great powers of description, and portrayal of character. Six volumes of the traditions have already appeared. He has also written the annals of the inquisition in Peru. Señor Palma had a small country house at Miraflores which contained a library of over 2,000 volumes on America, and many curious and valuable manuscripts. This house and all it contained was burned by the Chileans—a wanton and barbarous act of destruction. Señor Palma was himself imprisoned on board a Chilean ship for fifteen days, for having, as assistant director of the national library, prepared the following protest and submitted it to the director, Colonel Odriozola, for signature:—

LIMA, March 10th, 1881.—The undersigned, Director of the National Library of Peru, has the honor to address your excellency, requesting that you will bring to the knowledge of your government the news of the crime committed against civilization by the Chilean authorities in Lima. To seize upon the libraries, archives, cabinets of physical and anatomical objects, works of art, scientific apparatus and instruments, and all that is necessary for intellectual progress, is to invest war with a barbarous character foreign to the lights of the age, to the usages of honorable belligerents, and to the universally recognized principles of right.

"The library of Lima was founded in 1822, a few months after the declaration of Peruvian independence, and it was considered by literary men and by illustrious travelers, who have visited it, to be the first among the libraries of Spanish America. Enriched by the

protection of governments, and by the bequests of private persons, it counted, in 1880, nearly 50,000 printed volumes and 8,000 manuscripts. It contained veritable literary treasures, and books printed during the first half century after the invention of printing; very rare works on history and literature: the curious productions of nearly all the chroniclers of Spanish America; and works presented by foreign governments.

"Such was the library of Lima, a library of which we, the sons of Peru, were justly proud.

"On the 17th of January the capital was occupied by the Chilean troops; and for more than a month the invader respected the educational establishments. No one could have supposed, without an insult to the government of Chile, a government which pretends to civilization and culture, that this government would seize as plunder of war the appliances of the university, the museum of the school of medicine, the instruments of the school of mines, the national archives, and objects belonging to other institutions of a purely scientific, literary, or artistic character.

"On the 26th of February the keys of the library were demanded, and this was the commencement of a most scandalous spoliation. The books were taken away in carts, and it is supposed that the intention was to embark them, to be sent to Santiago. Anyhow the library has been completely gutted, as if books had been contraband of war.

"This is addressed to your excellency in order that before your illustrious country, before America, and before the whole civilized world there may be a protest against such an act."

This protest was presented to the minister of the United States. The only effect it produced was the persecution of Colonel Odriozola and Don Ricardo Palma, for having written it. The common soldiers were allowed to share the plunder, and they sold books and manuscripts for the weight of the paper. Only about 15,000 volumes ever reached Santiago, where they must raise a blush on the face of any Chilean who is capable of feeling shame for such barbarous acts. This abominable crime, and the destruction of his private house and library, must have caused bitter anguish to a man so devoted to literature as Don Ricardo Palma.

But he at once set to work manfully to repair the evil. It has already been seen with what public spirited industry and energy he devoted himself to the up-hill task of collecting all the books that could be rescued from destruction, and of obtaining new ones, until at length he had the happiness of seeing the national library opened once more.

Don Ricardo Palma has done much, by the publication of his "Tradiciones," to throw light on several little known periods of Peruvian history, and to give interest to many historical characters of whom little more than their names were previously known to the general reader, by connecting them with well told anecdotes and incidents. But Palma's name will also be gratefully remembered as the author of the noble protest against modern vandalism, and as the restorer of the national library.

The authors who have devoted their studies to the history of Peru have done much to throw light on the past, while their publications have benefited their contemporaries and done honor to their country. Don Sebastian Lorente wrote the first complete history of Peru, and was engaged in the work of teaching history for forty years. His Peruvian history consists of five volumes, and is written in a pleasant and agreeable style. It is generally accurate and, without displaying any very deep or recondite research, is a most valuable contribution to historical literature. It supplies Peruvians with the means of obtaining a thoroughly good knowledge of their country's history in a pleasant way. When Señor Lorente died, in November, 1884, he was deeply lamented by a large circle of literary friends, and was followed to the grave by the professors and students of the university.

The biographical and historical work of General Mendiburu represents a vast amount of literary labor by a man who was, during the greater part of his life, leading an active military and political career. Born at Lima, in 1805, of good Spanish parentage, Mendiburu was one of the ardent youths who escaped from college, in 1821, to join the patriot army of San Martin. He was at the battle of Torata, under Miller, but was captured by the Spaniards, and remained a prisoner until the end of the war. In 1827 he was private secretary to Santa Cruz at Lima, and served under Salaverry at Socabaya. In 1839 Gamarra made him minister of war, and he was minister of finance under Echenique. In 1851 General Mendiburu went to England, as minister, to regulate the public debt. He had traveled in Spain and other parts of Europe; and after his return to Peru he must have devoted much of his time to researches connected with his great literary enterprise. The first part of his "Diccionario Historico-Biografico del Peru" includes the Incas, and the period of Spanish domination, and is in eight thick volumes. It was the study of the old chronicles which led General Mendiburu to entertain the idea of preparing a work which would be useful to his countrymen. As his notes accumulated under his hand, he modestly came to the conclusion that he had not the ability necessary for the composition of a history. He, therefore, resolved that the results of his labors should take the form of a biographical dictionary. The notices are full, and many of them contain information which is wholly new. The work is well and judiciously executed, and when it is considered that it is the production of one man in the evening of life, after a very busy public career, the labor must be pronounced to have been colossal. Invaluable to students of Peru-





FRANCISCO DE PAULA G. VIGIL.



vian history, it is a monument to the untiring research and persevering industry of a Peruvian. General Mendiburu died, at the age of eighty, before the publication of his great work was completed, on the 21st of January, 1885.

Ten years and more senior to Mendiburu, another student takes a high rank in the world of letters. Francisco de Paula Gonzalez Vigil, a native of Tacna, was born in 1792, and studied at Arequipa under the good bishop Chavez de la Rosa. Vigil took orders and was rector of the college at Arequipa, where he had studied during eight years of his boyhood. But this did not prevent him from taking an active part in politics, as member for his native town, in congress after congress. Joining the minority against Bolivar under the lead of Dr. Luna Pizarro, Vigil defended the cause of freedom with brilliant eloquence. In 1832 he delivered his famous speech against the government of Gamarra, and soon afterward he became editor of a liberal and reforming periodical entitled "Genio del Rimac." But in 1836 he accepted the appointment of director of the national library at Lima, and he devoted twenty years of the latter part of his life to the preparation of his great work against the pretensions of the court of Rome. The "Defensa de la autoridad de los Gobiernos contra las pretensiones de la Curia Romana," (4 Vols., 1856) is a work of immense erudition, in which Vigil advocates liberal and enlightened views with ability and eloquence. The author boldly assails the the right of popes to publish bulls or confirm bishops. He shows that in early times, the cardinals were not the sole electors of the popes, and that Gregory the Great was chosen by the clergy and people of Rome. Passing from the subject of papal usurpation to the social con-

dition of the Romish clergy, he earnestly advocates the abolition of perpetual monastic vows, and the marriage of priests. The "Defensa de los Gobiernos" soon found a place in the 'Index Expurgatorius,' and in June, 1851, Dr. Vigil, and all who sold, bought, or read his book were excommunicated. Nothing daunted by the papal frowns Dr. Vigil forthwith published an epitomized edition of his work, to ensure the more extensive circulation of the views it advocates. This edition contains a mild reproof to his holiness for the want of Christian charity displayed in the curses of the excommunication. Dr. Vigil lived on, amidst the veneration of his countrymen, for many years, in the firm belief that a future generation will adopt the measures he advocated. He wrote several political pamphlets, in one of which, entitled "Paz Perpetua," he urged the settlement of all disputes between South American states, by arbitration. The good old man was director of the National Library until his death, which took place June 10th, 1875. He was taken away in time to save him from bitter anguish. The barbarous Chilean invasion, the dreadful slaughter around his native town, and the destruction of his beloved library would have broken his heart.

Mariano Felipe Paz Soldan, like General Mendiburu, was an active public servant as well as a laborious and voluminous author. His family, originally from Castille, settled in Peru about 1720. Mariano was one of several illustrious brothers, and was born at Arequipa in August, 1821. He was educated at the college of his native town, and in 1843 he was called to the bar. In 1845 he became a judge of the court at Truxillo, and from that time he devoted himself, during many years, to the improvement of the Peruvian prisons. In 1853 he left Peru with the sole object of studying the

penitentiary system in the United States. Having visited numerous prisons, and collected documentary information of all kinds, he proceeded to more minute investigations. He remained at some prisons for weeks together, to practice the life of the convicts and ascertain its effect on himself. He also acquired a practical knowledge of the architectural work, and of questions relating to building materials. All Paz Soldan undertook was characterized by thoroughness. The result of these studies was a valuable and interesting work entitled "Informe Sobre las Penitenciarias." When General Castilla acceded to power in 1855, he sent for Paz Soldan, heard all he had to say, and gave him *carte blanche*. In 1856 the Lima penitentiary was commenced under his auspices, everything being arranged on the best American models. This great public work is a lasting monument of the philanthropy, perseverance and talent of its originator.

Paz Soldan was minister of foreign affairs in 1857, and afterward of public works. It was then that he began to work at the Peruvian atlas, and at the "Geografia del Peru," the physical portion being written by his brother, Mateo. Paz Soldan was six months in Europe arranging for the publication of the atlas. In 1866 he published his first historical work entitled "Historia del Peru Independiente." Under President Balta he was minister of justice and education, when he founded a school of sciences, and re-organized the universities of Cuzco and Arequipa, besides establishing numerous secondary schools. In 1877 appeared his "Diccionario Geografico Estadistico del Peru," in which every town, village, river and mountain is entered, with much statistical detail, and several full and valuable notices. In 1879 he was again minister of justice, and he was for

many years director of public works. In the year 1878 he founded the "Revista Peruana," edited by his son, Carlos, an excellent literary periodical, full of valuable historical and archæological information. But it came to an end when the Chilean war broke out.

When the Chileans occupied Lima, Paz Soldan remained, in the hope of serving his country if there was any indication of a desire for a reasonable settlement. But the lawless tyranny of Lynch became so intolerable that the illustrious statesman was obliged to take refuge at Buenos Ayres, where he was welcomed with warm cordiality. Here he published his "Historia de la Guerra del Pacífico." Dr. Paz Soldan returned to Lima in 1886, almost broken-hearted at the condition of his country. He died on the last day of that year, and his body was followed to the grave by a large concourse of his countrymen. Dr. Alvarez and Dr. Larrabure y Unanue delivered the funeral orations. Mariano Paz Soldan was a noble type of a public servant. His whole life was devoted to the service of his country, and all he did was practical and thorough. His humane endeavors to ameliorate the condition of criminals formed the opening of a career which was steadily continued on the same lines of usefulness and thoroughness through a long life. As an author Paz Soldan showed the same qualities. Useful and painstaking research resulted in the production of books of permanent usefulness. In private life Paz Soldan was upright, generous and warm-hearted.

Dr. Eugenio Larrabure y Unanue, who is the author of an important history of the conquest of Peru, not yet published, has been commissioned by the Congress to write a history of the republic. A biographical work on the viceroys of Peru with portraits of each, is being

prepared by most competent hands, Palma, Larrabure, Lavalle, and Vivero.

Don José Toribio Polo is one of those diligent students of ancient documents, who have done so much to throw light on the earlier history of their country, of late years. All he has published is valuable, especially his ecclesiastical history of the dioceses of Arequipa, Guamanga and Truxillo. Señor Polo is also an acute but fair critic, and in his reviews of the great work of Mendiburu, he may be said to have increased its value by pointing out omissions and mistakes which were inevitable in so colossal an undertaking. The history of the Jesuits in Peru by Don Enrique Torres Saldomando, also bears evidence of much careful research, and the men who introduced the printing press, who composed grammars and dictionaries of the native languages, and who brought to light the virtues of Peruvian bark, certainly deserve a biographer. Reminiscences of one who has traveled much over the wildest parts of the country, and gained much experience, both officially and as an explorer, are always interesting, and in a notice of modern Peruvian literature, the charming little work of Don Modesto Basadre, entitled "*Riquezas Peruanas*," certainly deserves a place. Here will be found full accounts of the deserts of Tarapaca, of the gold diggings of Caravaya, of the valuable animal and vegetable products, of peculiar communities of Indians, such as the Urus and Calaguayas, incidentally scattered among personal reminiscences, in a series of pleasantly written articles.

Local history and topography have received a fair share of attention. The "*Estadística de Lima*" of Don Manuel A. Fuentes is an exhaustive and very meritorious work, and it was followed in 1866, by a more popular book on the capital of Peru, written in English. Don

Josè G. Clavero has since published a little volume of well arranged statistics, entitled "Demografia de Lima." In like manner the history of Arequipa has been written by Don Juan Valdivia, and Cuzco has found an annalist in Don Pio Benigno Mesa.

The principal legal writers of Peru have been Toribio Pacheco and Josè Silva Santistevan, whose manuals of civil and criminal law are much used; Villaran, Herrera and Pardo, who have written on international and constitutional law; Meriategui the author of a work on the concordats; Fuentes, who published a dictionary of Peruvian legislature in two volumes, and Dr. Garcia Calderon, who was president for a few months in the days of calamity, and whose dictionary of the jurisprudence of Peru is a standard work of great value. Felipe Masias has written a useful manual of political economy.

Peruvians have devoted much attention to a study of the ancient history and civilization of the Incas. The father of these researches, since the independence, was Don Mariano Rivero of Arequipa, who published his great work at Vienna—"Antiguedades Peruanas" in conjunction with Dr. Von Tschudi. In concluding his task Señor Rivero expressed an ardent hope that he might prove to be a pioneer in this interesting branch of research, and that, among the next generation of Peruvians, he might have many followers. This hope has been realized. Don Josè Sebastian Barranca, who is a naturalist as well as an antiquary, translated the Inca drama of "Ollanta" in 1868, with an interesting introduction. In 1874 Dr. Josè Fernandez Nodal printed the Quichua text, with a Spanish translation in parallel columns, and in 1878, Don Gavino Pacheco Zegarra published another version at Paris, with numerous valuable notes. The work of Zegarra is the most important that

has appeared on the subject of Inca literature. This learned Peruvian combines a knowledge of Quichua acquired in his childhood, with extensive learning, literary skill, and considerable critical sagacity. Other Peruvian students have recently applied critical and scholastic learning of no mean order to an examination of questions relating to disputed or obscure points connected with the religion and language of the Incas. One of the results of these studies has been the interesting and very remarkable essay on the word "Uirakocha," written by Dr. Leonardo Villar of Cuzco, an eminent Quichua scholar, in 1887. Among younger men, Don Martin Antonio Mujica of Huancavelica is making Quichua a serious study, and there is certainly a wide and noble field for young students in the land of the Incas, which is well deserving of careful and diligent cultivation.

Journalism in Peru has found support from men of distinction both as politicians and authors, including the venerable Francisco Xavier Mariategui, secretary to the first congress, who died at the age of ninety-one, in December, 1884; Dr. Francisco de Paula Vigil, Heredia, Pacheco, Cisneros, and Ulloa. The oldest existing newspaper in Lima is the "Comercio," a daily journal which was commenced in 1839, by Don Manuel Amunategui. This venerable journalist was a hero of Ayacucho. He was a strong opponent of negro slavery, and translated "Uncle Tom's Cabin," (*La choza del Tio Tom.*) The leading men of all classes used to assemble at his evening parties in the office of the "Comercio," and he continued to direct the editorial policy of the newspaper until his death in October, 1886. The other newspapers at Lima, previous to the Chilean invasion, were the "Nacional" founded in 1865, "La

Patria," a religious periodical called "La Sociedad," "La Opinion Nacional," a medical gazette, a mining review, an educational publication, and the "Revista Peruana" edited by Don Carlos Paz Soldan.

During the dismal period of Chilean occupation there was no free press; but on the day that the marauder Lynch departed, the "Comercio" re-appeared. It was followed, in a few days, by the "Nacional" and the "Opinion Nacional." In 1886 a well edited illustrated paper was commenced, called "El Peru Ilustrado." Some thoughtful and suggestive articles appeared in the "Opinion Nacional," in 1888, on the economic situation of Peru, from the pen of Don Luis Larrañaga y Loyola, who is a political economist, and a student of John Stuart Mill and Ricardo. Similar communications on subjects of general interest appear in the newspapers from time to time; so that, besides supplying news, journalism is not neglecting the more important duty of informing and instructing the people.

"El Ateneo de Lima" is a literary monthly periodical which was commenced under most favorable auspices in 1886. Its contributors are Dr. Larrabure y Unanue, Ricardo Palma, and Lavalle; and it contains interesting articles on literature, history, and engineering. It is connected with a literary club, the president of which is Dr. Eugenio Larrabure y Unanue, which holds evening meetings. The club, also called "El Ateneo," offers prizes for poetic or literary work of approved excellence, and discusses questions relating to politics, literature and science, the subjects of which have been previously announced.

Another important step in the cause of literature and science, has been the foundation of the Geographical Society of Lima under the active patronage of the



government, indeed in connection with the ministry of foreign affairs. The president is Dr. Luis Carranza, and the secretary, Don Gavino Pacheco Zegarra, the translator of "Ollanta". Dr. Carranza is a physician and man of science, and is editor of the "Comercio." He has traveled over a great part of Peru, and is an intelligent and thoughtful observer. His numerous articles, which have been published in a collected form, comprise discussions on the acclimatization of the white race in the tropics, the climate of the Peruvian coast, the exploration of the Apurimac and other rivers, descriptive notes of a journey in the *Sierra*, and some very interesting essays on the character and condition of the Inca Indians. The numbers of the society's journal which have already appeared, give excellent promise, containing papers relating to modern exploration and questions of boundaries, as well as communications on historical topography, including a most interesting description of the battle-field of Chupas, by the president. The death of the learned Italian, Antonio Raimondi, leaving his great work on Peru incomplete, imposed upon the government an important duty connected with the large mass of materials that he had collected. The value of such an institution as the Geographical Society of Lima was then felt. A committee of five of its members was formed, to make an inventory of the maps and manuscripts collected by Raimondi for his work, and to advise the government on the course that should be pursued with regard to them. In work of this kind, and as a centre of geographical and topographical information, the Geographical Society will become a most helpful department in connection with all undertakings for the advancement of knowledge, and for the improvement of the country.

A brief review of the progress of literature in Peru is necessary for a proper understanding of the history of the country, for it conveys an idea of the movement of thought, and of the advances that have been made by the people in mental culture, as well as of the extent to which intellectual progress has been checked or promoted by the political environment. The survey cannot be held to be unsatisfactory. We not only find play of fancy and exercise of imagination in plenty, but also those qualities of laborious industry and thoughtful study which promote research and lead to its results being utilized. Not only have fiction and poetry been cultivated with some success, but good work has also been done in the fields of law, history, topography, philology and statistics. It is very far from being a barren land—this region of Peruvian literature—and its fruitful harvest gives promise of further development, which will re-act favorably on the general progress of the country.

## CHAPTER XXIII

### THE WEALTH OF PERU

There are few countries in the world which possess every variety of climate, and can rear every kind of product within their limits, that include the deserts of Arabia, the warm valleys of the Antilles, the tropical forests of Africa, the vine clad slopes of Italy, the temperate plains of central Europe, the lofty mountain slopes of the Alps, and the icy peaks and ridges of Norway, combined with mineral wealth unequalled elsewhere. Such an extraordinary combination can only exist within the region of the trade winds, where a chain of mountains of great height causes the necessary atmospheric phenomena; and Peru alone supplies the required conditions.

A land so richly endowed by nature needs one thing which Peru does not possess. It must have the population, without which its wealth is dormant. The land of the Incas once supported a people which not only needed every inch of ground now under cultivation to sustain them, but which extended the cultivated area, by terrace cultivation and by vast systems of irrigation, far beyond, over tracts of country now waste and deserted. Immigration and peace are the means of restoring the prosperity of the Incas, and of utilizing the enormous and varied wealth which is offered by nature with so lavish a hand.

The history of Peru will fitly conclude with a general review of those rich products which are only found together in the land of the Incas and which, outside Peru, would have to be sought for in every region in the world. The most remarkable thing is that the arid deserts and rocky islets off the coast are as rich in valuable products as the most fertile valleys. It is true that the guano is nearly exhausted, but a still more lucrative source of profit is taking its place. From 1846 to 1872, the Chincha Islands, off Pisco, yielded enormous supplies of guano, 8,000,000 tons having been taken in the years between 1853 and 1872, but in the latter year the export to foreign countries ceased, the deposit being nearly exhausted. Guano is still taken from the north Chincha Island for use in the estates near the adjacent coast. The Guañape Islands, about thirty-two miles from Santa, were first worked in 1869, and in 1872 the deposits were calculated at 460,000 tons. The three little Macabi Islands, eight miles from the land, off Malabrigo, were first worked in 1870, and in 1872 the estimate quantity of guano was 400,000 tons. Further north are the two Lobos Islands, which contain large deposits. The guano of Peru has been conceded to the Peruvian Corporation, and their agent has reported that besides Lobos de Afuera, there are still 700,000 tons on the various islets.

The resources of the coast valleys and deserts of Peru, important as they are now, could be extended and increased considerably. Commencing our survey from the north, and landing where Pizarro and his destroyers first set foot on the land of the Incas, at Tumbez, we find that the desert between the river Tumbez and the Chira, the next river to the south, has recently become a scene of great activity, owing to the discovery of almost inex-

haustible supplies of petroleum. The distance between the two rivers is about ninety miles, and the desert is a strip of land between the sea and the hills of Mancora which are about 3,000 to 4,000 feet high. Along the coast there are steep cliffs rising to a height of from two hundred to three hundred feet, and above them is the *tablazo* or desert. The surface of the desert formation is generally calcareous sandstone, below which there are alternating layers of pudding-stone and shell marl in horizontal strata at least two hundred feet thick. Under the shell rock there is a bed of compact argillaceous shales tilted at a considerable angle, with thinner beds over them of fuller's earth, in some places. It has long been known that pitch occurred in these formations, especially at Pariñas on the coast. It was used, even as far back as Spanish times, to coat the insides of wine jars at Pisco and Moquegua. But it was not until 1860 that the idea of refining petroleum was conceived and attempted at the estates of Mancora and Zorritos, then the property of Don Diego de Lama. Some years later a house of business at Lima established expensive works at Negritos, but the experiments failed through want of acquaintance with the proper methods of working. Mr. Prentice, a large proprietor of oil works in Pennsylvania, after making several trial borings, applied to the Peruvian government for a cession of the whole oil region in 1876, but his application was refused. American and English engineers who visited the region, came to the conclusion that it was the second petroleum region in the world, as regards extent and probable yield.

Two large establishments are actually working on the Peruvian coast, between the Tumbez and the Chira. The first was formed by an Italian named Piaggio, at Zorritos, and his kerosene obtained a prize at the Berlin exhibition



MAP SHOWING LOCATION OF PETROLEUM WELLS.

a distance of eighteen miles. Now fresh water is obtained from wells by means of wind-mills, and is conducted to the settlement by a channel four miles long, and it is sufficient not only for all the requirements of the people, but to irrigate several vegetable gardens. Five tank steamers have been ordered from England, and one has arrived, their object being to transport the petroleum and kerosene along the coast, and keep the tanks supplied. The railroads have already begun to use petroleum instead of coal for the locomotives, at a saving of forty per cent. Contracts for the supply of this fuel for the Truxillo, Central and Southern railways of Peru have already been concluded.

Further south still, the peninsula of Point Aguja, in the Sechura district, has been found to contain extensive deposits of petroleum close to the sea-shore, which, no doubt, will shortly be worked; and petroleum has also been discovered in all the coast from the Silla de Payta to the present workings at Negritos.

The importance of the discovery of such extensive deposits of petroleum can hardly be exaggerated. It goes far to make up for the loss of Tarapaca. Already used for the locomotives, it will soon be adopted as fuel for the steamers on the coast, and for the engines at the sugar estates, as well as for the nitrate works in Tarapaca, while a trade will be established to supply China and Japan.

The petroleum region of Peru is very far from being entirely desert. It fringes the rich valleys of the Chira and the Piura, with a population of 76,000 souls; and there are upward of three hundred farms on the river banks, producing cotton and maize, besides fruits and vegetables. These valleys, and those of Yca and Palpa to the south of Lima, are the chief cotton producing

areas of Peru. The Peruvian cotton (*Gossyium Barbadense*) is indigenous and perennial. It was cultivated by the subjects of the Grand Chimu, and afterward by the Incas, who irrigated their cotton fields by channels taken from reservoirs, and picked and cleaned it by means of a machine closely resembling the Indian *churka*. The climate of Piura is dry and hot from November to May, and owing to the brilliancy with which the celestial bodies shine in this season, it has become proverbial to say "as clear as the moon of Payta." But rain is falling in the Andes, and the rivers are full. In the moist season, from May to November, there is drizzling rain (*garua*), and a wet mist (*niebla*), occasionally. The cotton plants are either planted in the *vega* near the river bank, where they get an annual watering from the overflow, or on the adjacent low land, when they must be watered by hand until the roots penetrate for a good depth. The plants receive no further care, and they are never pruned, yet they yield every six months, and go on bearing for six or seven years. Then the plant deteriorates, the bushes are stubbed up, and the ground re-sown.

Formerly the inhabitants raised the cotton crops and there were no large estates. But about thirty years ago Mr. Garland and Don Pedro Arese began to work a large cotton estate at Monte Abierto, near Tangarara, in the Chira valley, and Mr. Stirling purchased a tract of land near Amotape; with cotton-gins and a centrifugal pump for irrigating the fields. There are one hundred and ninety-three plants to an acre, yielding 1,543 to 2,316 pounds of very white and soft cotton, with a length of staple only inferior to Sea Island and Egyptian, and stronger than either. Mr. Stirling examined the irrigation works constructed by the Incas in the upper part of the Chira valley, and was astonished at their magnitude, and at



the engineering skill with which they were constructed. In those days the two valleys, according to a census made for Archbishop Loaysa, supported a population of 193,000; and a simple restoration of the irrigation works would again quadruple the productive power of the land. The same remark applies to nearly all the coast valleys. At present 60,000 cwts. of cotton are exported from Payta, worth \$1,200,000.

But Piura is not the only source of cotton supply in Peru, although it is probably the most important. There are cotton estates in the valleys of Yca, Palpa, San Xavier, and Nasca to the south of Lima, with cotton-gins for cleaning, and powerful presses. Cotton is also grown in the valleys of Lambayeque, Jequetepeque, Truxillo, Nepeña, Chiclayo, and Casma, between Piura and Lima. It is one of the three principal coast harvests, the other two being sugar and vines. In 1877 the value of the exported cotton was \$768,000.

Piura also exports tobacco (309,341 kilos, worth \$137,443), and straw hats (26,205 kilos, worth \$369,092). The hats are plaited by Indians living in the small towns of Colan, Catacaos, Sechura, Motupe and Eten—the last vestiges of the ancient coast civilization. At Sechura their language became extinct almost within living memory, and at Eten it is still spoken.

The Piura and Chira valleys enjoy the great advantage of having a railway sixty-three miles long, which conveys the produce of the estates to the port at Payta. A similar advantage is enjoyed by the next group of valleys to the southward, which are watered by the rivers Morropé, Lambayeque, and Saña. Here there are two railroads running from the ports of Pimentel and Eten to the cities of Lambayeque and Chiclayo, and to the centre

of a productive rice-growing district at Ferreñafe, a length altogether of fifty miles.

The sugar industry begins in the Saña valley, and is practiced in most of the coast districts as far as Chincha to the south of Lima. Many of the estates are worked with machinery brought from Europe; but there are also numerous small proprietors who use the native *trapiche* or sugar mill worked by a yoke of oxen. The districts are provided with railroads, which will shortly be extended, so that in most of the valleys, there will be facilities for sending the produce of the sugar estates to the coast. Next to Saña comes the valley of Jequetepeque, which leads up to Magdalena, within a short distance of Caxamarca. A railroad has been commenced from the port of Pacasmayu, passing up the valley to Magdalena. Another railroad connects the city of Truxillo with its port at Salaverry, a distance of eighty-five miles. Further south there are eight sugar estates in the valley of Pativilca, three in Chancay, and six in the valley of Caravayllo. South of Lima there are three estates with steam machinery in the valley of Lurin while that of Cañete is one vast sheet of sugar-cane, divided among seven estates, with a railroad to the port at Cerro Azul. In the Chincha valley there are also some large estates. In 1859 the sugar exported from Peru was valued at \$432,000. In 1876 the export had increased to 71,722 tons, worth \$5,851,200; whilst in 1877 it rose to 85,000 tons, worth \$6,528,000. Of this quantity 63,370 tons went to Great Britain, 18,000 to Chile, and 6,000 to other countries, leaving 12,000 for home consumption. Great loss and destruction attended the Chilean invasion, but the sugar industry is rapidly recovering. There are also some fine sugar estates in the interior, especially in the valley of Abancay.





The principal vine growing valleys are Pisco and Yca, which are connected by a railroad eighty-four miles long, some of the valleys round Arequipa, and Moquegua and Locumba in the south. Moquegua is also connected with its port at Ilo by a railroad sixty-three miles long. Pisco is famous for a spirit distilled from the grape, called "Pisco," and also for a delicious liqueur called "Italia." Excellent wine is also made on the Elias estates, as well as at Moquegua and Locumba. There are olive plantations in the valley of Tambo near Arequipa, and around Locumba; and the cultivation of mulberries for silk worms, and of cochineal have been successfully tried.

There are some fine grazing farms on the coast, and crops of lucerne are raised in all the valleys. Vegetables of all kinds are grown in abundance, and every estate has its fruit trees, some indigenous, such as the chirimoya, granadilla, palta, lucma, and paccay; and others naturalized. Oranges, lemons, and citrons are in great abundance. The most delicious *dulces*, or fruit preserves in the world are made by the Peruvians.

The habitable and cultivable area on the coast might be quadrupled by the construction of irrigation work. The ruins of such works are to be seen from one end of the country to the other, monuments of the civilization of the Incas, and lasting reproaches to their successors. In some places these works of the Incas are kept in repair, and this is particularly the case at Nasca. This little oasis has forty miles of desert on one side, and over a hundred on the other. The valley of Nasca descends from the mountains by a gentle slope for about twenty miles, widening as it approaches the coast, and is hemmed in by spurs of the cordillera. The whole is a rich expanse of cotton fields, vineyards and

fruit gardens. Yet all that nature has supplied is a minute water course, dry for eleven months in the year. The engineering skill of the Incas had contended with the arid obstacles of nature, and the wilderness of pain (*Nanaska*—pain in Quichua) was converted into a paradise of delight. High up the valley are the main conduits, four feet high with sides and roof of masonry. As they descend, smaller conduits branch from them, which ramify over the valley, supplying each estate, and feeding the little streams that irrigate the fields. The main conduits are at first many feet below the surface, and there are *ojos* or manholes at intervals, by which they can be cleaned out. Before the *puquios* or channels reach the termination of cultivation, all the water has been exhausted. There are fifteen vine and cotton estates in the Nasca valley.

This example of successful irrigation is mentioned here, to show how cultivation was extended in ancient times, and how enormously the productiveness of the Peruvian coast might be increased by the judicious execution of similar works at the present day. The greater part of the desert area is not rock and sand, but land thirsting for water.

The fame of Peru, in former days, was founded on her silver mines, and it is true that the mineral wealth of the Andes has scarcely been exaggerated. The silver and copper is chiefly found in the maritime cordillera, and the mining industry only wants improved communication with the coast, to develop this splendid branch of Peruvian wealth. Out of nearly 2,000 silver mines, only a small proportion are being worked, and the rest are abandoned, some from want of capital, but more from want of roads.

In Hualgayoc, near Caxamarca, there are over a hun-

dred silver mines, and some are being worked with profit. Humboldt has described the silver mountain of Hualgayoc and the method of working, and he tells us that in thirty years it yielded 32,000,000 piastres of silver. Futher south in the Callejon de Huaylas, there are upward of one hundred and fifty silver mines, besides coal in great abundance, especially near the town of Carhuarz. The coal is anthracite, and is found in a Jurassic sandstone. It will find a market as soon as the railroad from the port of Chimbote to Huaraz, one hundred and seventy-two miles in length, is completed. About fifty-two miles of this line are already opened. Cerro de Pasco, with its three hundred and forty-two silver mines, is the great centre of mining industry, and the district already has a local railroad fifteen miles long. At these mines the ore, after being brought to the surface, is broken into small pieces and sent in bags to the works, where it is ground to powder in a water or steam mill. It is then mixed with salt and toasted in earthen ovens, heated with the dung of llamas as fuel. The powder is then put into hide bags and piled on a floor of flat stones. Ten of these are laid in a row, making a *coxon* of 6,000 pounds. The bags are then moistened with water, and quicksilver is sprinkled through a woollen cloth. The mass is well mixed by treading with the feet and working with hoes, and left to stand for some days, until the amalgamation is complete. It is then thrown into a well, a stream of water is turned on, and men trample and wash it with their feet. The amalgam sinks to the bottom, and the mud and water are let off. The amalgam is then hung up in bags of coarse linen, and the quicksilver, oozing through, is caught in vessels below it. The residue is *plata piña* or purse silver, which is

melted and run into bars. In 1877, the Cerro de Pasco mines produced 1,427,592 ounces of silver. The coal of Cerro de Pasco is bituminous.

The next mining district, proceeding south along the cordillera, is that of Yauli, where there are two hundred and twenty-five silver mines, one of cinnabar, and nine of coal. These mines are being worked by Messrs. Pflücker, Montero, Llona, and Oscar Huren. Further on, in the Huarochiri province, there are one hundred and seventeen silver mines, worked by Messrs. Garland and the Pacacocha Mining Company. In Huancavelica and Castro Vireyna there are fifty-four silver mines chiefly owned by Messrs. Pflücker, and four important cinnabar mines, which have recently been taken in hand again, after an interval of abandonment. In Cailloma, a province of Arequipa, there are twenty-four silver mines, and a company working them.

The silver mines of Puno have been famous since the days of Salcedo and the Viceroy Count of Lemos. There are upward of fifty, among them the old mine of Laycacota or Manto mine first discovered by Salcedo. It was entered by a *socabon*, or horizontal cutting in the side of the hill, full of water; with an iron canoe to navigate it. This canal is eight hundred and fifty yards long with six locks, and then an iron tramway for 1,700 yards, and then five hundred yards on foot; so that the mine penetrated for two miles and a half into the bowels of the earth. The Manto mine was worked by an Englishman named Begg, from 1827 to 1840, and then by a native company until 1856; but now the work has been transferred to a mine higher up the hill, called Cachi Vieja, owned by Messrs. Bustamante and Barreda. There are two quicksilver mines in the Puno district belonging to Messrs. Echenique



and Costa. The copper mines of Peru are in Caxamarca and Recuay: and several in the coast district of Acari owned by Messrs. Thorndike and Vicuña.

Gold is found everywhere in Peru. There are three gold mines in Huamachuco, two in Caxamarca, and several gold deposits in the province of Pallasca, which are now being successfully worked. At Nasca on the coast, there is gold, and eight gold mines in the neighboring mountains of Lucanas. In the department of Arequipa there are several gold deposits and a company was recently formed in England, to work the two gold mines of Montes Claros. But the most famous sources of gold supply, are the washings of Sandia and Caravaya, of which upward of fifty have been claimed and registered. Nearly three hundred years ago Garcilasso de la Vega said that the richest gold mines in Peru were those of Caravaya, and it is recorded that two nuggets of immense size were sent home to the Emperor Charles V. in 1553. The gold mines of Caravaya and the returns from them, are mentioned in the reports of several viceroys, and as late as 1852 there was a great rush of adventurers to the gold washings. There can be no doubt of their value, and the quartzose veins in the hills, where they have been examined, as at Capac-urco, are very rich.

In 1877, the value of the silver exported from Peru, was £575,000, of copper £330,000. There is no return of the gold.

The yield of wool from the flocks of alpacas and sheep maintained on the lofty slopes of the cordilleras is an important source of wealth and, as regards the alpacas, a source peculiar to Peru. In Spanish times the wool was manufactured into cloth, in large *obrajes* or factories, and all the clothing of the people was

home-made. Free trade has put an end to that state of things, and the wool is exported. The alpaca is a beautiful animal, standing about six feet, nearly half the height being made up by the long neck. The alpacas are of several colors, generally black or coffee colored, with very large black eyes. The wool of the lambs is as fine and soft as silk, and after a year of growth it is a foot long. Alpaca wool was unknown in Europe before the independence, and it was not until 1835, that Messrs. Hegan of Tacna, for the first time, sent a few bundles to Liverpool as a sample. They were seen by Titus Salt of Bradford, who at once recognized the immense value of the wool, entered largely upon its manufacture, and made an enormous fortune. The flocks of alpacas are probably most numerous on the pampas of Umabamba, on the east side of Lake Titicaca, and the Indian owners sell the wool direct to the merchants: what they do with the enormous sums of money thus received, is unknown. The priest of Macusani in Caravaya, named Cabrera, succeeded in breeding a cross between a vicuña and alpaca, producing a delicate animal with long, silky, white wool. He reared a small flock of these *paco vicuñas*, but they were neglected after his death, and came to an end.

Mollendo, the terminus of the Puno railway on the sea, is the principal port for the export of wool. In 1878, the amount of alpaca wool exported from Mollendo was 3,549,700 pounds, of vicuña wool, 21,600 pounds, of sheeps' wool, 2,262,400 pounds. The total export of alpaca wool from the whole of Peru in 1877, was 3,561,806 pounds worth \$1,740,185. The value of the wool of all kinds exported was \$2,880,000.

The southern cordilleras are also the home of the lit-





ENTRANCE TO THE BOTANICAL GARDEN, LIMA.

tle chinchilla, once so highly prized for its skin. It used to be abundant from the sources of the river Tambo, in the department of Arequipa, to the plains of Calama; but it has been hunted so unceasingly that it has now become scarce. The chinchilla is about a foot long, with the tail six inches long, and the skin is silver grey, with white hairs on the belly. The ears are round, and the hair as soft as silk. It would no doubt be found profitable to establish chinchilla farms in the habitat of the animals, which is on the very coldest heights of the Andes.

The vegetable products of the higher Andes are all indigenous, the most important being the potato. This tuber, now so universally cultivated, owes its domestication to the Inca Indians. It is found wild on the island of San Lorenzo and other parts of Peru, and in Chile as far south as the Chonos Archipelago. But the Incas, in the course of centuries, brought it to the highest state of perfection as a cultivated plant, and they still produce the best potato in the world. The yellow mealy potato of Huamantanga is without an equal. Potatoes are very useful as provisions for those who penetrate for days into the forests. They are converted into what are called *chuñus* by being dried in the sun and then frozen, in which form they remain good for many days. There are several other edible roots cultivated in the higher Andes including the *oca* (*oxalis tuberosa*) which has a sweetish taste, and is also used in the *chuñu* form.

The *quinua* (*Chenopodium quinoa*) is cultivated at very great elevations in the Andes, and yields abundantly a small but nutritious food grain, while the young leaves are used to season dishes. Von Tschudi pronounced *quinua* to be a nutritious, wholesome, and

pleasant article of food. The leaves are eaten like spinach, the grains are boiled in milk or broth, and the dried stems are used as fuel. It is the hardiest food grain in the world.

There are vast areas in the temperate slopes of the cordilleras admirably adapted for raising crops of wheat and barley. These cereals are cultivated to a certain extent, but there is abundant evidence that wheat cultivation was much more extensive in Spanish times, especially in the neighborhood of Ayacucho. Maize, however, is the cereal of the Incas; and Cuzco maize surpasses all other kinds in size and in yield. The Incas made it into bread, cakes, puddings, fritters, and the fermented liquor from it, called *acca* in ancient times, is now universally drunk by the Indians and called *chicha*. The stalks of the Cuzco maize grow to a height of fifteen feet, and the grains are four or five times the size of ordinary maize grains. They are white, red and yellow, red, yellow, and purple. Perhaps the finest crops are to be seen in the valley of Yucay near Cuzco, through which flows the river Vilcamayu, where the climate is like that of Italy or the south of France. The stalks, which are exceedingly rich in sweet juice, make excellent food for cattle.

The slopes of the eastern Andes, within the Amazonian basin, gradually sinking down to the banks of the tributaries of the mighty river, are covered with tropical forests. In these ravines are raised coffee crops and cacao, tobacco and coca. The coffee is of excellent flavor, and the Yungus chocolate is considered the best in the world. Coca (*Erythoxylon coca*) is another product which we owe to the Inca Indians. The coca leaf was the great source of comfort and enjoyment to the Peruvians, and it is now in demand for medicinal

uses throughout the civilized world. Coca is cultivated between 5,000 and 6,000 feet above the level of the sea, in the warm valleys of the eastern slopes of the Andes, where the only variation of climate is from wet to dry, and where frost is unknown. It is a shrub from four to six feet high, the branches straight and alternate, leaves alternate and entire in form and size like tea leaves, flowers solitary with a small yellowish white corolla in five petals. Sowing is commenced in December and January when the rains begin, which continue until April. The seeds are spread on the surface of the soil in a small raising ground, over which there is generally a thatch roof. After about a fortnight they come up, and in the following year they are transplanted to ground especially prepared by thorough weeding. The cultivation is often in the form of terraces up the side of a mountain. After eighteen months the plants yield their first harvest, and they continue to be fertile for about forty years. The leaves are picked very carefully, and there is a harvest three, and even four times in the year. The green leaves are deposited in a piece of cloth which each picker carries, and are then spread out in a drying-yard paved with slate, and dried in the sun. When the leaves are thoroughly dry, they are sewed up in *cestos* or sacks made of banana leaves of twenty pounds each. They are also packed in *tambores* or drums of fifty pounds each.

The approximate annual produce of coca in Peru, some years ago, was 15,000,000 pounds, the average yield being about eight hundred pounds an acre. No Indian is without his *chuspa* or coca bag, and he derives great enjoyment from chewing the leaves. The smell of the leaf is agreeable and aromatic and its properties are to enable a great amount of fatigue to be

borne with little nourishment. The coca leaf also prevents the occurrence of difficulty of breathing in ascending great heights. Applied externally it cures headaches. The active principle of the coca leaf, called cocaine, was discovered by Dr. Niemann, and has now been recognized as a most valuable anæsthetic. This has increased the demand, and so enhanced the value of the Peruvian coca harvests.

The eastern forests are the home of the quinine yielding chinchona trees, and various species are found throughout their entire length. The trees flourish in a cool and equable temperature, in the valleys and ravines, from 9,000 to 3,000 feet above the sea. The most valuable kinds are the trees yielding crown and red barks, which are confined to Ecuador; and the calisaya trees of Bolivia. In Peru the gray barks of Huanuco yield chinchonine, an alkaloid equal to quinine as a febrifuge when taken in larger doses, but they are of no value in the market. The calisaya grows in the Tambopata valley in Caravaya, bordering on Bolivia, but nowhere else in Peru. All the other chinchona species in Peru are worthless. But the ravines of the eastern Andes in Peru are admirably adapted for the growth of all the best kinds, and the establishment of numerous chinchona plantations would be a wise and remunerative measure.

Further eastward, in the Amazonian forests, the most valuable product is India rubber. The best kind comes from the *hevea* tree of the Amazonian valley, called Parà rubber from its port of shipment. But the *castilloa* tree is also found in the forests of Ecuador, and seems to be the kind most generally met with there. Mr. Spruce, however, who is the highest authority on India rubber trees, considers that the



Andes separate the two kinds, the *castilloa* being found in the Ecuador forests to the west, and the *hevea* throughout the Amazonian basin up the foot of the eastern Andes. The *heveas* are large trees growing in humid tropical forests. The yield of India rubber, called *heve* in Peru, throughout the Amazonian basin is enormous, upward of 12,800,000 pounds, and it is to be lamented that no attempt has yet been made to cultivate the trees. For the collectors have to go further and further into the forests every year, to seek for them, and there is no attempt at conservancy. The demand for India rubber is very great, and increases every year. It may, therefore, be accepted when the means of traffic, in the Peruvian *montaña*, is fully developed, and steamers are running on all the navigable rivers, that a very extensive and lucrative trade in India rubber will be developed and maintained.

The eastern slopes of the Andes, comprising what is called the *montaña*, form the region for planting cacao, coffee, and tobacco estates, for the cultivation of coca, and the collection of chinchona bark. The *montaña* is approached from various starting points in the *sierra*. From Huanuco the basin of the river Huallaga is entered. The *montaña* of Chanchamayu is approached from Tarma, and in this direction there are already several flourishing settlements. Chanchamayu communicates, by a road, with the river Pichis, whence there is a navigable route, by the Ucayali and Amazon to the Atlantic. A commission appointed by Basque farmers, visited the *montaña* of Chanchamayu in 1891, and selected lands for the formation of a settlement of Basque immigrants. These industrious and intelligent agriculturists may be expected to flourish in their new

and prolific homes, while they confer a benefit on the country of their adoption.

From Cuzco the rich valley of Santa Ana, with a river communicating with the Ucayali, is reached on one side, and the *montaña* of Paucartambo on the other: both admirably suited for the extensive cultivation of tropical products. Caravaya, with its fertile valleys, and extensive gold washings, is approached from Azan-garo, by way of Crucero and Macusani. There are estates and industries in all these divisions of the Peruvian *montaña*, but they might be multiplied a hundred fold, and in the future capital and enterprise may obtain enormous wealth from this rich and fertile division of the republic.

One great object, with successive governments, has been the exploration of all the navigable Peruvian tributaries of the Amazon, and the establishment of lines of steamers by which the estates of the *montaña* might send their produce to the Atlantic. The persevering work of a series of exploring expeditions has now resulted in a complete examination of these rivers, up to the point where navigation ceases. In 1860 the settlement of Yquitos was founded on the left bank of the Amazon, where a factory was established, and two steamers the "Morona" and "Pastaza" (one hundred and eighty feet long, five hundred tons, one hundred and sixty H. P.) began to run from Yurimagues on the Huallaga, to Tabatinga on the Brazilian frontier. An active trade sprang up, and the steamers were soon unable to carry the cargo offered to them. This ebb and flow of commerce, on the hitherto silent stream, has had a civilizing and humanizing effect on the wild Indians, and was a fair commencement giving promise of a brilliant future. The enlightened government of

Don Manuel Pardo appointed a hydrographic commission to examine and report upon the distance to which each of the tributaries is navigable. Mr. Werthemann, an engineer in the Peruvian service, explored the upper Marañon, and made some most interesting reports. In 1868 the hydrographic commission explored the whole course of the Ucayali in the little steamer "Napo," and in 1870 there was useful work done on the river Tambo. The river Urubamba, by which the valley of Santa Ana would communicate with the Amazon, was examined in 1871, the *montaña* of Paucartambo was explored by an expedition under Colonel La Torre, and the Pichis was navigated to within a short distance of Chanchamayu. A commission was also appointed by President Pardo, in 1871, to fix the boundary between Brazil and Peru, and to explore the river Yavari. The hydrographic commission was presided over by Admiral Tucker; and it completed the useful work of ascertaining the distance to which each river is navigable; and the points whence it will be necessary to make roads to the different districts of the *montaña*. The exploring work is preliminary to the construction of roads, and the establishment of lines of steamers by which means the rich products of the Peruvian forests will find their way to a market by the Amazon and the Atlantic.

There are few countries in the world so blessed by nature as the land of the Incas, a land which includes within its limits the products of every clime. The people have passed through terrible and undeserved sufferings, and we may now hope that a better time is at length dawning upon them. The two great needs are peace and immigration. If these are secured, there may still be a bright future in store for the long suffering children of the Sun.



APPENDIX



TRADE OF PERU

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TRADE OF PERU.

Exports from Peru during the fourth quarter ending 1890, not including the exports from Iquitos, on the river Amazon.

ARTICLES.	Kilos.	Value in Soles.	Countries to which exported.
<b>Agricultural—</b>			
Cotton.....	1,513,969	\$453,326.82	} England, France, Germ'y, } U. S., Chile, Mexico.
Rice.....	688,236	73,699.72	
Sugar.....	9,884,201	1,152,054.47	Ecuador, Chile, Colombia.
Coffee.....	34,690	9,238.87	England, Chile, Italy, Ger-
Cocoa.....	138	20.70	Chile. (many.
Wool, sheep.....	145,819	36,722.19	England, Germany, France.
" alpaca.....	237,646	68,928.85	England, " "
" vicuna.....	945	472...	England.
Hides, dry and salted..	248,897	93,450.92	} England, France, Germ'y, } Chile, U. S., Colombia.
Various vegetables, fruits, etc.....	239,333	25,852.45	
	\$12,993,874	\$1,913,758.99	
<b>Minerals—</b>			
Silver and lead ores....	\$2,170,277	\$428,811.67	England, Germany, U. S.,
Gold in bars.....	6,037	4,352.40	England. (Chile.
Silver (sellada).....	5,265	210,616.68	} England, France, U. S., } Chile, Colombia, Ecuador.
Plata (pina).....	882,040	26,933.52	England.
" chafalmia.....	133,510	41,053.97	"
Lead in bars.....	44,979	3,598.32	England, Germany, Italy.
	\$2,221,542,587	\$678,366.56	
<b>Medicines—</b>			
Coca.....	6,677	\$4,006.10	England, Germany.
Cocaina.....	930	2,325...	" "
Cascarilla.....	11,246	3,936.10	" "
Roots (malta and ratan- ia).....	4,432	847.40	France, Germany.
Various.....	935	499.52	
	24,220	\$11,614.22	
<b>Alcohol, wines and spir- its—</b>			
Aguardiente.....	9,968 litres.	\$2,006.66	Ecuador, Chile.
Alcohol.....	382,984 "	114,892.72	Chile, Bolivia.
Wines.....	8,414 "	2,032...	Ecuador, Chile, England.
Various (bitters chrito).	1,721 "	228...	Ecuador, U. S.
<b>Manufactured articles—</b>			
Straw hats.....	4,608 doz.	\$194,709...	{ Colombia, Cuba, Jamaica, } Puerto Rico, Chile.
Various.....	.....	2,875.68	
Various articles.....	359,988 lbs.	30,301.60	
Tobacco, honey, pota- toes, onions, pepper, etc.....	.....	.....	

Total value for three months ending Dec. 31st, 1890.....\$2,959,785.37  
 With a gross weight of 15,599,624 kilos. and 403,087 litres in  
 wines and spirits.

The total annual exports may be estimated at..... \$12,000,000

Translated from "El Comercio," Oct. 29th, 1891

The value only of the three principal exports to Liverpool represents about six millions of soles.

In the year 1890 it was as follows.

Sugar.....	380,000 sacks, at 100 kilos.	Weight, 38,000,000 kilos.
Cotton.....	57,699 bales, " 100 "	" 5,800,000 "
Wool.....	22,442 " " 70 "	" 1,570,000 "
Sugar at an average value of soles 8 pr. 100 kilos, gives.....		\$3,040,000
Cotton.....	" 30 "	1,740,000
Wool, alpaca and vicuna.....	" 45 "	706,500

Approximate value of exports to Liverpool for 1890, or a total of \$5,486,500

TOTAL EXPORTS TO ALL COUNTRIES (approximated).

The exports of cotton to France are also important, and to Chile about the same quantity of sugar is exported as to Liverpool.

The total exports to all countries may therefore be estimated at:

Agricultural products (soles).....	\$8,000,000
Minerals.....	2,500,000
Wines and spirits.....	500,000
Various articles.....	1,000,000

Total exports.....\$12,000,000

This could be easily doubled if the taxes on exports were abolished, freeing mining, protecting industries, etc.



TRADE OF PERU

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PERU.

Summary of imports and exports for the fourth quarter ending December, 1890.

	COUNTRIES.	SOLES.	
		Imports from	Exports to
1	England .....	\$ 1,097,505.83	1,643,062.94
2	Germany .....	554,930.37	209,195.05
3	France .....	425,868.39	103,495.76
4	Chile .....	200,571.37	351,819.90
5	United States of America.....	278,372.86	65,421.18
6	China .....	147,703.44	109.44
7	Italy .....	122,290.86	91.50
8	Spain .....	23,756.48	73.00
9	Colombia.....	17,602.80	142,340.51
10	Ecuador .....	14,049.44	77,201.73
11	Cuba .....	12,325.60	75,900.00
12	Bolivia.....	.....	126,928.20
13	Belgium.....	79,466.40	.....
14	Central America.....	24,417.60	.....
15	Iquique .....	.....	85,586.86
16	Puerto Rico .....	.....	22,200.00
17	Australia .....	9,803.42	.....
18	India .....	5,188.96	.....
19	Arica .....	13.00	15,620.56
20	Guatemala .....	2,235.00	.....
21	Honduras.....	831.58	.....
22	Jamaica .....	.....	2,640.00
23	Lobos de Afuera.....	.....	9,993.34
24	Mexico.....	.....	7,504.20
25	Pisagua.....	.....	11,591.86
26	Portugal.....	350.00	.....
27	San Salvador.....	1,362.00	.....
28	Tacna.....	5,715.28	.....
29	Uruguay.....	669.11	9.40
	Totals.....	\$ 3,025,029.79	2,950,785.37

CERRO DE PASCO SILVER MINES WORKING.

The following are the number of mines working and name of districts (vide "Boletin de Minas," June 15th, 1891).

DISTRICT.	Mines working.
In Pacchi.....	1
" Desuebridora .....	13
" San Rosa.....	30
" Terigo and Portuchuelo.....	25
" Veleria and Arenillaporta.....	2
" Cayac Grande and Chico.....	33
" Tanacancha.....	6
" Tampa de San Juan.....	2
" Tariajoica .....	4
" Malergente.....	2
Total number of mines (against 94 in 1889).....	118

This shows that the working has been more active during the present year in consequence of the abundance of rain.

The number of coal mines worked is eight. The price of coal has risen to 80c. per quintal; formerly it was only 60c. The increase in price is owing to the scarcity of llamas.

The number of bars of silver cast in the year 1890 amounted to 558; value, marcs, 168,630, being an increase of 6,948 marcs (in 1889 538 bars: weight, 161,602).

INFORMATION RESPECTING GOLD WASHINGS BEING WORKED IN THE PROVINCE OF SANDIA, REPORTED BY SR. BONILLA, WHO VISITED THESE REGIONS IN JUNE, 1890.

*Washings.*—The principal washings are those formed by the rivers Huari-Huari, Pacchani, Puli-Puli, Huarturo or Capae, Mayu, Isilluma and Challuma. The Huari-Huari rises in the eastern cordilleras at an altitude of 3,600 metres above the sea, and is from fifty to one hundred metres wide, with a strong current, but navigated by Indians in canoes. The bed of this river is very rich in gold dust. At Pacayhuata Versalles and Cuchini there are numerous ancient remains, but now not worked. Until the course of the river is changed no important workings can be made.

*The Pacchani* flows into the Huari-Huari. The washings on its banks are for the most part being worked. There is a large virgin deposit on the east bank. It would be very easy to work the washings without changing the course of the river.

*River Pup Puli.*—There are many virgin deposits which can be worked without difficulty.

*River Challuma.*—This river flows into the Huari-Huari and contains much gold, derived from the slaty quartz on its banks, depositing large nuggets of gold which gradually become small toward the mouth of the river. Washing is easily carried on in some parts.

*River Isilluma.*—The washings are only worked in a rude way by the Indians in basins.

*Aporoma Deposit.*—This rich region was formerly worked as shown by the canals constructed for washing the lands, but at the present time it is but little worked, but it would give excellent results if worked by a company and capital expended.

*Cachi-Cachi Deposit.*—This deposit situated about eighty-eight kilometres from the town of Sandia, N. W. extends for 280,000 square metres of rich auriferous sand. To a company of capital it would yield excellent results.

*Rio de la Quebrada.*—This deposit, of great value, extending for 2,800,000 square metres, at seventeen kilometres from San Juan, is

traversed by the river of the same name, and although it was formerly much worked, as shown by the canal (at present covered with vegetation), which could be again made use of. This deposit is worthy of special attention.

The rugged state of these regions prevents an accurate description of the distances being taken, but the following is an estimate of them.

From the Puno Railway Pucara to Sandia.....	182 kilometres.
“ Sandia to Cuchini.....	239 “
“ “ San Juan .....	108 “
“ “ Poti.....	64 “

The rigor of the climate and the dearth of the supplies make it very difficult for the traveler to explore these rich, although inhospitable zones.

MINES.

Claims registered in the Padron General De Minas for the first quarter of 1891.

FIRST QUARTER OF 1890.		FIRST QUARTER OF 1891.	
Gold mines.....	95	Gold mines.....	5
“ washings.....	261	“ washings.....	142
“ and silver.....	38	“ and silver.....	280
“ “ lead.....	..	“ “ lead.....	46
Silver.....	2,072	Silver.....	1
“ and copper.....	17	“ and copper.....	2,648
“ “ lead.....	21	“ “ lead.....	10
“ “ zinc.....	4	“ “ zinc.....	24
“ “ quicksilver.....	1	“ “ quicksilver.....	1
Copper.....	32	Copper.....	8
Quicksilver.....	10	Copper.....	20
Bronce.....	1	Quicksilver.....	21
Brea.....	..	Bronce.....	2
“ and petroleum.....	10	Brea.....	1
Petroleum.....	97	“ and petroleum.....	10
Coal.....	178	Petroleum.....	613
Salt.....	56	Coal.....	278
Sulphur.....	14	Salt.....	60
Not stated.....	4	Sulphur.....	14
		Not stated.....	4
Total.....	2,911	Total.....	4,187

Increase for 1891, 1,271.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

The French metric system of weights and measures was legally established in 1860, but except for custom purposes, has not been generally adopted. The weights and measures in use are: The onza, 1.014 ounce, avoirdupois; the libra, 1.014 pound, avoirdupois; the arroba of 25 libras, 25.36 pounds, avoirdupois; the quintal, 101.44 pounds, avoirdupois; the arroba (of wine or spirits), 8.044 gallons, avoirdupois; the galon, .88 gallon, avoirdupois; the vara, 33.367 inches; the square vara, .859 square yard.

## PERUVIAN FINANCES.

REVENUE FOR THE YEAR 1ST OF JUNE, 1889, TO 31ST OF MAY, 1890.

Customs, actual amount received.....	\$4,995,944.37	
Taxes on tobacco consumed.....	\$276,049.99	
“ alcohol “.....	250,476.15	
“ opium “.....	233,430.29	
“ others various.....	154,193.98—	974,150.41
Telegraphs.....		30,651.65
Postoffice.....		156,531.89
Various.....		310,022.74
Railways.....		36,305.72
Various, balance 31st of May, 1889, etc.....		513,921.65
Total.....		\$6,957,349.43
At ex. 37d. to the Sol.—	£1,072,5917:4.	

EXPENDITURES FOR THE YEAR 1ST OF JUNE, 1889, TO 31ST OF MAY, 1890.

Legislative power, houses of senators and deputies.....	\$253,458.65	
Executive power, ministry of government, police and public works.....	759,533.56	
“ ministry of foreign affairs.....	220,807.54	
Ministry of justice, worship, instruction, etc.....	412,579.94	
“ finance and trade.....	1,076,632.80	
“ war and marine.....	2,257,976.98	
To cover previous supplementary credits of previous year 1889.....	753,916.57	
Various.....	339,061.72	
		\$6,073,967.27
Balance in treasury 31st of May, 1890.....		883,382.17
		\$6,957,349.43

## MONEY

The monetary unit is the sol of 100 centesimos; nominally worth in the United States \$1 00, but with a real value (1891) of 77.1 cents. Other coins are subdivisions of the sol and are the medio sol of 50-centesimos, the peseta of 20 centesimos, the real of 10 centesimos and the medio real of 5 centesimos. These coins are all of silver. It was estimated in 1887 that there were 60,000,000 paper soles in circulation, issued by banks at Lima, and declared to be of government responsibility.

This money had gradually become greatly depreciated, being worth in 1887 about 5 cents on the sol. In 1888 it was withdrawn from circulation, except as payment for customs duties to the amount of 5 per cent. at the rate of 35 paper soles for one of silver.

# THE CONSTITUTION OF PERU

1860

[WITH THE REFORMS UP TO 1886]

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## TITLE I

### THE NATION

- ART. 1. The Peruvian nation is the political association of all Peruvians.
- ART. 2. The nation is free and independent, and cannot make a covenant opposed to its independence or integrity, or which, in any way, affects its sovereignty.
- ART. 3. The sovereignty resides in the nation, and its exercise is entrusted to the functionaries established by the Constitution.

## TITLE II

### RELIGION

- ART. 4. The nation professes the Apostolic Roman Catholic religion; the State protects it, and does not permit the public exercise of any other.

## TITLE III

### NATIONAL GUARANTEES

- ART. 5. No one may arrogate the title of sovereign. He who should do so, would commit the offence of "leze-patrie" ("*lesa patria*").

- ART. 6. Hereditary employments, or privileges, or "*fueros personales*" are not recognized in the republic. Entails are prohibited, and all property is transferable in the way determined by the laws.
- ART. 7. National property can only be alienated in the cases and in the way ordained by the law, and for the objects which the law sanctions.
- ART. 8. Taxes cannot be imposed except by virtue of a law, in proportion to the means of the contributor, and for the public service.
- ART. 9. The law determines the revenue and the expenditure of the nation. Whatsoever quantity is in excess or is used for any other purpose than the law provides, must be accounted for by him who orders such excess, or expenditure: also he shall be responsible unless he proves his innocence.
- ART. 10. The acts of those who usurp public functions, and appointments made without compliance with the requirements of the Constitution and the laws, are null.
- ART. 11. Every one who exercises any public charge is directly and immediately responsible for the acts he performs in the exercise of his functions. The law determines the way in which this responsibility is made effective. The "Fiscals" are responsible if they do not require the fulfilment of what is ordained in this article.
- ART. 12. No one can exercise the public functions ordained by this Constitution, if he does not swear to uphold it.
- ART. 13. Every Peruvian has the right to initiate proceedings before congress, before the executive power, or before any other competent authority, for any infraction of the Constitution.

## TITLE IV

## INDIVIDUAL GUARANTEES

- ART. 14. No one is obliged to do anything that is not ordered by law, nor can be prevented from doing anything not prohibited by law.
- ART. 15. No law has retrospective force or effect.
- ART. 16. The law protects life and honor against all unjust aggression; and cannot impose the punishment of death except for wilful murder.

- ART. 17. There are not, and cannot be, slaves in the republic.
- ART. 18. No one can be arrested without the written warrant of a competent judge, or of the authorities charged with the preservation of public order, except *in flagrante delicto*: and in all cases the arrested person must be brought before the proper tribunal within twenty-four hours. The servers of the warrant are bound to give a copy of it, whenever it is asked for.
- ART. 19. Prisons are places of detention, not of punishment. All severity not necessary for secure keeping is prohibited.
- ART. 20. No one can be expelled from the republic, nor from the place of his residence, except by legal sentence.
- ART. 21. All have the right to use the press for the publication of their writings without previous censure, but subject to the responsibility imposed by the law.
- ART. 22. The secrecy of letters is inviolable. Letters that have been seized are not legal evidence.
- ART. 23. Every employment, trade, or profession, not opposed either to morals, to health, or to the public safety can be freely exercised.
- ART. 24. The nation guarantees the existence and diffusion of gratuitous primary instruction, and the encouragement of public establishments of science, art, piety, and charity.
- ART. 25. All who offer the guarantees of capacity and morality prescribed by the law, can freely exercise the function of teaching, and direct educational establishments, under the inspection of the authorities.
- ART. 26. Property, whether it be material, intellectual, literary, or artistic, is inviolable: and no one can be deprived of his own, except for the public good legally proved, and with previous fair indemnification.
- ART. 27. Useful discoveries are the exclusive property of the inventors, unless they voluntarily agree to sell the secret, or there arises the case of forced expropriation.\* Those who are merely the introducers of such discoveries, shall enjoy the advantages of inventors for the limited time that is conceded in conformity with the law.

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\* o que llegue el caso de expropiacion forzosa.

- ART. 28. Any stranger may acquire property in the republic, in accordance with the law, having, with reference to such property, the obligations and the rights of a Peruvian.
- ART. 29. All citizens have the right to associate peacefully, either in public or private, without compromising the public order.
- ART. 30. The rights of petition may be exercised individually or collectively.
- ART. 31. The domicile is inviolable. It cannot be entered without previously serving the written warrant of a judge or authority charged to preserve public order. The servers of such warrant are bound to furnish a copy of it whenever called for.
- ART. 32. The laws protect and bind all equally. Special laws may be ordained, because they are required by the nature of the objects, but not merely for the difference of persons.\*

## TITLE V

## PERUVIANS

- ART. 33. Peruvians become so by birth and by naturalization.
- ART. 34. Peruvians by birth are:
1. Those born within the territory of the republic.
  2. Children of a Peruvian father or mother born abroad, and whose names have been inscribed in the civic register by desire of their parents in their minority, or by their own desire as soon as they have reached the legal age.
  3. Natives of Spanish America, or Spaniards who were in Peru when the independence was proclaimed, and who subsequently continued to reside there.
- ART. 35. Peruvians by naturalization are, strangers over the age of twenty-one years; residents in Peru, who exercise some calling, industry, or profession, and who inscribe themselves on the civic register in the form established by law.
- ART. 36. Every Peruvian is bound to serve the republic with his person and goods, in the way and the proportion established by law.

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\* Podran establecerse leyes especiales porque lo requiera la naturaleza de los objetos, pero no por solvo la diferencia de personas.



TITLE VI

CITIZENSHIP

- AKT. 37. All Peruvians over the age of twenty-one, and all married men, even if they have not attained that age, are active citizens.
- ART. 38. All citizens exercise the right of the suffrage who can read and write, or are the heads of workshops, or possess real estate, or pay any contribution to the public treasury. The exercise of this right shall be regulated by law
- ART. 39. Every citizen, who possesses the qualifications required by law, can receive any public employment.
- ART. 40. The exercise of citizenship is suspended by
1. Incapacity as defined by law.
  2. Bankruptcy.
  3. Imprisonment for a criminal offence.
  4. Notorious gambling, vagrancy, or drunkenness, or divorce for his own fault.
- ART. 41. The right of citizenship is lost by
1. Judicial sentence to that effect.
  2. Fraudulent bankruptcy judicially declared.
  3. By acquiring citizenship in another state.
  4. By accepting any employment from another government, or any title or decoration without permission of congress.
  5. By monastic profession: there being power to recover citizenship by abandoning the profession.
  6. For slave dealing in what place soever.

TITLE VII

THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT

- ART. 42. The government of Peru is republican, democratic, representative, founded on unity.
- ART. 43. The legislative, executive, and judicial authorities exercise public functions, provided that none go beyond the prescribed limits of the Constitution.

TITLE VIII

THE LEGISLATIVE POWER

- ART. 44. The legislative power is exercised by the congress, in the form which the Constitution prescribes. The congress

- is composed of two chambers: that of the senators, and that of the deputies.
- ART. 45. The election of senators and deputies shall be in accordance with the law.
- ART. 46. An actual and a supplementary deputy shall be elected for every 30,000 inhabitants, and for every fraction exceeding 15,000, and for every province, although its inhabitants do not reach to that number. The number of deputies, who shall correspond to each province in accordance with this article, shall be fixed by law, and cannot be increased without previous disposition of congress.
- ART. 47. It is necessary for a deputy to be:
1. A Peruvian by birth.
  2. An active citizen.
  3. To be twenty-five years of age.
  4. To be a native of the department to which the province he represents, belongs, or to have resided in it for three years.
  5. To have an annual income of \$500, or to be a professor of some science.
- ART. 48. Each department which contains more than eight provinces, shall elect four actual senators, and four supplementary senators. Each department which contains less than eight, and more than four provinces, shall elect three actual and three supplementary senators. Each department which contains less than five provinces, and more than one, shall elect two actual and two supplementary senators. Each department containing only one province, and each littoral province shall elect one actual and one supplementary senator.
- ART. 49. It is necessary for a senator to be:
1. A Peruvian by birth.
  2. An active citizen.
  3. To be thirty-five years of age.
  4. To have an annual income of \$1,000, or to be a professor of some science.
- ART. 50. No senator or deputy can be elected who is:
1. President, or one of the vice-presidents of the republic, a minister of state, a prefect, sub-prefect,

- or governor, or has filled those offices two months before the elections.
2. None of the judges, or the "Fiscal" of the supreme court of justice.
- ART. 51. Nor can the following be elected:
1. Archbishops, bishops, ecclesiastical governors, capitular vicars, for the departments or provinces of their respective dioceses.
  2. Curas for the provinces to which their parishes belong.
  3. Judges, or "Fiscals" of the superior courts, for the departments or provinces in which they exercise jurisdiction.
  4. Judges of the first instance for their judicial districts.
  5. Military officers in the districts where they are in command of troops, or where they hold any other military appointment at the time of the elections.
- ART. 52. The ordinary congress shall meet every year on the 28th of July, either with or without a decree of convocation: and the extraordinary congress when it is summoned by the executive power. The duration of the ordinary congress shall be for ninety natural days, without counting prorogations; and the meeting of an extraordinary congress shall terminate when the object of its convocation is fulfilled, provided that it shall in no case sit for more than forty-five natural days.\*
- ART. 53. For the installation of congress, it is necessary that two-thirds of each chamber should be present.
- ART. 54. The senators and deputies are inviolable in the exercise of their functions.
- ART. 55. The senators and deputies cannot be accused or imprisoned without the previous authorization of congress, from a month before the opening of the session, to a month after its close, except *in flagrante delicto*, in which case they shall be immediately placed at the disposition of their respective chambers.
- ART. 56. Acceptance of any employment, charge, or benefit from

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\* This article was substituted for the original one by a law of January 3d, 1879.

the executive power has, in itself, the effect of vacating the seat of a senator or deputy.\*

- ART. 57. The chambers shall be renewed every two years by third parts, at the termination of the ordinary legislature.
- ART. 58. Senators and deputies can be re-elected, and only in that event can the charge be renounced.
- ART. 59. The attributes of the congress are:
1. To make laws, and to interpret, alter, or repeal existing laws.
  2. To open and close the sessions at the periods prescribed by law.
  3. To designate the place of meeting of their sessions, and to determine whether or no there shall be an armed force, in what number, and at what distance.
  4. To investigate infractions of the Constitution, and to decide what steps shall be taken to make the responsibility of the delinquents effective.
  5. To impose taxes, in accordance with the provision in Article 8, to abolish existing taxes, to sanction the estimates, and to approve, or disapprove, of the public expenditure presented by the executive power in conformity with Article 102.
  6. To authorize the executive power to negotiate loans, pledging the national revenue, and designating the funds for repayment.
  7. To recognize the national debt and to decide upon the measures for its consolidation and payment.
  8. To create or abolish public appointments, and to assign salaries.
  9. To determine the law respecting coin, its weight, type, and denomination; as well as respecting weights and measures.
  10. To proclaim the election of the president and vice-presidents of the republic, and to make the election void when the elected persons are not qualified according to law.

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\* This article was substituted for the original one, by a law of January 3d, 1879.

11. To admit, or otherwise, the renunciation of his office by the chief of the executive power.
12. To decide upon doubts that may arise respecting the incapacity of the president, as defined in Article 88.
13. To approve, or disapprove, of the proposals which, with subjection to the law, the executive power may make respecting generals of the army and navy, and colonels and naval captains on the active list.
14. To give, or withhold, consent to the entry of foreign troops in the territory of the republic.
15. To resolve on the declaration of war at the request of, or on the previous report of the executive power, and to require that peace be negotiated.
16. To approve, or disapprove, of treaties of peace, concordats, or other conventions celebrated with foreign governments.
17. To lay down the necessary rules for the exercise of the right of patronage.
18. To rehabilitate those who have lost the right of citizenship.
19. To grant amnesties and pardons.
20. To declare when the country is in danger, and to suspend the guarantees established by Articles 18, 20, 29, for a limited period.
21. To decide, in each ordinary legislature, or in the extraordinary sessions when convened, the land and sea forces to be maintained by the state.
22. To make the divisions and demarcations of the national territory.
23. To grant remuneration to cities, corporations, or persons for eminent services to the state.
24. To examine, at the end of each constitutional period, the administrative acts of the chief of the executive power, to approve them if they are in conformity with the Constitution and the laws; if not, the chamber of deputies shall submit to the senate the corresponding impeachment.

## TITLE IX

## THE LEGISLATIVE CHAMBERS

- ART. 60. In each chamber, projects of law shall be introduced, debated, and voted in conformity with the rules.
- ART. 61. Each chamber has the right to organize a secretariat, to name its officials, to frame its estimate, and formulate its rules and arrangements.
- ART. 62. The chambers shall unite to exercise the functions 2, 3, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 20 and 24 of Article 59; and to debate and vote on business respecting which they have differed when sitting separately; but in this case there must be a two-thirds vote to enable the law to pass.
- ART. 63. The presidency of the congress shall alternate between the presidents of the two chambers, in accordance with the rule made by congress.
- ART. 64. It is the office of the chamber of deputies to accuse before the senate the president of the republic, members of both chambers, ministers of State, and judges of the Supreme court, for infractions of the constitution, or for any fault committed in the exercise of their functions to which, according to the laws, a punishment should be assigned.
- ART. 65. The president of the republic cannot be accused during his term of office except in cases of treason, of having made an attempt against the form of government, or of having dissolved congress, impeded its meeting, or suspended its functions.
- ART. 66. It is the function of the senate:
1. To declare whether or no there are grounds for the impeachment made by the chamber of deputies; the accused, in the first case, being suspended from the exercise of his office, and subjected to judgment according to law.
  2. To decide questions respecting jurisdictions that may arise between the superior courts and the supreme court, and between the latter and the executive power.

## TITLE X

## FORMATION AND PROMULGATION OF LAWS

- ART. 67. The following bodies have an initiative in the formation of laws.
1. The senators and deputies.
  2. The executive power.
  3. The supreme court, in judicial matters.
- ART. 68. When a project of law is approved in one chamber, it shall pass to the other to be debated and voted upon. If the revising chamber should make additions, they shall be subjected to the same forms as the original project.
- ART. 69. When a law has been approved by congress, it shall pass to the executive for promulgation and execution. If the executive should have any observations to make, they must be presented to the congress within ten days.
- ART. 70. When the law, with the observations of the executive, has been considered in both chambers, and if it is approved in its original form, it remains sanctioned, and shall be promulgated and complied with. If it is not so approved, it cannot be reconsidered until the meeting of the next legislature.
- ART. 71. If the executive does not order the law so passed to be promulgated and complied with, nor make its observations within ten days, according to the terms of Article 69, the promulgation shall be made by the president of congress, and he shall order it to be inserted, for its execution, in some newspaper.
- ART. 72. The executive has no power to make observations on the resolutions or laws passed by congress in the exercise of its functions, 2, 3, and 10.
- ART. 73. The sessions of congress, and those of its chambers, shall be public. They can only be secret in those cases fixed by the rule, and in conformity with the provisions required by it.
- ART. 74. The voting on all matters directly affecting the national revenues shall be by name.
- ART. 75. In interpreting, altering, or repealing laws the same forms shall be observed as in making them.
- ART. 76. The congress, in drawing up the laws, shall make use of this form: "The Congress of the Peruvian Republic" (here follows the reasons) "has passed the following

law" (here follows the law itself). "Let it be communicated to the executive power, which shall arrange what is necessary for its fulfilment."

- ART. 77. The executive, in ordering a law to be promulgated, shall use this form: "The President of the Republic, by reason of the following law having been passed by the Congress" (here follows the law), "orders it to be printed, published, and circulated, and that it be duly complied with."

## TITLE XI

## THE EXECUTIVE POWER

- ART. 78. The chief of the executive power shall have the denomination of President of the Republic.
- ART. 79. To be president of the republic it is necessary to be:
1. A Peruvian by birth.
  2. An active citizen.
  3. To be thirty-five years of age, and ten years domiciled in the republic.
- ART. 80. The president of the republic shall be elected by the people in the form prescribed by the law.
- ART. 81. The congress shall effect the opening of the electoral returns, attest them, regulate the votes, and proclaim the candidate who obtains an actual majority president.
- ART. 82. If such a majority does not result from the scrutiny, the congress shall choose between the two who shall have obtained the greatest number of votes. If two, or more, shall obtain an equal number of votes, the congress shall choose one from among them.
- ART. 83. If the votes given by congress, in accordance with the previous article, are equal, the matter shall be decided by lot.
- ART. 84. When the congress elects a president, the business must be finished at one sitting.
- ART. 85. The president shall remain in office for four years, and he cannot be re-elected, nor elected as vice-president, until an equal period has elapsed.
- ART. 86. The president, at the termination of his period of office, shall submit an account of his administrative acts to congress, with reference to clause 24 of Article 59.



- ART. 87. The salary of the president cannot be increased during his period of office.
- ART. 88. The presidency of the republic, besides by the demise of the president, is vacated:
1. By his permanent physical or mental incapacity.
  2. By the reception of his resignation.
  3. By judicial sentence, convicting of offences named in Article 65.
  4. By the termination of his term of office.
- ART. 89. There shall be two vice-presidents of the republic, first and second, who shall be elected at the same time, with the same qualifications, and for the same term as the president.
- ART. 90. In the event of a vacancy for any of the reasons enumerated in Article 88, except the last, the first vice-president shall complete the period commenced. In the cases given in Article 93, the first vice-president shall only hold the office of president so long as the impediment suspending the president exists.
- ART. 91. In default of the president and the first vice-president, the second vice-president shall assume supreme charge, until the candidate chosen according to law can replace him. In the event of a vacancy, the necessary orders for an election of president and first vice-president of the republic shall be issued within three days, and the congress shall be convoked with a view to compliance with Article 81 and those which follow it.
- ART. 92. The vice-presidents of the republic cannot be candidates for the presidency, or for the vice-presidency, during the time that they exercise supreme power: nor can the ministers of state, nor the general-in-chief of the army.
- ART. 93. The exercise of the presidential functions is suspended:
1. When the president commands the army in person.
  2. Owing to temporary infirmity.
  3. When he is under judgment, in accordance with the provisions of Article 65.
- ART. 94. The duties of the president of the republic are:
1. To preserve the internal order, and secure the

- external safety of the republic, without contravening the law.
2. To convoke the ordinary congress, without prejudice to the first part of Article 52, and the extraordinary congress when necessary.
  3. To be present at the opening of congress, presenting a message respecting the state of the republic and the reforms and improvements which he judges to be opportune.
  4. To take part in the formation of the laws, in conformity with the constitution.
  5. To promulgate and see to the enforcement of the laws and resolutions of congress, and to issue decrees, orders, rules and instructions for the better fulfilment of such laws.
  6. To give the necessary orders for the collecting and disbursement of the public revenues, in accordance with the law.
  7. To require the prompt and exact administration of the law from the judges and tribunals.
  8. To see that the sentences of the court are carried out.
  9. To organize the forces by land and sea, and to dispose them for the service of the republic.
  10. To distribute the national guard in their respective provinces, without power to withdraw them, except in cases of sedition or foreign war.
  11. To direct diplomatic negotiations, and celebrate treaties with the express proviso that they must be submitted to the congress in compliance with clause 16 of Article 59.
  12. To receive foreign ministers, and admit consuls.
  13. To nominate and remove ministers of state and diplomatic agents.
  14. To decree licences and pensions in conformity with the law.
  15. To exercise the patronage entrusted to him by the laws.
  16. To present as archbishops and bishops those who have been chosen according to law, with the approval of congress.

17. To present to the dignities and canonries of the cathedrals, and to curacies and other ecclesiastical benefices, in accordance with the law.
  18. To celebrate concordats with the apostolic see, conforming to the instructions given by congress.
  19. To concede or deny a pass to conciliar decrees, bulls, briefs and rescripts with assent of the congress; and first hearing the views of the supreme court of justice, if they should relate to matters under dispute.
  20. To fill vacant offices, the nomination to which belongs to him according to the constitution, or to special laws.
- ART. 96. The president may not lease the territory of the republic during his term of office without permission of congress, nor after that period, so long as he is subject to receive judgment in accordance with the provisions of Article 66.
- ART. 95. The president cannot personally take command of an armed force without permission of congress. In the event of his taking the command, he shall only exercise the faculties of a general-in-chief, subject to military laws and ordinances, and responsible with reference to them.

TITLE XII

THE MINISTERS OF STATE

- ART. 97. The despatch of public administrative business is in charge of ministers of state, whose number as well as the departments placed under each minister, shall be arranged by law.
- ART. 98. A minister of state must be a Peruvian by birth, and an active citizen.
- ART. 99. The orders and decrees of the president shall be signed by each minister in his respective department, and without this requisite they shall not be obeyed.
- ART. 100. The ministers of state, meeting together, form a council of ministers, the organization and functions of which shall be defined by law.
- ART. 101. Each minister shall present to the ordinary congress, at the time of its installation, a report in which he shall

explain the state of each department of which he is in charge, and he shall supply information any time that it may be required by congress.

- ART. 102. The minister of finance shall also present to congress the general statement of the previous two years, and the estimate for the two coming years.
- ART. 103. The ministers can present to congress, at all times, such projects for laws as they judge to be desirable, and may be present at the debates of congress in either chamber, but they should retire before the votes are taken. They can also take part in the discussions, whenever they are called upon by congress, or either of the chambers, and they shall reply to the interpellations that may be made.
- ART. 104. The ministers are responsible, as a body, for any resolution passed in council, unless their vote is against it; and individually for all special acts in their departments.

#### TITLE XIII

##### PERMANENT COMMISSION OF THE LEGISLATIVE BODY \*

#### TITLE XIV

##### INTERIOR REGULATION OF THE REPUBLIC

- ART. 111. The republic is divided into departments and littoral provinces. The departments are divided into provinces, and these into districts.
- ART. 112. The division of the departments, of the provinces, and of the districts and the demarcation of their respective limits shall be the subject of a law.
- ART. 113. There shall be prefects of the departments, and littoral provinces, sub-prefects of the provinces, governors of the districts, and lieutenant governors where it may be necessary, for the execution of the laws, and of judicial sentences, and for the preservation of public order.
- ART. 114. The prefects shall be under the immediate orders of the executive power, the sub-prefects under the prefects, and the governors under the sub-prefects.
- ART. 115. The prefects and sub-prefects shall be nominated by the executive power, and the governors by prefects, being

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\* This title, containing articles 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, was abolished by the law of August 31st, 1874.

proposed by the sub-prefects, and the lieutenant-governors by the sub-prefects, being proposed by the governors. The executive power may remove the prefects and the sub-prefects in accordance with the law

- ART. 116. The duties of these functionaries, and the duration of their terms of office shall be determined by a law.
- ART. 117. The functionaries in charge of the police for the security of public order, shall be immediately under the executive power, which shall nominate and remove them according to law.

TITLE XV

MUNICIPALITIES

- ART. 118. There shall be municipalities in the places ordained by law; and the law shall designate their duties, responsibility, the qualifications of their members, and the mode of electing them.

TITLE XVI

THE PUBLIC FORCES

- ART. 119. The object of the public forces shall be to maintain the rights of the nation abroad, the execution of the laws, and order at home. Military obedience shall be regulated by the military laws and ordinances.
- ART. 120. The public forces are composed of the national guards, the army, and the navy, and shall be organized in accordance with the law; as well as the number of generals and other officers.
- ART. 121. The national guards shall be organized and their numbers fixed in accordance with law.
- ART. 122. There shall not be territorial generals in command, nor military commandants in time of peace.
- ART. 123. The public forces cannot be increased nor renewed, except in conformity with the law. Recruiting, contrary to what has been sanctioned, is a crime before the judges and before congress.

TITLE XVII

THE JUDICIAL POWER

- ART. 124. Justice shall be administered by the tribunals and judges in the mode and form that the law directs.
- ART. 125. In the capital of the republic there shall be a supreme

- court of justice. In the departments there shall be superior courts, in the provinces judges of first instance, and in all the villages justices of the peace.
- ART. 126. The judges and "fiscals" of the supreme court shall be nominated by the congress, from names submitted by the executive power. The judges and "fiscals" of the superior courts shall be nominated by the executive, from names submitted by the supreme court. The judges of first instance and fiscal agents shall be nominated by the respective superior courts. If a vacancy occurs in the supreme court during the recess of congress, the executive power shall temporarily nominate a successor.
- ART. 127. Publicity is essential in the judgments. The tribunals may discuss in secret, but their votes must be given in a loud voice and in public. The sentences shall be pronounced with the reasons, and a statement of the law on which they are founded.
- ART. 128. All judgments by commission are prohibited.
- ART. 129. No power nor authority can remove a pending suit to another power or authority, nor revive completed processes.
- ART. 130. Popular action against magistrates and judges may be caused by
1. Prevarication.
  2. Bribery.
  3. Abbreviation or suspension of judicial forms.
  4. Illegal proceedings against individual guarantees.

## TITLE XVIII

## REFORM OF THE CONSTITUTION

- ART. 131. Reform of one or more constitutional articles may be sanctioned in ordinary congress, subject to the same forms as any project of law must pass through; but it cannot take effect unless it is ratified, in the same way, by the succeeding ordinary legislature

Given in the Hall of Sessions at Lima, on the 10th of November, 1860.

MANUEL DE MENDIBURU, Vice-president of Congress.

MIGUEL DEL CARPIO, Second Vice-president.

Signed by one hundred and fifteen deputies.

I order it to be printed, promulgated, and that it be put in execution. Given at the Government House in Lima, on the 13th of November, 1860.

RAMON CASTILLA, President of the Republic.  
JOSE FABIO MELGAR, Minister of Foreign Affairs.  
MANUEL MORALES, Minister of Public Works.  
JUAN ANTONIO PEZET, Minister of War and Marine.  
JUAN JOSE SALCEDO, Minister of Finance.

THE  
AUTHORITIES FOR PERUVIAN HISTORY

The readers of the history of Peru will seek for some information respecting the authorities on which the different parts of the narrative are based, and some of them may wish to refer to the original sources of the story.

Inca civilization has been described by several Spaniards, and the most valuable accounts are those which were written nearest to the period of the conquest.

Pedro de Cieza de Leon finished the first part of his chronicle, which is mainly a geographical description of the country, in 1554. His account of Inca civilization is in the second part. Both have been translated into English by Clements R. Markham, in the series of volumes printed by the Hakluyt Society.

Juan José de Betanzos married an Inca princess, and knew the Quichua language. His account of the Incas, written in 1551, remained in manuscript until it was edited and printed by Señor Jimeñes de la Espada in 1880. It has not been translated into English.

Polo de Ondegardo, a learned lawyer, who took an active part in politics from the time of the President Gasca, to that of the Viceroy Toledo, made valuable reports on the laws of the Incas and their system of administration. His two "Relaciones" were written in 1561 and 1571, but they are still in manuscript. One of his reports has, however, been translated by Clements R. Markham, and is printed in a volume of the Hakluyt Society.

Augustin de Zarate came out to Peru as accountant, with the first viceroy, Blasco Nuñez Vela. His "Provincia del Peru" was published at Antwerp in 1555.



Fernando de Santillan came out as a judge of the Lima Audience in 1550. His interesting "Relacion" remained in manuscript until it was edited and printed by Señor Jimeñes de la Espada in 1879.

Juan de Matienzo, another lawyer, contemporary with Ondegardo, wrote a valuable work entitled "Gobierno de el Peru," which is still in manuscript.

Christoval de Molina, a priest established at Cuzco, wrote the best account of Inca ceremonial and religion, between 1570 and 1584. It has been translated into English by Clements R. Markham, in a volume of the Hakluyt Society.

Miguel Cavello Balboa wrote his work at Quito, between 1576 and 1586, (entitled "Miscellanea Austral.") It contains the only particulars we have of the history of the coast Indians, and the best account of the war between Huascar and Atahualpa. It has been published in French by Ternaux Compans (1840).

Josè de Acosta, a Jesuit, wrote what he called a "Natural History of the Indies," first published in 1588. It has been translated into English by Clements R. Markham (2 vols.), and published by the Hakluyt Society.

Fernando Montesinos arrived in Peru in 1629. His works are "Memorias Antiguas Historiales del Peru," and "Anales o Memorias Nuevas del Peru." Montesinos gives a long list of sovereigns who preceded the Incas. His work remained in manuscript until it was edited and printed by Señor Jimeñes de la Espada, in 1882. It was published in a French translation, in 1840, by Ternaux Compans.

An anonymous Jesuit wrote "Relacion de los Costumbres Antiguas de los Naturales del Peru," a most valuable work on Inca civilization, which remained in manuscript until it was printed by Señor Jimeñes de la Espada in 1879.

Francisco de Avila, a Jesuit, wrote a work on the false gods and superstitions of the Indians of Huarochiri, which was translated by Clements R. Markham, and published by the Hakluyt Society.

Pablo Josè de Arriaga, another Jesuit, wrote a curious book entitled "Extirpacion de la Idolatria del Peru," in 1621.

Antonio de la Calancha, in his history of the order of St. Augustine in Peru (1638-1653), gives a good deal of information respecting the Incas.

Alonzo Ramos Gavilan, in the "Historia de Copacabana y de su Milagrosa Imagen" (1620), throws light on the movements of the "mitimaes" or colonists in the time of the Incas.

Inca Garcilasso de la Vega, in his "Commentarios Reales," gives

a history of the Incas, and reviews the work of previous authors. The value of his work is increased by the extracts he gives from a much earlier work by the Jesuit, Blas Valera, which is lost. The "Commentarios Reales" have been translated by Clements R. Markham, and printed by the Hakluyt Society.

Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamayhua, an Indian of the Collao, wrote a work entitled "Relacion de Antigüedades deste Reyno del Peru," which remained in manuscript until it was printed in 1879 by Señor Jimeñes de la Espada. It was translated into English by Clements R. Markham, and published by the Hakluyt Society.

Juan de Velasco wrote the "Historia del Reino de Quito," which was printed in French by Ternaux Compans in 1840.

Antonio de Herrera, in his "General History of the Indies," gives a brief account of the history and civilization of the Incas.

Robertson, in his "History of America," was the first to give a good general account of the Incas. But since 1848 his work has been superseded by the charming narrative of Prescott. Arthur Helps, in his "Spanish Conquest" (1855), has also given a brief account of Inca civilization. In 1860 the Peruvian, Sebastian Lorente, published his ancient history of Peru, in which the subject is treated more fully than by the American or English authors; and Lorente gave the results of many years of further study in a series of essays published in the "Revista Peruana."

The ruins and other antiquities of the Inca period, have received much attention in recent times. The best works are "Antigüedades Peruanas," by Don Mariano Rivero, translated into English by Dr. Hawkes, of New York, in 1853; "Myths of the New World" and the "American Race," by Dr. Brinton, of Philadelphia; the work on Peru by E. G. Squier (1877) which contains the best and most accurate account of the Inca ruins; and the similar work by C. Weiner (Paris, 1880). The superb work of Reiss and Stübel on their excavations at Ancon is in three folio volumes with one hundred and nineteen plates.

#### CONQUEST OF PERU

The first Spaniard who obtained a reliable account of the Inca Empire, and contemplated its conquest was Pascual de Andagoyas. His narrative long remained in manuscript, but was printed by Navarrete. It has been translated into English by Clements R. Markham, and published by the Hakluyt Society.

Francisco de Xeres, the secretary to Pizarro, wrote a history of the

earlier period of the conquest by order of his master, printed at Seville in 1535. The third edition appeared at Madrid in 1749, and Ternaux Compans brought out a French edition in 1837. It was translated into English by Clements R. Markham, and published by the Hakluyt Society in 1872.

Hernando Pizarro also wrote a short letter dated November, 1533, going over the same ground as Xeres, which was given by Oviedo, in his "Historia General," and by Quintana. It was translated into English by Clements R. Markham, and published by the Hakluyt Society.

Pedro Pizarro, a cousin of the conqueror, was an eye-witness of all the events of the conquest. He finished his "Relaciones del Descubrimiento y Conquista del Peru" in 1571, but it remained in manuscript for centuries. At length it was printed at Madrid among "Documentos Ineditos para la Historia de España."

Alonso Enriquez de Guzman wrote an account of the civil war between Pizarro and Almagro, of which he was an eye-witness. It remained in manuscript, and is now in the national library at Madrid. It was translated by Clements R. Markham, and published by the Hakluyt Society.

Manuel Josef Quintana, in his "Vidas de Españoles Celebres," wrote the best life of Pizarro, and has printed some original documents relating to him.

General histories of the conquest and of the civil wars which followed, are given in Herrera, Gomara, Zarate, and the second volume of Garcilasso de la Vega, and Oviedo, in two chapters, gives the early history of the conquest.

Several letters of Vaca de Castro and Gasca have been published in a large volume published by the Spanish government, called "Cartas de Indias" (1877).

#### CIVIL WARS

Pedro de Cieza de Leon wrote a history of the war between the Viceroy Blasco Nuñez Vela and Gonzalo Pizarro, entitled "La Guerra de Quito." It was first printed by Jimeñes de la Espada in 1877.

Diego Fernandez (el Palentino) served in the army which was raised to put down the rebel Giron, and was appointed chronicler of Peru by the Marquis of Cañete. His work, containing the rebellions of Gonzalo Pizarro and of Giron, entitled "Historia del Peru," was published at Seville in 1571.

Robertson, Prescott, Helps, and Lorente have written histories of the conquest of Peru and of the civil wars down to the death of Gonzalo Pizarro.

The largest amount of information respecting all the actors on the stage of Peruvian history, from the earliest times to the end of the Spanish colonial period, will be found in the biographical dictionary of General Mendiburu.

## VICEROYS

Francisco de Toledo. The "*Libre de Tasas y Ordenanzas*" of this viceroy gives a complete idea of the Spanish system, as regards the treatment of the Indians.

"*Baltasar d'Ocampo*" is a narrative of the capture and execution of Tupac Amaru. It is a manuscript in the British museum.

Juan de Solorzano, in his "*Politica Indiana*" (1648), furnishes a history of the law relating to the Spanish colonies. As regards the powers and duties as well as the constitution of the council of the Indies, a perusal of the "*Ordenanzas del Consejo Real de las Indias*," published in 1747, will give full information.

Cristoval Suarez de Figueroa wrote a life of the Marquis of Cañete, including his administration of Peru, which was published in 1613, "*Hechos de Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza cuarto Marques de Cañete*." It was reprinted at Santiago in 1864.

Manuel Fuentes edited ten of the memoirs of the viceroys of Peru, intended to be complete histories of their respective administrations, prepared for the use of their successors. They were printed at Lima, in six volumes (1859-1867).

Several other memoirs of viceroys are among the manuscripts in the British museum. The report on the sufferings of the Indians, written by Juan de Padilla in 1657, was a manuscript in the national library at Lima.

"*Noticias Secretas*" of the brothers Ulloa, which dwell upon the treatment of the Indians in Peru, was printed by David Barry in 1826. An abridged English version appeared at Boston in 1851.

## TUPAC AMARU

A history of the great revolt of the Indians was written by Dean Funes, of Cordova, in 1813. A large collection of original documents relating to the rebellion of Tupac Amaru was printed at Buenos Ayres in 1836, by Pedro de Angelis. The letter from Tupac Amaru to Areche, and the sentence of death pronounced by the latter first appeared in the Spanish edition of the "*Memoirs of*

General Miller." There are a number of inedited letters and despatches among the additional manuscripts in the British museum, and in the possession of Clements R. Markham.

#### EVE OF THE REVOLUTION

The history of the rebellion of Pumacagua is contained in a series of official documents which were preserved in the national library at Lima.

The early movements toward independence in Peru have been admirably described by the accomplished Chilean historian, Don Benjamin Vicuña Mackennä, in his "Historia de la Independencia del Peru" (1860). The war in Upper Peru will be found in General Mitre's "Life of General Belgrano."

#### WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

The whole history of the war is given in the "Memoirs of General Miller" (1829); and the proceedings of the fleet are described in the narrative of the Earl of Dundonald (1859). The story of the war, from a Spanish point of view, appeared from the pen of General Garcia Camba, "Memorias para la Historia de las Armas Españoles" (1846). Holstein's "Memoirs of Belivar" give the previous history of the "Liberator."

#### THE REPUBLIC

The secret political history of the republic, with numerous documents, is given in a work in two volumes, published at Paris, under the name of "Pruvonesa." It was written by Don Fernando Casos, but it must be used with suspicious care. General Riva Agüero wrote a defence of his government. There is a life of Lamar by Villaran, and of Salaverry by Bilbao (second edition, Buenos Ayres). The history of the campaign, which ended in the fall of Santa Cruz, was written by the Peruvian Colonel Placencia (1840), and by the Chilean, Gonzalo Bulnes. The history of the war with Spain in 1866 was written in great detail by Don Benjamin Vicuña Mackennä (1883), and the same lamented author has written the best history of the recent Chilean invasion, in four large volumes, with numerous despatches and other documents. Señor Paz Soldan wrote the history of the war from the Peruvian point of view.

#### MANUFACTURES OF PERU

*Extracts from a paper read before the Society of Arts (London) by Don Frederico A. Pezel, Peruvian Consul-General, on March 15th, 1892.*

The textile industries of Peru are yet in their infancy. At present there is a manufactory of woollen goods in Lucre, in the Department of Cuzco. This manufactory dates since 1864, and has given a very large fortune to the owners, Messrs Garmendia & Company, natives of Cuzco. Their idea was to manufacture the coarse woollen materials used by the native Indians of Peru and Bolivia, and also to supply the materials for the uniforms of the armies of both countries. This they have fully obtained, and there is an ever-increasing demand for their goods, both in the South of Peru as well as in the Bolivian markets.

As the estate of Lucre is situated in one of the best and most thickly populated districts of Cuzco, and where the best qualities of wool-bearing animals abound, the goods manufactured there are far superior to any similar European goods, owing to the fact that at Lucre only the pick of the wools are used, and such as not exported to Europe. During the year 1890, Messrs. Prado, H<sup>nos</sup>, and Pena, established a wool manufactory at Lima, which, since then, has given every satisfaction, both to that firm and the general public. The machinery was built at the Societé Anonyme Vervetoise, and is quite modern—"self-acting" spinning-machines, and other smaller machines, are of English make.

The Vitarte Cotton Mill, situated seven miles distant from Lima, in a cotton-growing district, was formerly the property of a Peruvian gentleman, who sold it last year to an English company—"The Peruvian Cotton Manufacturing Company, Limited." The original fitting consisted of sixty-five looms, producing 1,000,000 yards of cotton cloth per annum; and, since the English company took over the property, and invested large sums in fitting up one hundred and

three new looms, and erecting the latest and most improved modern machinery, the output has risen to 2,500,000 yards per annum of cotton cloth, besides great quantities of cotton wicking, waste, duck, towels, tablecloths, &c., &c. This mill is to-day as well equipped, and is as complete a concern as the best mill of a similar kind in this country. The demand for the Vitarte goods has always been in excess of the supply. The entire production is disposed of in Lima to local buyers as fast as it is turned out. Owing, as I have already pointed out, to the superior quality of the Peruvian staple, the goods manufactured at Vitarte are better and more adaptable to the native requirements; and thus it is that they always maintain their briskness, and that their demand is ever on the increase, notwithstanding the fluctuations of the market with respect to the imported article, which has to pay a comparatively heavy import duty of between eight and twenty-four centavos per kilogramme.

The valleys of Ferrenafe, Chicama, Guadalupe, Santa, Supe, Cañete, and the Lima district are, perhaps, amongst the most famous for the cultivation and production of the cane. In these valleys the estates are simply superb, and the greater part of them are fitted up with machinery of the latest and most modern type. The sugar industry in Peru has suffered to a very large extent, owing to the keen competition of beet sugar in the European markets, and the increased production of cane in other countries, which has caused a considerable fall in prices. Then, again, the Peruvian producers have had to contend with scarcity of labor, limited water supplies, a long and protracted foreign war, which brought about a most serious financial crisis, the effects of which are felt even to-day.

Notwithstanding these drawbacks, the sugar industry is still one of the most important in the country, and one which promises to increase if proper attention is paid to it. As a proof of this, I may mention that the production, during 1891, has reached 67,000 tons, an increase of about 10,000 tons over the preceding year. Some of the estates are provided with every modern appliance, such as narrow-gauge railways for the carriage of the cane from the fields to the sugar-houses. During the last year an English company has bought over one of the estates in the Chicama Valley, and put up powerful machinery of the most modern description, of the well-known firm of Fawcett, Preston & Co. The sugar-houses and the different departments have been fitted up with electric light, so that work is now going on at full pressure day and night. Due to the impulse which the capital invested has given to this estate, there is every reason to

believe that this year's output of sugar alone will exceed 6,000 tons. The success which this venture has obtained, I understand, has been the cause of some inquiry after the Peruvian sugar estates, and I would not be at all surprised to learn that several others are being bought over by English companies.

Another instance where the purchase of a going concern in Peru has proved profitable to investors, is the case of Messrs. Backus & Johnston's brewery in Lima. These gentlemen established, in 1880, a very large brewery in Lima, in order to meet the ever increasing demand for a light lager-beer. In 1890 their concern, which was, at the time, a most prosperous business, was bought over by an English company, and as a result of the capital invested in the business, I may mention that to-day the production has been quadrupled, and that the supply quite equals the demand.



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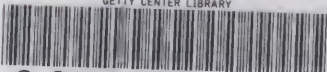






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