

ART. III.—*Ensayo de la Historia Civil del Paraguay, Buenos Ayres y Tucuman.* Por el DOCTOR D. GREGORIO FUNES. Libro VI. Capítuli 1—3, vol. III. p. 242—333. [Published in Buenos Ayres, 1817. The three chapters here specified contain the History of the Insurrection, which broke out in Peru in the year 1780.]

OF the vast acquisitions gained by Spain, in the tropical and southern regions of the New World, none was more interesting in itself, more splendid as conquests, or more highly prized by the metropolis, for the immense riches drawn from the country and the inhabitants, than the extensive empires of Peru and Mexico. Unlike the rest of America, these two populous nations were formed into powerful organised states, analogous in many respects to what Europeans had been accustomed to see at home. Their subjugation, therefore, was effected, not as that of the rest of the continent was, by successive victories over insulated tribes, but by striking at the government itself, at the head of the empire, around which the whole population rallied, and with the fall of which the empire itself was at an end. The Mexicans were a much more fierce and warlike people than the Peruvians; and of course the first conquest of Mexico was a far more arduous task than the conquest of Peru. But when the Mexican nation was once really subdued, the subjugation was complete and final; because the emperors of Mexico being determined by election, so soon as the regular succession was effectually interrupted, it became impracticable to restore it by a new election in after times. But in Peru it was otherwise. Here the principle of hereditary succession being firmly established, it was impossible to eradicate the idea of a Peruvian sovereignty from the minds of the Indians, until the whole race of the Incas was extinct. This peculiarity in the situation of Peru occasioned the Spaniards much annoyance, by compelling them, on the one hand, to many acts of cruelty against the family of the Incas, and, on the other, by repeatedly leading the Peruvians into dangerous insurrections.

The most remarkable of all these attempts was the rising of the Inca Jose Gabriel Tupac Amaru, towards the close of the last century, an event in the history of Spanish America only exceeded in interest and importance by the original con-

quest, and by the recent separation of the country from Spain. Mild and submissive as the Peruvian Indians are by nature, they were, on this occasion, driven by the tyrannical system of intolerable oppression, which their taskmasters pursued, to take up arms in open and general rebellion, throughout the southern and central mountainous provinces of Peru. This insurrection spread so widely, and was so desperately maintained, that for a time it seriously threatened the downfall of the Spanish empire in that quarter. Had the good fortune of the insurgent tribes been equal to the justice of their cause, a bloody retribution would then have been visited upon the posterity of Pizarro, for all the wrongs they had done the Indians, and the scattered remnant of the lineage of the Sun would have been reinstated upon the throne of the Incas.

Such is the jealous mystery, in which Spain has been anxious to wrap the affairs of her American possessions in modern times, that this attempt to revolutionise Peru was scarcely heard of in Europe or in the United States, until it was first briefly noticed by Humboldt.* But the revolution of the Spanish American governments has unfolded the dreadful secrets of that great prison house, as the French revolution threw open the cells of the Bastille. Some of these hitherto closely guarded *arcana* of despotism we disclosed to our readers in our number for July last; and we propose to give here, as an apt illustration of a part of the article alluded to, a condensed account of the insurrection of Tupac Amaru, as we find it in substance contained in the authentic history of Dean Funes. With this object we have prefixed to our article the three chapters of his History of Paraguay, which treat specially of this insurrection, referring our readers to a former article in our Journal for the general character and merits of this valuable work.

We use the word Peru to designate the seat of the attempted revolution; but the expression requires some explanation. Our readers may need to be reminded that in the year 1778, the viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata, or Buenos Ayres, was erected out of the viceroyalty of Peru. In making the division, no regard was had to the national bounda-

* Political Essay on New Spain, vol. ii. c. 6. p. 150

ries of the Peruvians, but geographical position and political convenience only were consulted. The new government was made to contain the then five great provinces of Buenos Ayres, Paraguay, Tucuman, Charcas, and Chiquitos. Now it was mostly in Charcas and Chiquitos, and their dependencies along the Cordillera of the Andes, and in the districts of Upper Peru, that the insurrection raged, breaking out in Peru in the country on the north eastern shore of lake Titicaca, and extending north through the bishopric of Cuzco towards Lima, and south to Jujui and Salta. Of course, as will be seen in the sequel, both viceroyalties were implicated in the war, and compelled to bring their respective forces into the field. Upper Peru, the principal seat of the war, known also by its civil name as the Audience of Charcas, was subdivided into twentyone smaller provinces, all included in the seven governments of Potosi, Charcas, Chuquisaca or La Plata, Cochabamba, La Paz, Santa Cruz de la Sierra or Puno, Moxos, and Chiquitos. The rest of Peru belonged to the Audience of Lima. These geographical explanations may be necessary to the ready understanding of the localities referred to in the course of this article.*

This region is traversed in its entire extent by the Cordillera of the Andes, which breaks it up into every diversity of soil, climate, and face of country. Here the mountains shoot upwards into bold and lofty peaks, or spread out into extensive highlands, interrupted sometimes by *quebradas*, or deep ravines, where they are cloven down to their very bases, and at others by beautiful smiling valleys, with hill and dale,

* A very good map of the theatre of this insurrection may be found in Pazos' Letters,—also in Tanner's American Atlas; and Lucas's Cabinet Atlas.

According to Humboldt, the Viceroy Lemos counted 600,000 Indians in Lower Peru, in 1793. The gross population at that period must have been somewhat below a million. As one third of the inhabitants are said to have perished in the rebellion, and as the increase during the eleven years from 1782 to 1793, was probably insufficient to supply this loss, we shall not err much, perhaps, in estimating the whole number of Indians in Lower Peru in 1780 at 650,000. Now the population of each of the districts of Upper and Lower Peru has been estimated by the Patriots, within a few years, at about 1,700,000, including about 1,150,000 Indians. Guided by these *data*, and supposing the population of the two Audiences to have increased *pari passu* since 1780, we may consider the aggregate number of Indians in both, at that time, as amounting to 1,300,000, leaving 700,000 for the number of Spaniards, white Americans, negroes, and persons of the mixed cast.

streamlet and lake, to contrast their graces with the sublimity of the surrounding scenery. The mountains are filled with metallic wealth; and although their barren summits rise into the region of perpetual snows, their sides afford pasturage to vast herds of cattle, horses, and mules; and the numberless waters, which spring from their bosom, the birthplace of the mighty rivers of Plate and of the Amazon, diffuse fertility through the luxuriant plains, which they irrigate. In some of the more barren districts of the highlands, they are bristled all over with broken masses of rock, and huge cliffs and precipices, where the mountains appear split into fragments, and upheaved from their foundations by the great convulsions of nature. Here, amid these savage wilds, the fit scene of savage warfare, the insurrection was longest maintained, and derived its peculiar character from the extraordinary features of the country.

Jose Gabriel Tupac Amaru, Cacique of Tungasuca, in the province of Tinta, and the bishopric of Cuzco in Peru, claimed to spring from the illustrious stock of Peruvian monarchs. He was directly descended, by the maternal line, from the last of the acknowledged Incas, Sayri Tupac and Tupac Amaru, the unfortunate sons of Manco Capac.

Dr Robertson's popular work has made all English readers familiarly acquainted with the situation of the Peruvian empire, when first visited by the Spaniards, and with the history of the Incas down to the year 1550, where his account terminates. The splendor of the monarchy in its best days, under Huayna Capac, the division of Peru at his death between his sons Inta Cusi Hualpa, or Huascar, and Atahuallpa, the usurpation of Atahuallpa, the invasion and conquest of the kingdom in his reign by Pizarro, the murder of Huascar by his brother, Atahuallpa's decapitation, the succession of Manco Capac, his well conducted, but unsuccessful effort to profit by the dissensions of the first conquerors and slaughter every Spaniard in Peru; all these incidents are fully described by him in the *History of America*. And although his credit as an historical authority has been shaken, and the accuracy of many of his statements disputed by the investigations of later writers, the Abbé Clavigero for instance, yet his work still continues to be the source of popular information in regard to the first conquest of the New World. A continuation of

his narrative, detailing the subsequent fortunes of the Incas, as set forth by Garcilasso, and other Spanish writers, might serve as a suitable introduction to the present subject; but this we are constrained to pass over, that we may have the more room to dwell on the topics immediately in hand.

Tupac Amaru, the hero of the insurrection, the history of which is now coming before us, first began to attract attention in Peru, by assuming the patronymic of the last Inca,* proving his descent from Manco Capac, and by virtue of it, urging his pretensions before the Audience of Lima, though unsuccessfully, to the vacant marquisate of Oropesa. 'If it were the privilege of royal blood,' says Dean Funes, 'to inspire magnanimous thoughts, the idea of the revolution would be the surest indication of the generous stream, which swelled his veins. Of a noble physiognomy, a robust frame, a majestic and gracious presence, vast designs, vehement passions, firmness of enterprise, and intrepidity amid dangers, but with only the imperfect education which he could acquire by a few years of study at the colleges of Cuzco and Lima, he conceived the bold design of effecting the deliverance of his people from the tyranny under which they groaned.' What this extremity of tyranny was, our readers may partly conceive, by calling to mind the statements in the article of our Journal already quoted; for it is to the Peruvians, that the statements there made more particularly apply. The Indians elsewhere, in Mexico for instance, have been partially protected from the rapacity of the local magistrates, by many wise and humane regulations.† But in Peru it was, that the slavery of the *repartimientos* ‡ endured unsoftened

* His original name was Jose Gabriel Candor Canqui. He assumed the name of Tupac Amaru, the last Inca, by virtue of his maternal descent.

† Humboldt's New Spain B. II. c. 6.

‡ The word *repartimiento* means any *division, partition, distribution, or apportionment*. In the old Spanish historians, and in English books compiled from them, such as Zarate, Garcilasso de la Vega, Fernandez, Robertson, it is uniformly used to denote the well known *allotment of lands and vassal Indians* (genuine *adscriptitii glebæ*) granted to the first conquerors in reward of their services. In some later writers, the same word is applied to the *monopoly of sales to the Indians*, exercised by the *corregidores*, under pretext of protecting the Indians from imposition, by the official *distribution* of goods. As English readers are more accustomed to the word in its first sense than in its latter, we have preferred in this article, in imitation of the general practice of Funes, to employ the provincial word *reparto*, derived from the same root with *repartimiento*, to signify the commercial monopoly.

to the last ; Peru, in which the *repartos* of avaricious monopolising magistrates stripped the poor Indians of their little substance ; Peru, for whose inexhaustible silver mines in the bowels of mount Potosi, the odious and infamous conscription of the *mita* was ordained and preserved.

Tupac Amaru, in the first place, endeavored to procure some mitigation of these uparalleled burdens, by gaining the cooperation of several eminent dignitaries in the church, led by the bishop of Cuzco, a noble Peruvian of the family of Moscoso, and using their influence with the government in behalf of the oppressed Indians. Yet foreseeing that persuasion would avail but little with their avaricious and cruel masters, he set about paving the way for the employment of other means of redress, by assiduously courting popularity among his countrymen, exhibiting himself as the protector of the injured, alleviating the sufferings of the distressed by pecuniary aid, and thus gradually leading the whole nation to regard him as the descendant and rightful representative of their ancient sovereigns.

In the meantime they, who sympathised in the miseries of the Indians, urged upon the advisers of the crown the necessity of a reform in the internal administration of the country, in such strong terms, and expressed so decided a belief that some fearful political crisis was impending, that the court began to listen to their representations. Accordingly, two noble Peruvians, Don Ventura Santelices, and Don Blas Tupac Amaru, were successively called to Spain, to aid the Council of the Indies in devising means to meliorate the lot of the Indians. Probably they would have succeeded, had not they prematurely perished, by chance or by assassination, the one at Madrid, the other on his passage back to Peru.

Tupac Amaru now came forward in person, and made new exertions to procure a peaceful change in the condition of the Indians. But his zeal only served to draw upon him the animosity of the petty despots of the provinces, who lorded it over his subject race. The *corregidores*, seeing that the failure of Santilices, and of Don Blas Tupac Amaru, had not cooled the Inca's ardor, nor subdued his courage, now doubled the burdens of his countrymen, and thinking thereby to crush the rising spirit of resistance, pushed their tyranny beyond the utmost verge of human endurance.

Their madness hastened the crisis, which they strove to avert. The Indians grew desperate, and now first breaking forth into determined insurrection, rallied around the name of the Inca. The commencement of the revolution was signalised by an act of vengeance, performed in all the solemnities of law, and therefore the better calculated to strike terror into the hearts of the Spaniards, and to arouse the courage of the Peruvians. Don Antonio Arriaga, *corregidor* of Tinta, was infamous for the cruelty and rapacity, which he exercised on the Indians of his province. Tupac Amaru brought him to Tungasuca, under pretext of a sedition, and there instituting his trial with his own official registers, caused him to be condemned as a public robber, and executed on the gallows, in the name of the king of Spain, on the 10th of November, 1780. The *mita*, *repartos*, the *alcavala*, all the odious forms of taxation and bondage were abolished from this instant, and the flames of civil war enkindled in Peru.

Tupac Amaru was cautious and wary in the introductory scenes of the revolution, because he wished to conciliate the timid of his nation, by shunning the appearance of absolute rebellion, and to lull his enemies into security, by making them regard his proceedings in the light of a mere local tumult, that he might strike the more surely for the independence of Peru. Hence, all his proclamations, his decrees, and the other formalities attendant on the opening of his insurrection, were couched in the name of the king. Adhering to this plan, and pretending to be in the execution of the king's mandates, he passed rapidly into the province of Quispicancha, with the intention of causing the *corregidor* Cabrera, to undergo the fate of Arriaga. Cabrera, anticipating his purpose, escaped by a hasty flight, leaving his rich magazines and the treasures of the government to be distributed, like the spoils of Arriaga, among the insurgent Indians. By these movements, the neighboring provinces were now thrown into general consternation, and Tupac Amaru actively extended the flame, disseminating his edicts, wherein, calling on the names of the Incas and of liberty, he sought to awaken the national enthusiasm of the Peruvians.

There is one passage of our author, in this connexion, which deserves to be transferred entire to our pages.

‘Honor, justice, and all public and private interest,’ are his words, ‘exacted of the Spanish Americans, that, rousing from their weak, obscure, inglorious repose, they should have made common cause with Tupac Amaru. The new system of oppression invented by the minister Galvez, placed them, as it were, on the same level with the Indians, and it was notorious that his visiter general, Areche, would exempt them from none of the vexations, for which he was commissioned. The limited resources of the Spaniards, at a time when their exhausted treasury had to sustain the weight of war with England; the heroic example displayed by the patriots of North America, in resisting a power bent on widening the base of its despotism; finally, the well founded expectation, that the South Americans would have the assistance of the British, moved by the bitterness of revenge; these motives would seem adequate to have called out the energies of the most cold and servile. But they were too much familiarised to injustice, too well broken under the yoke of slavery, and above all, too ignorant of their inalienable rights. They chose to sacrifice opportunity to sloth, honor to servitude, and their country to prejudice. Content, at most, to murmur in the secrecy of their hearts, they were outwardly emulous to gain merit and distinction by consolidating the power of their oppressors.’ Tom. iii. p. 267.

Such were the feelings of the Spanish Americans; but Tupac Amaru aroused another spirit in the breasts of his native countrymen. The consternation soon spread to the city of Cuzco, and measures were taken to oppose the Inca’s progress. A body of troops under the command of the generals Escajadilla and Landa marched forth, and uniting with those of Quispicancha, formed a corps of about six hundred men, Spaniards, creoles, and Indians, which encamped at Sangarara, not far from Cuzco. They were immediately attacked by a much superior body of Indians, and compelled to take refuge in the church. Tupac Amaru proposed to them to submit on honorable terms, which were disdainfully rejected by the Spaniards.

‘In the meantime, the situation of the besieged was rendered hopeless by an unexpected accident. Their powder magazine exploded, and blew off a part of the roof of the church, and opened a large breach in one of its sides. Still these determined men maintained their resolution, with all the heroism of that rapacity, to which their nation owes its wonderful triumphs and conquests. The same breach served as a means of deriving benefit from their misfortune. Discharging a cannon through it, they killed seven of

the Indians immediately about the person of Tupac Amaru. The preponderance of this chief then manifested itself, and obliged them to throw open the doors of the church, and trust their fate to the chance of desperation.' p. 269.

But the attempt to force a way through the surrounding multitude of Indians failed. Of six hundred and four combatants, who had occupied the church, all, including Escajadilla and Landa, died heroically sword in hand, except about sixty creoles and Indians.

The result of this rencontre was of the utmost consequence to the Inca. Success had now crowned his arms, and he dexterously took advantage of the respect and terror, which it inspired. In most places, where the intelligence reached, nothing was now heard among the Indians, but acclamations on the deliverer of Peru. He therefore assumed the symbols of the ancient grandeur of his progenitors, and bound around his temples the imperial *borla* of the Incas.* Elated by his recent triumphs, after an ineffectual attempt on Cuzco, he directed the principal division of his forces towards Puno. He himself, having received letters from his wife, informing him that his exploits had excited attention in Lima, and that it was therefore necessary to collect all his strength, retraced his steps towards Tinta.

The expedition against Puno was unsuccessful. The Indians displayed the greatest resolution and obstinacy in their attack on the former, because, if they succeeded in the capture of Puno, there would be nothing to interrupt their march towards the important city of La Paz. Many skirmishes took place between them and the Spanish forces in that quarter, commanded by Don Joaquin de Orellana, in which the Indians, although vastly superior in numbers, were generally worsted by the equal courage, superior arms, and more exact discipline of the Europeans. In one engagement, the Indians, to the number of five thousand, were beaten by about eight hundred Spaniards. They penetrated, however, to Puno, and besieged Orellana in his capital, eighteen thousand Indians occupying the eminences which commanded the district; but they were finally repulsed by Orellana. Accord-

* The *borla* was a kind of tasselled fillet or fringe of red wool, worn upon the middle of the forehead by the reigning Inca.—*Fresier's Travels*, p. 272.

ingly, exasperated rather than disheartened by defeat, they suddenly turned away from Puno, and poured themselves like a torrent over the unprotected province of Chucuito.

No province adhered to Tupac Amaru more entirely than Chayanta. This arose from the commotion in which it was already involved, in consequence of certain events, which it is time we should relate. There lived in Chayanta an Indian, named Tomas Catari, who felt the liveliest sensibility to the wrongs of his countrymen, and before the rising of Tupac Amaru, had protested against some extraordinary acts of oppression and rapacity, perpetrated by the *corregidor* Don Joaquin de Aloz. Placing no confidence in the Audience of Charcas, which was notoriously corrupt, Catari carried his complaints directly to the viceroy. Buenos Ayres was at this time governed by Don Juan de Vertiz, a man of unimpeachable integrity, and of mild, pacific, and amiable virtues. He saw with disgust the abuses which custom authorised, but could afford no other relief, than to order the Royal Audience to examine the matter judicially. Catari returned to his province, concealing his dissatisfaction, and giving out in mysterious language, that redress was about to be afforded by a superior power. His real object was to prepare his nation to shake off the yoke, which now bowed their necks to the earth.

Shortly after his return, Catari was thrown into prison by Aloz, under the false pretext of his having killed a minion of the government, named Bernal. The Indians immediately released him by force. From that time forward, he constantly underwent the greatest vicissitudes of fortune, at one moment persecuted by Aloz, at another protected by the Indians. While his exertions were suspended by imprisonment, his brothers Damaso and Nicolas Catari zealously promoted his designs. The Indians were to assemble in the village of Pocoata, to prepare the conscription list for the *mita* of Potosi. Aloz, apprehending the meeting might end in some popular tumult, hastily collected a guard of two hundred men for his defence on the occasion; but Damaso, nevertheless, demanded the release of his brother Tomas, who was then confined in the jail of Chuquisaca. This demand brought on an altercation, in the course of which Aloz shot an Indian with his pistol. The incensed Indians instantly marched from

all quarters to the public square, where Aloz awaited them with his troops drawn up in order of battle, attacked him with an enthusiasm, which supplied every defect of arms and discipline, and after a sanguinary contest, killed or routed the whole Spanish force, and made Aloz himself prisoner of war.

The Audience of Charcas were filled with dismay. They gladly released Tomas Catari, trusting to his influence for the preservation of Aloz and the tranquillity of the province. The Indians flocked around Catari, and hailed his return with every demonstration of exuberant joy; but they would not surrender Aloz, until they had procured the sacrifice of a new victim to popular vengeance. They compelled him, as the price of his life, to send an order for the seizure of a cacique named Lupa, odious on account of his subserviency to the government, who was killed by them, and his head affixed on the gates of Chuquisaca.

But the misfortunes of Tomas Catari were not yet finished. At the moment when his reputation and seeming security were the greatest, he was made prisoner by Alvarez, a famous miner of Aullagas, who placed him in the hands of the *justicia mayor* Acuña. The whole population of the country flew to his rescue; but too late; for Acuña had lost no time in causing him to be put to death. The rage of the Indians now passed all bounds. They first fell upon Acuña and Alvarez, and sacrificed them to the manes of Catari; and the manifestoes of Tupac Amaru, proclaiming independence and the empire of their ancient monarchs, reaching them at the very height of this frenzy of popular resentment, they seized upon the occasion with inconceivable ardor, to signify, by acclamation, their unanimous adhesion to the Inca.

The disturbances in Chayanta had before this obliged the Viceroy of Buenos Ayres to send a force to quell them, commanded by Don Ignacio Flores, who for that purpose was invested with very ample powers, and appointed Governor of Moxos. Stimulated by the presumption of the Indians, who were now beginning to proclaim the new Inca, and stimulated still more by the complaints of the Audience of Charcas, who censured the slowness of his preparations, Flores, after organising his forces, waited not for the veteran troops speedily expected from Buenos Ayres, but boldly attacked the Indians, and by his courage and skill gained a complete victory. He

took sixty prisoners, and very unadvisedly, with the view of inspiring the vanquished with greater terror, subjected them all to torture and death. This unjust and precipitate act inflamed the Indians with such inveterate hatred of the Spaniards, that all were now ready to throw away their lives, as martyrs in the cause of liberty, and the insurrection raged more violently than ever.

In the meantime a succession of the most tragical events was taking place in the rich town of Oruro, the capital of a district of that name. While the neighboring province of Chayanta was in such violent commotion, it may be supposed that Oruro could not remain tranquil. In Carabaya and Paria, too, the Indians were all in arms, and had killed some of the principal Spaniards, and sent their heads to Tupac Amaru, as the first fruits of unlimited submission to his rule. Don Ramon de Urrutia, the *corregidor*, fearing a hostile irruption into the town, enlisted a corps of four hundred men, composed chiefly of *cholos*, the offspring of whites and *mestizos*, esteemed the hardiest and most active class of the population.* Everything was then apparently tranquil; but never was repose more fallacious. The new recruits, practising the most profound dissimulation, determined to take advantage of their situation to enrich themselves out of the pillage of the town. To obtain arms, which were not yet delivered to them, they first spread a rumor that the European Spaniards designed to assassinate them in their quarters. Urrutia promptly dissipated this report. The next night they raised a cry that the insurgent Indians were approaching. On their arms being given them, their true object was developed. A part remained in quarters, the rest occupied an eminence, and sounding their trumpets, gave the signal for the Indians of the mines to rush into the town and begin the work of devastation. The European Spaniards were the first mark of their fury. These had taken refuge together in the house of one of the wealthiest of their number, Don Jose Endeiza, and there collected their silver for safe keeping. The Indians and *cholos* finding the house fortified, impatiently set fire to it, and thus compelling the unfortunate Spaniards to come forth, put them all to the sword. They discovered in the

* See Pazos' Letters, p. 109. Voyage to South America, p. 20.

house upwards of seven hundred thousand dollars; but this rich plunder served only to sharpen their avarice the more. To crown the miseries of this devoted town, the Indians of other provinces, amounting to twenty thousand in number, now flocked into it, and for ten days Oruro wore the aspect of a city taken by storm. 'Not a commercial house in the place,' says Funes, 'but was pillaged, and its owner slain, except a few who happily saved their lives by flight. Wherever you cast your eyes, they would light on monuments of the ravages caused by men, who left no interval between menace and execution. Churches sacrilegiously profaned, houses demolished, the female population driven into the convents for an asylum; dead bodies scattered over the public squares; such was the disastrous spectacle, which the rich city of Oruro exhibited.' Intoxicated with their success, the insurgents broke loose from all restraint. Refusing to leave the town, they would have reduced it to ashes, but for the interposition of a noble Indian, Don Lope Chungara, who united with the inhabitants to rescue it from complete destruction, and thus diverted the fury of the Indians into a different channel.*

Similar excesses were committed elsewhere, particularly in Sicasica and Cochabamba. The Indians of this latter district, inflamed with ill digested ideas of independence, conspired to cut off every Spaniard, whether European or American. Assembling at various places, particularly at Tapacari, they put to death about four hundred Spaniards, under circumstances of great barbarity. They pursued this war of extermination for some time unresisted, sparing neither age, sex, nor condition, and celebrating the discovery of every new victim with extravagant rejoicings. The proclamations of Tupac Amaru had here fallen among men, whose native ferocity, hardened by oppression and confirmed by ignorance, displayed itself in acts of savage violence, at which humanity shudders. But their courage was not equal to their cruelty. They were repeatedly routed by a small Spanish force under Don Jose Ayarza, and compelled to fly to the fastnesses of the mountains, there to recruit their strength, and prepare for another struggle.

The rapid progress of the insurrection, as we have represented its course, soon made it necessary for the Viceroy of

* See Pazos' Letters, p. 161

Peru, Don Manuel de Guirior, to put in motion the troops of Lima, commanded by the Inspector Don Jose del Valle. The theatre of the war was now so far extended, as to require the exertion of the whole military force of the country to withstand the Indians. Tupac Amaru, after his return to Tungasuca, as before related, used the greatest diligence in raising recruits, and then marched for Cuzco, causing himself to be received on the way under a pavilion, with all the ostentation of sovereignty. He halted on the heights of Yauriquez, a few leagues from Cuzco, and summoned it to surrender. His enterprise had been encouraged by several of its noblest citizens; and it was in reliance upon their cooperation, that he hoped to gain possession of the city. But his faithless friends hesitated for a few days, and all was lost.* Pomacagua, the celebrated cacique of Chincheros, who has so nobly atoned for his abandonment of his country's cause in this instance, by his enlightened zeal in the furtherance of the last revolution, † and other caciques, who adhered to the Spaniards, led their followers to the defence of the city, and offered battle to Tupac Amaru. The threatened danger inspired even the clergy with warlike ardor. 'While the dean of the church,' says our author, 'was going to celebrate the publication of the bull, he had to assume the military garb, and place himself in front of his squadron, destined to guard the city.' The friendly Indians sallied out alone to attack the besiegers, but suffered great slaughter, because deprived of the aid of the Spaniards. These latter, however, with the *cholos*, speedily joined in the engagement, changed the fortune of the day, and compelled Tupac Amaru to raise his camp, and fall back upon Tiuta. The next day the visiter general of Peru, Areche, arrived at Cuzco, and both parties continued to make every possible preparation for a decisive effort. ‡

A new personage now entered the scene, who rendered himself not less terrible to the Spaniards of La Paz, than

* This fact is stated in Pazos' Letters, p. 253.

† See Pazos' Letters, p. 66.

‡ A curious incident happened about this time to two or three regiments of mulatto troops, on their march from Lima to Cuzco. In crossing the cold mountains on the way, they were attacked by a body of Indians early in the morning, and being benumbed by cold were unable to use their muskets. They sent a flag of truce to ask an armistice till sun rise, which being refused, they were totally defeated by the more hardy mountaineers.—Ibid. p. 201.

Tupac Amaru and the Cataris were in other provinces. This was an Indian of Hayohayo, in the province of Sicasica, called Juan Apasa, who, having intercepted a courier sent by Tupac Amaru to Tomas Catari, when the latter no longer lived, deceived the Indians with the idea that it was directed to himself, assumed the name of Tupa Catari, and the state and pretensions of the Inca's viceroy. A baker by trade, and as ignorant as he was presumptuous, he succeeded in attaining the authority of a Peruvian Massaniello. We cannot describe his character more graphically, than by translating the expressions of Funes.

‘Extravagance, madness, effrontery, vanity, debauchery, mingled with a certain shrewdness, sagacity, and fertility of expedients and ideas adapted to his situation, went to make up the character of this adventurer. Add to these traits a firmness, an obstinacy of resolution, which no reverses could shake, a savage fierceness, whether of taste or ostentation, magnificence to the most ridiculous excess, superstition unalloyed by christian virtue—combine the whole in one who was a warrior by impulse, and not by reflection, and you have an exact idea of Tupa Catari.’ p. 288.

The great city of La Paz was the centre of his operations. He began by sending summonses in every direction, filled with the most extravagant ideas, having for their object the revival of the usages of the ancient Peruvians. The letters commanded the Indians to hold assemblies on the mountain tops, to eat no bread, drink no water from the springs, burn the temples, and abjure the christian faith. Every Spaniard indiscriminately, or in the comprehensive language of the proclamations, *every one who wore a shirt*, was doomed to death. Charged with these instructions, an Indian made his appearance at Tiguina, a dependency of Copacabana, whose exterior was well calculated to inspire alarm.

‘His neck was bound with a rope, and he bore a knotted cord in his hand. Calling thrice with a loud voice, he summoned the Indians together, and explained the meaning of these symbols. The rope around his neck denoted that he would be hung, if he departed from truth in the message he was to deliver. The knot on the cord intimated, that as he was forbidden to unloose this on the way, so was it unlawful to open the message of his Inca, king Tupa Catari. After these preliminaries were concluded, he untied the mysterious knot, and published in the name of the king a peremptory decree,

imposing the rites of his new legislation, and commanding the instant execution of the proscribed Spaniards.' p. 290.

The tumultuary voices of the concourse signified prompt obedience. They ran to the temple, where the Spaniards had sought refuge, forced them out by firing it, and killed them all without mercy. From thence they proceeded to the sanctuary of Copacabana, and repeated the same scene, killing all but the priests. These atrocities portended the storm, which was speedily to break upon La Paz.

The protection of this important post had been committed to Don Sebastian de Segurola, an officer of great military talents. Segurola attempted to dislodge a small party of eighty Indians, who annoyed him with their slings from a neighboring height. Thrice did the Spaniards gain the summit, each succeeding time with fresh assailants, and thrice were they driven back with loss, before they could overpower this handful of brave men. Discomfiture, under such circumstances, was more useful to the Indians than victory. It taught them their strength. Accordingly, in his next enterprise, Segurola sustained a signal defeat. Ascertaining that some auxiliaries, sent from Sorata, had fallen into the hands of the Indians, who were masters of the heights of La Paz, he resolved to attack them on three sides. But the incessant flight of stones from the slings of the Indians, and the huge masses of rock, which they rolled down the sides of the mountain, drove the Spaniards from the field. Segurola made another attempt with four field pieces, and a larger force than before. The Spaniards succeeded in ascending about half way up the eminence, but were again repulsed by the Indians, who fought with enthusiastic energy, routed the Spaniards, precipitated themselves down the mountain with the rapidity of lightning, pursued their flying enemies to the very gates of La Paz, and laid close siege to the city.

Before giving an account of this memorable siege, it is necessary to recur to another seat of the war, where the Indians were less fortunate. Valle, at the head of sixteen thousand men, had marched in quest of Tupac Amaru, and, although meeting with constant resistance, at last penetrated to Tungasuca. Sound policy would have dictated to Tupac Amaru the plan of avoiding pitched battles in the open plain.

and especially not to venture his fortune upon a single hazard. In this latter mode of warfare, the Spaniards had every advantage by the superiority of their arms, their discipline, and the skill of their leaders. But if the Indians had confined themselves chiefly to the highlands, of which they had the entire command, they might, by repeated short incursions into the plains, have prolonged the war at pleasure. Instead of this, the Indians risked all their strength in a general engagement, and were defeated, leaving the field of battle covered with the dead. Tupac Amaru himself narrowly escaped by flight, and was not long afterwards taken prisoner, with his wife Micaela Bastidas, and his sons Ipolito and Fernando.

It was imagined, that the capture of the Inca would put an end to the insurrection; but the Indians rallied again under his half brother Diego Cristobal Tupac Amaru, who resided at Asangaro, north of lake Titicaca, and continued to prosecute the war with unabated vigor. The Indians, as we have seen before, were extremely anxious to reduce the town of Puno, from which they had been once repulsed by Orellana. Diego Cristobal renewed the attempt with greater obstinacy, and with talents, which, in more propitious circumstances, must have ensured success. He invested the town on all sides, occupying the heights which commanded it, and after several skirmishes at the outposts, made a simultaneous assault at several different points. The divisions of his troops, all acting in concert, drove the besieged up the streets to the very heart of the town; but here the Spaniards made a desperate stand; and at length, at the close of the day, forced the Indians to retire. Four days in succession were these animated assaults repeated with the most obstinate courage, before Diego abandoned the enterprise in despair, and retreated into Carabaya.

While these events were passing, Valle was endeavoring to relieve Puno. In his progress thither, he was repeatedly engaged with the Indians, who resolutely disputed every inch of the way, and who, although repeatedly vanquished, yet yielded most dear bought victories to the Spaniards. On one occasion, a small body of eighty Indians, when attacked, chose a voluntary death by throwing themselves over a high precipice, rather than ignominiously surrender to the Spaniards.

In consequence of these delays, before Valle reached Puno, it was again invested by Tupa Catari with a host of ten thousand Indians. The Indians prepared for battle; and Valle had the fairest prospect of success; but fearful of losing the fruit of his late victories, he imprudently ordered Puno to be evacuated by the reluctant and indignant Orellana, and fell back upon Cuzco.

Nothing could have been more ill judged than this movement. The Indians were enriched by the pillage of Puno and its dependent villages, where they found a hundred thousand head of cattle, together with other rich spoil. Shortly afterwards they completely routed a large body of Spaniards in Sicasica. Elated by success, Tupa Catari now concentrated all his forces, and bent his whole strength to the reduction of La Paz.

Here it was, that this extraordinary adventurer held his court. His actions were indicative of the mad caprice, which sudden elevation from the lowest condition to the highest, and the exercise of unlimited power, usually engender in the human breast. Surrounded with all the pomp of an Asiatic despot, he ruled the submissive Indians with an Asiatic despot's prodigality of life. To secure obedience to his mandates by the influence of terror, he established twentyfour places of execution in the circumference of the blockading lines. Never was the gallows unemployed. Indians who deserted from the city, those of his own soldiers and captains, who betrayed the least sign of cowardice, nay, of despondency, all who in any way thwarted his humor, were condemned to the gallows, and their execution precipitated, to take away the chance of repentance. No ties of religion or decency controlled his mind, and the Indians were at length shocked by his sacrilege and impiety. Their murmurs induced him, therefore, to assume a devout exterior. He caused a temporary chapel to be erected, in which, sitting beneath a canopy at the side of his queen, surrounded by ambassadors and by his principal officers, he celebrated mass with the most splendid and sumptuous ceremonials.

Nevertheless, the Indians still yielded him implicit obedience, and prosecuted the siege of La Paz under his orders, with a contempt of death, an assiduity, a patience of fatigue, never surpassed. Segurola had contracted his entrenchments

within the narrowest limits, leaving out all the suburbs of the city, on account of the smallness of the garrison. His only hope was in holding out until Don Ignacio Flores, who was collecting troops for that purpose in the province of Tucuman, should come to his relief. The Indians laid close siege to the place for one hundred and nine days, and scarce a day passed without a vigorous assault on their part, or a desperate sally of the Spaniards. The besiegers had six pieces of artillery, which caused the city great damage; but, impatient of delay, and enraged at the determined resistance they met with, they attempted to set fire to the city, resolving to burn it to the ground, if they could not obtain possession of it otherwise. When all other expedients failed the Indians, and they saw that the assaults and sallies only produced mutual carnage, without bringing the siege any nearer to a close, they promised themselves final success from the all conquering power of famine. The besieged were now reduced to the utmost extremity of distress, and must speedily have surrendered themselves and the smoking ruins of the city, had not Flores providentially arrived, at this very conjuncture, and saved La Paz from total destruction.

We will not stop to describe the march of Flores and his troops from Tucuman. Suffice it to say, that the name and the influence of Tupac Amaru had extended to the ridges of Salta and Jujui, and the whole Indian population was in arms for the Inca. The route to La Paz was a continued succession of battles. Even after passing the city of Chuquisaca, five sanguinary engagements took place, in one of which Tupa Catari himself commanded, and was routed with great slaughter. Finally, Flores arrived at La Paz and forced the Indians to raise the siege, but the relief, which he afforded the city, was of very short duration.

A considerable body of Indians encamped on a hill near the city. Flores and Segurola resented this, as an insult, and resolved to dislodge them. The Spaniards marched to the assault in three columns, commanded by their best officers; but were repulsed in such confusion, that scarcely a single man escaped uninjured. Flores, therefore, retreated to a post about four leagues from the city, and the vigilant Indians instantly resumed their old stations on the heights of La Paz. A portion of the Spanish force, also, the troops

from Cochabamba, contending that their term of service had expired, deserted about this time, and separated to their respective homes. All these circumstances compelled Flores to go in quest of new auxiliaries, and in the meanwhile to abandon La Paz to its fate.

During the progress of the first siege of La Paz, the trial and execution of Jose Gabriel Tupac Amaru and his family had taken place. When tortured by Areche, to compel him to disclose his accomplices, he nobly replied; 'Two only are my accomplices, myself and you, who interrogate me; you, in continuing your robberies upon the people, and I in endeavoring to prevent you.' A short sentence, says Pazos, which defines the nature of the Spanish government. The sentence of death was executed on him with a studied cruelty, disgraceful to the Spanish government in the last degree. His judges seem to have indulged in a spirit of personal vengeance, while pronouncing the doom of the law. He was forced to look on and behold the death of his wife, his children, and his kindred; his tongue was next plucked out by the hands of the hangman; and he was then torn asunder, limb from limb, by four wild horses. Such was the fate of a patriot and hero, who was only goaded into his attempt to vindicate the rights of his nation by arms, after the failure of reiterated efforts to procure a melioration of their condition by peaceable means. He perished a martyr to the cause of Peruvian independence, which it had been the darling wish of his heart to renovate, by overthrowing the Spanish tyranny, and reestablishing the empire of the Incas on its ruins. He did not fall unavenged. The savage vindictiveness displayed in the manner of his execution, worthy only of the ages of darkness and a government of barbarians, produced an effect directly contrary to that, which the Spaniards anticipated. The Indians fought, after this event, as if each individual had the death of his dearest kinsman to revenge; and the survivors of the family of Tupac Amaru soon signalled the deepness of their own resentment. His brother, Diego Cristobal, united and sustained the interests of the Indians no less effectually than he had done; and a new adventurer arose, Miguel Bastidas, otherwise named Andres Tupac Amaru, claiming to be the son, but being in fact the nephew of Jose Gabriel, whose superior talents and sanguinary character made him still more terrible to the Spaniards. Andres was at this time

only seventeen years of age ; but he distinguished himself above all the Indian chiefs, by the siege and destruction of Sorata.

The Spaniards of the province of Larecaja had collected all their treasures in Sorata, where they entrenched themselves, and being well supplied with provisions and ammunition, courageously awaited the Indians. Andres Tupac Amaru, by the mere influence of the name he bore, gathered an army of fourteen thousand men, and beleaguered the town.

The Spaniards, un intimidated by his threats, made a brave defence, but were subdued at last by the laborious ingenuity of the Indians. A ridge of lofty mountains, called Tipuani, overlooked Sorata. Availing himself of the great number of men at his command, Andres Tupac Amaru dug a spacious dam on the side of the town, and conducted into it all the numerous mountain torrents of Tipuani, now swelled by the melting of the snows on its summit. When his artificial lake was filled, he poured out upon Sorata the immense body of water it contained, which tore up the entrenchments, washed away the houses, and submerged the whole town beneath an irresistible deluge. There was no longer any barrier to oppose to the impetuosity of the Indians. They rushed into the place as the water subsided, and in a sack of six days' duration, gained possession of an immense booty, and glutted their rage in the indiscriminate slaughter of the Spaniards.

After gathering the fruits of this important victory, Andres marched his forces to assist in reducing La Paz ; and this now brings us back to the protracted siege of that ill starred city. Tupa Catari was much dissatisfied with Tupac Amaru's movement, who, he foresaw, would thus divide with him the glory of success, without having participated in half the labors of the siege. But after some altercation between them, they mutually agreed to bury their jealousy in the common zeal of assuring the triumph of their nation. The new siege presents a repetition of the same scenes, which marked the last, except that the ardor and obstinacy of the parties seem to have been augmented by the greater hope of success entertained by the one, and the increased peril of the other.

Flores in the meantime was diligently engaged assembling forces at Oruro, where an army of five thousand men was at length formed, consisting partly of regulars, partly of the

militia of Cochabamba, Charcas, Salta, Jujui, Valle, and Tucuman, and placed under the command of Don Jose de Resequin. This officer was brave, prudent, cool, indefatigable, in short, every way worthy of the commission. He set forth on his march to La Paz without delay; and it was fortunate for the city that his progress was not much impeded; for La Paz was on the very point of yielding to the Indians. Instructed by the advantage they had obtained from the inundation of Sorata, they threw a strong dam across the river Chuquiaco, one of the sources of the main branch of the Amazon, which flows through the middle of La Paz. This huge mole was fifty yards high, a hundred and twenty long, and twelve thick at the foundation. Only two days before the arrival of Resequin, the water burst away the embankment, and rose so high as to inundate the three bridges of the city. The terror, which this artificial flood inspired, and the probability of its being repeated with still worse effects, presented to the inhabitants the alternative of abandoning the city, or remaining exposed to the horrible catastrophe of Sorata. Such was the perilous condition of La Paz, when the waving of the Spanish banners on the distant heights, and the murmur of martial sounds, announced to the joyful inhabitants the approach of Resequin and safety.

The Indians, conscious of their inability to cope with Resequin, precipitately fled before him. Waiting at La Paz only three days to refresh his victorious troops, he pursued them, and overtaking them drawn up, as usual, on the upper side of a sloping ground, he joined battle without hesitation, and compelled them, after an obstinate struggle, to throw themselves among the ravines of the mountains.

After Resequin's victory, universal consternation and dependency took possession of the Indians, in the place of their former energy and patriotism. Persuaded that all was lost, if they contended further, since every combat afforded fresh triumph to their enemies, they still distrusted the proffered clemency of the Spanish government. But finally, allured by the promises of Resequin, Tupa Catari and Andres Tupac Amaru wrote letters to him from the place of their retreat, embracing the proposed conditions. Diego Cristobal Tupac Amaru sent, at the same time, to claim the benefit of the amnesty published at Lima, in favor, as well of the ordinary

insurgents, as of the authors and leaders of the insurrection. Resequin, fearing some treachery, dexterously required these chiefs to make their submission in person. Tupa Catari was unwilling to do this without a safe conduct, but Andres came in with his principal adherents, and being very cordially received by Resequin, made a formal capitulation, and swore allegiance anew to the king, as the condition of his own and his companions' pardon.

Although Resequin possessed a robust constitution, his health had sunk beneath the hardships of the active service in which he was engaged, and he now labored under severe illness. Nevertheless, having set out for the districts, which still maintained a show of war, he persisted in marching thither, and entered the villages on the ready shoulders of the Indians, who, as basely humble in adversity as they were fiercely proud in prosperity, greeted his entry with their acclamations.

While these Indians were prostrating themselves at the feet of Resequin, Tupa Catari was exciting those of Hachacachi to continue the war. Resequin, considering the machinations of this chief the only obstacle to peace, resorted to artifice to obtain possession of his person. He corrupted Tupa Catari's most intimate friend, Tomas Inga Lipe, and by this means succeeded in making him prisoner. He was tried, condemned, and sentenced to the same punishment which Tupac Amaru had suffered. After being torn asunder by horses, his head was sent to La Paz, and his limbs distributed in various places, as a terror to the Indians.

The auditor of Chile, Don Francisco de Medina, was attached to Resequin in quality of judicial adviser. He began by the premature imprisonment of Andres Tupac Amaru and his chiefs, who had surrendered under a solemn pledge of free pardon. This act was regarded by Diego Cristobal as a violation of the public faith; and he lost no time in stirring up the Indians anew in the provinces of Carabuco, Hachacachi, and Guarina. Had he improved this opportunity for attacking Resequin, the attack must have been fatal to the Spanish general; for Resequin was extremely sick; and his army, reduced to three hundred and ninety four men, by the desertion of the militia, was in no condition to withstand the Indians. But Diego let slip the propitious moment, and

it never again recurred. The Indians were grown weary of the contest, and in almost all the provinces about La Paz claimed the benefit of the indulgence, and delivered up their chiefs in evidence of the sincerity of their submission. Diego soon followed their example. Persuaded that the cause of his nation was hopeless, he sent a memorial to Don Jose del Valle, in the beginning of the year 1782, praying for the royal pardon, and was admitted to render the oath of allegiance at the Indian village of Siguani.

The flame of the revolution was nearly extinct ; but it still sent forth a few broken flashes in the remoter provinces. The Indians of Los Yungas especially, and those of a valley called the Quebrada of the river Abaxo in Sicasica, and Chulumani, held out with great obstinacy. Arrogant with their many victories over the small detachments sent against them, they maintained a fierce and savage independence. At length Flores assembled a powerful force, and commissioned Resequin to finish the war. This expedition was memorable for the many bloody victories gained in it over the Indians. Pazos describes the manner in which battles were fought, whenever the Indians and Spaniards met in open field ; and it is easy to conceive from his description, that, as he says, the slaughter among the Indians in all the war was immense.

‘ They (the Indians) were ignorant of military discipline, had but few firearms, and were principally armed with slings. The royal army from Buenos Ayres, Tucuman, and Cochabamba, consisted of regular troops. The Buenos Ayreans were armed and equipped like European soldiers ; the Tucumans composed the cavalry, and were armed with butcher knives, and ropes from twentyfive to thirty yards long, which they used in catching wild cattle. The arms of the Cochabambians were short clubs loaded with lead, to which a rope of two or three yards in length was fastened, and which were used like slings, and were very deadly weapons. The Indians were scattered all over the plains, in no regular order or ranks, and were nothing more than an undisciplined and unarmed mob. The mode of attacking them was as follows. The Tucuman horsemen first rode among the Indians and threw them down with their ropes, and the Cochabambians followed with their clubs and despatched them ’ *Letters to Mr Clay*, p. 254.

The battle of Hucumarimi, being the most obstinately disputed of all that were fought during the revolution, and the most successful for the Spaniards, acquired the name of the

decisive. The country here was broken into precipices, irregular acclivities, and *quebradas*, among which, on the side of a mountain, the Indians had encamped. The impediments, which they threw in the way of an attack, were enough to appal the stoutest hearts. Scarcely had the Spaniards begun the ascent, when, as in other similar engagements, of some of which we have already given an account, showers of stones, mingled with great masses of rock broken off by levers, and rolled down the sides of the mountain, filled the assailants with consternation. In spite of all this, by almost superhuman exertion, climbing from cliff to cliff, they succeeded in driving the Indians from their seemingly impregnable post. The Indians were struck with superstitious dread. They thought the Spaniards fought by enchantment. No longer making any systematic resistance, they were hunted like wild beasts by the Spaniards from mountain to mountain, among the fastnesses of this rugged region.

Everything now conspired to put an end to the insurrection. Leaders were no more, except Diego Cristobal Tupac Amaru, and he, although he submitted under the formal guarantee of an amnesty, and continued to live tranquilly in his family, was afterwards, through a base and insidious policy, arrested under the pretext of a new conspiracy, and executed in the same cruel way with his brother and Tupa Catari. The great body of the Indian population quietly returned to vassalage, and resumed the yoke of slavery. Such was the issue of an insurrection, which filled Peru with bloodshed and misery for the space of two years, and of a war, in which, if we may believe the authority of Don Vincente Pazos, himself a native of La Paz, one third of the whole population of Peru perished by the hand of violence. Twenty years after these events happened, this enlightened and patriotic South American saw the plains of Sicasica and Calamarca, for an extent of fourteen leagues, covered with numberless heaps of unburied human bones, lying in the very places where the wretched Indians fell, to bleach beneath the tropical dews. Their unfortunate attempt produced no permanent or important change in their condition. None of their grievances were abolished, except the *repartos*. They were rigidly prohibited the use of arms. The tribute pressed more heavily afterwards, because it was more strictly levied; the *mita* was

the more unmercifully apportioned, because all risk of opposition was removed ; and they were treated the more contemptuously, in revenge of their unsuccessful and disastrous rebellion.

What permanent effect the recent revolution may have upon the condition of the Indians, cannot as yet be satisfactorily ascertained. Thus far, the tendency of it has been highly favorable to them, and there is every cause to believe it will continue so hereafter. The independence of a part of Peru is not yet sufficiently confirmed to have allowed the temporary governments, which have succeeded one another there, to do much for the internal improvement of the country ; but in the districts formerly dependent on Buenos Ayres, something is already accomplished. The revolution has swept away at once the old distinctions, which the colonial system created and maintained. At the cry of liberty, the degraded castes rose simultaneously to vindicate their title to the rights of men and of freemen, all equally inspired with enthusiasm in the cause of independence, and admitted on equal terms to unite with the patriotic Spanish Americans in establishing a free representative government. The creoles are all natives of the country, in common with the Indians, and common tenants of the soil. It is their home. They do not come there across the ocean, for the purpose of realising a sudden fortune by rapacious exactions, and then returning to pour out their ill gotten gold into the lap of Spain. Their interest, on the contrary, is inseparably united to their native soil, and it will be their anxious endeavor to free South America from the infamy of its barbarous laws against the Indians ; laws as fatal to the future prosperity of Peru, as they have been derogatory to the honor and humanity of its Spanish rulers.
