

THE
Indiana University Bookman

November, 1973

Number 11



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EDITORIAL

By MAYELLEN BRESIE

AFTER A HIATUS of four years, the Indiana University Library is pleased to present this issue of the *Bookman* in continuation of its functions of bringing the public information about its resources and suggesting topics of possible interest for future research. For the Lilly Library the interim has been one of steady growth in collections, organization of materials, and service to the public. Recent acquisitions include the family papers of British Broadcasting Corporation producer Lance Sieveking; a group of annotated copies of play scripts used in the production of BBC radio dramas and previously owned by Douglas Cleverdon; and the Michael Sadleir (1888-1957) collection of books, periodicals, and ephemera relating to London low life of the nineteenth century. Descriptions of holdings, a vital public service, have been made in such publications as the *Latin American Studies Resources Book* (Bloomington, 1973) and through the continued production of catalogs for the major exhibits held in the Library. Librarian David Randall is currently planning the most ambitious exhibit to date which will commemorate the 1963 London exhibit "Printing and the Mind of Man," and which will be drawn entirely from Lilly Library materials. The diverse papers which follow have in common only that they have all been contributed by friends of the Library, and that taken together, they serve further to demonstrate the nature of recent activities.

Pursuing his long-time interest in colonial medicine, C. R. Boxer, noted British historian and faithful adviser

to the Lilly Library, has contributed an article describing a recently-acquired medical manuscript. Also included by Mr. Boxer is a note made possible by the Lilly Library acquisition of the first edition of the work previously described in his article "A Rare Luso-Brazilian Medical Treatise and its Author," (*Bookman*, No. 10).

Two of the papers in this issue had their beginnings as seminar exercises based on Lilly Library materials. Art Liebscher utilized a group of Niños Expósitos imprints in the Mendel Collection for his description of the development of Buenos Aires from a struggling colonial outpost of the Spanish empire to the thriving commercial center it became following the gaining of independence in the nineteenth century. In so doing, he has also indicated the scope and possible scholarly uses for this early Argentine imprints collection, which is one of the most extensive in the United States.

The manuscript which served as the focus for Donna Vogt's analysis of eighteenth-century Manila society was first brought to the notice of the public in Mr. Boxer's *Catalogue of Philippine Manuscripts in the Lilly Library* which was published in 1968 by the Indiana University Asian Research Institute as its Occasional Paper No. 2. Ms. Vogt has placed the *Manual* of Padre Pedro in historical context, but the major portion of this important collection remains to be explored by others interested in Spanish missionary activities in the Philippines.

Fritz Schwaller undertook his inventory of Nahuatl imprints in the Lilly Library as an adjunct to his research interest in the Mexican native clergy. It is gratifying to have these materials identified and to learn that our holdings in this area constitute a respectable number of the total

output in this limited field—a fact which will surely be of interest to the bibliographer who would undertake the formulation of the definitive bibliography of Nahuatl printing. These imprints also constitute a challenge for the scholar interested in doing attitudinal studies of Spanish approaches to the Hispanization of the Mexican Indian or in studying the historical evolution of the Nahuatl language.

A SINO-FRENCH MEDICAL MANUSCRIPT OF 1730

By C. R. BOXER

THE LILLY LIBRARY recently acquired (March 1973) an interesting and valuable manuscript, which can be termed without exaggeration one of the landmarks in the history of the contacts and interactions between Chinese and Western medicine. It came, via Alain Brieux of Paris, from the library of the late Paul Pelliot, famous French sinologue. A penciled note in the latter's hand, written on a piece of paper loosely inserted in the manuscript reads: "Milieu de XVIII^e siecle. Peut-etre par Van der Monde. Cf. ma note a la *Bibl. Sinica*² (col. 1478)." This reference to Henri Cordier's *Bibliotheca Sinica* is to Pelliot's own profusely annotated copy of this work, which is likewise in the possession of Alain Brieux. The manuscript comprises 111 numbered folio pages of extracts in French translation from the *Pen-ts'ao chang-mu*, a vast encyclopedic work on Chinese medicine and *materia medica*, compiled by the celebrated Ming physician, Li Shih-ch'en (died 1593).¹ This section is followed by two blank pages numbered 112 and 149, and then by eighteen folio pages numbered 150-168, dealing with *cholera morbus* and related diseases. Pages 113-148 are either missing or else never existed in this codex, which is bound in a recent vellum binding.

A careful study of this manuscript convinces me that Pelliot's tentative identification of the translator is correct, as can be seen by the following sketch of his career, compiled from French and Portuguese sources.

Jacques-François Vandermonde was a Fleming from Landreëies in French Flanders, where he was born at an unascertained date in the late seventeenth century. He received a degree from the medical faculty at Rheims in August 1720, shortly before leaving for the Far East in the service of the French East India Company. He served first at the island of Pulo Condore off the southern tip of Vietnam, and then in the city of Canton, where he was offered the post of municipal surgeon and doctor to the Portuguese city of Macao (*Fízico e Cirurgiãõ do partido desta Cidade*) in March 1723. He was formally appointed to this dual position on May 19 of the same year, receiving an annual salary of 500 *patacas* (pataka being the Portuguese term for the Spanish-American *peso-de-a-ochos-reales*, or real-of-eight). He was expected to treat the poor citizens free of charge, and to maintain his own pharmacy, from which he would supply medicines to other patients "at reasonable rates."²

Vandermonde practiced for six years in Macao, being highly praised by some of his patients and much criticized by others. Among the former was the Jesuit missionary, Polycarp de Sousa, later bishop of Peking, who declared that "under God" he owed his life to Vandermonde, for having cured him when he was seriously ill at Macao in 1726. However, the municipal councilors resolved to dismiss Vandermonde in July 1729, partly on the grounds that he was a foreigner and partly for his alleged misbehavior with some female patients, including the nuns of the Franciscan convent of Santa Clara, "addressing them with very ugly and indecent words." He protested his dismissal, and he was upheld by the viceroy of Goa, who granted him Portuguese nationality and ordered the City Council to reinstate him.

The dispute was carried to Lisbon, where the crown likewise took the side of Vandermonde; but the municipal councilors ignored these orders and appointed a Portuguese to the post at the much lower salary of 150 *taéis* yearly.

Jacques-François Vandermonde had married a local Eurasian girl, and a son, Charles-Augustin, was born to the couple on June 18, 1727. His wife having died at an unascertained date, Jacques-François returned with his young son to Paris in 1732. He died there in 1746, and his son was brought up by the de Jussieu family, becoming a doctor and a professor of surgery at the faculty of Paris. Charles-Augustin also became a royal censor, founder, and editor of the *Journal Général de Médecine*, author of a compact *Dictionnaire de Santé* (1760), and a minor figure in the Enlightenment, as exemplified by his *Essai sur la manière de perfectionner l'espèce humaine* (2 vols., Paris, 1756), in which he advocated inter-racial marriages, among other things. His promising career was cut short by a sudden and fatal illness in 1762, just when he was about to make "a very honorable marriage."³ As indicated above, Jacques-François Vandermonde had brought back from Macao a translation of the mineralogical section of Li Shih-chen's *Pen-ts'ao chang-mu*. This was accompanied by some eighty "samples of Chinese minerals, packed in jars or canisters labeled with their respective Chinese names, sometimes in characters and sometimes in romanisation," according to Edouard Biot, writing in 1839.⁴ After the death of Charles-Augustin Vandermonde, this material became successively the property of Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu (1748-1836), and of the latter's son, Adrien de Jussieu (1797-1853), whence it passed into the collection of the Jardin du Roi. It has since disappeared or been mislaid, according to Huard and Wong, writing in 1966;⁵ but I

cannot say at what date the mineralogical specimens became separated from the accompanying manuscript.

Although Biot utilized the de Jussieu manuscript in his 1839 article, he only reproduced very brief extracts, which however, coincide with the wording of the same passages in the Pelliot-Lilly manuscript. The Chinese characters of all names in this last text are neatly written in the corresponding margins, evidently by a Chinese and not by a European, judging from the caligraphy. The bulk of the text, beginning with page 17, deals with mineralogical and metallic substances, but the opening sections deal with water (pp. 1-11) and fire (pp. 12-16). There is no title page, but page one of the text is headed (in English translation): "Translation from the Chinese into French of a history of drugs which is entitled *Kan Mo*, or principal extract from the authors who have written on medicine." After stating the Chinese author's name ("Li Chi tsin"), date, and scope of the work, the actual translation begins with the fifth book. I append an English version of the French text in order to give an idea of Vandermonde's third-person style.

Book the Fifth.

The author treats herein of the waters. He distinguishes thirteen different kinds which fall from the sky. The first is rain-water. It is beneficial, and has no harmful quality, but tastes a little salty. If a man and a woman, being desirous of working for the propagation of the human race, each drink immediately before beginning the act, a good glass of rain-water collected at the beginning of the spring-time, which the Chinese call *Li Tchuan* [Chinese characters are supplied in the margin], the woman will become pregnant. This rain-water from the same season is excellent for dissolving and serving as a vehicle for remedies which are given for strengthening the vital parts. The reason which

the [Chinese] author gives for this, is that at this time the rain-water is imbued with a certain kind of nitrous salt which fosters the growth of all the plants.

The mineralogical section ends on page 104 of the manuscript ("End of the Minerals"), and is followed by a section (pp. 104-111) headed: "The author treats here of the herbs which grow in the forests, the mountains, and thereabouts." Page 112 is blank, and the numeration then jumps to page 149, which is likewise blank. The final section (pp. 150-168) is not the least interesting part of the manuscript. It is headed: "The disease which the Portuguese of India call *mordexin* is an indigestion of the stomach, of which there are several kinds which differ from each other, and which originate from many causes." He proceeds to describe and analyze five such "kinds of indigestion," their causes, treatment, and cure, followed by a similar disquisition on various types of dysentery (pp. 150-168). Pages 150-168 deal with the causes, treatment, and cure of other diseases which afflicted Europeans in the Far East, including bilious colics, inflammation of the liver, the *vento* or sudden obstruction of the pores, smallpox, asthma, pleurisy, etc.

The writer nowhere mentions his own name, but he writes in the present tense and refers to his personal experiences and clinical observations at Canton in 1728 and at Macao in 1729-30. He can, therefore, only be Jacques-François Vandermonde. We know that he retained his interest in Chinese medicine and *materia medica* after his return to France, acting as an informant to Jean Astruc (1684-1766) and other sinophile French doctors and surgeons.⁶ Unfortunately, there is no indication of the name of the Chinese who supplied the neatly-written characters

in the margins, and who was presumably the original translator or co-translator, as it is highly unlikely that Vandermonde himself had more than a smattering of the language.

NOTES

¹ The extract from the *Pen-ts'ao chang-mu* which is discussed here is quite different from the abridged summary of the contents of this work given by Père Jean-Baptiste Du Halde, S.J., in his classic *Description Géographique, Historique, Chronologique, Politique, et Physique de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise*, 4 vols. and atlas, vol. III (The Hague, 1736), pp. 538-66, which was derived from Jesuit missionary sources.

² For the wording of this contract and for details of Vandermonde's checkered career in Macao, see Padre Manuel Teixeira, *Os Médicos em Macau* (Macao, 1967), pp. 7-11.

³ See the entry under his name in the *Biographie Universelle*, Tome 47 (Paris, 1827), pp. 433-34.

⁴ Edouard Biot, "Mémoire sur divers minéraux chinois appartenant à la collection du Jardin du Roi," in the *Journal Asiatique*, vol. VIII (Paris, 1839), pp. 206-30.

⁵ Pierre Huard and Ming Wong, "Les Enquêtes Françaises sur la science et la technologie chinoises au XVIII^e siècle," in the *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient*, Tome 53 (Paris, 1966), pp. 137-223, and especially pp. 165-67.

⁶ Pierre Huard and Ming Wong, *Chinese Medicine, translated from the French by Bernard Fielding* (New York, 1968), pp. 122, 126-27, where, however, the dates relating to Vandermonde's stay at Macao are erroneously given as 1720-31.

I may add that the manuscript utilized by E. Biot in 1839, and later by F. de Mély, who gives copious extracts from it in his *Les Lapidaires Chinois* (Paris, 1896) is not the same one as this Pelliot-Lilly manuscript, since the Biot-Mély version was of a completely different format and it comprised 23 leaves or 46 pages, averaging some 45

lines to a page. Presumably, Vandermonde made two copies and retained what is now the Pelliot-Lilly version for himself, after giving the other (Biot-Mély) version to de Jussieu. Cf. *Les Lapidaires Chinois*, pp. xv, xvi, and 152 *et seq.*

C. R. BOXER *is a distinguished British historian.*

THE IMPRENTA DE LOS NIÑOS EXPÓSITOS IN THE VICEREGAL PERIOD

By ARTHUR F. LIEBSCHER

THE LILLY LIBRARY'S collection of materials from the Imprenta de los Niños Expósitos of Buenos Aires spans the years 1780 to 1824, the entire period of the press's life. The Library purchased its Expósitos material from the private collection of Antonio Santamarina of Buenos Aires through the mediation of Mr. Bernardo Mendel. The Latin American—or Mendel—Collection includes over one thousand Expósitos imprints, of which more than half date from the years 1780 to 1809.

This study surveys the types of material represented by the Mendel Collection Santamarina imprints and attempts to suggest some basic correlations between the imprints and events in the La Plata area. Its scope is confined to the years from the foundation of the press through 1809, a period which roughly encompasses the viceregal stage in La Plata history. During this time Buenos Aires developed significantly, changing from a town of perhaps twenty-six thousand people to a much larger administrative and economic center of forty-five thousand.¹ Increased population brought increased trade, which stimulated the development of a mercantile class. Larger population, more money, and closer commercial ties with Spain prompted a more active cultural and intellectual life. The imprint collection reflects Buenos Aires' development of an independent political, religious, and intellectual vigor. By 1809, Buenos

Aires had ceased being a frontier outpost of the empire; it had begun its own life under its own leadership.

Before this period Buenos Aires was little more than an outpost of the Spanish empire, left out of the tremendous growth undergone by the viceroyalties of Mexico and Peru. Even in the eighteenth century Buenos Aires experienced difficulty establishing itself as a significant part of the imperial economic system.² Spanish trade routes to South America centered on Lima, capital of the Peruvian viceroyalty. Gold and silver from Upper Peru (Bolivia) were sent west to Lima, not east to Buenos Aires, for transport to Spain, while an interior tariff post discouraged the movement of trade from Buenos Aires to Peru.

The fiscal and economic chaos in which Spain found itself in the eighteenth century required numerous changes in the imperial system. The Bourbon kings loosened the mercantilistic trade regulations, although they still did not permit foreign ships to trade with their American possessions. A streamlined system of intendencies replaced the previous haphazard governmental organization, while new governmental units were established, including the viceroyalty of La Plata itself.³

The military needs of the 1770s triggered the creation of the La Plata viceroyalty in 1776.⁴ Colonial competition in the Atlantic had grown strong, and the Spanish sought to establish firm military positions in previously unguarded parts of the empire. In 1776 an expedition was sent to the La Plata estuary to drive the Portuguese from the Banda Oriental. Out of this expedition the infant viceregal government was established; its leader, Pedro Cevallos, became interim viceroy in 1777.

Printing and publishing in the La Plata region antedated the foundation of the *Imprenta de los Niños Expósitos* by seventy-five years. In 1705 the Jesuits published the La Plata region's first book, in Tucumán.⁵ A Jesuit press at the *Colegio de San Carlos* in Córdoba, abandoned with the expulsion of the order from the Spanish empire in 1767, was transported to Buenos Aires and formed the basis for the *Niños Expósitos* press in 1780. The device was the first, and for years the only, full-size printing press in the city.⁶

Viceroy Juan José de Vértiz ordered both the movement of the press to Buenos Aires and its association with an orphanage, the *Casa y Cuna de los Niños Expósitos*. Seeking first to add a means of support for the orphanage, Vértiz also desired to improve the city through the establishment of a printing press. Indeed improvement in social services and municipal functions characterized the rule of Vértiz.⁷ In a vain effort to assure profits, the viceroy granted the press a monopoly on printing spelling texts, song books, and catechisms.⁸

The *Real Imprenta de los Niños Expósitos* was officially established on November 21, 1780, with José Silva y Aguiar appointed "administrator general" for a ten-year term. By his agreement with the viceroy, Silva y Aguiar received one quarter of the press's annual receipts, or one third should profits not reach four hundred pesos. In March 1783, Alfonso Sánchez Sotoca charged Silva y Aguiar with falsification of accounts and illegal salary payments, bringing about the latter's removal from the directorship.⁹ Sánchez Sotoca succeeded to the office, but his administration, like that of Silva y Aguiar, experienced financial difficulties. Paper was expensive and in short supply, and transport

costs added to prices in distant cities, where strong competition from Lima printers was encountered. The authorities did not halt the importation of books and pamphlets printed in Spain despite appeals from the Imprenta's management. Profits accruing to the orphanage were small, totaling just over two hundred pesos in the years 1783-1787.¹⁰

In spite of these financial disappointments, the press gradually developed the possibility of profit providing incentive to lure numerous individuals to bid for its directorship over the years. The Imprenta grew physically, adding in 1807 a press brought from Montevideo by the British during their occupation of the city. The years after 1810 saw additional capital improvements, although lack of type made operations difficult during that period. In 1824, under the reform program of Bernadino Rivadavia, the Imprenta de los Niños Expósitos was closed, reorganized, and then reopened under the name "Imprenta del Estado."

For purposes of analysis the Mendel Santamarina imprints dating from this period can be divided into three segments: 1) political, religious, and economic imprints published prior to 1806; 2) material dealing with the English invasions, 1806-1807; and 3) imprints dating from 1808 and 1809, largely concerned with events surrounding the Napoleonic wars.

THE YEARS 1780-1806

Niños Expósitos imprints dating from these earlier years cover a variety of topics, principally administrative, religious, and intellectual affairs. In all of these areas Buenos Aires showed a significant degree of local leadership and interest. In the 1780s and 1790s, the city moved toward

a social and political maturity that equipped it to strive for regional dominance in the nineteenth century.

Those imprints from the period of Vértiz's rule demonstrate his active leadership for the organization of the primitive viceroyalty. One of the earliest, a broadside dated November 3, 1780, orders that all families living on the frontier be brought to areas under military protection, while a second, dated 1781, pledges the support of the people of Montevideo for Vértiz's efforts to deal with the Indian problem. A printed version of the viceroy's order establishing a board of medical inspectors, the Tribunal de Proto-Medico, demonstrates his efforts to improve the health of the city. Another order appeals for alms to establish a charitable hospital for women.¹¹

In this early period the governing authorities began to use the press to stir community spirit and inspire local loyalty, a practice that reappeared frequently during the Imprenta's history. Publications of this type surfaced as early as 1783, and often combine religious piety with community sentiment; they occur regularly among the imprints dating from the 1790s. A 1790 book, eighty-one pages long including footnotes and a list of printing errors, reproduces the oration delivered by Gregorio Funes upon the death of King Charles III, the reforming Bourbon monarch. Funes praised Charles as much for his religious piety as for his political ability. In 1795 the Imprenta published speeches praising and welcoming the new viceroy, Pedro Melo de Portugal; in 1798 it published the oration delivered at his funeral. All of this literature at once communicated information and stirred public devotion and patriotism.¹²

Religious literature occupied a large portion of the pre-1806 publications and covered a wide spectrum of types

and purposes. The great bulk of religious imprints served the needs of popular piety and religious education, through liturgical material and pastoral letters are also present. Although the amount of religious literature published had declined greatly by 1800, it is evident that the *Imprenta de los Niños Expósitos* was closely linked to the religious life of the Buenos Aires people.

Among the religious imprints catechisms, prayer books, and novenas are the most prominent. Catechism publication constituted one of the primary functions of the press in its early years; the *Imprenta's* record books show 13,500 printed during 1781 alone.¹³ The earliest example in this collection, the forty-eight page *Catechismo de la doctrina cristiana*, apparently originated in Pamplona in the early seventeenth century.¹⁴ A typical prayer book, written by the bishop of Córdoba, José Antonio de San Alberto, includes prayers for each day of the week and closes with a statement of indulgences attached to its use.¹⁵ These catechisms and prayer books were generally put through multiple printings; the San Alberto example was reprinted in 1785, the Pamplona catechism in 1790.

Religious literature decreased greatly after the earliest period, virtually disappearing after 1790. An exception is a small group of prayer books dating from 1805, but at least one of these is a reprint of a much earlier publication.¹⁶ Insofar as this collection represents the total output of the press, it suggests that political and occasionally intellectual matters occupied the *Imprenta's* limited facilities in the period after 1790, precluding publication of pious material.

The press published a significant portion of its religious literature for the use of the various religious organizations or congregations prominent in Spanish Catholicism. One such group, the Real Congregación del Aluminado y

Vela, appears frequently as a subject of the press's output, beginning in 1791 and continuing at least through 1806. Its constitution, published by the Imprenta in 1799, describes the congregation as a group founded in Madrid in 1789 and established in Buenos Aires ten years later.¹⁷ According to the constitution the organization sought to maintain continuous adoration of the Eucharist in local churches. The relatively high frequency with which its materials appear among the Niños Expósitos publications suggests the popularity of this otherwise obscure congregation.

Pastoral letters from La Plata bishops to their people, particularly from José Antonio de San Alberto of Córdoba, constitute an important part of the religious literature printed by the Niños Expósitos press. An especially prolific author, San Alberto published letters beginning in 1781 and continuing through 1799. Four basic themes emerge from his writings: the role of the bishop, charity, diocesan regulation, and support of civil rulers. San Alberto's publications indicate that the Argentine church possessed vigorous local leadership in its early years.

San Alberto's first two letters, both published in 1781, stress the necessity of a layman's obedience to his bishop, and the duty of the bishop to reside with, teach, and care for his people. Both letters befit an active and concerned bishop facing the difficulties of exercising leadership among new people in a new land. Later letters speak of a school for orphans, emphasizing his duty as bishop to care for the unfortunate; one letter even suspends taxes paid for ecclesiastical documents so lay people could devote more money to alms for homeless children.¹⁸ Whether the people heeded his plea for alms is unknown.

A sternly worded message from San Alberto, at 218 pages one of the longest publications of the Niños Expósitos

press, tried to regularize practices in his diocese regarding parish records and concerning the administration of matrimony, baptism, and penance. The section dealing with confession is particularly interesting because San Alberto espoused what for his day was an enlightened view—that Indians should receive the sacrament even though Europeans doubted their understanding of its meaning.¹⁹

The strong and vocal support given by San Alberto to the civil authorities reflects the close alliance between throne and altar which characterized Spanish territories from the time of Ferdinand and Isabella, and which became particularly pronounced after the coming of the Bourbon monarchs in the eighteenth century. In one imprint San Alberto describes the duty of a citizen to give donations to his king, thereby honoring the king, showing his gratitude, and maintaining the ruler as a major bulwark of the Catholic faith in the wars against Protestant England. In yet another publication, sprinkled liberally with scriptural references, San Alberto praises the sons of Charles III, in the process outlining a portrait of ideal Christian rulers.²⁰

If the Niños Expósitos press showed signs of piety and ecclesiastical regalism, it also manifested stirrings of the European Enlightenment and a gradual maturation of Buenos Aires intellectual life. The Imprenta was undoubtedly a significant instrument for stimulating the new learning in the viceroyalty. Two periodicals published by the press during the viceregal period, the *Telégrafo mercantil, rural, político-económico e historiografo* (1801-1802) and the *Semanario de agricultura, industria y comercio* (1802-1807), display an eighteenth-century desire to collect and disseminate practical knowledge. These journals are not in the Lilly Library collection, although the Library holdings

do contain numerous non-periodical imprints of an intellectual and often "enlightened" nature.

Textbooks are the most basic examples of learned printing contained in the collection. Texts for teaching Spanish and Latin grammar appear occasionally, though they by no means dominate even the earlier years, as do the religious imprints. The only mathematics text encountered while canvassing the collection stresses learning practical mathematics, appropriate for the enlightened thought then appearing in Buenos Aires, and certainly appropriate in the maritime school for which the text was written.²¹

The collection includes a number of Latin-language treatises, all undoubtedly written in that language because of their scholarly character, and all but one dealing with philosophy or theology. That one, a sixteen-page series of conclusions regarding physics and animal sense perception, provides a clear, though unsophisticated, example of emphasis on observable scientific facts.²² The philosophical and theological treatises are formal academic defenses presented in Buenos Aires; each touches upon logic, theology, metaphysics, and occasionally, natural science. Considering the breadth of their topics they are relatively short (the longest being thirty-nine pages), suggesting that they were used as outlines for longer oral or written presentations. One imprint, for example, bears the ponderous title, "Conclusiones publico - historico - dogmatico - scholastico - phisico-teologicae ex praecipuis Sacrae Theologiae tractibus depromptae."²³ Its author treated his ambitious topic in twenty pages.

One peculiar Spanish-language text, published in 1790, indicates an eighteenth-century interest in fresh knowledge and modes of thought. The imprint, *Economía de la vida humana*, purports to be an oriental text, written "by a

Brahman.” Nonetheless, Guillermo Fúrlong Cárdiff, who knows of the imprint, rejects any Buddhist or Lao Tse origins for its texts, which deal with the moral goodness of such traits as reflection, prudence, and modesty. Fúrlong speculated that its origins were English.²⁴

The bulk of the Mendel Santamarina collection exhibits more conventional types of the new learning. An economic tract, associated with Manuel Belgrano, espouses a physiocratic doctrine calling agricultural land the source of all wealth and expounding various theories for the distribution of agricultural wealth. Another imprint, by the mathematician Juan de Alsina, calls for the use of empirical observation and mathematical analysis to determine the general rules of nature. A third is a primitive example of modern historiography, describing events and collecting documents related to the 1801 concordat reestablishing Catholicism in France.²⁵

Two imprints, both published in 1805, demonstrate that Buenos Aires had access to advanced medical techniques, and that the government desired their dissemination for the benefit of the people. One, by Dr. Miguel Gorman of Buenos Aires, gives detailed instructions for the preparation of smallpox vaccine, its administration, and the progress of the resulting pustule, with instructions to apply mercury or silver nitrate ointment to an ulcerated vaccination. Another, written in Madrid, seeks to impart rudimentary knowledge for the performance of a cesarean section in the absence of a surgeon; an accompanying order directs parish priests to familiarize themselves with the techniques for use in an emergency.²⁶

The attempt of the Bourbon monarchs to streamline the administration of their empire, and ultimately to remedy

its serious financial troubles, is reflected in the large number of administrative decrees published by the Imprenta, primarily between 1787 and 1805. With few exceptions, these proclamations have uniform size and design, as if intended to be taken as a series. Other than publicly establishing the voice of royal authority, the exact purpose of the undoubtedly expensive publication of these documents is unclear.

Some of these proclamations deal with efforts to standardize various practices in the empire, as one issued by the viceroy under royal direction regulating fees charged by royal officials in accordance with the *Recopilación de Leyes de las Indias*. Two others, dated 1803, deal with inheritance laws, while a third regulates removal of fugitives from places of sanctuary, such as churches. Five imprints establish rules for military organization, discipline, and maneuvers, reflecting the concern for imperial defense that led up to the establishment of the viceroyalty of La Plata.²⁷

The number of royal decrees dealing with revenue collection clearly reflect the financial difficulties experienced by the Spanish Bourbons. In some instances these decrees merely standardize revenue procedures, as a 1798 decree regulating the arrangement of account books and annual reports, and an 1802 document giving instructions for proper collection of the royal *derechos*. Others are more direct in their efforts to solve the financial problem; a 1797 order places a fifteen-percent levy on all real estate not under royal protection, with the explicit goal of paying expenses in the war with England. Madrid's efforts to establish a healthy financial basis for government met failure in the long run; the Napoleonic wars disrupted the empire, depleted the treasury, and ultimately set the stage for the great independence movement that began in 1810.²⁸

THE BRITISH INVASIONS, 1806-1807

In 1804 Spain was again drawn into the Napoleonic Wars, allied with France against England. It is conceivable that, had England not been an expanding economic power, the La Plata area might have escaped involvement in the European wars. The possibility of opening Spain's La Plata territories to English merchants tempted the British, however, and resistance from the Spanish crown was not anticipated.²⁹ In 1806 British forces under Major General William Carr Beresford and Sir Home Popham moved against Buenos Aires.

The English arrival on May 2, 1806 had been anticipated; Madrid's warnings regarding English intentions prompted the establishment of a *junta de guerra* (council of war) in April 1805 to study the developing situation. Despite these advance measures the viceroy, Sobremonte, fled toward Córdoba, which became the interim capital, and Buenos Aires surrendered to the British without bloodshed.

Pascual Ruíz Huidobro, governor of Montevideo, organized an attack against the English, which was finally launched on August 12, 1806. This force of La Plata residents, commanded by Santiago Liniers, successfully drove the English from Buenos Aires and back to their ships. After the British landed again and seized Montevideo in February 1807, the *cabildo* named Liniers interim viceroy to replace the ineffective Sobremonte. Liniers' second defeat of the British led to a treaty signed in July 1807.

The first indication of invasion identified in the Collection is the large number of announcements to the people, printed at Beresford's order. These imprints, which vary from pamphlet-like flyers to large posters, attest to a British

desire to win popular approval, and seem to support the opinion that the English attempted to rule Buenos Aires justly and well. The Catholic Church was allowed to operate unmolested and its courts were given their traditional power, as were the civil courts of the city. Beresford permitted ships trading on the Río de la Plata to continue freely under a new set of tariffs specified by the British. He ordered that all slaves remain with their masters and made efforts to regularize commercial life within the city.³⁰

After Liniers retook the city in August 1806, the *Imprenta de los Niños Expósitos* became an instrument of defense, used to prepare the inhabitants for further battle with the English. One imprint published in October 1806, warns Montevideo of the possibility of British attack and orders mobilization of the Montevidean populace to resist such a move. Another complains of difficulty in recruiting sailors and orders all seamen in Buenos Aires to report for duty, while a third directs all males over fourteen to report for assignment to public service.³¹

Cut off from Spain by British ships, finances in the viceroyalty undoubtedly became a severe problem, as the presence of imprints pleading for donations indicates. One example reprints a letter from a widow offering two hundred pesos, accompanied by a pointed recommendation from Liniers that the other residents follow her example. After the porteños finally expelled the British, the *cabildo* of Buenos Aires imposed specific donations on all residents to provide for the continued defense of what the *cabildo* called the *patria*, "the region in which Providence has placed us."³²

The aftermath of the invasions produced a number of imprints of historical interest, containing detailed information regarding the military aspects of the struggle. One

volume in the Mendel Santamarina collection brings together three large imprints giving military organization of the Spanish forces, their officers, distinguished soldiers, and services performed by the various companies.³³ One report, attributed to British General Samuel Achmuty, provided a detailed account of troop deployment, casualties, and outstanding officers, all reprinted without Spanish propaganda.³⁴ Finally, an eight-page imprint reproduces a total of eight letters and documents concerning the peace treaty of 1807, indicating a desire on the part of the viceregal administration to establish a public record of the dealings.³⁵

A number of bitterly anti-English tracts followed in the wake of the invasion. Taken as a whole they suggest that the viceregal government felt it necessary to combat English influence lingering from the occupation. The *cabildo*, for example, subsidized the publication of four lengthy essays written in letter style which attempt to demonstrate the perfidious nature of the English by listing their numerous violations against other sovereign states, such as the seizure of Gibraltar. The press published at least two editions of a report on the invasion purportedly written by Popham, to which Liniers appended extensive notes intended to demonstrate that it contained serious falsehoods. Imprints taken from decrees of the *audiencia* continue the prohibition of trade with England, and even outlaw the importation of British newspapers. Finally, several anonymous tracts attack British intentions, honor, and leadership.³⁶

Patriotic literature dominated the year 1807 and demonstrates that the Niños Expósitos press became an agent for expressing the sentiments of community pride that followed the success. Some of this material simply praises the troops and the city, and occasionally ridicules

the English for their embarrassing loss. As would be anticipated, funeral orations for soldiers killed in battle appear in the collection, mixing sentiments of religious faith and patriotic pride.

The religious nature of the funeral orations also characterizes several patriotic imprints which directly link the expulsion of the English with the defense of the Catholic faith. One such publication, a two-part pamphlet attributed to a "priest of the Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata," contains a highly emotional essay praising the soldiers for defending both their homeland and their faith against the British. The author ascribes victory to the providence of God, and describes the harm to religion and traditional society that would have resulted from a victory by the Protestant British. Similarly indicative of this link between religion and patria is an 1807 collection of pastoral letters by the archbishop of La Plata, Benito María de Moxo y Francoli, which praise the victories of the viceregal forces.³⁷

The single individual who appears most frequently in these imprints is Santiago Liniers. In many ways Liniers became the focal point of the outpouring of creole pride that marked the year 1807. The spirit generated by Liniers propelled him first to the post of interim viceroy, and made him the object of praise of such luminaries as Moxo and the princess Carlota Joaquina de Bourbon, daughter of the king.³⁸ In 1808, Liniers was appointed viceroy, a post he held for one eventful year until he was replaced by Baltasar de Cisneros.

A significant number of the 1807-1808 imprints in the Mendel Santamarina collection indicate energetic local efforts to care for those who suffered injury during the invasions. The Liniers government was particularly concerned with the fate of widows and orphans, a concern

fired by statements from the loquacious Archbishop Moxo. The government led a well-publicized effort to collect special funds for their support, beginning even before the second invasion in 1807. Widows, orphans, and soldiers received small monthly pensions from the viceroyalty, granted in September 1807. In its efforts to promote contributions the cabildo periodically published the names of all donors and the amounts subscribed by each.³⁹

Governmental concern for widows and orphans extended also to the slave population, whose support in the struggle against the British impressed the viceregal authorities. In acknowledging the services rendered by the slave soldiers, the cabildo granted liberty to all slaves crippled or otherwise useless for service. One imprint indicates that some sort of pension was given to free soldiers too crippled for work; presumably freedmen also became public pensioners. The governing authorities held a much-heralded public lottery to give freedom to seventy slaves or widows and orphans of slaves who had served with the Spanish forces.⁴⁰

The victory over the English, momentous in the history of Buenos Aires, gave extraordinary stimulus to commemorative poetry. Indeed, the bulk of the poetic imprints contained in the Mendel Santamarina collection were conceived with reference to the reconquest of the city, several of the remaining examples having the peninsular struggle against Napoleon as their subject. The poetry from this period originated within the La Plata area, and can be divided into two basic groups, cultured verse and popular verse.⁴¹ Among the cultured poets, José Prego de Oliver appears most frequently in this collection, accounting for four separate imprints.⁴² Also included is Vicente López y Planes' *Triunfo argentino*, a neoclassical portrait of Liniers.⁴³

The popular verse, generally anonymous, displays less cultivated language and treats less eminent subjects, focusing instead on popular speech and the deeds of humble citizens and soldiers.⁴⁴

A TIME OF TURMOIL, 1808-1809

The majority of the imprints dating from 1808 and 1809 concern themselves with the Napoleonic Wars, the invasion of the Iberian peninsula by French forces, and turmoil both within Buenos Aires and between Buenos Aires and Montevideo. The output of the Niños Expósitos press during these years was, with some notable exceptions, anti-Napoleonic and reflected the point of view of Liniers and his followers. As in 1806 and 1807, the Imprenta served as a tool to gain public support for the government.

In March 1807, Charles IV abdicated the Spanish throne in favor of his son, who became Ferdinand VII of Spain. Experiencing a change of heart, Charles shortly thereafter withdrew his abdication and reclaimed the throne for himself. Napoleon Bonaparte intervened openly at this point and sent French troops to bring Charles and Ferdinand over the French border to the city of Bayonne. There, Napoleon forced Ferdinand's abdication and accepted that of Charles, both in favor of Napoleon's brother, Joseph Bonaparte, who was placed on the Spanish throne as Joseph I.⁴⁵ Forces loyal to the Spanish royal family fled southward and established a *junta* in Seville, which claimed power to rule in the name of Ferdinand. Throughout Spain the resistance to French forces and to the usurper Joseph Bonaparte took the form of similar juntas, among which Seville was the preeminent.

These events on the peninsula created a crisis for Santiago Liniers, the viceroy in Buenos Aires. Liniers was

French-born and had ridden to power on the crest of a wave of popularity among the creoles; these facts alone were sufficient to create a distrust for him among those whose fortunes were linked with the overwhelmingly peninsular administrative structure.⁴⁶

When Liniers announced a decision to pledge loyalty to Ferdinand VII, even after receiving news from the French emissary Sassenay of the prince's abdication, the peninsular group used the opportunity to strike against Liniers. The governor of Montevideo, Francisco Javier Elío, charged Liniers with misconduct and led the Montevideans in forming a junta modeled on those in Spain. Even though Liniers was upheld by the *audiencia* in October 1808, the Buenos Aires *cabildo* tried to force him to establish a similar junta on January 1, 1809. Only the cries of a favorable crowd saved Liniers from having to comply with their demands.⁴⁷

Clearly, with the absence of a strong government in Spain, orderly government in the La Plata region became increasingly difficult. The Seville junta, to which Liniers' loyalty was pledged, sent a new viceroy in 1809, with instructions to calm the turbulent situation in Buenos Aires.⁴⁸ This viceroy, Baltasar Hidalgo de Cisneros, experienced only temporary success, and with the fall of the Seville junta he himself was removed from power, and a ruling junta was established in Buenos Aires on May 25, 1810.

Beginning in 1806 and increasingly through 1809, the Niños Expósitos press published a large number of reports on events in Europe surrounding the campaigns of Napoleon. Generally collected from European newspapers, the reports are extremely fragmented, and often printed with little evidence of orderly editing, suggesting that the desire for news Buenos Aires exceeded the supply of information.

A few reports contained in the Lilly Library collection came to Buenos Aires by way of Rio de Janeiro and Montevideo. Reprints from Lima newspapers, which appeared in small numbers following the British invasions of Buenos Aires, are almost entirely missing from the group of imprints reporting events in Europe. The notices from Rio de Janeiro simply report European alliances and military affairs, while one Montevideo imprint gives details on the arrival of the exiled Portuguese royal family in Rio de Janeiro, an event of concern for those who feared Portugal's intentions in the Banda Oriental.⁴⁹

Most news reports came from overseas nations. Reports received from Spain during 1809 originated in Seville and sought to inspire support for the anti-French cause. Several of these imprints report loyalist successes in the north of Spain, particularly near such towns as Manresa and Saragossa.⁵⁰ A significant amount of news was received from European sources other than Spain, most of which originated in London. British reports in the collection concern themselves with details of military progress and with the trade situation in the Atlantic, as was to be expected from a nation deeply involved in a struggle involving economic sanctions.

Reprints of news carrying a pro-French bias are particularly intriguing. These imprints, with some exceptions originating in material received from Madrid during 1807 and 1808, include publications of decrees of Joseph Bonaparte's government, factual information regarding French campaigns, and blatantly pro-French propaganda.⁵¹ It is possible, of course, that the city was so starved for news that the viceregal authorities were willing to publish any material received from Europe. These imprints, however,

all appear before 1809, indicating that the Liniers government lacked a rigid policy excluding French influence during the years 1807 and 1808. The absence of pro-French material during 1809 suggests that some factor, perhaps Napoleon's actions in Spain or the cabildo's distrust of Liniers, brought about the intentional exclusion of French influence from the viceroyalty during that year.

Along with this pro-Napoleon literature, the Santamarina collection contains a number of imprints directed against Napoleon, all dating from the years 1808 and 1809. A portion of this material consists of a miscellany of largely anonymous tracts, ranging from a reasoned appeal to the Spanish to reject a man whose rise to power was marked by great perfidy, to an attack on Napoleon's family origins.⁵² Other imprints indicate that Napoleon brought out a satiric streak in Spanish Americans, as in one humorous essay taken from the *Diario de Santiago*, which ostensibly lauds Napoleon, but becomes so lost in its own verbal entanglements that it ends damning him by faint praise.⁵³ Finally, the collection contains several official proclamations, from Liniers, the cabildo, and ecclesiastical authorities, proclaiming loyalty to the Spanish throne, condemning Napoleon, and predicting his eventual defeat.

Many imprints express loyalty to Ferdinand VII and reject Joseph Bonaparte's rule. These include a soberly-stated inquiry into Joseph's right to the throne, a relation of the events at Bayonne and the disputes that took place within the royal family there, and a description of a Buenos Aires religious procession honoring Ferdinand.⁵⁴ The collection even includes a satirical speech attributed to Joseph Bonaparte admonishing the Spanish for resisting his government; in reality it is no more than a description of his unfriendly welcome to Madrid.⁵⁵ Finally, the collection con-

tains a group of official decrees proclaiming loyalty to Ferdinand and decrying the usurper. The number and vehemence of the 1808 anti-French and pro-Ferdinand imprints substantially offsets the hint of pro-French bias contained in some of the reprinted news reports of 1807-1808.

Several imprints, mostly in the form of official decrees, seek support not only for Ferdinand VII, but also for the junta in Seville, which claimed to govern in his name. The majority of these publications are reprints of proclamations issued by the Seville body itself, or by one of the Spanish regional juntas, either seeking support against Napoleon or simply announcing defiance of the French invaders. Some of these texts originated in America; one, approved by Liniers, solicits money for the support of the loyalist cause in Spain.⁵⁶ Also included in the collection is a reprint of the famous decree of the Seville junta calling a *cortes* (parliament); by inviting delegates from the New World it nullified the imperial system and incorporated the viceroalties into the governing structure of Spain itself.⁵⁷

Compared with the large output dealing with the Napoleonic struggle, a relatively small number of imprints concern themselves with the domestic turbulence that Buenos Aires experienced during this time. Those publications dealing with the trouble between Liniers and Montevideo, and also between Liniers and the Buenos Aires cabildo, treat the subject purely from Liniers' point of view. Without doubt, internal dissension was not regarded as a matter for dispute in publications of the Niños Expósitos press; once again the press served as an instrument helping the viceregal administration carry out its policies and programs.

Included among those documents about the turmoil is a reprint of the audiencia's October 1808 declaration absolving Liniers from wrong-doing and admonishing the

Montevideans to protest the actions of the viceroy within proper channels. In his own declarations, Liniers appears conciliatory toward Montevideo, appealing to the inhabitants to follow viceregal leadership and taking care to refer to Montevideo's "heroic actions" and "reputation and good name." Only one of Liniers' decrees deals with the events of January 1, 1809, but even this declaration is concerned that life in the city proceed as normally as possible. Liniers used the press as an instrument to cool heated tempers and to avoid stimulating further unrest.⁵⁸

The imprints suggest that the Montevidean junta should be understood as a manifestation of separatism within the viceroyalty. The officials in Buenos Aires were primarily concerned that their traditional authority over Montevideo be maintained. It is probable that peninsular-creole tensions were also active, and it is admittedly doubtful that these tensions would be reflected in the official imprints. Still, Montevidean separatism, which flared during the struggle for independence, must be recognized as an important factor in the establishment of a junta independent of the viceroy.

As mirrored in the Mendel Collection, the regime of Baltasar de Cisneros, who replaced Liniers as viceroy in 1809, provides a suitable close to our discussion of the imprints and the period from which they came. The restoration of tranquility in the city of Buenos Aires preoccupied Cisneros; his proclamations call for an end to dissension, praise troops who remained loyal to Liniers, and grant pardons to those involved in the rebellion. He took at least one step toward imitating the political and social development of 1780-1806 by regularizing the duties of the *alcaldes* and establishing a final organization of the city into administrative sections.⁵⁹

The months of Cisneros' administration could not have remained completely tranquil, however; war raged in Europe and South America felt its repercussions. For his part Cisneros had to be attentive to the military needs of the La Plata viceroyalty itself. He undertook a military reorganization to help relieve the fiscal distress of the viceroyalty, while at the same time trying to maintain sufficient strength to resist any French threat.⁶⁰

In these respects we can view Cisneros' administration as a period summing up the previous thirty years. He moved to end the turbulence that had marked the life of Buenos Aires since the British invasions in 1806 and reinstituted peaceful development within the city. Still, 1809 was not 1790; Cisneros could not restore complete peace. His position became increasingly difficult, until the *cabildo abierto* finally dismissed him on May 25, 1810.

CONCLUSION

The imprints permit broad interpretation of Buenos Aires' intellectual, social, and political life during the years 1780-1809, despite their limitations as a tool for historical research. The Niños Expósitos imprints present a picture of a city that vibrated with a life of its own. Buenos Aires, before 1809, matured beyond the status of a colony, that is, of a subject of the mother country, and reached the point of trying to assume control of its own destiny.

The study of these imprints suggests a needed re-interpretation of the viceregal period. Traditional interpretation views the years 1780-1809 solely in light of the events of May 25, 1810. Various historians have focused on the development of cattle-raising or commercial elites during that period, seeking to find the leaders of the sudden break with viceregal government in 1810. Others, in explaining the

May revolution, commented on creole resentment toward restrictions imposed by Spain. The social and political maturation reflected in the Niños Expósitos publications was the true precursor of the 1810 movement.

Considered from a political perspective, the imprint collection demonstrates that strong leadership existed in Buenos Aires, beginning with the creation of the viceroyalty. Admittedly, the vigor of local administration did not preclude due attention to Madrid's directives, especially as Bourbon reformism reached a peak in the 1790s. Nonetheless, local leadership met with significant success in the 1806-1807 crisis. *Porteños*, under Liniers, met the military and political needs of the city, at the same time attending to the welfare of its inhabitants.

In spiritual matters the Niños Expósitos imprints depict the city as orthodox and rigidly royalist, that is, acquiescent in the crown's power of patronage over the Church. At the same time, the region enjoyed strong religious leadership, while auxiliary religious activities, such as spiritual confraternities, flourished. The Church stood as a principal force in the social dynamics of the city. These observations support our vision of Buenos Aires as a socially self-sufficient city, possessing an urban vigor of its own.

Buenos Aires manifested an active interest in the sciences and other intellectual pursuits. The Niños Expósitos imprints demonstrate that Buenos Aires, while not intellectually equal to many other New World cities, absorbed many Enlightenment ideas, especially the desire to disseminate useful knowledge. It is acknowledged that the Imprenta did not act as a medium for unapproved ideas; it was, after all, the press of the government. Official control, however, must not be equated with complete intellectual backwardness.

In the thirty-odd years between 1780 and 1809, Buenos Aires progressed from an obscure village to a bustling commercial and administrative center. Admittedly, the city remained primitive in comparison to Lima, Mexico City, New York, or Boston. Nevertheless, the Niños Expósitos materials indicate that Buenos Aires, in spite of its relative youth, possessed a significant degree of urban maturity. The city had a social, religious, intellectual, and political life of its own, relatively independent of Spain and potentially worthy of a great capital. Only in this understanding can the events of May 1810 begin to clarify themselves.

NOTES

¹ For population figures see Nicolas Besio Moreno, *Buenos Aires: Puerto del Río de la Plata, Capital de la Argentina: Estudio crítico de su población, 1536-1936* (Buenos Aires, 1939), pp. 392-393, 394-396.

² Vicente D. Sierra, *Historia de la Argentina*, III (Buenos Aires, 1959), pp. 423-426.

³ Emilio Ravignani, "El Virreinato del Río de la Plata," in Ricardo Levene, dir. gen., *Historia de la nación argentina*, IV, pt. 1 (Buenos Aires, 1940), pp. 46-59; Sierra, III, pp. 420-423, 463-470.

⁴ Ravignani, pp. 59-60; Sierra, III, pp. 451-452.

⁵ Guillermo Fúrlong Cárdiff, "Orígenes de la imprenta en el Río de la Plata," *Estudios*, XV, núm. 2 (agosto de 1918), pp. 96-114.

⁶ A smaller device may have been present in the city before 1780, as indicated by the existence of several mysterious imprints. See Guillermo Fúrlong Cárdiff, *Historia y bibliografía de las primeras imprentas rioplatenses*, I (Buenos Aires, 1953), pp. 117-125.

⁷ Felix de Ugarteche, *La imprenta argentina: sus orígenes y desarrollo* (Buenos Aires, 1929), p. 69; José Toribio Medina, *Historia y bibliografía de la imprenta en el antiguo Virreinato del Río de la Plata* (Amsterdam, 1965), pp. xiii-xiv.

⁸ Vicente G. Quesada, "Fundación de la Casa de Niños Expósitos," *Revista de Buenos Aires*, I, núm. 3 (julio de 1863), pp. 383-395.

⁹ Carlos Heras, "Introducción: Los primeros trabajos de la Imprenta de Niños Expósitos," in Heras, ed., *Orígenes de la Imprenta de los Niños Expósitos* (La Plata, 1910), pp. vii-xix.

¹⁰ Medina, pp. xxiii-xxx.

¹¹ "Don Juan Josef Vertiz, y Salcedo . . . 3 de Noviembre de 1780," Mendel accession X. 500; "Representación del Cabildo . . . 1781," X. 502; "Ynformando de desarreglo, y abusos con que se exercita la Medicina . . . 16 de Noviembre de 1780," X. 501; "Muy Señor mío . . . 28 de Diciembre de 1782." Mendel accession numbers will be included in all references to imprints.

¹² Gregorio Funes, *Oración funebre . . . Don Carlos III . . .* (1790), X. 567; "Breve oración gratulatoria . . ." (n.d.), "Oración gratulatoria . . ." (n.d.), both X. 601; Benito de la Mata Liniers and Francisco de Garosa, *Oración funebre . . . Pedro Melo de Portugal y Villena* (1798), X. 619.

¹³ Heras, p. xii.

¹⁴ *Catechismo de la doctrina cristiana . . .* (1781), X. 517. Regarding its origin see Fúrlong Cárdiff, *Historia*, I, pp. 483-484.

¹⁵ San Alberto, *Septenario de los dolores de María santísima* (1781), X. 510.

¹⁶ Eugenio de la Santísima Trinidad, *Trisagio seráfico para venerar la muy Augusta y Santa Trinidad* (1781, 1784, 1798, 1805), last printing numbered X. 681.

¹⁷ Constitución de la Real Congregación del Alumbrado y Vela . . . (1799), X. 631.

¹⁸ José de San Alberto, *Carta pastoral* (1781), X. 506; *Carta pastoral segunda* (1781), X. 505; *Carta pastoral . . . con ocasión de haber fundado . . . dos Casas para Niños . . .* (1783), X. 527; *Carta pastoral . . .* (1784), X. 541; *Voces del pastor . . .* (1793), X. 589.

¹⁹ San Alberto, *Prevenciones del pastor en su visita que dirige a todos los curas y tenientes de su diócesis* (1788), X. 562.

²⁰ San Alberto, *Carta pastoral . . . exhortándolos a que contribuyan con algún donativo . . .* (1799), X. 629; *Sermón de gracias . . .* (1784), X. 536.

²¹ Pedro Antonio Cervino, et. al., *Ejercicio de aritmético, geometría elemental* . . . (1802), X. 643.

²² "Excelentísimo Domino Nicolao Francisco Christophoro del Campo . . ." (1784), X. 538.

²³ Emmanuele Bonaventura Villegas, *Conclusiones* . . . (1803), X. 669.

²⁴ José Mendez del Yermo, tr., *Economía de la vida humana* . . . (1790), X. 569; Fúrlong Cárdiff, *Historia*, II, pp. 91-92.

²⁵ Manuel Belgrano, tr., *Principios de la ciencia económico-política* (1796), X. 608; Juan de Alsina, *Análisis al papel periódico entitulado Tratado de filosofía natural y espejo de la naturaleza* (1801), X. 641; *Reestablecimiento de la religión católica en Francia*, 3 pts. (1802-1803), X. 649.

²⁶ Miguel Gorman, *Instrucción para la inoculación vacuna* . . . (1805), X. 676; José Ribes and Manuel Bonafos, *Modo de hacer la operación cesarea después de la muerte de la madre* (1805), X. 677.

²⁷ Marques de Loreta, *Arancel general de los derechos de los oficiales* . . . (1787), X. 588; "El Rey . . . [22 de diciembre de 1800]," X. 663; "El Rey . . . 30 de junio de 1787," X. 560; Marqués de Sobremonte, *Prontuario o extracto del ejercicio* . . . (1802), X. 646; Sobremonte, *Reglamento para los milicias disciplinadas de infantería y caballería* (1802), X. 647; see also X. 635, X. 678, and X. 683.

²⁸ "Yo el Rey . . . Buenos Ayres 22 de Septiembre de 1798 . . .," X. 611; "El Rey . . . Buenos-Ayres 6 de Noviembre de 1802 . . .," X. 651; "El Rey . . . Buenos-Ayres 12 de Mayo de 1797 . . .," X. 626.

²⁹ Juan Beverina, "Invasiones inglesas," in Levene, dir. gen., *Historia de la nación argentina*, pp. 313-314.

³⁰ "Por Guillermo Carr Beresford . . . [28 de junio de 1806]," X. 682; "Por Guillermo Carr Beresford . . . 30 de Junio de 1806," X. 685; "Por Guillermo Carr Beresford . . ." (n.d.), X. 686; "Por Guillermo Carr Beresford . . . 7 de Julio de 1806," X. 686; "El Comandante Británico . . . Agosto 4 de 1806," X. 687; "Condiciones concedidas . . . 2 de Julio de 1806," X. 687.

³¹ "D. Pasquel Ruiz Huidobro . . . Octubre 7 de 1806," X. 704; "Don Santiago Liniers y Bremond . . . 19 de Noviembre de 1806," X. 686; "D. Lucas Muñoz y Cubero . . . 6 de Febrero de 1807," X. 722.

³² "Memorial patriótico . . . [15 de octubre de 1806]," X. 691; "Nota del M.I.C. de Buenos Ayres . . . Abril 25 de 1808," X. 811.

³³ "Legión de Patricios de Buenos Aires . . . Noviembre 2 de 1807," "Legión de Patricios . . . 21 de Junio de 1807," "Estado que manifiesta la distribución y operación de los tres batallones . . . Noviembre 27 de 1807," all, X. 771.

³⁴ *Parte de la conquista de la Plaza de Montevideo* . . . (1807), X. 723.

³⁵ *Para satisfacer la curiosidad pública* . . . (1807), X. 750.

³⁶ Pedro Estala, *Quattro cartas de un español a un anglomano* . . . (1807), X. 717; "El Sr. Brigadier de la Real Armada D. Santiago Liniers . . ." (1807), X. 729 and X. 744; "La Real Audiencia gobernadora . . . 16 de Mayo de 1807," X. 729; "Bando de la Real Audiencia de Buenos-Ayres . . . 12 de Junio de 1807," X. 742; *El publicista de Buenos-Ayres al Señor General Beresford* (1806), X. 687; *El amigo de la Patria* (1806), X. 694.

³⁷ *El vasallo fiel a la religión, al rey, y a la patria* . . . , 2 pts. (1807), X. 739 and X. 740; Benito María de Moxo y Francoli, *Colección de todos los papeles* . . . (1807), X. 774.

³⁸ Moxo y Francoli, *Edictos del Ilustrísimo Señor Don Benito María de Moxo y Francoli* . . . (1807), X. 755.

³⁹ Moxo y Francoli, *Glorioso recuerdo . . . en subsidio de las viudas y huérfanos pobres de los valerosos defensores de la patria* . . . (1808), X. 813; "Aviso al público . . . Septiembre 24 de 1807 . . .," X. 768; "Razon de los donativos . . . 18 de Mayo de 1807," X. 776.

⁴⁰ "Aviso al público . . . Octubre 22 de 1807," X. 763; *Relación circunstanciada de los premios de libertad* . . . (1807), X. 780.

⁴¹ Rafael Alberto Arrieta, dir., *Historia de la literatura argentina*, I (Buenos Aires, 1958), pp. 250-259.

⁴² José Prego de Oliver, "Cantos a las acciones de guerra" (1808), X. 838; "A la gloriosa memoria del teniente de fragata don Agustín Abreu, muerto de resultas de las heridas que recibió en la acción del campo de Maldonado con los ingleses, el día 7 de noviembre de 1806" (1806), X. 696; "Al Sr. D. Santiago Liniers" (1807), X. 759; "Oda" (1806), X. 697.

⁴³ Vicente López y Planes, "Triunfo argentino" (1808), X. 837.

⁴⁴ Arrieta, pp. 253-259.

⁴⁵ Charles E. Chapman, *A History of Spain* (New York, 1965), pp. 407-409.

⁴⁶ Ricardo Levene, *A History of Argentina*, tr. Wm. Spence Robertson (Chapel Hill, 1937), p. 209.

⁴⁷ Levene, *History*, pp. 210-213; José María Rosa, *Historia argentina*, II (Buenos Aires, 1965), pp. 94-110.

⁴⁸ Vicente D. Sierra, *Historia de la Argentina*, IV (Buenos Aires, 1960), pp. 422-424.

⁴⁹ *Noticias habidas por el Correo de Montevideo del miércoles 10 de febrero de 1808* (1808), X. 860.

⁵⁰ For example, see *Extracto del correo político y literario de Sevilla de jueves 29 de junio de 1809* (1809), X. 919, or *Noticias de Zaragoza . . .* (1809), also X. 919.

⁵¹ For example, see *Noticias sacadas de gazetas de Madrid: Gazeta de 11 de Agosto de 1807* (1807), X. 787; *Gazetas extraordinarias de Madrid . . . 9 de Abril de 1808 . . .* (1808), X. 861; *Noticias del ejército francés . . . sacadas de gazetas portuguesas del mes de Febrero de 1807* (1807), X. 785.

⁵² *Cargos que el tribunal de la razon de España hace al imperador de los franceses* (1809), X. 912; *Genealogía de Bruto, Alv. Napoleon Bonaparte . . .* (1809), X. 910.

⁵³ *Carta inserta en el diario de Santiago del Domingo 10 de Julio de 1808: Al grán emperador Napoleon* (1808), X. 852.

⁵⁴ *Contestación a una de las cartas del nuevo Diario de Madrid* (1808), X. 826; *Copia de una carta de Bayona* (1808), X. 828; Moxo y Francoli, *Homilla que pronunció el Ilmo. Senor Doctor D. Benito María de Moxo y de Francoli . . . 12 de Octubre de 1808* (1809), X. 874.

⁵⁵ *Sermón que predicó el Señor Josef Bonaparte . . .* (1809), X. 904.

⁵⁶ "Don Santiago de Liniers . . . Proclama . . . 27 de Agosto de 1808," X. 823.

⁵⁷ "Real decreto de S.M. . . . 25 de Mayo de 1809," X. 930.

⁵⁸ "M.P.S. Los fiscales de S.M. teniendo a la vista lo representado con documentos por el Gobernador y vocales de la Junta establecida en Montevideo . . . 15 de Octubre de 1808," X. 833; "Proclama de . . .

D. Santiago Liniers . . . 26 de Noviembre de 1808," X. 830; "Don Santiago Liniers y Bremond . . . [2 de enero de 1809]," X. 876; "D. Santiago Liniers y Bremond . . . 4 de Enero de 1809," X. 877.

⁵⁹ For example, see "D. Baltasar Hidalgo de Cisneros y la Torre . . . 22 de Septiembre de 1809," X. 890; *Instrucción para gobierno y desempeño de los alcaldes de barrio en el ejercicio de sus empleos, para que cada uno en su respectivo distrito y todos juntos contribuyan a mantener el orden y seguridad pública* (1809), X. 892; *División de la ciudad de Buenos Aires* (1809), X. 893.

⁶⁰ For example, see "El Excmo. Sr. Virrey . . . 11 de Septiembre de 1809," and "Don Baltasar Hidalgo de Cisneros y la Torre . . . [23 de enero de 1810]," both X. 890.

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ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL
STRUCTURES IN
EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MANILA:
PADRE PEDRO NÚÑEZ AND HIS
“MANUAL FOR THE USE OF FRIARS
SERVING AS PROCURADORES IN THE
CONVENT” (1744-1747)

By DONNA U. VOGT*

BY THE MIDDLE of the eighteenth century, Manila had grown from a small port to a bustling trading city of the Spanish colonial empire. Although it was a part of the Viceroyalty of New Spain, the city's remote location resulted in isolation from the politics of both Mexico and Spain, and allowed the ruling elites to immerse themselves in commerce.

Spain's mercantilist policy restricted legitimate trade with Manila to the town of Acapulco on Mexico's south-western coast, and it was to Acapulco that the legendary Manila galleons, built in the Philippines, carried cargos of Chinese silks and porcelains for the insatiable markets of Spanish America. Manila's merchant princes, who dominated the social and economic life of the colony, collected goods from the Far East,¹ and then risked their entire investment on the annual sailings of the great galleons. The crossing took from six to eight months as a rule so that

* This paper was written for a Seminar with Charles R. Boxer. The author wishes to thank him for the interest, time, and guidance which he gave, and especially for the many bibliographic sources which were very useful in writing this paper.

within a year the galleons conveyed back to Manila either stupendous profits of 200 per cent or news of financial disaster.

The social structure and organization of mid-eighteenth-century Manila reflected the world view, prejudices, and ambitions of these traders; but as men absorbed in the complications and speculations of a commercial society, they rarely had the time or the inclination to indulge in introspective examinations of their lives and times. This task fell instead to churchmen, such as the exceptional Spanish cleric, Padre Pedro Núñez, whose extensive and penetrating analysis of Manila's society and economic structure is the basis of this paper.

All we know about the early life of Padre Pedro Núñez is that he was born in Salazar, Burgos, Spain. Sometime before 1724 he journeyed from Spain to Vera Cruz, then across México to Acapulco, where he sailed on a galleon for Manila. His official career in the service of the Church began with his ordination into the Augustinian order in the Convent of San Pablo in Manila in 1724. Apparently he rose quickly in the order, for within four years he had become Procurador, an office which provided Padre Pedro with the experience and perspective so evident in his history of Manila written some sixteen years later. Although Padre Pedro went on to serve as Prior of the Augustinian convent of Guadalupe in the Province of Ilocos, he returned in the end to San Pablo where he died on September 28, 1761.²

Padre Pedro's literary talents distinguished him from the other bright, ambitious, and capable clergymen in Manila. Proud of his accomplishments as Procurador,³ and unwilling to allow his knowledge to die with him, Padre Pedro composed a record of his work as a guide for his successors. The 214-leaf volume, bound in wooden covers,

is written in a clear concise hand and bears the descriptive title, "Manual for the Use of Friars serving as Procuradores in the Convent."⁴ This unpublished manuscript, which left Manila with the huge quantity of books and manuscripts removed by the English when they sacked the Convent of San Pablo in 1763,⁵ has survived the vicissitudes of war, weather, and time to come to rest in the care of the Lilly Library, Indiana University.

In discursive fashion the *Manual* reflects the day-to-day responsibilities of the Procurador, and Padre Pedro in his open, direct, and simple style, made every effort to include anything that might help his successor in the management of the Convent. But the manuscript also served Padre Pedro as a diary, where he recorded impressions of and judgements on Manila society with characteristic wit and charm.

The *Manual* reflects Padre Pedro's inability to separate his administrative duties as Procurador in the Convent from his role as a social leader of Manila. Although the work clearly explains the administrative duties of the Procurador, Padre Pedro spent much more energy discussing his social role as the representative of the Augustinian order. Because he felt this role to be important, one of his primary concerns was to avoid any action which might hurt his reputation and reflect badly on the order. To illustrate the proper conduct of a man in his position, he presented many situations in which he believed he had solved questions of social protocol in a manner befitting a man of his stature. His observations revealed his attitudes, prejudices, and opinions concerning the *manileños*, and thus also provided a unique perspective on many of the economic and social aspects of eighteenth-century Manila.

Though the Spanish crown forbid his order to trade on the galleons, Padre Pedro was familiar with the contemporary commercial practices of the trade which had begun in 1565, even before the founding of the Spanish town of Manila.⁶ In the early days, the crown owned the ships, and each citizen of Manila received a certain amount of the lading space aboard. The law regulated and measured this space into allotments, called *piezas* which were divided into *boletas*. Ambitious merchants bought extra boletas from citizens who had no interest or no money to buy merchandise and filled them with trading goods. The money derived from such sales supported many citizens during the year between galleons. The merchants who actually participated in the trade could make huge fortunes on one ship and lose everything on the next, all depending on the state of the weather, the prevalence of pirates, and the uncertainties of the market.⁷

Chinese silks and porcelains were the major trade goods exported in response to an insatiable demand in Latin America and Spain. The Manila merchants continually worked to open new outside trade routes, but this external focus led them to neglect the development of local resources. Always in search of capital to expand their share of the trade, they borrowed money from the religious orders who had separate funds called *Obras Pias*, drawn from charitable bequests and endowments established for this purpose. Merchants willing to borrow money from the orders paid 40 to 50 per cent in interest.⁸ With these funds they then purchased and stored the Chinese goods until they acquired enough lading space to ship them. If the galleon returned with Mexican silver pesos and Spanish wine, the merchant had no trouble paying off his debts, but if the galleon failed to return, he was ruined.

LAND

While the galleon trade captured most of the attention of the citizens of Manila, surrounding land provided the city with food. This land, owned by Filipinos and Spaniards, produced sugar, salt, green vegetables, and dairy products needed in the city. Every day scores of small boats transported the native produce from the surrounding islands where native Filipinos owned and cultivated the bulk of the land. There were a few estates owned by religious orders and absentee manileño landlords, who allowed the native chiefs to collect rents. No large *latifundias* developed as in Mexico but native chiefs quickly filed titles for communal lands.⁹

The Augustinians owned land which they rented in order to support themselves. Padre Pedro mentioned a hacienda at Pasay which produced sugar for the Convent. Rice, cheese, and other products were collected by rural priests and sent on to the Convent, especially around chapter meeting time.¹⁰ By law the religious orders could not buy land directly from the natives. The crown did not want the orders to acquire great wealth in land, but there were ways around the law. Often a trusted layman would buy the land with the order's money, and one year later, give the title of the land to the order. This process involved very elaborate precautions of measuring the land, notarizing the documents, and acquiring the official approval of the government.

Padre Pedro related one incident to show the procedures necessary for this transfer. The Filipinos who owned the land first proved to the crown attorney, the *fiscal*, that they needed the money from the sale of the land more than they needed the land.¹¹ After the *fiscal* had agreed to the

sale, the approval of the governor and the assessor was secured. Then four public announcements of the sale were made every nine days in public places at holiday times, with the consent of the *alcalde* in the province in which the land was to be sold.¹² These announcements were also made in churches and Indian towns of the area so that everyone affected heard the news. All these precautions were scrupulously employed because in 1746, the royal *audiencia* or high court had declared a land title void because the order had not followed these procedures.¹³ With all the formalities of the law obeyed, the land could be officially sold to a Spaniard. A surveyor measured the land and set up the landmarks¹⁴ in the presence of many witnesses, after which the results were notarized. With a completed bill of sale the new owner visited the land to inform the Filipinos working on it that they would pay rent to him. One year later, he presented all the maps and papers to the *alcade ordinario* asking this official to transfer the land title to the Augustinians.¹⁵

The competition between the religious orders for economic wealth, prestige, and acquisition of land led to a native rebellion in 1744, when the Dominicans and Augustinians won a land case against some Jesuit-administered Indian towns. The Indians living under the Jesuits started a rebellion which spread to other groups of natives who rebelled in Cavite de Viejo, in Sinán, the hacienda of Binán, Paraque, Faguig, San Mateo, and Macyayan; however the natives around Manila in the province of Pampanga remained quiet. After the Spaniards crushed the revolt, the pacification judge, don Pedro Calderon Enríquez, went into the troubled areas with the Jesuits and distributed to the Filipinos the land won by the Augustinians and Dominicans in the law suit, as well as the land acquired by the natives

during the revolt. Of course the prelates of the religious orders protested to the high court and appealed later to the Council of the Indies but they never received compensation.¹⁶

CITY REAL ESTATE

Urban land also brought economic benefits to the Augustinian convent which built houses around the city and rented these to tenants on a monthly or yearly basis. These houses needed rebuilding every six years due to the corrosive aspects of Manila's extreme humidity. Consequently Padre Pedro carefully supervised the labor, the materials, and the form of the houses. In the *Manual* he discussed the urban properties, people whom he considered proper tenants, and the problems of rent collection.

Padre Pedro always signed agreements with tenants, and thereby had legal proof for the courts if rent was in arrears.¹⁷ Rent from poorer tenants was collected monthly to insure payment. Rent collected annually from the rich tenants after the arrival of a galleon enabled the Convent to pay operating expenses. But many times rent collection proved difficult. Threats sometimes worked, because a person expelled from a house would lose his social reputation. On one occasion Padre Pedro recalled that he had shown his pants under his cassock in order to prove to refractory tenants that he was a man and was not to be challenged.

He also found that using a bondsman solved problems with dubious tenants.¹⁸ Padre Pedro advised against bachelors as tenants since they often used only certain rooms and the remaining rooms became very dirty. Furthermore, if there was no supervision, young servant boys would use the roofs of these rooms for flying kites, destroying the roof tiles. Military officers with unsteady salaries often paid

late. Relatives of the judges of the high court sometimes could use their family prestige to avoid paying.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

A reading of the *Manual* gives an idea of Padre Pedro's conception of his role in the society of Manila and makes it possible to see how each social group interacted with the others. The social structure consisted of three main racial types: the Filipinos, the Chinese, and the Spaniards. The three groups held interlocking economic roles in a society based on a hierarchy in which the Filipinos were the labor force; the Chinese functioned as middlemen; and the Spaniards held government positions and traded on the galleons.

The Filipinos

The native Filipinos, called *indios* by the Spanish, served as the major work force of Manila, performing the menial tasks of the city and the rural areas. As paid laborers, the Filipinos worked on construction projects or in special jobs. The construction work described by Padre Pedro involved the building of the houses from which the Convent derived income. Padre Pedro hired the Filipinos as stone cutters, well diggers, and plasterers, and because they were clever with their hands, they also made good wood carvers. The entire ship building trade depended on their carpentry skill and ingenuity. Specialized jobs also attracted the Filipinos, who became tailors, chocolate manufacturers, cooks, and performed the service jobs for the Spanish and the Chinese. A few became traders, though the Chinese usually held these positions.¹⁹

Padre Pedro found the paid Filipino labor to be untrustworthy and lazy. He repeatedly cautioned that they would not continue working without an overseer, and they

could not be given money for it served as an incentive to steal. Often Padre Pedro bribed the laborers, offering tobacco and a local alcoholic drink called *nipa* because he doubted that without these bribes, they would finish the work.²⁰

Padre Pedro treated the Filipinos from the provinces differently. Many of these were traders and traveled long distances to reach Manila. Dealing directly with these natives instead of going through middlemen, he purchased exactly what he wanted at a cheaper price. At one point when money was short in the Convent, Padre Pedro offered a pair of dogs in payment for a certain kind of wood.²¹ This delighted the specific Filipino so much that he reduced his selling price.

Many times parish priests and convents demanded tribute labor or unpaid labor when they had no legal right to ask for it. Labor often consisted of constructing churches and parish houses.²² Work on the haciendas might have been unpaid, but Padre Pedro does not clarify this point.

Certainly the *criados*, boys from the provinces who lived at the Convent of San Pablo, were unpaid. They assisted the priests, acting as servants, and in return, the Convent fed, clothed, and educated them. According to the *Manual* their clothes were very simple and made of cotton because silk was forbidden to them as it was to the priests.²³ Interestingly, the *criados* followed a custom practiced everywhere in Manila, namely that the last Filipino to enter the service of a priest or a brother would do all the work required, no matter how many had been hired previously. If a priest had five *criados* assigned to him, only one, the last assigned, would do any work. Padre Pedro warned against this practice and suggested ways around the custom.²⁴

Padre Pedro revealed a paternalistic attitude towards unpaid Filipino labor. He considered the natives as children no matter what their age. These Filipinos were to be taught, guided, and protected from corrupting outside influences. Padre Pedro especially liked the workers from the Laguna Region,²⁵ because it was far enough away from Manila to prevent frequent visits to their relatives, but he disliked having natives with families in Manila serve him, for they would often visit their homes, and neglect their work at the Convent. He even disliked allowing the criados to go alone on the streets and chaperoned them to the river for swimming.

Along with this paternalistic attitude, Padre Pedro believed the natives should be kept in their place and punished if they exceeded his standards of acceptable behavior. He appreciated the services they performed but did not appreciate any infringement or threat to his social status. He classified six lashes as a just punishment. If a Filipino received too harsh a punishment, he fled to the mountains, after spreading the word among his friends concerning his cruel treatment.²⁶

The Convent once had difficulty finding workers for its kitchen when a cook became too harsh with one of the native workers. Padre Pedro recognized that the Convent, and hence the Spaniards, needed the work of the Filipinos more than the Filipinos needed the Spanish.

Por que hade estar advertido el P. Procurador que mas necesitamos nosotros a los Indios, que ellos a nosotros: por que los Indios con su trabajo en todas partes hallan a quien servir; pero si nuestra cocina logra mala fama en el trato, desde luego no havra quien servir, aunque se lo quieran pagar bien.²⁷

The Chinese

The Chinese in Manila were called *sangleys*. This name came from the Chinese word, Seng-li, allegedly meaning itinerant trader. Famine drove many Chinese to Manila, but more came as workers and traders, jumping ship when their sampans reached the harbor.

William Schurz estimated that over 40,000 Chinese lived in Manila in 1749. Most of these people lived in the commercial heart of the city, the Parián, built by Governor González Ronquillo.²⁸ Many of these people quickly became nominal Christians, thereby avoiding payment of tribute. But they still maintained the Chinese holidays and their own closed society. It was perhaps because the Spaniards knew so little about them and rarely interacted with the Chinese socially that they came to fear them. The tremendous growth in the Chinese population also contributed to the Spanish fear of a Chinese revolt. Consequently when rumors spread about any Chinese organization, the Spaniards reacted violently, and massacred great numbers of Chinese, as happened in 1603, 1639, 1662, and again in 1782.²⁹ Padre Pedro failed to mention these massacres, probably because eighty years had passed since the last one and the writing of the *Manual* in 1744. He dealt with the Chinese on a commercial basis only.

The Chinese held tremendous economic power in the city. Through their shops in the Parián, they controlled almost all the trade with China, and thus very quickly collected the Mexican silver pesos brought by the galleons once a year. The sampans and junks from China arrived between February and May laden with goods destined for Mexico and Spain, or for the wealthy Spanish in Manila.³⁰ The crown in the sixteenth century had tried unsuccessfully to

regulate this commerce through official fairs, but by the middle of the eighteenth century the residents dealt directly with the traders, in the *Parián* or in their homes.³¹

The Chinese worked at other specialized occupations besides trading in the diverse shops of the *Parián*, including those of bakers, candlemakers, silversmiths, and green-grocers.³² They also worked at annual tasks like house construction. Padre Pedro often contracted with Chinese master builders for the construction of a house in the *Parián*. The Convent put up the money and the Chinese did all the construction work, ordered all the materials, and when the house was completed, paid the Convent a monthly rent.³³

Obligado Chinese (tradesmen) served as regular help to some of the Spaniards. For example, the Convent contracted for a fisherman *obligado* who supplied fish when the Augustinians wanted it and collected rent from other fishermen who lived in the houses owned by the Convent. From this rent money the *obligador* subtracted what was owed for the fish. This policy helped the Procurador by freeing him from the collection of the rent of the fishermen who were often late in paying.³⁴

The Chinese also handled the packing and storage of cargos in the galleons, unloaded ships, and hauled sand. They even cleaned outhouses and pig pens from vacated houses with pay being determined by the distance of the house from the river. They did just about anything for money and their wage-scale was higher than that of the Filipinos.³⁵

In spite of all these different skills, Padre Pedro did not trust them. He repeatedly called them sneaky, and warned against their cheating, though he thought that they were good workers and reliable in staying on the job without an overseer. This industriousness he attributed to the fear

that the Chinese had of the Spanish courts, so he insured completion of his work by making them sign a legal contract with witnesses before beginning any job.³⁶ Padre Pedro's attitude toward the Chinese however was in no way paternal. He was cautious and kept his dealings on a strict commercial basis.

The Spanish

People with Spanish ancestry, like Padre Pedro, composed the ruling class of Manila. Laymen and clergy both fit this description. The non-clerical *peninsulares*, *criollos*, and people from New Spain (Mexico) competed with each other for money and prestige. They were highly individualistic; each man looked out for his own fortune before giving attention to any other responsibility. Manila lacked city leaders because everyone spent their energies building their own fortunes and had no time for civic attention.

The *peninsulares* stood at the top of the social hierarchy. Most of these Spaniards came from Vizcaya (Biscay) in the Basque region of Spain and from Galicia, the Spanish province north of Portugal. Though small in number they held a great deal of power. In 1779 there were only 348 Spaniards in all Manila, and most of these held important positions.³⁷ The Governor and the court judges were all crown appointees. The *encomenderos* and major merchants were from Spain. The clergy, who we will discuss later, came from all over Spain to serve their God and their King.

Padre Pedro divided the Manila *peninsulares* into three categories. Those who came to Manila on an invitation from their family or friends he considered to be honest if they became successful businessmen. The second group, fortune seekers, needed to make money before they received any social status in his eyes. The third group, the boasters,

claimed titles of count or *marqués*, but Padre Pedro cast grave doubts concerning the validity of these assertions. All Spaniards claimed to be *hidalgos* when they arrived.

According to contemporary Spanish standards, a gentleman was for governing and war, not manual work. And every Spaniard no matter what he happened to be in Spain or Mexico, was transformed into a *hidalgo* the moment he stepped on the wharf at Cavite.³⁸

Each Spaniard wanted to get rich as quickly as possible and return home to Spain. Therefore they contributed little to the city which would not benefit themselves and their fortunes, and the city lacked respected leaders. Each wanted the best food, clothes, and other symbols of affluence. This was, of course, not possible, so the society degenerated into petty feuding characterized by vicious gossip.

Many Spaniards were easily slighted and allowed their tempers to rule them. Padre Pedro told of going to the house of a notary or *escribano*, to question him concerning some business of the Convent. A Spaniard who was in the house suddenly insulted the notary for no apparent reason. The two soon drew swords, but Padre Pedro intervened in time to stop them. When the argument settled down, Padre Pedro slipped away to both the Governor's house and the houses of the high court judges to explain the incident. He felt sure that the Spaniard, a hot-tempered Basque, would bring charges against the notary, who was lower in social position, and that consequently the authorities might sympathize with the Spaniard's version. His precaution was successful.³⁹ The officials later ignored the complaints lodged against the notary by the Spaniard.

Most people preferred malicious gossip to outright duels against their enemies. Padre Pedro disdained gossip and warned his successor constantly against indulging in

it. His own bitter experience of discussing a case concerning the Convent with a brother of the order, lost him a case in court. The unthinking brother gossiped with a lay friend who in turn twisted a comment into an offensive remark against the judge in the case. Later the Augustinians lost the case because of this gossip.⁴⁰

Children of the peninsulares were called *criollos*. They were of Spanish blood but were born in the Islands. Their occupations varied considerably for they held minor governmental positions, became lawyers, and some became clergymen. Most became merchants, traveling extensively, and these travels to China, Batavia (Java), and Acapulco gave them many experiences during the long voyages.⁴¹ Their alleged worldliness made Padre Pedro distrust them somewhat in social and business dealings.

Padre Pedro derogatorily referred to those who migrated to Manila from Spain as *guachinangos*. He classified them according to their reasons for migration: those with prior connections in the city, soldiers who became merchants, and exiles. The first group came at a family's or a friend's invitation to work. Some became successful merchants and others became legal or administrative officials, such as notaries or constables. The second group, the soldiers, came as such, but perhaps because their pay was so low in Manila, they soon became merchants and members of the trade guilds or *consulado*.

The membership in the *consulado* was so lucrative that officers abandoned the profession of arms to enroll themselves as merchants, until it was difficult to keep up the quota of officers needed for the command of the forces. "A purely mercantile spirit reigns in this colony," he said (Gonzalez Carbaja) "and riches are preferred to titles of honor."⁴²

Unfortunately the military became so depleted at one time that there were not enough soldiers for a proper defense when the Negro pirates from Mindanão and Jolo threatened to raid the city of Manila.⁴³ The third group included many convicts or *forzados*, banished by the Mexican courts to Manila where they often ended up begging on the streets.

Religious orders, scattered all over the Philippines in missions and parishes, held great wealth and power. Dominicans, Franciscans, Jesuits, and the shoed and unshoed Augustinians—all Spanish and around 400 in all—established missions, for missionary work was their major occupation.⁴⁴ These clergymen lived off the land and from tributes from their parishioners. Padre Pedro never related how much land or how many parishes the Augustinians controlled. He did mention that the Augustinians were too busy making money to cooperate with each other. Consequently he never believed that the Augustinians were a united order. He excused this interest in money rather than cooperation by stating that even charitable works needed money.⁴⁵

For example, a description of the Convent of San Pablo, the Augustinian convent, showed that the order had many precious objects. A Basque priest after arriving in Manila in 1759 described the Convent in 1770, after the British had sacked it. The priest, Fray Augustin María de Castro, drew a vivid picture of the Convent which Padre Pedro served as Procurador.⁴⁶ Twenty priests, four brothers, and six *donados* lived in the Convent. Castro implied that about the same number probably lived there in Padre Pedro's day ten years earlier. At least 100 paid Filipino servants, performed duties in the kitchen, sacristy, washing room, infirmary, and storage rooms. These numbers doubled during the triennial chapter meetings.

The order used the Convent as a home for new arrivals from Spain and Mexico, as the retirement home of elderly members, and as the place for chapter meetings. The active residents included the Provincial, the Prior, and the Procurador. Descriptions of the Convent revealed it to be smaller than the convents of Mexico and Spain. It had a fine library, a large kitchen, a small infirmary, and was infested by a large quantity of bugs of all sizes. The humidity made the Convent a very uncomfortable place to live. After consulting old record books, Castro found that the Convent needed 1000 pesos a month to support itself. Consequently Padre Pedro's constant worries concerning the collection of rent from the houses around Manila seems justified. He needed this rent money to support the operating expenses of the Convent.⁴⁷

This pressing need to balance his record books also meant that he was capable of showing some force behind his collection practices. Subsequently Padre Pedro spent many hours assessing the legal system of Manila and figuring out the best manner to handle the various litigations in which his order participated.

Padre Pedro had a practical view of Manila's complex judicial system. He knew how to maneuver to win his cases for he was an experienced and successful litigant. Convinced that the wording, timing, and presentation were all important, he and the order needed competent representatives and open channels of communication in the city. Padre Pedro spent hours each day establishing and maintaining relationships with influential people.

He selected very carefully the Convent's *escribano* or notary, and its lawyer. For the notary he wanted someone who was thorough, exacting, and conscientious in copying documents. Omitting key phrases and giving vague boundary

descriptions led to further litigation. Notaries were well paid to preclude bribery but they were not wealthy nor high on the social scale. By calculating small favors Padre Pedro assured priority in attention to the Convent's affairs among the many competitive clients of each notary. Padre Pedro once visited a notary in prison and helped arrange his release. Word spread among all the escribanos, and Padre Pedro no longer had any trouble getting his work done.⁴⁸

The selection of the lawyer was an equally, if not more, important choice: a man of integrity, irreproachable, and without compromising relations with potential litigants. The Convent's lawyer handled all the legal business of the year for an annual retainer fee of 100 pesos. Padre Pedro was careful to secure his loyalty also with frequent gifts.⁴⁹ The Augustinian order seldom lost a case during Padre Pedro's time.

Padre Pedro's order appreciated his cleverness and astuteness for he held the office of Procurador, an elected position, for a long time. Over this period he acquired insight into the workings of the economic, social, and legal order of Manila society. The acquisition of wealth in Manila was the primary goal of most of its citizens. Wealth received through the galleon trade made up a substantial portion of the livelihood of the city. But land also had its returns. The Convent of Padre Pedro acquired food and labor for its needs. Urban land also brought returns from the tenants whose rent helped support the expenses of the Convent.

Socially every person participating in the Manila society had a specific role in the hierarchy. The Filipinos made up the working class of the city and their status depended on their economic role. Padre Pedro realized that

the work of these natives allowed the social system to exist. Consequently he exhibited an ambivalence in his distrust for the laborers yet paternalistic attitudes towards those in his charge. The Chinese aided in the galleon trade with both goods and labor, and Padre Pedro's attitude toward them showed only their economic value to him and the order. The Parián held most of the coveted goods from China needed in trade and for local consumption. But the relations with the Spanish community exhibited Padre Pedro's real talents. Being Spanish by birth, he considered himself to be on top of the social hierarchy, and classified other peoples of Spanish ancestry into groups of peninsulares, criollos, and those from New Spain. His advice for his successors demonstrated an astute awareness of social roles and ways of manipulating within this Spanish society. His choice of legal representatives for the Convent showed that he was entirely aware of what was needed to be in control of his surroundings. And in his *Manual* he has demonstrated a method of how to succeed within the structures of Manila society in the eighteenth century.

NOTES

¹ John Leddy Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1959), p. 11. Here Phelan explained the terrific dependence of Manila on the galleon trade, and shows the importance of the Chinese and their trade to the city.

² Manuel Merino, O.S.A., *Agustinos evangelizadores de Filipinas 1565-1965* (Madrid: Ediciones Archivo Agustiniiano, 1965), p. 405. See also Isacio Rodríguez Rodríguez, O.S.A., *História de la Provincia Agustiniiana* del Smo. Nombre de Jesus de Filipinas (Manila, 1966), vol. II, p. 221.

³ The office of Procurador can be equated to that of manager or administrator of the Convent. He handled the business of the Convent.

⁴ Padre Pedro Núñez, "Manual for the Use of Friars serving as Procuradores" #21533. Mendel Collection, Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana. This manuscript is available to any student of Philippine history. Hereafter the manuscript will be referred to as *Manual* and citation made to the leaves of the manuscript with v meaning the reverse side of the numbered leaf.

⁵ Charles R. Boxer, *Catalogue of Philippine Manuscripts in the Lilly Library*, Asian Studies Research Institute, Occasional Papers no. 2 (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University, 1968), p. 56. Boxer wrote a full description of this manuscript in his catalog along with the table of contents which Padre Pedro included in the *Manual*.

⁶ William Lyle Schurz, *The Manilla Galleon* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1939), p. 24. The first ship, San Pablo, under the command of Felipe de Salcedo, followed westerly winds in the northern Pacific so that it took 3½ months to go to Acapulco. The trade was carried on regularly each year from that time on. Legaspi founded Manila in 1571, amidst Muslim settlers.

⁷ For the fullest description of this trade and its specifics, see Schurz, *Galleon*, pp. 159-167. The crown vacillated between permitting and not permitting ecclesiastics to participate in the trade. The law of 1734 which was in effect during Padre Pedro's time, "prohibited the assignment of boletas under any pretext or simulation, under pain of the Royal indignation to any ecclesiastics, secular or regular."

⁸ *Manual*, l. 172-173v. and l. 50v, and Schurz, *Galleon*, p. 167 for full explanations of the *Obras Pias* and how the *Hermandad de la Misericordia* acted as a major controller or banker for Manila, but the other orders all took part in lending money.

⁹ For a good discussion of the application of individual land ownership see Phelan, *Hispanization*, pp. 117-119.

¹⁰ *Manual*, l. 92v, 148v, and 154v. For a description of the other properties of the Convent see: Augustine María de Castro, "Historia del insigne convento de San Pablo de Manila, 1770" in *Missionalia Hispanica* vol. VIII, no. 22 (1951), pp. 65-122. The hacienda of

Pasay, which lies one league south of Manila, supplies the Convent with sugar. The Granja Alanguilan in Bulacan grows rice and the estancia in Marsapaan in the Province of Tondo, grows rice and has 50 head of cattle which belong to the Convent.

¹¹ Phelan, *Hispanization*, p. 118 and p. 130. The Filipinos became very adept at manipulating the slow-moving Spanish legal machinery.

¹² *Manual*, l. 186v. Padre Pedro stresses the need for preciseness in these details.

¹³ *Manual*, l. 180-180v. Padre Pedro discusses that the laws don't allow religious to buy land directly from Indians as in Mexico and so he discusses the realities of gaining possession of land.

¹⁴ *Manual*, l. 182. Padre Pedro included a recipe for these landmarks made from sand, bricks, lime, and sugar cane juice so that nothing could move the boundary.

¹⁵ *Manual*, l. 183. Padre Pedro made sure that the Spaniard would turn the papers over to him by having him sign a contract which would hold up in court.

¹⁶ Hugo Salazar, "Usurpation of Indian Lands by Friars," *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, E. H. Blair and J. A. Robertson, trans. (Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark, Co., 1907), vol. 48, p. 31. He discusses the revolt in terms of being a revolt over land titles.

¹⁷ *Manual*, l. 54. Showing pant legs and speaking carefully sometimes persuaded tenants to pay their rent.

¹⁸ *Manual*, l. 50-50v, and l. 55. Often cases of back rent went to court, and so Padre Pedro was very concerned about legal contracts with his tenants, and that he kept his word about any promise he made to these tenants.

¹⁹ Juan Jose Delgado, S.J., "Historia general de Filipinas," trans. in Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, vol. 40, pp. 285-286, footnote 331. Delgado on May 19, 1738 wrote a description of the way the native people were able to learn and perform skilled tasks. He lauds their handiwork but notes that they imitate rather than create. "They are good carvers, gilders, and carpenters."

²⁰ *Manual*, l. 48. El Padre Fray Gaspar de San Agustin, O.S.A. "Conquistas de las Islas Philipinas," *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*,

trans. in Blair and Robertson (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark, Co., 1907), vol. 40. Gaspar feels that if the natives are paid anything in advance, they will leave the work and keep the pay. In contrast with this view, Juan Delgado in reply says that it is the same in Spain, with cobblers, tailors, and other tricky workmen. He explains the advance payment as insurance so that the person will not go to another house and that the customer must accept the job done for he has paid for it. Padre Pedro pays a little money at first but states that it cannot be a lot or they won't finish the job, so he makes a contract. See *Manual*, l. 32. *Manual* l. 37 has *nipa* as a spiritous drink made from the roots of a palm tree.

²¹ *Manual*, l. 6. The offer of dogs insured that even if offered more than was contracted with Padre Pedro, this Filipino would not sell to anyone else.

²² Phelan, *Hispanization*, p. 103. The Filipinos supported the ecclesiastical establishments on the islands. The long attacks on this oppression seemed to change nothing.

²³ *Manual*, l. 72-74v. Much of the material for these clothes came from China and was dyed in Manila into a dark blue which was used for the pants of the criados.

²⁴ *Manual*, l. 73v. His advice is that the Procurador divide the work up equally among the boys, each of which would be held responsible for his share.

²⁵ *Manual*, l. 73. He really liked a majordomo from the Laguna area and kept him 15 years.

²⁶ *Manual*, l. 71v and Gaspar de San Agustin, "Conquistas," p. 266. Gaspar agreed with Padre Pedro that lashings must be moderate or the boys would become insolent.

²⁷ *Manual*, l. 71v. My translation: Because the Padre Procurador must notice that we need the Indians more than they need us: because the Indians, with their work, find those to serve everywhere; but if our kitchen achieves a bad reputation in the matter, from then on it would have no one to serve (it), even though one would want to pay them well.

²⁸ Schurz, *Galleon*, pp. 79-81. The Chinese were required to live in this area by law. The 1749 figure was high because many Chinese had escaped famine in China and fled to Manila.

²⁹ Phelan, *Hispanization*, p. 146. Both the Filipinos and the Spanish hated the Chinese, and this common enemy allowed the Spanish to have even more firm control on the country.

³⁰ *Manual*, l. 92. Padre Pedro also discusses what the sampans contained for the Convent such as ham and other kinds of meat.

³¹ Schurz, *Galleon*, p. 77. In the arranged trade, the *pancada*, there was no way to haggle over the price so both Chinese and Spanish evaded the law.

³² *Manual*, l. 93v, l. 38, and l. 14. The Chinese sell all kinds of melon seeds, fruits, and all manner of things.

³³ *Manual*, l. 38. The Chinese liked corner lots for business purposes and Padre Pedro charged more for them. The governor had to give permission to build these stores or houses, but permission was easy to get.

³⁴ *Manual*, l. 93v and 63. Padre Pedro protests that the fishermen were very slow in paying and devious so he heartily welcomed someone else who would take the responsibility.

³⁵ *Manual*, l. 36 and 39. The very messy jobs were left to the Chinese *cargador*. Padre Pedro advised against letting them care for horses because they had little practice and often killed horses by beating them too hard.

³⁶ *Manual*, l. 29. He made the men working with the Chinese master sign the document so they also were legally bound to stay on the job.

³⁷ Schurz, *Galleon*, p. 81, and also see Nicholas P. Cushner, S.J. *Spain in the Philippines*. Institute of Philippine Culture (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Co., Inc., 1971), p. 109.

³⁸ Cushner, *Spain*, p. 117. This common generalization has been challenged by James Lockhart in "The Social History of Colonial Spanish America: Evolution and Potential," *Latin American Research Review*, vol. VII, no. 1, Spring, 1972, p. 13. Here he wants this generalization to be understood in light of the times, and Padre Pedro makes his views abundantly clear in this regard. He feels himself much superior to many of the Spaniards of Manila and is telling us that over and over again.

³⁹ *Manual*, l. 167-167v. Padre Pedro seemed to gloat over the fact that he gained a few points over the Basque.

⁴⁰ *Manual*, l. 147v. Padre Pedro when asked what he thought of his opponents in a law suit answered that he was sure they had good consciences and they would follow them. Consequently he avoided any malicious gossip.

⁴¹ *Manual*, l. 61v-62. Padre Pedro's attitude here implies that the criollos took on the attitudes and occupations of their parents without much change. If the criollo were raised by a convent or order, then the criollo might turn out all right.

⁴² Schurz, *Galleon*, p. 175. This quotation explained the temper of the times. The military greatly resented the amount of wealth of the religious orders and their control over the Filipinos.

⁴³ *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*. Europeo Americana (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, S.A., 1958) volume 23, p. 1371, and Schurz, *Galleon*, p. 49. *Manual*, l. 60v-61v and 162v. The military were poorly paid and therefore made poor tenants as well.

⁴⁴ Phelan, *Hispanization*, 41. The number was inadequate for the amount of territory and great loss of members from fevers. Also the others did not encourage priests from New Spain because of internal dissention within the orders between peninsulares and criollos.

⁴⁵ *Manual*, l. 148v. Padre Pedro commented almost sadly that trusting people is difficult and his advice about talking only with the Prior and never with a secular gives some indication of the split between the secular and regular clergy.

⁴⁶ Castro, "Historia," p. 88-91. He gives a vivid description of the Convent's library before it was looted by the British.

⁴⁷ Castro, "Historia," p. 91. There is no indication of how this money was spent or any kind of budget.

⁴⁸ *Manual*, l. 168v. Padre Pedro even got sixteen years of service from this escribano.

⁴⁹ *Manual*, l. 154-157. Some of the ways of winning loyalty were complimentary visits to the lawyer, saying mass in his name on his birthday, giving him food from the surrounding lands of the Convent, and giving him candles.

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A CATALOGUE OF PRE-1840 NAHUATL WORKS HELD BY THE LILLY LIBRARY

By JOHN FREDERICK SCHWALLER

THE EARLIEST BOOK known to have been printed in the New World was in Nahuatl. Nahuatl is the name of the Aztec language, spoken throughout central Mexico before the Spanish conquest; and this first book known to have been printed was the *Breve y mas compendiosa doctrina cristiana en lengua mexicana y castellana* published in 1539.¹ There are other books which have a claim to having been the first book printed in the Americas, since much of the history of early printing in Mexico remains unclear. Nevertheless, the amount of evidence in favor of the *Doctrina cristiana* makes its publication, if not its primacy, a certainty, although no copies exist today.

One of the main reasons for the establishment of a printing press in Mexico centered around the need for materials to aid in the "spiritual conquest" of the area, the conversion of the conquered Aztec empire to Christianity. Thus it should come as no surprise that one of the first, if not the first, book printed in Mexico would be in Nahuatl. Throughout the next three centuries, the Nahuatl language continued to occupy a position of importance in the output of Mexican presses. Yet even through three centuries publications in Nahuatl did not lose their didactic nature, serving in the Christian education of the Indians.

The Mendel Collection of the Lilly Library at Indiana University reflects the significance of Nahuatl in the history of Mexican printing. While the collection does not contain

all works printed in Nahuatl between 1539 and 1840 it does faithfully represent the output of that period. Of the less than 150 Nahuatl works extant from the period, the Mendel Collection contains 56.

In formulating this catalogue certain guidelines were followed. For several reasons the year 1840 serves as a suitable upper limit for its chronological scope. First, it makes the range of the study an even three centuries, 1539-1840. Secondly, since the Mendel Collection, and the Lilly Library in general, hold rare books, books printed after 1840 would more likely appear in the General Collection of the Indiana University Library. Lastly, works printed in Nahuatl after 1840 exhibit a different type of emphasis. By the middle of the nineteenth century works in and dealing with Nahuatl became more analytical and less creative. Production shifted from that of religious works, grammars, and dictionaries for clerics to linguistic studies and secular works for the educated and scientifically-oriented public.

At present much of the Mendel Collection has not been permanently catalogued. Thus in order to formulate this study many titles had to be located from other sources and then checked against the Collection's temporary catalogue. In this endeavor the most important aids were José Toribio Medina's *La imprenta en México*, 8 vols. (Santiago de Chile, 1907-1912) and his *La imprenta en la Puebla de los Angeles* (Santiago de Chile, 1923).² These sources were consulted to locate works in Nahuatl or "lengua mexicana" as it was known in the colonial period. In general, if the title appeared in Spanish and no mention of Nahuatl appeared in the title or description it was assumed that the work contained no Nahuatl. In order to cross-check titles from Medina, and to locate possible titles not in Medina,

the Ugarte *Catálogo*, García Icazbalceta's *Apuntes*, the Pilling *Proofsheets*, and Viñaza's *Bibliografía* were consulted.³ Works containing only a few words in Nahuatl did not qualify for inclusion in this catalogue. Yet any work with a substantial portion, although not completely, in Nahuatl was included.

This listing will be arranged chronologically according to the earliest edition held by the Lilly. Mention will be made of later editions held by the Lilly under the first reference to that work. The Medina catalogue number will be given for works listed in that bibliographic source. Following the citation of the title and publication data any interesting information concerning the book, its author, or the Lilly edition will appear.

CATALOGUE

1. Dominicans. *Doctrina cristiana en lengua española y mexicana*, Mexico: Juan Pablos, 1550. Medina Mexico 17.

While the Lilly holds earlier examples of Mexican incunables, this is the earliest containing Nahuatl. The copy held by the Lilly Library is a variant of the edition cited by Medina. As will be seen, many of the works in Nahuatl have the title of *Doctrina cristiana*. These works are statements of Christian doctrine which served as catechisms. The Lilly copy of this work in Spanish and Nahuatl was bound with a similar work in Spanish only: Gutierre Gonzalez' *Libro de doctrina de la christiana religion* [n.p., 15—].

2. Molina, Alonso de. (ca.1513-1585) *Aquí comienza un vocabulario en la lengua castellana y mexicana*. [Mexico: Juan Pablos, 1555]. Medina Mexico 24.

The history of this very important work is a story in itself. As will be seen, Alonso de Molina, a Franciscan, was by far the most important figure in the effort to spread Nahuatl among the early colonists and missionaries. Molina came to the New World as a child and

learned Nahuatl from playmates and his nurses. Then when he entered the priesthood he used this early contact with the language in his missionary activities and in the training of other priests. As with most authors of works printed in Nahuatl, his first production was a catechism, printed in 1546. However, since no copies of that work still exist his second work, this *Vocabulario*, is the oldest extant. A *vocabulario* is a dictionary, and in this case a Spanish-Nahuatl dictionary. This *Vocabulario* is the first Nahuatl dictionary published. The copy held by the Lilly has fly leaves which are pages from the Dominican *Doctrina* cited above (see no. 1).

The *Vocabulario* of 1555 was revised, augmented, and reprinted in 1571. This work, *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana*; Mexico: Antonio de Spínosa, 1571; Medina Mexico 65, is one of the most famous of the early works from the Mexican printers. The Lilly holds a copy of this edition. To this day the 1571 edition of Molina's *Vocabulario* ranks as one of the definitive Nahuatl dictionaries, being reprinted in facsimile as late as 1970.

3. Molina, Alonso de. *Confessionario breve. En lengua mexicana*. [Mexico, 1563/1564?] Wagner 122.⁴

A *confessionario* is a handbook for priests dealing with the confessing of their parishioners. Because of the language gap in the early years of the Christianizing mission in Mexico, many handbooks such as this one were written to aid the Spanish priest in his ministry among the Indians. These works contain both the questions to be asked, phrased in Nahuatl, as well as forms of possible response along with their Spanish translation.

This particular copy is considered by some to be the first edition of this work by Molina. Since the Lilly copy lacks both a title page and a colophon, the place and date of publication are uncertain. Adding to the confusion, a facsimile of the title page of a different edition, of 1565, was inserted. The 1565 edition gained the recognition as the first edition from many scholars. The Lilly also holds a copy of this: *Confessionario breve, en lengua mexicana y castellana*. Mexico: Antonio de Espínosa, 1565, Medina Mexico 48. In addition to this complete copy the Lilly holds another copy which lacks a title page and which is bound with a larger later work by Molina, his *Confessionario mayor* (see below no. 4).

4. Molina, Alonso de. [*Confessionario mayor, en lengua mexicana y castellana*. Mexico: Antonio de Espinosa, 1565] Medina Mexico 49.

This work is an expanded version of the *Confessionario breve*. But rather than being just a larger edition, its slightly different format and larger scope warrant its consideration as a separate work. As noted above, the Lilly copy is bound with a copy of the 1565 *Confessionario breve*. The copy also lacks a title page and one leaf.

The Lilly Library also holds a copy of a later edition of this work: *Confessionario mayor. En la lengua mexicana y castellana*. Mexico: Pedro Balli, 1578. Medina Mexico 86.

5. Molina, Alonso de. *Arte de la lengua mexicana y castellana*. Mexico: Pedro Ocharte, 1571. Medina Mexico 64.

This work rounds out Molina's study of and work with Nahuatl. Its title, *Arte de la lengua mexicana*, tells that it is a grammar of Nahuatl. This work can be seen as a compilation of rules of the language based on a lifetime of contact and investigation. Much of what modern scholars know about Nahuatl as spoken and used in the sixteenth century is based on this presentation given by Molina. This particular work also ranks as the first printed grammar of Nahuatl.

Most of the works by Molina were reprinted periodically throughout the period covered by this catalogue. Molina's works represent the standard types of books in Nahuatl: dictionaries, grammars, and religious works such as catechisms, confessionaries, and collections of sermons.

6. Juan de la Anunciación. (1514?-1594.) *Sermonario en lengua mexicana . . . con un catecismo en lengua mexicana y española, con el calendario*. Mexico: Antonio Ricardo, 1577. Medina Mexico 78.

Juan de la Anunciación was born in Granada and came to the New World as a youth. In Mexico he took the habit of St. Augustine and became a missionary. This book is at least the partial result of that ministry, being a compilation of sermons in Nahuatl, a catechism, and a calendar of saint's days. These compilations of sermons were quite popular in the sixteenth century because with a *sermonario* and a *confessionario* a Spanish priest who knew no Nahuatl could at least attempt to minister among the Indians. The Lilly copy of this work has sixteenth-century manuscript fly leaves.

7. Rincón, Antonio del. (1556-1601) *Arte mexicana*. Mexico: Pedro Balli, 1595. Medina Mexico 135.

Rincón is the first locally-born author to appear in this catalogue. Although born of Spanish parents in Texcoco, just outside of Mexico City, he became interested in Nahuatl. Entering the Society of Jesus he spent his life teaching Indians not Christian doctrine but arts and letters. Thus this work on the grammar of Nahuatl represents not so much practical hints on how to use the language but a scholarly treatise on the structured language.

8. Juan Bautista. (1555-c1613) *Confessionario en lengua mexicana y castellana*. [Mexico] Melchior Ocharte, 1599. Medina Mexico 152.

The Lilly Library has two copies of this work. One copy is imperfect (lacking a title page and leaves 1-2, 7, 74-75, which are supplied in facsimile) and disbound. The other copy is complete and bound. The imperfect copy has both text and errata of print and format type "B" as described by Medina. The complete copy has text identified as type "A" and errata of type "B."

Juan Bautista was a Franciscan born in Mexico City. He learned Nahuatl as an adult at the University, and then dedicated the rest of his life to studying the earlier works in the language, as well as to its current evolution. This *confessionario* was the first of the many works he wrote in Nahuatl (see below no. 10 and no. 11).

9. [Petrus a Gandavo] (d. 1572) [*Doctrina cristiana en lengua mexicana*. Mexico, 15—] Wagner 19?

The copy which the Lilly holds has about one third of the leaves and lacks a title page. Comparison was made with the copy held at the University of Texas and it was concluded that these leaves most certainly form part of the work by Petrus a Gandavo, known as Peter of Ghent, but were probably a variant or a later edition. The size of the Lilly fragment does not permit the exact identification of the edition.

Peter of Ghent ranks as one of the greatest figures in the early missionary effort in Mexico. He arrived in 1523 only two years after the fall of the Aztec empire. Very quickly he set about Christianizing the Indians. Many consider him the father of Mexican education since he established one of the first schools in the New World at Texcoco.

He later helped to found the famous Colegio de Tlatelolco in Mexico City for the education and training of the sons of the Indian chiefs.

10. Juan Bautista. *Advertencias para los confesores de los naturales*. Mexico: Melchior Ocharte, 1600. Medina Mexico 163.

This two volume work is another handbook for confessors. The actual text contains parts in three languages: Nahuatl, Spanish, and Latin. This particular edition is possibly the second edition.

11. Juan Bautista. *Sermonario en lengua mexicana . . . Primera parte*. Mexico: Diego López Dávalos, 1606. Medina Mexico 227.

According to all sources only the first volume of this proposed multi-volume collection of sermons was ever published. Nevertheless, the one volume which did appear is considered to be one of the finest examples of religious writing in Nahuatl. The copy of this work held by the Lilly lacks a title page and a final leaf, with the title page supplied in facsimile.

12. León, Martín de. (fl. 1600) *Camino del cielo en lengua mexicana*. Mexico: Diego López Dávalos, 1611. Medina Mexico 260.

This is the first edition of León's work and the only edition held by the Lilly. A general handbook to be used by a parish priest in aiding his parishioners in achieving a Christian life, it contains a religious calendar, a catechism, and guides for confessions. The book is largely in Nahuatl. This particular edition is considered to be rare. (For other works by León see no. 18.)

13. Alva, Bartolomé. (fl. 1630) [*Confessionario mayor y menor en lengua mexicana*. Mexico: Francisco Salbago, 1634] Medina Mexico 444.

The Lilly Library holds two copies of this work. One copy lacks a title page, three preliminary leaves, and the first three leaves of text. Both copies are bound with copies of Manuel Perez' *Cathecismo romano* (see no. 25). According to Beristain de Sousa, Bartolomé Alva was a descendant of the old Indian kings of Texcoco. Among his other works are included the translation of several of Lope de Vega's plays to Nahuatl.

14. Lorra Baquío, Francisco de. (d. 1669) *Manual mexicana de la administración de los santos sacramentos*. Mexico: Diego Gutiérrez, 1634. Medina Mexico 446.

Lorra Baquío was a parish priest in the bishopric of Puebla, to the east of Mexico City. This work serves as a guide to the administration of the sacraments. Unlike earlier works it deals with all of the sacraments as is the one noted above. It is written in Spanish Latin, confessions. This type of handbook became quite popular during the middle of the seventeenth century, especially in the bishopric of Puebla, as will be seen later.

The Library copy of this work is shelved as part of a permanent display collection of works in the Mendel Room of the Lilly Library.

15. Contreras Gallardo, Pedro. *Manual de administrar los santos sacramentos a los españoles y naturales desta Nueva España*. Mexico: Juan Ruiz, 1638. Medina Mexico 502.

This is also a general handbook for the administration of the sacraments as is the one noted above. It is written in Spanish, Latin, and Nahuatl, and is concerned with both Spanish and Indian parishioners.

16. Sáenz de la Peña, Andrés. *Manual de los santos sacramentos*. Mexico: Francisco Robledo, 1642. Medina Mexico 565.

This work continues in the tradition of the two previous. Nevertheless, it was by far the most successful, having at least seven later editions. Sáenz de la Peña was a cleric in the bishopric of Puebla during the episcopacy of Juan de Palafox y Mendoza. Because of this prelate's preference for this work, as shown by his coat of arms at the beginning, in many of the later editions Sáenz de la Peña's name does not even appear while Palafox's does. This led to many scholars attributing later editions to Palafox.

The Library holds one of these later editions lacking Sáenz de la Peña's name: *Manual de los santos sacramentos*. Mexico: Imprenta de la Bibliotheca Mexicana, 1758. Medina Mexico 4481.

17. Carochi, Horacio. (d. 1662) *Arte de la lengua mexicana con la declaración de los adverbios della*. Mexico: Juan Ruiz, 1645. Medina Mexico 594.

Carochi was born in Florence and entered the Society of Jesus in Rome. He then went on to the New World. It is said that he learned Nahuatl and Otomí, another Indian language, from Antonio del Rincón (see no. 7). Carochi was very active in central Mexico at the same time as Bishop Palafox. For those interested in the historical evolution of the language this grammar book is very useful. The work was viewed as being important soon after its publication. By 1759 it was re-edited by Ignacio Paredes and reprinted. The Mendel Collection also contains a copy of this later edition: Carochi, Horacio. *Compendio del arte de la lengua mexicana*. Mexico: Imprenta de la Bibliotheca Mexicana, 1759. Medina Mexico 4534.

18. León, Martín. *Manual breve y forma de administrar los santos sacramentos a los indios*. Mexico: Francisco Rodríguez Lupercio, 1669. Medina Mexico 1015.

This title is a later edition of a work first published in 1617. The Mendel Collection holds only this later edition, however. The work is a general handbook for the administration of the sacraments. It is written mostly in Latin with some Spanish and Nahuatl.

19. Vetancurt, Augustín de. 1620-1700. *Arte de la lengua mexicana*. Mexico: Francisco Rodríguez Lupercio, 1673. Medina Mexico 1103.

Augustin de Vetancurt, or Betancur, not only was a student of Nahuatl but also a historian, writing the standard histories of the Franciscans in Mexico and of the Mexican church as a whole. This particular work falls at the end of his first period of writings during which most of the works were in or about Nahuatl. The Lilly copy of this work is part of the first issue of the first edition.

20. Arenas, Pedro de. (fl. 1600) *Vocabulario manual de las lenguas castellana y mexicana*. Mexico: Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1683. Medina Mexico 1271.

In terms of the sheer number of editions, this Spanish-Nahuatl dictionary must have been one of the most popular. It was first printed sometime before 1611, for that is the date of the second edition. During the next 220 years this work went through eleven editions, as far as can be discovered. The copy of the above edition held by the Lilly lacks pages 69-72. In addition to this edition the Lilly Library has

three others, to be cited only by place of publication, publisher, date, and bibliography number:

- a. Mexico: Francisco Rivera de Calderón [1728?]. Medina Mexico 2978.
- b. Puebla: Pedro de la Rosa, 1793. Medina Puebla 1248.
- c. Puebla: Hospital de San Pedro, 1831. Palau 15930.

21. Vázquez Gaztelu, Antonio. *Arte de la lengua mexicana*. Puebla: Diego Fernández de León, 1689. Medina Puebla 125.

This particular work went through at least three editions. The second edition appeared in 1693 and the third in 1726. The Mendel Collection has a copy of the third, an edition revised by Antonio de Olmedo: Puebla: Francisco Xavier de Morales y Sálazar, 1726. Medina Puebla 361.

22. Pérez, Manuel. (fl. 1713-1726) *Farol indiano y guía de curas de indios*. Mexico: Francisco Rivera Calderón, 1713. Medina Mexico 2370.

This delightful work, whose English title would be *Indian Lantern*, is, as described in its subtitle, a guide for ministers among Indians. A large part of it is written in parallel column Spanish and Nahuatl. This was the first of many works written by Pérez. He had excellent qualifications for writing in and about Nahuatl since he held the professorship of that language for 22 years.

23. Pérez, Manuel. *Arte de el idioma mexicano*. Mexico: Francisco de Ribera Calderón, 1713. Medina Mexico 2371.

After Pérez had written his handbook for parish priests he set about codifying his teaching methods in this presentation of Nahuatl grammar. It must not have been too well received for it was not reprinted. The Library's copy is disbound.

24. Avila, Francisco de. *Arte de la lengua mexicana*. Mexico: Herederos de la viuda de Miguel de Ribera Calderón, 1717. Medina Mexico 2478.

Avila was a parish priest in Milpa Alta in the bishopric of Mexico, a Nahuatl-speaking village even to this day. In this work Avila not only made a presentation of Nahuatl grammar, as the title shows, but

he combined it with various homilies and moral speeches on the rites and mysteries of the Church and on the obligation of worship.

25. Pérez, Manuel, tr. *Catecismo romano traducido en castellano y mexicano*. Mexico: Francisco de Rivera Calderón, 1723. Medina Mexico 2719.

The Lilly has two copies of this work. Oddly enough both are bound with copies of Bartolomé Alva's *Confessionario mayor y menor* (see no. 14). This work by Pérez is actually a translation of the accepted Roman catechism, which is interesting because in 1585 the Mexican bishops authorized an official catechism different from that of the Roman Church (see no. 30).

26. Saavedra, Marcos de. (d. 1631) *Confessionario breve activo y passivo en lengua mexicana*. Mexico: Maria de Rivera, 1746. Medina Mexico 1746.

Very little is known about the author of this short (8 leaves) confessional handbook. Most interestingly the title states specifically that it deals both with active and passive confession, that is both the questions to ask as well as what responses to expect.

27. Tapia Centeno, Carlos de. *Arte novísima de lengua mexicana*. Mexico: Viuda de Joseph Bernardo de Hogal, 1753. Medina Mexico 4142.

Tapia Centeno was an accomplished student not only of Nahuatl but also of Huastec. He held the professorship of Nahuatl at the Royal and Pontifical University, a position which probably prompted the writing of the "up to date" grammar.

28. Aldama y Guevara, José Agustín. *Arte de la lengua mexicana*. [Mexico]: Imprenta nueva de la Bibliotheca Mexicana, 1754. Medina Mexico 4155.

Aldama y Guevara was also a professor of Nahuatl. Rather than set out on his own and write a really modern grammar like Tapia Centeno, Aldama's grammar is a synthesis of the many which came earlier. The Lilly copy is bound with his *Alabado* (see no. 29).

29. Aldama y Guevara, José Agustín. *Alabado en lengua mexicana*. Mexico: Imprenta de la Bibliotheca Mexicana, 1755. Medina Mexico 4218.

This is a religious hymn in praise of the sacrament of communion. Religious works of this kind were very popular in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

30. Ripalda, Gerónimo de. (1536-1618) Paredes, Ignacio de, tr. & ed. *Catecismo mexicano*. Mexico: Imprenta de la Bibliotheca Mexicana, 1758. Medina Mexico 4500.

The catechism written by Gerónimo de Ripalda was authorized by the Mexican Provincial Council of 1585 as the official catechism to be used throughout the Archdiocese and Dioceses of Mexico. Several translations were made, but this edition is considered to be the definitive one. The work also contains a statement of doctrine by Bartolomé Castaño.

31. Paredes, Ignacio de. (b. 1703) *Promptuario manual mexicano*. Mexico: Imprenta de la Bibliotheca Mexicana, 1759. Medina Mexico 4568.

This general handbook of rules and canon law also contains several sermons and moral speeches, all put together for the use of local priests. It is mostly in Nahuatl and Spanish with Latin throughout.

32. Velázquez de Cárdenas y León, Carlos Celedonio. *Breve práctica y régimen del confessorio de indios, en mexicano y castellano*. Mexico: Imprenta de la Bibliotheca Mexicana, 1761. Medina Mexico 4747.

According to Beristain de Souza, Velázquez was himself an Indian. This book as well as being a handbook for confessions also outlines the proper way to make a confession, from the stand point of the penitent and the priest.

33. Cortés y Zedeño, Jerónimo Tomás de Aquino. *Arte, vocabulario, y confessorio en el idioma mexicano, como se usa en el Obispado de Guadalajara*. Puebla: Colegio Real de San Ignacio, 1765. Medina Puebla 729.

Cortés y Zedeño was a resident of the Bishopric of Guadalajara. This work is a very interesting one, dealing as it does with the Nahuatl spoken west of the central Mexican area.

34. Pérez de Velasco, Andrés Miguel. *El ayudante de cura*. Puebla: Colegio Real de San Ignacio, 1766, Medina Puebla 778.

Pérez de Velasco lived in Puebla and was active in the Church and in the educational activities in the area. This is the second of two books he wrote covering the major problems of the parish priest. The first prepares the priest for his duties; this serves as a field handbook.

35. Granados y Gálvez, Joseph Joaquin. (d. 1794) *Tardes americanas: gobierno gentil y católico*. Mexico: Felipe Zúñiga y Ontiveros, 1778. Medina Mexico 7000.

Although this work contains little in Nahuatl, its inclusion is warranted because of its emphasis on the Indians' condition at the time. It is supposedly a dialogue between a Spaniard and an Indian.

36. Sandoval, Rafael Tiburcio. *Arte de la lengua mexicana*. Mexico: Alejandro Valdés, 1810. Medina Mexico 10514.

According to Beristain de Sousa, Sandoval was born to a noble Indian family descended from Aztec chiefs and noble Spaniards. It is known that he was a parish priest and professor of Nahuatl at the University. This work is one of the last grammars to be written before the War for Independence. This particular edition seems to be a later edition of an earlier work. It contains a statement of doctrine by Ignacio de Paredes at the end.

37. Venegas, Francisco Xavier. "Ayamo moyolpachihuitia in Totlatocatzin Rey D. Fernando VII." [Mexico: 1810]. Gonzalez de Cossio 580.

This is a broadside published by order of Viceroy Venegas. On October 5, 1811, decrees were printed, in Spanish and Nahuatl, abolishing Indian tribute payments to the king in an attempt to lessen the effect of the Hidalgo revolt among the Indians.

38. *Clara y sucinta exposición del pequeño catecismo*. Puebla: Oratorio de S. Felipe Neri, 1819. Medina Puebla 1678.

This small catechism is one of several held by the Lilly from this period. For one reason or another it seems the publication of devotional literature, in Nahuatl as well as in Spanish, shifts to Puebla

after the first battles of the Independence period. This particular work is in Spanish and Nahuatl on facing pages numbered in duplicate.

39. *Alabado que contiene los actos de fe, esperanza, caridad, y contrición en idioma mexicano*. Puebla: Imprenta Nacional, 1832. Palau 4478.

The Spanish edition of this devotional work was very popular in the early part of the nineteenth century, and went through several printings. This is, however, the only Nahuatl edition encountered. The Lilly's copy is bound with a Nahuatl translation of Leonardo Portomauricio's *Meditaciones del Santo Via Crucis* (see no. 41).

40. *Explicación clara y sucinta de los principales misterios de nuestra Santa Fe*. Puebla: Hospital de San Pedro, 1835.

As was noted Puebla became the center for much of the publication of religious materials. This is an example of one of the many catechisms printed during the period. The previous work was a praise hymn of the acts of faith, hope, and charity. During this period the output is dominantly religious with few grammars or dictionaries being printed.

41. Portomauricio, Leonardo de. *Meditaciones del Santo Via Crucis*. Puebla: Hospital de San Pedro, 1837.

Juan de San José, a religious, translated this work into Nahuatl from the original Latin. The work was also quite popular in its Spanish translation. The Lilly copy is bound with the *Alabado que contiene los actos* (see no. 39).

42. Almeida, Teodoro de. *Piadoso devocionario del Sagrado Corazón de Jesus*. Orizaba: Felix Mendarte, 1839. Palau 8014.

This devotional booklet concerns the cult of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. The most interesting aspect of this work is that it was published in Orizaba, east of Puebla on the way to Veracruz, and thus demonstrates the spread of printing following independence, just as the printing of religious materials spread to Puebla during the struggle for independence.

43. Amaro, Juan Romualdo, ed. *Doctrina extractada de los catechismos mexicanos de los padres Paredes, Carochi, y Castaño*. Mexico: Abadiano y Valdes, 1840. Palau 10740.

Essentially this is a synthesis of three of the most popular catechisms written during the colonial period. Amaro also translated various parts into Nahuatl, especially those taken from Paredes which were written in Spanish. The Lilly Library copy of this work has the bookplate of the famous Mexican bibliophile of the nineteenth century, Joaquín García Icazbalceta.

44. *Compendio del confesionario en mexicano y castellano*. Puebla: Imprenta Antigua, 1840. Palau 58515.

A work which together with the previous one brings the evolution of Nahuatl publications almost full circle, as a compilation of confessional handbooks. From beginning to end within the three centuries under consideration Nahuatl publications were geared almost completely to religious topics and to the training of Spanish-speaking priests to work in Indian communities.

Additional Titles

The above listed works are by no means all of the Nahuatl titles held by the Lilly Library—merely those published before 1840. There are several other Nahuatl titles which because of their historical value should be included in this list.

A. *Lecciones para las tandas de ejercicios de S. Ignacio dadas a los indios en el idioma mexicano*. Puebla: Imprenta Antigua, 1841.

This work has a certain historical value as the first edition in Nahuatl of St. Ignatius Loyola's spiritual exercises.

B. Chimalpopocatl Galicia, Faustino. (d. 1877) *Silabario de idioma mexicano*. Mexico: Imprenta de las Escalerillas, 1849.

Chimalpopocatl was the most active Nahuatl scholar of the last century. This is one of the basic books which he wrote to re-introduce Nahuatl to Mexico. It is a spelling book and dictionary. The copy held by the Lilly Library is an autograph copy presented by the author to Joaquín García Icazbalceta whose bookplate it bears.

C. Chimalpopocatl Galicia, Faustino. *Epítome o modo fácil de aprender el idioma nahuatl o lengua mexicana*. Mexico: Viuda de Murguía e Hijos, 1869.

Purporting to teach Nahuatl the "easy way," this is essentially a companion book to the earlier. It is also an author's autographed copy presented to Joaquín García Icazbalceta and contains the Icazbalceta bookplate.

D. Biondelli, Bernardino. (1804-1886) *Glossarium Azteco-Latinum et Latino-Aztecum*. Mediolani: Valentier et Mues, 1869.

This dictionary is based on the work of the sixteenth-century Franciscan, Bernardino de Sahagún. Sahagún was by far the greatest "anthropologist" of his period. He quickly realized the need to collect as much information as possible about the old Indian culture. Using remarkably modern techniques he amassed a wealth of information, and part of the result of his labors was a Nahuatl-Latin dictionary which, however, remained in manuscript until the nineteenth century. Biondelli's work is in large part based on that manuscript.

E. Simeon, Remi. *Dictionnaire de la Langue Nahuatl*. Paris: 1885.

Just as Biondelli's work was based on a sixteenth-century source so was Simeon's. As part of a French cultural mission to Mexico Simeon became very interested in Nahuatl. He encountered the manuscript edition of Andrés de Olmos' dictionary of Nahuatl. Simeon then translated the Spanish to French, made some revisions, and came out with this dictionary.

Nahuatl Manuscripts

In addition to the above titles, the Lilly Library holds several manuscripts written in Nahuatl. The latest of these, dating from 1856, falls outside the range of this catalogue, but will be included here for completeness.

I. Felipe II, King of Spain (1527-1598). Grant of land and nobility to the Indians of Tlaxcala. 1556, Aug. 24. Latin American mss. Mexico. 3 leaves.

This manuscript is most likely a copy of one of the actual grants, dating from the same period as the grant. Included with the statement of the grant in Spanish is an Indian map-painting describing the location of the grant and a Nahuatl translation of the grant.

II. "Títulos de las casas que compró Catalina Vasques . . . en el barrio de Tomatlan." 1562, Oct. 4—1597, Nov. 18 (bound). Latin American mss. Mexico. 35 leaves and folded map.

The documents in this group of manuscripts pertain to the purchase of several houses in the Tomatlán sector of Mexico City by Catalina Vasques. Most of the documents are in Nahuatl. An Indian map-drawing of the purchased lands is included.

III. "Cofradía del Santísimo Sacramento." 1570, Oct. 30—1730 (bound). Latin American mss. Mexico. 49 leaves.

These bound manuscripts are the records of an Indian *cofradía*. In the Spanish Church a *cofradía* was a mutual aid society organized around the veneration and maintenance of the altar of a specific saint or relic. Included among these records is the constitution of the *cofradía* and the account book noting members and dues paid.

IV. Alvarado, Alonso de. Document written in Nahuatl. 1583, Feb. 13. Latin American mss. Mexico II. 1 leaf.

This document has been ascribed to the son of the conquistador Pedro de Alvarado, known in Nahuatl as Tonahuih or Tonalli, the sun. The document itself deals with the assignment of a new priest to the area.

V. Alvarado Tezozomoc, Fernando. "Crónica Mexicana . . . por los años de 1598." Garcia Figueroa, Francisco, copyist. 1792, Aug. 5 (bound). Latin American mss. Mexico. 637 leaves.

This is an eighteenth-century copy of a sixteenth-century history of the Aztec people. While this particular copy is of the Spanish version, a Nahuatl version was originally written. Even though the Lilly manuscript is of the Spanish version its historical importance warrants its inclusion.

VI. Chimalpopocatl Galicia, Faustino. Chronology of the Nahuas until 1519. 1856, Apr. 23. Latin American mss. Mexico. 6 leaves.

As well as being a important scholar of Nahuatl, Chimalpopocatl was also a historian. This manuscript is a chronology of the Aztecs (Nahuas) up until the conquest. Its format includes Aztec pictograms along the left edge of each page expressing the years of the chronology.

One should not assume that these books are the extent of the Lilly's holdings in Nahuatl or of materials pertaining to the study of that nation. In addition to the works listed here, the Mendel Collection holds several newer editions of older Nahuatl texts, some first editions, and facsimiles. Among the more important historical works dealing with the history of the Aztecs both before and after the Conquest, the Lilly holds copies of the first printed editions of two major sixteenth-century works: Diego Durán, *Historia de las indias de Nueva España*, 2 vols. Mexico: 1867-1880; and Bernardino de Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*, 3 vols. Mexico: 1829-1830. The Lilly Library also has a copy with colored plates of the mammoth nine volume *Antiquities of Mexico* edited by Lord Edward King Kingsborough. London: 1831-1848.

From the earliest days of printing in Mexico Nahuatl played an important role. As noted earlier, the first book known to have been published in the New World was in Nahuatl. As printing evolved in Mexico, Nahuatl continued to be the most important Indian language. While the proportion of Nahuatl imprints within the entire production of Mexico decreased, the absolute number remained constant through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and then increased through the eighteenth century.

The group of Nahuatl imprints held by the Lilly Library in the Mendel Collection is of particular historical significance. It represents the major works written

in the language and the gamut of possible genres. While the Lilly's holdings are by no means complete, they do faithfully reflect the production of works in Nahuatl from 1539 to 1840.

NOTES

¹ Joaquín García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía mexicana del siglo XVI* (Mexico, 1954), 57; José Toribio Medina, *La imprenta en México* (Santiago de Chile, 1907), vol. I, 1; Enrique Valton, *Impresos mexicanos del siglo XVI* (Mexico, 1935), 15.

² Hereafter referred to as Medina Mexico and Medina Puebla.

³ Salvador Ugarte, *Catálogo de obras escritas en lenguas indígenas de México* (Mexico, 1954); Joaquín García Icazbalceta. "Apuntes para una bibliografía de escritores en lenguas indígenas," in his *Obras* (Mexico, 1898), vol. 8, pp. 7-181; James C. Pilling, *Proofsheets of a Bibliography of North American Languages* (Washington, 1885); Cipriano Muñoz y Manzano, Conde de la Viñaza, *Bibliografía española de lenguas indígenas de América* (Madrid, 1892).

⁴ Henry R. Wagner, *Nueva bibliografía mexicana del siglo XVI* (Mexico, 1946), 489.

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A FOOTNOTE TO LUÍS GOMES
FERREIRA, *ERARIO MINERAL*,
1735 AND 1755

By C. R. BOXER

THE *ERARIO MINERAL* of Luís Gomes Ferreira, an outstanding work on Luso-Brazilian medicine and surgery in the eighteenth century, is known from two editions published at Lisbon in 1735 and 1755, respectively. Both are very rare, especially the latter, of which I have only been able to locate one apparently complete copy, bought from a Lisbon bookseller by the Lilly Library in 1969. This two-volume edition was described in some detail in an article which I contributed to *The Indiana University Bookman*, no. 10 (November, 1969), pp. 49-70. A tentative comparison was made with the 1735 (1 volume in-folio) edition; but as I could not find a copy of this edition anywhere in the U.S.A. or in the United Kingdom at that time, I was unable precisely to determine in what way the contents of the two editions differed. The Lilly Library having recently acquired a copy of the first edition, I have now been able to make a page-by-page comparison with the result given below. I may add here that shortly after the publication of my article, Dr. Francisco Guerra drew my attention to the fact that a copy of vol. 2 of the 1755 edition was held by the Faculdade de Medicina at Lisbon, and is listed in the catalogue of that institution's library compiled by M. Athias, *Catálogo das obras da Coleção Portuguesa anteriores à fundação das Régias Escolas de Cirurgia em 1825* (Lisbon, 1942), p. 138. I am very grateful to the illustrious medical historian for this information.

In the 1755 edition, both author and publisher claimed that it was greatly enlarged from the first. The title pages of the two 1755 volumes stated: "Now reprinted and enlarged with a great number of exquisite and wonderful prescriptions." The author's *Proemio* to this edition explained that it was now published in a two-volume format owing to its greatly increased contents. In 1969, I ventured the tentative suggestion that the additional matter was mainly, if not entirely, confined to tratado III, *Da Miscellania*, a miscellany of cures, remedies, and prescriptions for a great variety of diseases, most of the remedies resembling old wives' and quack-doctors' nostrums.

This suggestion turns out to be correct. Apart from some minor rearrangements of wording in the preliminary matter and lists of contents, the additional textual matter is all placed in the *Tratado III, Da Miscellania*. In the 1735 edition, this section ends (on p. 220) with a piece entitled: "Remedios, para que os bebedos aborreção o vinho" ("Remedies to make drunkards dislike wine"). In the 1755 edition, this piece (on pp. 320-321 of vol. I), is followed by a "Colirio para queixas dos olhos" ("eye-salve for complaints of the eyes"), and by another seventy-five recipes, cures, and prescriptions of the most varied (and often fantastic) description, extending to p. 344. A sub-heading on p. 344 is entitled: "Varios Remedios Avulsos, que obrão maravilhosamente com a sua virtude" ("Various different remedies, which work wonders with their virtue"). This is followed by another eighteen assorted recipes, cures, and prescriptions, extending to p. 352 of the text. The total additional matter, therefore, comprises some ninety-three remedies on thirty-one pages (pp. 321-352).

These additions vary in length from a couple of pages to a couple of lines, but most of them are very short. The

longest is on the preparation and application of quinine ("preparação da quina quina," on p. 334-336), and there are many others concerned with cures for toothache (pp. 336-344). Their therapeutic value (or the lack of it) can be judged by the two following extracts, which are by no means the most fantastic (p. 339):

The bone of a frog (of that kind which has a black spot) when touched against the aching tooth, causes the pain to go at once.

The root of the mallow, placed against the aching tooth when the pain is acute, will cause it to go at once.

Other cures, remedies, and prescriptions in this additional section deal with wounds, venereal diseases, worms, retention of urine, intermittent fevers, epilepsy, etc., etc. Much is made of the marvellous therapeutic properties of a complicated nostrum, *Espirito Angelico*. This is recommended as a virtual cure-all for such varied complaints as headache, sore eyes, ear-pains, toothache, old and new wounds, cuts, and contusions, to name only a few of the ills listed on pp. 351-352. "In all these cases it has been tried with success many times."

It would not be fair to judge Luís Gomes Ferreira's *Erario Mineral* entirely by his advocacy of such primitive folk-medicine; but, as I noted on p. 60 of my previous article, it is rather surprising that he continued to advocate such cures after his return from the backlands of Minas Gerais to the flourishing city of Oporto.

Many, though not all, of these additional remedies are indexed at the end of volume 2 of the 1755 edition. Otherwise, this index is basically the same as that in the 1735 edition, save, of course, for the changes in page-references. In conclusion, I may add that the thirteen (un-

numbered) preliminary pages of laudatory poems and sonnets addressed to Luís Gomes Ferreira by some of his friends in the 1735 edition are omitted in that of 1755. At any rate, they are not present in the Lilly Library copy, which appears to be complete, although it also lacks the mandatory civil and ecclesiastical licenses. Clarification must await the location of another copy of the first volume, which has so far eluded bibliographers.



