

PERUVIAN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LILLY LIBRARY

By JUAN FRIEDE

INTRODUCTION

IN 1962, SHORTLY AFTER the Lilly Library was opened to house the special collections of books and manuscripts in the Indiana University Libraries, the University acquired the private library of Dr. Bernardo Mendel, who had spent more than 25 years in Colombia and had gathered a large collection of rare printed books and manuscripts relating, for the most part, to Latin America. Further series of manuscripts were added to the original corpus of papers in the following years, thus making the Lilly Library an important center for research on Latin American topics.

The Indiana collection is outstanding, both in its extent and in the diversity of its geographical and historical coverage. It would be difficult to name any region of Spanish and Portuguese possessions not represented by at least several manuscripts, and the range in time can best be demonstrated by the dates of one of the first and last items—a 1504 royal order signed by Queen Isabella the Catholic, and a 1916 dossier on Pancho Villa's attack on Columbus, Texas.

It is to be expected that, in such a diverse collection, not all regions and historical periods are represented in equal depth. However, there is extensive documentation of the sixteenth century, taking in the Conquest and the early colonial period; of the seventeenth century, when the

colonial administration was fully established; and of the eighteenth century, covering the years of Spain's attempts to maintain control over her empire by means of economic and administrative reforms. As a complement to the huge mass of manuscripts for the colonial period, many general reports and descriptions written by friars, other clergy, officials, dignitaries, and private individuals add vivid touches to a picture of the politics, economics, administration, intellectual life, geography, and anthropology of the Portuguese and Spanish possessions (including the Philippines). Dictionaries and catechisms in aboriginal languages, a quantity of hand-drawn maps, and several thousand printed broadsides containing proclamations, orders, and laws (as far back as 1501) create further possibilities for historical research.

The group of manuscripts pertaining to the early nineteenth century is particularly extensive. There is a series of documents (letters and reports) of the leaders of the Independence movement: Bolívar, San Martín, Sucre, Santander, Alvarez, O'Higgins, Hidalgo, Iturrigaray, Morelos, Servando de Mier Noriega y Guerra, and others; and on the royalist side there is much correspondence of the last viceroys of Mexico, Perú, New Granada, and Buenos Aires, and of the generals who took part in the unsuccessful Spanish effort to prevent the historical evolution of the colonies toward their independence.

The post-independence years of the various Latin American republics are less extensively represented than the earlier years. Nevertheless, there is a considerable body of material illustrative of both internal and external political events throughout the area. Included are documents relating to the struggle between the *caudillos* of the various political parties, a struggle which began even before the

respective countries were definitely liberated from Spanish dominion. Other documents pertain to external wars, such as those between Perú and Chile and between Mexico and the United States, as well as material on the friction between Perú and Spain over the Spanish occupation of the Chincha Islands. Also among the nineteenth-century manuscripts are the private archives of Juan Fernández Nodal, a Peruvian scholar of the second half of the century interested in Indian languages and manuscripts relating to Peruvian history and other topics worthy of study.

The Portuguese manuscripts, although limited in number, deserve mention. These relate to Brazil (others, not within the scope of this paper, cover the Portuguese possessions in India and the Far East) and range from 1507 (an authorized copy of a letter from King Manuel I to Pope Julius II) to 1824 (the suit against rebellious officers in Rió de Janeiro). Reports on Lope de Aguirre's voyage down the Amazon River in the sixteenth century, two bound volumes of works of the Jesuit Antonio Vieira, and various reports of missionary work in different Brazilian provinces during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries constitute important historical and anthropological sources.

Manuscripts relating to Spain merit a special mention. Their range is also very wide. The date of the first document is 1484, a notebook kept by Francisco López de Montreal, the notary of the city council of Teruel, beginning April 19 of that year and ending April 20, 1485. It provides an insight into the municipal life of a mediaeval Spanish city and the problems arising from the introduction of the Inquisition. A large number of documents from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries illustrate, among other things, political events such as the mysterious death of Prince Don Carlos, son of Philip II; the organization of a

new fleet after the defeat of the *Armada Invencible*; and the integration of Portugal into the Spanish Empire. Patents of nobility, papers on the Inquisition, *autos de fe*, church events, and manuscripts relating to what we call "picaresque Spain" (pamphlets, popular poetry, fictitious letters on politics, puns, documents about gypsies, and so on) permeate this Hispanic collection, while the ecclesiastic matters cover the missionary work not only in America but also in the Philippines and Japan.

Several aspects of the manuscripts collection are noteworthy. In the first place, many of the papers come from individuals who were descendants of the historical figures to whom they relate. A characteristic of such manuscripts is the detail of their accounts, depicting the more intimate aspects of historical events, hitherto known only through general or summary reports, and shedding light on the inner structure and motivation of occurrences. The drafts of letters and decrees, which were kept as file copies, are another interesting feature. These are, in fact, original versions of the texts, in which changes and erasures were made before the final versions were sent to the addressee. Such drafts are of great value to the historian because they show clearly the process of formulating a decree, proclamation, or letter. Also of interest are the private letters which may contain impressions enhancing our appreciation of the general atmosphere of the times and our understanding of the contemporary attitudes toward events.

The report which follows is limited to a description of the manuscripts in the Lilly Library collection relating to Perú. It is hoped that subsequent reports may treat other areas, but, in the meantime, the following will indicate to interested scholars and students both the depth and breadth of the Lilly's Latin American holdings.

PERÚ

In the present guide the Peruvian manuscripts have been grouped under three broad headings: the colonial period, the Wars of Independence, and the national period. The first extends from 1535 to 1826, when the port of Callao, last of the Spanish strongholds, was occupied by revolutionary forces; the second grouping, containing documents dating from 1811 to 1826, includes only material pertaining to the independence movement; the third period begins in 1825 and is terminated in the present collection by the date of the last document referring to Perú, an appointment of an honorary consul to Baltimore by President Augusto B. Leguia in 1929. Within each of these broad categories are subheadings dividing the manuscripts by type.

COLONIAL PERIOD

Royal Orders—1565-1819

Royal orders of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries include large numbers of measures taken in handling Indian problems: *caciques*, *encomiendas*, tributes, ill treatment, compulsory labor, and so on. These documents, together with the viceroys' correspondence and the papers of the Royal *Audiencias*, constitute a valuable primary source for a study of the Indian problems in general and of the famous Huancavélica and Potosí mines in particular.

Several orders concern aspects of colonial administration, such as appointments, sale of public offices, officers' jurisdictions, and taxes. One group (1644) deals with a suspension of payments by the Crown, one of the not infrequent state bankruptcies. There is an order (1818) con-

ferring the title of "most faithful" on the city of Cuzco, in recognition of its anti-revolutionary stance during the Wars of Independence.

Royal Audiencias—1584-1774

The documents concerning *Royal Audiencias* deal principally with the mining region of Huancavélica. They cover a variety of problems which arose as a consequence of the discovery of these important mines—problems both political, as, for example, the protection of the Pacific coast against pirates, and economic, such as the supply of food in a barren countryside. The summarized provisions of the *Royal Audiencia* in Lima during the seventeenth century provide an opportunity for the student to familiarize himself with such important matters as tribute, taxes, *caciques*, and Indian labor—the *mita*. These manuscripts offer valuable details on the history of the region and on the development of "Villa Rica de Oropesa."

Acts of the City Councils—1601-1824

Included are petitions made before *alcaldes* and *corregidores* on civil matters, such as efforts to obtain more Indian laborers—*mitayos*—or *vecindad* in a city. Of special note is the reluctance of Cochabamba, La Paz, and Puno to join Buenos Aires in the struggle for Independence and the proceedings undertaken in order to send a representative to the Courts of Cádiz.

Royal Treasury Documents—1712-1824

These documents consist mostly of appointments, orders for payment, warrants, accounts, and receipts. A close study of the August 1, 1823, balance of accounts of the

Cuzco treasury should prove rewarding, as would the statement of expenses in Callao of December 31, 1824. The Book of Accounts of the city of Trujillo for 1776 provides an insight into the internal operations of a Royal Treasury.

Notary Acts—1535-1817

One of the especially valuable groups of documents in the Peruvian collection is that of the Notary Acts, relating, for the most part, to the sixteenth century. Among these papers one may find signatures of the Pizarros, Belalcázar, Rivera, Candia, Aldana, Alderete, and other well-known *conquistadores* of Perú. Powers of attorney are conferred, wills are made, donations granted, and loan and marriage contracts drawn up. Companies are formed for the importation of goods, for mining, fishing, livestock breeding, or transportation (included, for example, are documents on the introduction of mules from Mexico). There is even a case of an Indian chief going into partnership with several Spaniards in order to work the mines he has discovered. The trade in wine, imported goods, and in livestock (cattle and pigs) flourishes, and the adventurer-*conquistador* shows an increasing tendency toward becoming a settler.

A number of acts are concerned with the trade in horses and in slaves, both Indian and Negro. The quantity of horses passing through the same hands is an indication of the appearance of real merchants; this business was not disdained by the *conquistadores* or even by the *caudillos* of the expeditions. Among the documents relating to Indian slaves (mostly imported from Nicaragua), African Negro slaves, and horses, there are declarations (often guaranteed with bonds) to the effect that the slaves sold were obtained in "just war" or that a horse really belonged to the vendor.

There are "letters of freedom" for slaves and their children, as well as legacies in their favor.

Business transactions, chartering of vessels (a whole series made by Francisco Pizarro in order to bring to Perú the contingents sent by Pedro de Alvarado), and some sales of land illustrate prices and economic conditions in the early colonial period. Powers of attorney for the administration of *encomiendas*, or for the collecting of tribute from their Indians, illustrate their frequent, though prohibited, alienation, their rental to third parties, or the absenteeism of the *encomenderos*. This group of documents provides an unusual wealth of material for the study of early Spanish settlement in the New World.

General Correspondence—1557-1825

This section, including more than 4,000 letters, is one of the richest in the collection. Letters of the viceroys contain routine orders, decrees, and resolutions, as well as petitions and representations made before them. They cover various aspects of colonial life from 1557—a decree by the Marquis de Cañete regarding Francisco Hernández Girón's revolt—to the last days of the Colony—correspondence of Pío Tristán (1825), nominated as viceroy at the last minute by the Royal Audiencia of Cuzco.

Among the sixteenth-century letters, those to and from the viceroy Francisco de Toledo are of particular interest. They deal, once more, with the organization and working of the famous silver and mercury mines of Huancavélica and Potosí. Preoccupation with these mines is also evident in the correspondence of subsequent viceroys. Mention should also be made of the documents concerning the measures taken by Viceroy Conde de Villardompardo during a smallpox epidemic, as well as those relating to the

interesting procedure employed for obtaining a compulsory loan to the Crown from Indian community funds.

Manuscripts of the seventeenth century describe the steps taken to alleviate the effects of the Arequipa earthquake of 1605 and the reorganization of the Royal Treasury in 1668. Another series of papers summarizes the viceroy's orders, 1682-1683, regarding such affairs as the introduction of Negro slaves and the fortifications in Callao and Portobelo, Ecuador. An account of the visitation of the Indian community of Huacho in 1680, with instructions for its administration, the collection of tribute, and general organization provides valuable details on the Indian problems prevailing in Perú during the later colonial era.

The viceroys' correspondence of the eighteenth century begins with normal routine matters which, toward the end of the century, give place to measures regarding military and administrative reorganization (intendencies, militia, regents, official visitors, etc.). An extensive report to the viceroy, the Marquis de Aviles, on the internal structure of the Mining Tribunal (1802) reveals the decline of the mining industry in Perú on the eve of the Wars of Independence.

The end of Spanish dominion is covered by the bulk of the correspondence of the last viceroys, José Fernando Abascal, Joaquín de la Pezuela, and José de la Serna (1804-1824). The military measures taken by Abascal in 1806, following the British attack on Buenos Aires, are worthy of note. Other documents concern the ineffective efforts to prevent the smuggling of contraband by British and United States ships on the Pacific (letters from the Intendente of Arequipa, Bartolomé Maria de Salamanca, and the subdelegate of Africa, Juan José de la Fuente y Loaysa), due to the absence of a strong Spanish flotilla.

After 1810, the correspondence of the viceroys revolves almost exclusively around the steadily growing independence movement which, after a series of armed confrontations, resulted in the surrender of Lima to San Martín, the disasters of Junín and Ayacucho, and the final victory of the revolutionary forces.

The Upper Perú (Alto Perú) campaign, which marked the beginning of the Peruvian struggle for independence, is represented by an impressive number of documents. The royalist action to expel the invading revolutionary forces coming from Buenos Aires and the revolts of Cochabamba, Oruro, and Cuzco are reflected in the correspondence of Viceroy Abascal and such military chiefs as General José Manuel de Goyeneche, Manuel Quimper (intendant of Puno), and Domingo Tristán (intendant of La Paz). Another source for the same period is the correspondence of Joaquín de la Pezuela, general-in-chief of the army and later viceroy of Perú, with Quimper and with Antonio de Goyburu, commander of Desaguadero. In addition to the correspondence dealing with this military action, there is that of other intendants, subdelegates, commanders, governors, explorers, and spies and a copybook of orders of the day issued by Goyeneche, covering the time between November, 1810, and January, 1812.

The subsequent phase of the struggle in Perú (1816-1821) is illustrated in the correspondence during the viceroyalty of Joaquín de la Pezuela; this is the beginning of the famous San Martín campaign, which ended with the occupation of Lima. A feature of this period is the massive intervention of revolutionary forces from Buenos Aires in the east, of the Chilean armies and fleet from the south, and, at the same time, the threat of Simón Bolívar, at the head of the much-feared Colombian-Venezuelan army,

gradually approaching Perú from the north. The documents reveal the progress of this campaign in all its details: mountain passes, strategic bridges, cities and towns which fell in and out of the possession of the opposing sides; requisitions, punishments, and retaliation which impoverished the people and devastated the countryside. The battle in the mountains remained undecided, but on the coast, in the absence of a Spanish fleet, the ships of Argentina, Chile, and of officially neutral nations, the United States and Britain, aided the revolutionary effort and dominated the situation. Circumstances became even more perilous for the royalist régime when the crew of the S.S. "Trinidad," which had been sent from Spain to support the forces of the Crown in Perú, joined the revolutionary forces in Buenos Aires; in Callao a whole battalion—Numancia—went over to the revolutionary side. Bernardo O'Higgins defeated the royalist troops in Chile (1818), and Pezuela's desperate plea for help from the viceroy of Santa Fé, Juan Sámano, went unanswered. Sure of his victory, San Martín declined all offers for negotiation with the enemy (1820), and the following year (1821), Lima and Callao fell into his hands. With this, Viceroy Pezuela lost his office in a military coup and La Serna took his place.

All these events are reflected from the Spanish point of view in the correspondence of Viceroy Pezuela, generals Juan Ramírez and José Canterac, intendants Francisco de Paula González, Tadeo Garate, José de Mendizábal, Andrés García Camba, and others, and of the presidents of La Plata and Cuzco, Rafael Maroto and Pío de Tristán. This documentation is supplemented by the ample correspondence of other less important officials, such as the magistrates José de la Mar and Juan Loriga, and José María Sánchez Chaves, Visitor of the Royal Treasury.

The final period of Spanish rule in Perú corresponds with the viceroyalty of La Serna (1821-1824). The royalist army was surrounded. Communication with the outside world was blocked on all sides by the revolutionary forces. It is true that such ports as Callao, Arequipa, and others and even the city of Lima were briefly reoccupied by the royalists, but the absence of a Spanish fleet made it impossible to maintain a hold. The royalist forces stationed in the mountains had to depend on conscripted recruitment from occupied towns and on more or less compulsory levies, an expedient also forced on the revolutionaries. Thus, desertions, prison escapes, and uprisings were the order of the day in spite of drastic measures taken to prevent them.

Taking into account the documents of both republican and royalist origin, the collection of Peruvian manuscripts undoubtedly constitutes a most important group of papers dealing with the closing phases of that crucial period in the history of Perú. They help us to understand the underlying reasons for San Martín's relinquishment of command (the famous meeting with Bolívar in Guayaquil in July, 1822) and the take-over by the Colombian-Venezuelan army—under the command of Bolívar and Sucre—of the final liberation of Perú. The extensive correspondence of Viceroy La Serna, generals Juan Ramírez, José Canterac, José Carratalá, Gerónimo Valdés, Pablo de Echeverría, and Gabriel Pérez, and of the president of Cuzco, Antonio María Alvarez, and of the intendants of Puno and Arequipa, Juan Bautista Lavallo and Tadeo Joaquín Garate has a close bearing on this final and desperate struggle which ended in December, 1824, with the Spanish capitulation after the defeat at Ayacucho. A long series of general reports, diaries, and correspondence copybooks complements the letters. It includes such important documents as:

1. Monthly reports by General Canterac (1818 and 1819) and a copybook of his letters (Jan.-Oct. 1824).
2. Decree copybook of Viceroy La Serna (Jan.-Dec. 1823).
3. Diary of Gerónimo Valdés (1821 and 1823).
4. Correspondence copybook of Juan Loriga (Dec. 1822-Dec. 1823).
5. Correspondence copybook of Juan de Mendizábal e Imaz (Jan.-Dec. 1823).
6. Correspondence copybook of the commander of Huamanga (Jan.-Dec. 1823).
7. Correspondence copybook of Antonio María Alvarez (Jan.-Oct. 1824).
8. Correspondence copybook of the Army of the North (Jan.-Sept. 1824).
9. Correspondence copybook of the Army of the South (Jan.-Oct. 1824).

Also included in this group are letters of General José Ramón Rodil, who, after an unsuccessful resistance, yielded the port of Callao to the patriotic forces of Pío de Tristán, elected viceroy by the Royal Audiencia of Cuzco, and a proclamation about the defeat of Ayacucho.

Legal Affairs—1542-1824

Legal documents include lawsuits, sentences, trials, and appeals carried before the Royal Audiencia or a local judge. Some documents are only fragmentary, but there are also entire lawsuits which make it possible to study the complicated Spanish procedures in judicial affairs, as, for example, the suit (1590) over the purchase of a slave who turned out to have defects not declared at the time of his sale. A characteristic example of the slowness of colonial justice is the suit, settled in 1802, over payment of salaries which had been outstanding since 1737.

Revolts—1774-1825

The documents relating to the sporadic and local uprisings against Spanish domination which took place in Perú at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century number approximately 470 items. Noteworthy are those related to the uprisings of Tupac Amará, Espejo, Funes, and others, the details of which are only partly recorded. These revolts are of special interest to scholars as they were the precursors of the Independence movement.

Military Affairs—1780-1824

There are many documents of interest to the military historian, including muster rolls for the royalist army corps, lists of prisoners and deserters, tables of salaries, lists of supplies, accounts, and budgets. The army seniority lists and certificates of service offer biographical data regarding *caudillos* of various expeditions and other members of the army. They cover military actions, both in Spain and in America, of almost every high ranking officer of the royalist army.

Church Matters—1543-1826

Present are Royal Orders which refer to the construction of the first monasteries, the administration of the Crusade Bulls, the collection of tithes, and similar matters. Royal appointments to church positions and a few laws show the system of royal patronage in operation. The decision on a legacy left by a wealthy citizen of Lima, which had been contested by a hospital in Seville and the Order of Discalced Carmelites, is illustrative of the influence which powerful groups in Spain exerted in the colonies.

The church-related correspondence consists largely of the papers of archbishops and bishops: routine documents such as edicts, petitions, papers on church finances, and "censures." These last illustrate the peculiar procedure in criminal cases by which steps were taken to find lost or stolen goods by threatening excommunication. Noteworthy are: the intervention of Puno (1811) in favor of prisoners and deserters; the problems arising over the exact text to be used by the Peruvian clergy to pledge allegiance to Ferdinand VII after his return to Spain (1815) so that ecclesiastical status might not be compromised; and the 1820 law which prohibited the flogging of Indians and school children, enforcing an earlier law from the Cortes de Cadiz in 1813. The correspondence of the priests and friars covers the day-to-day routine of the life of the Church.

The few documents relating to litigation contain miscellaneous lawsuits over land, money, and so on, carried before civil authorities or archbishoprics. The case (1632) against a priest, for having demanded more *mitayos* from the Indians than he was entitled to, will interest some students.

The Notary Acts relating to Church affairs include signatures of the first bishops and archbishops of Lima, Cuzco, and Quito, as well as those of several Provincials of the religious Orders. There are powers of attorney for the collection of money owed to the Church, rent contracts, contracts for the purchase of land, sale of slaves, and other business matters. There are donations of houses or of their rents to help poor Indians, letters of freedom for slaves, a contract for the construction of the Chancel in the Cathedral of Lima, and other similar documents.

Documents pertaining to the Inquisition consist mainly of orders to the treasurers of sequestered goods for the

✓ payment of salaries and expenses. These make it possible to reconstruct the succession of inquisitors in charge in Peru and to learn something of the people accused by the Inquisition. A curious document is the 1604 order for the collection of a bar of silver promised by a repentant gambler who returned to his old ways.

Other documents relate to the beatification of Saint Rose of Lima (1617-1630) and to the canonization of Fray Francisco Solano (1629).

Miscellaneous—1578-1829

In addition to the items noted under the foregoing categories, there are itineraries, passports, government bonds, miscellaneous receipts, and numerous other items. Patents of nobility of the Ruesta and Olea families in Perú give an idea of the complicated procedures by which nobility was confirmed. An anonymous little piece in verse (1731) on José de Antequera is interesting as an example of the literature of politics, much in vogue in colonial times.

Of outstanding importance are some larger general works, as yet unpublished. The chronicle of the *conquistador* Pero López (1570) describes his travels by land from Cartagena de Indias to Santiago de Chile and Buenos Aires. López took part in several conquering expeditions which he describes in a realistic fashion seldom achieved by his contemporaries. A special section of the book deals with the uprising of Gonzalo Pizarro in Perú (1543-1549).

No less important is the extensive treatise by Pedro Ramírez de Aguila (1639), dealing with the province of Charcas and the town of La Plata, with transcriptions and original documents referring to every social, economic, and historical aspect of that important mining region.

A diary of events in Lima, written by a man called José de Mugaburu and commencing in 1639, is a priceless source of information on daily life in the capital city of the viceroyalty as seen by an eyewitness.

Of equal interest are some shorter reports, such as one from Juan de Palacio during his visitation of the provinces of Charcas and Potosí (1638-1641), with accounts of political events; another, written by Victorino Montero, describing the political, economic, and administrative situation in Perú at the end of the eighteenth century, also provides information on the Oruro revolt in 1738; a third, written by Colonel Rafael Cevallos Escalera and presumably used by Mariano Torrente when writing his history of Perú, treats of the wars against the revolutionary armies.

WARS OF INDEPENDENCE

Among the manuscripts are acts, decrees, and decisions taken by the Peruvian Congress and its committees, as well as petitions for appointments, accusations, projects, and rewards. Of particular interest is the documentation on the government crisis of 1823 when Riva Agüero dissolved the Congress and moved to Trujillo. Tagle's proceedings in Lima, petitions of the citizens of Lima for a reopening of the Congress, and several letters on Riva Agüero's actions illustrate these events.

A special mention should be made of the act of a commission of September 10, 1823, defining the conditions under which Bolívar assumed the supreme authority over the country.

Correspondence—1814-1828

These documents reflect several stages in the struggle for independence. In addition to the documentation concerning the Upper Peruvian revolts mentioned in the colonial section under Revolts, there are letters of the *caudillos* of these movements—Angulo, Belgrano, Bejar, and others—and the correspondence of the *Junta* established in Cochabamba.

The first stage of San Martín's expedition to the province of Cuyo is reflected in his letters to José Pescara in Mendoza (1814-1816). Royalist resistance was weak, and San Martín's principal concerns were to obtain horses, to brand cattle for the State, to incorporate into his army the slaves he had declared free, to trade with the Indians, and to obtain funds to pay for the sustenance of his men.

The occupation of the province of Cuyo (1819-1820) may be studied in the ample correspondence between San Martín and Rudecindo Alvarado and between the minister of war, Bernardo Monteagudo, and Toribio de Luzuriaga, Peruvian consul in Buenos Aires. Although these letters and other documents deal with matters concerning Argentine provinces, they are closely related to the San Martín campaign and are therefore included in the description of the Peruvian manuscripts. They cover mostly routine matters but do reveal the unrest which followed the occupation and describe the revolts of Cordoba, San Juan, and San Luis. Luzuriaga's reports provide valuable details on the civil war which was devastating the province of Buenos Aires at that time. San Martín's letters to Bernabé Aráoz, governor of Tucumán (1821), deal with problems created by Martín Güemes and Fernando Heredia, governors of Salta and Córdoba respectively. His correspondence with

the Chilean secretary of war, José Ignacio Zenteno, further augments the documentation covering this situation, as San Martín kept the Chilean authorities up to date on everything that happened in Mendoza. Bernardo O'Higgins' correspondence with Tomás Godoy Cruz and José García del Río's with Chilean minister Joaquín de Echeverría contain details on the struggle against José Miguel Carrera and his followers, Alvear and Bustos, reporting their negotiations with the royalist chiefs. Especially noteworthy are the accounts presented to San Martín by the commissary of the Chilean army, Nicolás Marzán, for expenses incurred by his government up to the first of January, 1819. This is the first of a long list of such accounts presented by Chile to Perú of the cost of the campaigns for the liberation of Perú.

The expedition which led to the occupation of the Pacific coast and the fall of Lima is reflected above all in the correspondence of San Martín with the aforementioned Zenteno and with Luis de la Cruz, commander of the port of Valparaíso. There are also letters of less important figures (Artola, Prieto, Freyre, Delano, Guise) concerning this expedition. The correspondence deals with the direction of troops, provisions, arms, prisoners, blockading of the coast, pirate ships, and various incidents of the maritime expedition, including some local revolts and the return of trouble-making officers to Chile. The copybook of San Martín's letters to several authorities, dated January-June 1821, offers additional details on this campaign, as does that of Chief of Staff Juan Gregorio de las Heras for the period October 1819-August 1820.

The defection of the Numancia battalion, an outstanding event favorable to the Independence movement, and its adherence to the patriot forces are referred to in the cor-

respondence of the battalion's commander, Tomás de Heres, and in a whole series of manuscripts, including lists of the individuals involved in the affair. The collection contains a complete series of records for this battalion, with documents starting in 1816. Another significant event of the period was the declaration of independence of Trujillo, covered in the correspondence of Bernardo Tagle, governor of that city and later president of Perú.

The occupation of Lima (July, 1821) by revolutionary forces was a major event. The letter written by Viceroy La Serna to San Martín on July 5, 1821, before his surrender of the city is tinged with the melancholy of Spain abandoning one of the oldest and richest of her American settlements and one which she had occupied for almost three centuries. Other correspondence, especially that of Alvarez de Arenales, provides a record of the magistrates who applied for passports to return to Spain and those who remained in Lima.

The occupation of the capital city produced a great number of decrees issued by San Martín between December, 1820, and May, 1822. The collection contains many of them, either as originals or as drafts. They refer to the organization of a stable government, as if the whole country had already been taken over by revolutionary forces, which was not the case. Already, on the occasion of the victory in Pasca, San Martín had ordered the coining of commemorative medals.

The occupation of Lima triggered a deluge of gold and silver medals (correspondence with José de Boqui, director of the Mint) and honors, prizes, expensive rewards, and promotions were granted to the armies of land and sea. Inspection posts were established, new officers named, and passports issued. Several decrees refer to the Spanish

nationals: they are not to be molested; requisitioned cattle are to be returned to their owners as are escaped slaves who had not joined the army. A purging committee was established, and lawsuits over confiscated goods began. All royal insignia were abolished, and the Order of the Sun, which endowed the elected with generous economic grants, was introduced.

The correspondence also records San Martín's economic measures, as, for example, the abolition of imposed tribute on the Indian population. An example of the limits reached by colonial levying of tribute is given in the decrees in which San Martín abolished the snow monopoly, i.e., state control over the snow brought from the mountains for sale in Lima. He decreed free importation of consumer goods, installed a food market, and issued new ordinances for the Mint. A compulsory war contribution was imposed on the merchants; collection of funds owed to the Treasury was reinforced and silver collected for the foundry.

The correspondence concerning San Martín's policies on the Pacific coast does not reveal much concern over the guerrilla war in the mountains. Minister of War Bernardo Monteagudo and Vice-Admiral Martín Jorge Guise corresponded about patents for privateers, shipping matters, and organization of maritime forces. The letters of Commander Juan Pardo de Zela cover other routine matters, though they occasionally contain disturbing news received from the mountain regions of severe setbacks suffered by the revolutionary forces.

The guerrilla war was far from being decided in favor of one side or the other and was being fought bitterly in the mountains. The correspondence of Bernardo Monteagudo and Tomás Guido, of San Martín and his subordinates, the letters of Otero, Alvarado, Alvarez, González,

Aldao, and Aliaga, those of various city councils, of spies or explorers, Indians and commanders, all give testimony of the suffering of the population as towns underwent constant changes of government in a war without established frontiers. The correspondence of Dávalos, Guzmán, Delgado, Salazar, Morales, and others reveals that the royalists were showing no signs of defeat. In this vast correspondence there are insistent pleas to San Martín for reinforcement of troops and arms, but there is no indication of such reinforcements being provided. On the contrary, an anonymous letter (1821) bitterly complains that the Protector is neglecting the mountain region. It seems as if San Martín, with his background of European military strategy, considered that, once the capital of the country was occupied, the war was won. The fall from power of Minister of War Bernardo Monteagudo (August, 1822), on which the Lilly collection contains important documents, may have stemmed from dissatisfaction with this policy, which undoubtedly prolonged the struggle for independence.

San Martín's policy quickly exhausted the national treasury. There was not enough money to pay remunerations and salaries, and the atmosphere in the armed forces became one of discontent. There were incidents with Lord Cochrane (letters of Juan García del Río and Diego Paroissien; correspondence of Tomás Guido and José de la Mar) and with the Numancia battalion (correspondence of Tomás de Heres, Juan Paz del Castillo, Tomás Guido, and others). The battalion wanted to return to Colombia, as promised by San Martín, but there was no money, either for pay or for transportation to the battalion's native country (correspondence of Ignacio Delgado). The subsequent revolt of the Río de la Plata regiment in Callao (Dámaso Moyano, February, 1824), which permitted the temporary

reoccupation of Lima by the royalist forces, was in large measure due to this disastrous fiscal situation. In this context, we might mention the project for monetary devaluation presented to San Martín by a miner, Pedro de Rojas: he proposed that copper coins be minted for internal commerce, while the silver be used for foreign transactions exclusively (1822).

In the northern part of the country, which included Guayaquil, the situation was insecure, as may be seen from the correspondence of José Joaquín de Olmedo, and later from that of Antonio José de Sucre. Through this port, news of Bolívar's success in New Granada reached Perú (correspondence of Alvarez, Monteagudo, and Guido, 1821-1822). The result was the retreat of the royalist forces to Quito, which placed Guayaquil, declared independent, in grave danger. The head of the Guayaquil Junta, José Joaquín de Olmedo, urged San Martín and his minister, Monteagudo, to send reinforcements. He insisted that the revolutionary armies stationed in Piura attack Cuenca and Loja and relieve the dangerous situation of the port. But these pleas went unheeded. The Congress and the Guayaquil Government turned to the Colombian troops for assistance (correspondence of Olmedo). The arrival of the contingent commanded by General Sucre was insufficient, and, following his defeat at Ambato, Sucre, too, begged in vain for San Martín to order an attack on Loja. Meanwhile Spanish ships wreaked havoc in the port of Guayaquil (Olmedo to Guido, February, 1822).

When the news of Bolívar's impending arrival reached Guayaquil, General Sucre wrote to San Martín asking him for collaboration with Bolívar by sending ships ahead to transport his army (October 29, 1821). Later, Olmedo, a Peruvian, expressed his satisfaction that San Martín was

expected in the port (February 15, 1822). The famous encounter between these two outstanding *caudillos* of the Wars of Independence took place in July of that year. The Lilly Library possesses Bolívar's letter to San Martín of July 25, bidding him welcome to Guayaquil. The meeting determined, as we know, the twilight hour of Perú's Protector.

Among other letters of this period, mention should be made of the correspondence between Bernardo Montea-gudo and Manuel de Llano, Peruvian plenipotentiary in Guatamala, containing news of Central American events. Another letter worth mentioning is that from James Thorne to his wife, Manuela Sáenz, Bolívar's mistress, entreating that she return to his side.

The Colombian-Venezuelan campaign in Perú and the state of anarchy which prevailed are well illustrated in the correspondence of this period.

With a view to avoiding future misunderstandings, Sucre had written to the government *junta* in Guayaquil (1821), explaining the purposes of the presence of the Colombian-Venezuelan army in Perú. However, documents show that from the first moment there was a lack of trust in these declared intentions. From the beginning, letters reflect the disagreements which arose between Peruvians and Colombians over deserters, substitution of troops, jurisdiction, and other matters. This mistrust continued throughout the war and can be observed in the correspondence. Sucre's interference in Perú's internal government is illustrated in the documentation of his project for a national loan submitted for the approval of the Congress. On the other hand, the plan of action for the Colombian-Venezuelan army, as proposed by President Riva Agüero and presented to Bolívar by the Minister of War, Ramón

Herrera, proves that Perú was reluctant to permit overall foreign control of the war of liberation.

In 1823 the effectiveness of the revolutionary government reached a new low. The country was shaken by a series of events: the transitory occupation of Lima by royalist forces; the escape of President José de la Riva Agüero and several members of Congress to Trujillo; the split in the government as a consequence of Riva Agüero's dissolving the Congress; the subsequent reconstitution of the Congress in Lima with the downfall of Riva Agüero; and the election of José Bernardo Tagle in his place. An intra-party struggle had begun with little regard to the danger presented by occupation of a large portion of the country by royalist forces. The Minister of War, Ramón Herrera, was accused of treason and replaced by Juan de Berindoaga. Conflict within the revolutionary party reached such an extreme that the Chilean army threatened to abandon the country. Riva Agüero and his followers, called "satellites of the anarchy," attempted to reach an agreement with the enemy, and Tagle proposed expelling them *to Calcutta!* All of this, as well as General Antonio Gutiérrez de la Fuente's audacious coup against Riva Agüero, is extensively covered in the Lilly collection in the acts of Congress and in the correspondence of Sucre with the successive ministers of war (four in 1823!) and with the rival presidents, Riva Agüero and Tagle. Bolívar's entry into Perú, the designation of Sucre as commander-in-chief of the armies, and Bolívar's subsequent investiture with dictatorial powers were consequences of a situation that threatened not only Perú but also the independence of the whole of South America. Yet, as is illustrated in the correspondence of Tagle, Peruvian opposition toward and mistrust of the Colombian army continued unabated.

While San Martín was travelling to his self-imposed exile, the war continued. News of the varying success of military operations is provided by letters from Sucre, Otero, Gararra, Guise, Alcázar, Pardo de Zela, and others. There are numerous daily reports from spies to guerrilla commanders such as Villar, Vivas, García Mancebo, and others, with detailed information on the continuously changing position of the enemy troops. They reveal the elaborate writing necessary at a time when pen and ink were the only means of long distance communication.

Representatives Juan García de Río and Diego de Paroissien were sent to Europe in an attempt to secure support for the revolutionary government, but reports of anarchy and political dissension in Perú made their cause look doubtful in the eyes of European politicians. Their unsuccessful efforts are documented in their correspondence in the Lilly Library. Owing to the danger which the royalist occupation of Chiloe in the south and their brief reoccupation of Lima represented for the entire Pacific coast, a later mission by Juan de Salazar to Chile was more successful. Bolívar's instructions to Salazar are also in the collection. Chilean assistance was prompted by news from Spain to the effect that a new expedition from Cádiz was underway. The second big Chilean expedition is reflected in many manuscripts: they give details on the voyage, on intermittent blockading of ports, complaints, enlisting of sailors, desertions, and piracy (correspondence of Larrea, Guise, Novoa, Fernández, and others).

The principal source of information for the events of 1824 is the correspondence of Sucre, Tagle, Otero, and Andrés de Santa Cruz. The revolt of the Río de la Plata regiment (February, 1824), headed by Moyano, the fall of Lima and Callao to the royalist army, the treason of Tagle,

Berindoaga, and others who had dealings with the enemy, all may be studied through this correspondence. There are several plans of action submitted by Sucre, who was in continuous communication with Bolívar during his military operations. Bolívar's letters of this period are scarce in the collection. They are supplemented by the correspondence of his secretary and minister of war, Tomás de Heres. There are promotions, recommendations, appointments, orders, and other documents. Of interest is Bolívar's long letter to the royalist general, Pedro Antonio de Olañeta, in which he suggests the surrender of the latter, on the occasion of Olañeta's disagreement with Viceroy José de la Serna; however, this attempt ended in failure. The collection contains the original Act of Congress by which Bolívar was named *Jefe Supremo* of Perú (May 21, 1824) and the well-known letter from Bolívar to his teacher, Simón Rodríguez, then in Bogotá, in which he acclaims him as the inspirer of his pro-independence struggles and asks him to come to Perú.

There are numerous manuscripts on the victory of Ayacucho (December 9, 1824), the event which put an end to Spanish domination of America. There is a copy of the terms of surrender signed by Sucre and the Spanish General José de Canterac, and Sucre's letter to Tomás de Heres with details on this famous battle. Several proclamations of Rudecindo Alvarado refer to the Ayacucho surrender. A whole series of letters to Bolívar (from Sucre, Maldonado, and others) and the ample correspondence of the commanders of the armies show the euphoria which took hold of the patriotic forces as a consequence of this victory; while a letter from Pío de Tristán, last viceroy of Perú, named by the Royal Audiencia of Cuzco, to Bolívar

asks that the defeat in Ayacucho not be used as an impediment to "peace with honour."

The transfer of power (1825-26) had its problems, as not all of the royalist corps accepted the Ayacucho surrender terms. Letters exchanged between Sucre, Alvarado, and General José María de Córdoba discuss the resistance of Spanish General Pedro Antonio Olañeta and his death; Otero's correspondence with Cayetano Avalle relates to another royalist, Gerónimo Valdés, who did not accept the capitulation. The correspondence of Heres, Sucre, and Pío de Tristán and a copybook of letters from Otero all refer in detail to the obstacles in the way of a general acceptance of the Ayacucho surrender terms and mention the revolts in Huanta, Huando, and Huancavélica. There are lists of expelled Spaniards, of natives, and of foreigners. There is a suspicion, evident in Sucre's letters, that many Spaniards accepting the terms of surrender had embarked not to Europe, as was their obligation, but rather to Chiloe, last stronghold of the royalist forces. The correspondence of that time deals much with routine matters, but there are also letters referring to the assassination of Monteagudo and the cases against Tagle, Berindoaga, and their accomplices for high treason. Letters of General Agustín Gamarra, appointed prefect of the Department of Cuzco, with several of the revolutionary commanders, cover events in Upper Perú, a region which was beginning its organization as an independent province, a presage of the future establishment of the Republic of Bolivia (recognized as such by Perú on April 18, 1827).

The Bolívar documents are mainly campaign diplomas given to participants in the battle of Ayacucho, awards paid by drafts against the loan agreed upon in London, promotions, and appointments. His military and civil ac-

tions of this time are revealed in part by the index of the correspondence issued by the Secretary General to various members of the republican government from August to December, 1825.

Some of Bolívar's decrees merit a special mention. There is an order for contracting with mineralogists from England to explore the mineral wealth of Perú; documents relating to the establishment of a Normal School on the Lancasterian system; an order from Bolívar to his envoys in London, José Joaquín de Olmedo and José Gregorio Paredes, to put the development of the mines up for public bidding. The reports from these two ministers refer extensively to their dealings in England, the diplomatic negotiations with the English government, and the efforts made to secure a loan from the firm of Parish Robertson.

The correspondence of Juan de Salazar, Minister of Government, with Venezuelan General Bartolomé Salom, Minister of the Treasury Hipólito Unánue, and Minister of War Tomás de Heres, tells of the fall of the last royalist stronghold in Perú, the fort of Callao, stubbornly held by the royalist general, José Ramón Rodil. There are daily lists of deserters who were crossing to join the republican forces. There are reports on the final capitulation of Callao (January 18, 1825), queries by the royalist commander, explanations, subsequent changes in the terms of surrender, and inventories of effects found in the fortresses. The occupation of Callao was followed by the usual series of promotions, diplomas, and awards for those who took part in that action.

Letters between Antonio Gutiérrez de la Fuente and Tomás de Heres and Juan Pardo de Zela, in charge of the security of the Pacific ports, give particulars of the embarkation of the defeated Spaniards for Europe; those of

Otero contain contracts for their transportation. Unánue's correspondence deals with medals coined on occasion of the surrender of Callao and the new coat of arms adopted by the Republic of Perú.

Legal Affairs—1821-1826

Among the documents concerning legal affairs, special mention should be made of a diary of cases kept by a notary of the Court of Justice from July 1 to December 31, 1821. The collection also contains papers from the trials of Auditor Francisco Javier de Moreno for having served the royalist as well as the revolutionary régime and of Vice-Admiral Jorge Guise, as well as proceedings for the removal of the coat of arms from the Torre Tagle house; and the prosecution of Riva Agüero. There is also an inventory of the cases heard in the High Court of Justice between August, 1821, and May, 1824.

Another interesting case is that against the journalist Guillermo del Río and others as a consequence of their having published in the *Correo Mercantil* of Lima articles considered by the government "anarchic and seditious" (1823-24). This is one of the first examples of official republican censure.

Military Affairs—1816-1829

The documents on military affairs include several lists of the revolutionary corps—Colombian, Peruvian, and Chilean. They begin in 1819 (list of the participants in the battle of Maypo) and end in 1825 with lists of officers sailing to Europe in compliance with the Ayacucho surrender terms. There are also accounts, budgets, lists of salaries paid or owed, daily orders, *santo y señas*, lists of

prisoners, hospital lists, and other similar items. Such material is of value as a biographical source.

The group of documents on the famous royalist Numancia Battalion begins in 1816. Many campaigns are covered, including those in Colombia against the revolutionary forces and in Perú, first as part of the royalist army and finally of the patriotic forces.

Church Affairs—1811-1826

Manuscripts on church affairs during this period are only sparsely represented and consist largely of correspondence of the religious authorities. It is interesting to see how the republican authorities appropriated the patronage of the Church, which, according to ancient papal bulls, had belonged to the Spanish Crown. Not only San Martín (his correspondence and that of Juan Antonio González) but also minor *caudillos* interfered in Church affairs and Church administration (correspondence of José Angulo, 1814). The ecclesiastical authorities' attitude toward the independence was at times neutral (correspondence of Arenas, Moxo, Pérez y Armendariz, Father Bernuy, Gutiérrez de Quintanilla) and at times favorable to the patriotic cause (Provincials of the religious orders). Noteworthy is a letter from San Martín to Sister Juana Riofrío in which he thanks her for her interest in the success of the revolutionary forces and proclaims that he "will protect not only the independence of Perú but the holy religion we profess, as well" (July 30, 1821). In another letter to the abbesses of the convents in Lima (July 20), San Martín declares: "I am an instrument which the Lord God of the Armies has used to carry out His Divine Providence. Now that the independence of Perú has been decreed by His Sovereign

Majesty and that the old opposition has been exterminated, I offer Him my most humble thanks for having reserved the glory of this deed for me." Both these letters are testimonies of the profound Catholicism of the Protector of Perú and his belief in his messianic destiny.

Miscellaneous—1815-1825

Among the miscellaneous documents of the revolutionary period are the day-by-day reports of persons who were fleeing from Callao when it was occupied by Rodil (1825), a list of principal personalities in Lima and their attitude toward the Independence, a lampoon against Spanish sympathizers, anonymous reports on revolts and military movements, seizures, inventories, and some popular rhymes.

NATIONAL PERIOD

Congressional Documents—1825-1870

Congressional documents include proceedings to abolish the "Orden del Sol," instituted by San Martín, which was felt to be contradictory to the republican sentiments of the people; various acts honoring Bolívar; recognition of the Republic of Bolivia by Perú; rewards for the participants in the military actions of Junín and Ayacucho; rules for establishment of the military hospital; laws regarding navigation, nationalization of vessels and patents, and other matters. An index of decrees issued by the Congress during February, 1826, is helpful. The documents for the Peruvian Congress, 1850-1857, deal largely with budgetary matters. There are petitions by participants in the War of Independence or their heirs for grants and pensions.

An important group of Congressional Acts for 1864 and another by the Congress of American Republics which met in that year illustrate the vacillating attitude of Latin American countries and their reluctance to lend wholehearted support to Perú in her differences with Spain during the incident of the Chincha Islands.

General Correspondence—1826-1929

General correspondence forms the largest body of material for the national period and includes many letters related to the problems which arose immediately after Independence.

The correspondence of Minister of Foreign Affairs José María Pando with José Joaquín de Olmedo, the Peruvian representative in England (1826-27), contains information on the return of Bolívar to Colombia, the foundation of the Republic of Bolivia, and the diplomatic activities of Olmedo in London. Other correspondence tells about pensions, settlement of back pay to officers and men, and problems about the release of confiscated property. Noteworthy is the petition by Bernardo O'Higgins to allow him the shipping of goods imported from Europe for the construction of an industrial complex. These manuscripts show the exhausted state of the Peruvian treasury.

The correspondence of President Luis José Orbegoso and of Commander Trinidad Morán gives an inside view of the war between Chile and Perú (1837-38) and the anarchical state of affairs within the latter country. The uprising of Felipe Santiago Salaverry in Callao is one of many incidents described. Letters of Presidents Ramón Castilla and Juan Antonio Pezet and of others give an account of the constant civil wars which divided Perú during the nineteenth century. A group of letters from Manuel

María Basagoitia describes the establishment of a mint in Lima, and finally, one we should not fail to mention, the heart-breaking letter (1843) of Simón Rodríguez, the already mentioned teacher of young Simón Bolívar, to Joaquín París at Bogotá, in which he expresses disappointment in the Revolution and urgently asks for financial assistance.

A large section of the correspondence relates to the conflict between Spain and Perú in 1864 on the occasion of the occupation by Spain of the Chincha Islands. Letters of President Juan Antonio Pezet, the ministers of foreign affairs Pedro José Calderón, Toribio Pacheco, and Juan Antonio Ribero, and of the Spanish admiral Luis H. Pinzón supply details of this conflict. The insurrection of Cuba against Spain in 1869 is reflected indirectly in the collection. The correspondence of the minister of foreign affairs, José Antonio Barrenechea, with the Peruvian ambassadors in Chile, Eduardo Villenas, and in the United States, Manuel Freyre, deals with the open support given to Cuba by Chile (which included recognition of her government in exile) and the reluctance of the United States to become involved in the conflict. Another series of documents illustrates the war in the Pacific during 1879 and the steps taken by Perú to obtain arms in the United States and in France.

The beginning of the present century is represented by a number of letters from Federico Alfonso Pezet, Peruvian ambassador to the United States. Apart from the routine correspondence, which offers examples of the signatures of most of the presidents and secretaries of state in office at that time, there is a letter from Woodrow Wilson expressing a desire for better understanding among neighboring nations, another from Ricardo Palma lauding patriotism and pointing out the need for immigration, and some correspondence dealing with the Peruvian intervention

to restore peace between Mexico and the United States. Noteworthy is the correspondence related to the establishment of a chair of United States history in the San Marcos University in Lima in 1915 and the series of letters regarding the celebration in the United States of the centenary of Peruvian Independence.

Legal Affairs—1825-1849

Legal papers from this period cover such important matters as the investigation into the assassination of former Minister of War Bernardo Monteagudo (1825); the trial for treason of former President José Bernardo Tagle and the former Minister of War Juan de Berindoaga and their accomplices (1825-26); the dishonorable discharge of an English captain, Thomas Hodges, for slandering Bolívar; and the suit against José Rivadeneira, governor of Callao (1827). The material on the establishment and administration of the Tribunal of Justice in Lima is also noteworthy.

Military Affairs—1825-1879

These documents include muster rolls for various military corps up to 1879, lists of dead and wounded in the Pacific War (1879), orders for supplies and equipment given to the Peruvian representatives in Europe, and the process for the conversion of the Royal prison in the Island of Estévez into a Republican prison for political offenders. A good number of certificates of service issued to the participants in the War of Independence provide both military and biographical data.

Church Affairs—1826-1888

There are only a small number of documents related to Church affairs during the national period, and all deal

with routine matters. There is a single document regarding the construction of the church in Pisco.

Miscellaneous—1825-1876

The miscellaneous documents of this period include a number of interesting items. There are reports on the Spanish-Peruvian conflict of 1864. A volume of richly colored drawings provides details of typical Peruvian costumes of members of different social classes and contains vivid scenes of popular life. The large private archive of Juan Fernández Nodal, a Peruvian scholar of the late nineteenth century, deserves special mention. The collection contains drafts and studies for his grammar of the Quichua language (published in 1872); for his book on the Inca Empire (published in 1868); and for his published play "Ollanta y Cusi-Kcuyllor." Also included are several essays on the Aymará language; on Peruvian history (precolonial, colonial, and national), and extensive studies on metals and mining in Peru. His collection of music and some essays on the subject may also draw the attention of scholars.

JUAN FRIEDE is a distinguished historian of Latin America now teaching at the University of Texas.