

S^r Abvill Lake Bar.

Modern History :

OR, THE

PRESENT STATE

OF

All NATIONS.

DESCRIBING

Their respective Situations, Persons, Habits, Buildings, Manners, Laws and Customs, Religion and Policy, Arts and Sciences, Trades, Manufactures and Husbandry, Plants, Animals and Minerals.

By Mr. *SALMON*.

.VOL. XXIX.

Being the Second Volume of *AMERICA*, contains,

I. A Description of *Terra-Firma*, particularly of that important Province of *Darien*, or *Terra-Firma Proper*, the Key of the *Spanish West-Indies*.

II. A Description of *PERU*, and the History of that Empire during the Reigns of the *Inca's*.

III. The History of the Conquest of *Peru* by the *Spaniards*.

IV. The Civil Wars of the Conquerors. The present Divisions and

Animosities between the native *Spaniards* and the *Criols*, born of *Spanish* Parents there.

V. The Religion of the ancient and modern *Peruvians*, in treating of which several vulgar Errors are exploded, *viz.* their sacrificing and devouring one another; and the fabulous Relations of Giants, Dwarfs and Monsters, the first Discoverers entertain'd us with.

The whole illustrated with MAPS and CUTS.

L O N D O N

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T H E
P R E S E N T S T A T E
O F
T E R R A - F I R M A .

C H A P. I.

Of the Province of Terra-Firma.



HAVING finish'd the Description of the *Spanish* Dominions on the Continent of North *America* in the former Volume; in this I enter on the State of their Territories in South *America*, which are divided into six large Provinces, viz. 1. That of the *Terra-Firma*; 2. *Peru*; 3. *Cbili*; 4. *Patagonia*, or *Terra-Magellanica*; 5. *Paragua*, or *La-plata*; and 6. the Country of the *Amazons*.

1. And first I shall treat of *Terra-Firma*; under which Name I comprehend, 1. *Terra-Firma Proper*. 2. *Carthagena*. 3. *St. Marta*. Vol. XXIX. B

Terra-Firma, the Countries included under that Name.

Terra-Firma. *tha*; 4. *Rio de la Hacha*; 5. *Venezuela*; 6. *Comana*; 7. *New Andalusia*; 8. *Caribiana*; 9. *Guiana*; 10. *Paria*; 11. *New Granada*; and 12. *Popayan*.

Its Situation and Extent.

These Countries, comprehended under the general Name of *Terra-Firma*, are bounded by the *North Sea* or *Atlantic Ocean*, on the North and East; by *Peru* and the Country of the *Amazons*, on the South; and by the *South Sea*, and the Province of *Veragua* in *Mexico*, on the West; being upwards of two thousand Miles in Length from East to West, and generally about five hundred Miles in Breadth from North to South.

Terra-Firma Proper described.

The Province of *Terra-Firma Proper*, which frequently goes under the Name of *Darien*, is bounded by the *North Sea* on the North; by the Gulph or River of *Darien*, which separates it from *Carthagena* on the East; by *Popayan* and the *South Sea* on the South; and by the same Sea and the Province of *Veragua* on the West; lying between 8 and 10 Degrees of North Latitude, and between 78 and 83 Degrees of Western Longitude. The most exact Boundary of this Province on the West, is a Line drawn from the Fort at the Mouth of the River *Chagre* on the *North Sea*, to the Town of *Nata* on the *South Sea*; and the truest Southern Boundary, a Line drawn from *Point Garrachina*, or the South Part of the Gulph of *St. Michael*, in the Bay of *Panama*, directly Eastward to the River of *Darien*. It lies in the Form of a Bow or Crescent, about that noble Bay of *Panama*, being about 300 Miles in Length, and 60 in Breadth, from Sea to Sea. I am the more particular in describing the Situation of this Province, because it is, in proportion, the richest, and of most importance

to

of TERRA-FIRMA.

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Terra-
firma.

to the *Spaniard*, (as it would be to any *European* Nation that should possess themselves of it) and has been the Scene of more Action than any Province in *America*. Its Situation, both on the *North* and *South* Seas, and on the Confines of *North* and *South America*, and the Gold Mines, Gold-Sands and Pearls with which this Province and the adjacent Seas are replenished, render it invaluable, and make it the darling Object of all enterprizing People.

The Face
of Terra
Firma:
Proper.

The Face of this Province is thus described by the *English* Buccaneers, who have often traversed it: They tell us, the Surface is very unequal, consisting of exceeding high Hills, and long deep Valleys: That the Valleys are watered with Rivers, Brooks, and perennial Springs, with which the Country abounds; some of them falling into the *North*, and others into the *South* Sea, most of them having their Sources in a Ridge or Chain of Mountains that surmount and over-top the other Hills, running the whole Length of the Isthmus parallel to the Coasts, treading along, and bending as the Isthmus bends. This vast Ridge of Hills is nearest the Coast of the *North* Sea, seldom more than ten or fifteen Miles distant from it. *Waser* observes, when he passed over them, that the Hills between these Mountains and the *South* Sea were nothing, in comparison of them: That those Hills did not only appear much beneath this high Ridge, but the Clouds were considerably below them, and intercepted their Sight of the Country, and all their People grew giddy with the Height, when they had climb'd to the Top; but this Giddiness went off again as they descended lower. The Hills between this and the *South* Sea, are covered with fine

tall

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tall Woods, with little or no Under-wood to interrupt the Passage: But those on the North-side, are full of Bushes, Bamboes and Mangroves, near the Shore, that render them almost impenetrable.

The Ri-
vers.

The Rivers on the Isthmus, are some of them pretty large, but few of them navigable, having Bars of Sand at their Mouths. Those on the North Side, rising in the high Ridge of Mountains, have generally a very short Course, running precipitately into the Sea, tho' there are Exceptions to this Rule, some of them having a winding Course through the Valleys, almost from the *South* to the *North* Sea.

The chief Rivers are, 1. the River, or rather Gulph of *Darien*; 2. the River of *Conception*; and 3. the River *Chagre* on the *North* Sea; 4. the River of *St. Mary's*; the River *Congo*; 6. the River *Cheapo*; which last three fall into the Bay of *Panama*.

Darien
River.

1. The River or Gulph of *Darien*, the Eastern Boundary of this Province, rises in the South; and, running directly North, upwards of an hundred Miles, falls into the *North Sea*, near *Golden Island*. It is six or seven Leagues wide at the Mouth, but hath not above six Foot Water in a Spring-tide. It is deep enough within the Bar for great Ships, and navigable fourscore or an hundred Miles; but, as no Vessels of Burthen can get over the Bar, there is very little Traffick carried on upon it.

Conception
River.

2. The River of *Conception* rises about the middle of the great Ridge of Mountains, and running precipitately to the North-west, falls into the *North Sea* over-against an Island called *La Sounds-Key*, being one of the *Sanbala* Islands. This River is pretty broad, and makes
a good

of TERRA-FIRMA.

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a good Appearance at the Mouth, but has a Bar also, that prevents any Ships of Burthen getting in ; however, it is fine Riding in the Channel at the Mouth of this River, between the Islands and the Main-land, which form a pretty good Harbour.

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3. The River *Chagre*, the most navigated of any River of this Province. It rises not far from *Panama* on the *South* Sea, and taking its Course to the North-west, finds a Way through very deep winding Valleys, falling into the *North* Sea ten Leagues to the Westward of *Porto Bello* : Upon this River therefore is embarked all the Merchandize that is sent from *Panama* to *Porto Bello* for the Gallions, except the Gold and Silver, which are carried directly over Land upon the Backs of Mules to *Porto Bello*.

Chagre River.

4. The River *Santa Maria*, or *St. Mary's*, which rising on the Mountains on the North-east Part of this Province, runs to the Westward, and falls into the Gulph of *St. Michael's*, on the South-side of the Bay of *Panama*. This is a pretty large navigable River, and considerable, on account of its lying in the Neighbourhood of the Gold Mines, and for the Rivulets which fall into it ; in whose Sands are found abundance of Gold. One of these is called the *Golden River* : Hither the *Spaniards* come with their Slaves from *Panama*, and other Towns, in the dry Season, which lasts three Months, to gather Gold. These Brooks at that time not being more than a Foot deep, the Slaves take up the Sand in little Wooden Dishes, in which they find such a Quantity of Gold, that in some Seasons 'tis said they carry off eighteen or twenty thousand Pound Weight of

Santa Maria River.

Golden River.

Terra-
Firma.

Congo Ri-
ver.

of pure Gold, out of that Brook alone, which goes by the Name of the *Golden River*.

5. The River *Congo* rises in the Mountains on the East Part of this Province, and running to the South-west, almost parallel to the River of *Santa Maria*, falls into the same Gulph of *St. Michaels* to the Northwards of it. It is a large River, navigable for great Vessels within the Bar, but so shallow at the Mouth, that it is very difficult entring. There are a great many small Streams fall into this River, both on the East and West.

Cheapo Ri-
ver.

6. The River of *Cheapo*, which rising in the Mountains near the *North Sea*, first bends its Course to the Westward, and then turning to the South, falls into the Bay of *Panama*, seven Leagues to the Westward of that City. It is a considerable navigable River, and runs a long Course; but has the same Misfortune as the rest, to have a Bar at the Mouth, that large Ships cannot enter it.

Air and
Seasons.

This Province being very narrow, and lying between two great Oceans, viz. the *North* and *South Seas*, is observed to have more wet Weather, than any other Place within the *Torrid Zone*. The Rains usually begin here in *April* or *May*: In *June*, *July* and *August* they are very heavy; and it is extreme hot at this time, whenever the Sun shines out: There are then no Breezes to cool the Air; but it is, in my Author's Phrase, glowing hot. In *September*, the Rains begin to abate; but it is *November* or *December*, and sometimes *January* before the fair Season returns: So that the Country is very wet for two thirds, if not three quarters of the Year. But in the wettest Season, there are some fair Days, with only a Tornado or Thunder-Shower now and then. The
Floods

of TERRA-FIRMA.

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Floods and Torrents caused by these Rains, often bear down Trees, which dam up the Rivers, overflowing all the neighbouring Plains. The low Countries appear at this time like one great Lake. The coolest Time of the Year, is after the Rains, about *Christmas*, when the fair Weather approaches.

The chief Towns in *Terra-Firma Proper*, Chief Town: are, 1. *Panama*; 2. *Porto Bello*; 3. *Venta de Cruzes*; 4. *Cheapo*; 5. *Nata*; 6. *Conception*; 7. *Santa Maria*; 8. *Scuchadero*; and 9. (lately) *New Edinburgh*.

1. The City of *Panama* is situated in 9 De- *Panama*
grees of North Latitude, and 82 Degrees of *City*.
Western Longitude, reckoning from the Meridian of *London*. It stands upon the finest and most capacious Bay in the *South Sea*, and is built with Brick and Stone, being surrounded by a Stone Wall, fortified with Bastions and other Works, planted with great Guns both towards the Sea and Land. It lies in the Form of a Half-moon upon the Bay, affording a most beautiful Prospect, all the best Houses and publick Buildings appearing above the Walls: And what adds to the Prospect, are the beautiful Orchards and Gardens, and the pleasant Country about it, diversified with Hills, Valleys, and delightful Groves. There are no large Woods or Marshes near *Panama*, but a fine dry Champaign Land (according to *Dampier*) not subject to Fogs. The Island of *Perica*, three Miles distant, is the Port to *Panama*: For the Water is so shallow near the Town, that great Ships cannot come up to it, tho' small Vessels lie close to the Walls.

This Town, according to *Punnet*, contains upwards of six thousand Houses, eight Parish Churches,

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Churches, besides the Cathedral, thirty Chapels, and several Monasteries and Nunneries. It is a Bishop's See, Suffragan to the Archbishop of *Lima in Peru*; the Seat of the Governor and of the Courts of Justice of this Province. But what renders it most considerable, are the Treasures of Gold and Silver, and the rich Merchandizes of *Peru*, which are lodged in the Magazines of this Town till they are sent to *Europe*, as well as the Merchandize sent over by the Galleons from *Spain*, to be transported to the several Cities and Provinces of *Peru* and *Chili*.

Old Panama destroyed by Sir Harry Morgan.

Old Panama stood about four Miles to the Eastward of this City, and was destroyed by the Buccaneers commanded by Captain *Harry Morgan* (afterwards Sir *Harry Morgan*, an *Englishman*) in the Year 1670; which is too remarkable an Occurrence to be omitted in this place; especially, as it shews how easily the *Spaniards* might be dispossess'd of this important Town and Province, if we should be compelled to fall out with them; which I am confident we never shall, if *Spain* understands her true Interest, and does not too much interrupt our Commerce with the *British* Plantations.

His History.

Captain *Morgan* was the Son of a rich Yeoman, of a good Family in *Wales*, who having a mind to see the World (about the Year 1652, during *Cromwel's* Usurpation) agreed with the Master of a Ship of *Bristol* (or some other Port in the Neighbourhood of *Wales*) to carry him to *Barbadoes*, whither the Ship was bound; which the treacherous Seaman performed; but sold his Passenger for seven Years to a Planter of that Island, as soon as he arrived. This Practice of kidnapping young Fellows, whom they

they inticed on board, with false Representations of the Country, and an Assurance of making their Fortunes in the Plantations, being very common in those Days.

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Having served his seven Years, and obtained his Liberty, he transported himself to *Jamaica*; where, finding two Ships of Buccaneers ready to put to Sea, he resolved to go on board one of them; and, having met with Success, in three or four Voyages, he and some of his Comrades determined to purchase a Ship and set up for themselves: Accordingly, they bought a Vessel for their Purpose; and, chusing *Morgan* their Captain, they cruised upon the Coast of *Campeachy*, where they took several *Spanish* Prizes, and returned with their Booty to *Jamaica*.

Manfoelt, a celebrated Buccaneer, was at this time at *Jamaica*, fitting out Ships for an Expedition against the Continent; and, being informed of the Bravery and Conduct of *Morgan*, offered to make him his Vice-Admiral, which our Adventurer accepted of; and they set sail from *Jamaica*, with fifteen Vessels, great and small, mann'd with five hundred Men, of which the greatest part were *French* and *Dutch*. Their first Attempt was against the Island of *St. Catharines*, or *Providence*, which lies fifty Leagues North-west of *Porto Bello*, and then in Possession of the *Spaniards*; and altho' the Island was of it self naturally strong, and fortified with several Forts and Castles, they soon made themselves Masters of it, and left a Garrison in the principal Castle, designing to make this Island a Place of Arms, from whence they proposed to plunder and harrafs the neighbouring Continent, and then

Vice-Ad-
miral to
Manfoelt
the Bucca-
neer.

Terra-Firma. retreat thither, with the Booty they should acquire from time to time.

In pursuance of this Project, they landed at several Places in the Province of *Costa Rica*, and plundered the open Towns; but, receiving Advice that the Governor of *Panama* was marching against them with a great Body of Troops, they reembarked their Men, and returned to the Island of *St. Catharines*: Afterwards *Manfvelt* came with his Fleet to *Jamaica*, and applied himself to the Governor for a Reinforcement of Troops, to enable him to attack the *Spanish* Settlements; which the Governor not complying with, *Manfvelt* sailed to the Island of *Tortuga*, to invite the *Buccaneers* of that Island to join him; but, while he was negotiating this Affair at *Tortuga*, he fell sick and died.

In the mean time, the *Spanish* General of the *Terra-Firma*, assembled a Fleet and attacked the Island of *St. Catharines*, which surrendered to him, on the same Terms the *Buccaneers* had granted the *Spaniards* when they took it.

After the Death of *Manfvelt*, Captain *Morgan* commanded the *Buccaneers* of *Jamaica*; and, assembling a Fleet of twelve Sail, consisting of Ships and great Boats, with seven hundred bold Seamen, *English* and *French*, he attacked the Town of *Puerto del Principe*, on the North Coast of the Island of *Cuba*, and took it: In the Plunder of which Place, they found about the Value of fifty thousand Pieces of Eight. But there happening a Misunderstanding between the *English* and *French*, they parted Company, and *Morgan* returned to *Jamaica* with the *English*.

Morgan's Expedition against Porto Bello.

The *Buccaneers* having soon spent the Money they got by plundering *Puerto del Principe*, Captain

Captain *Morgan* propos'd their entring upon another Expedition; and, tho' he did not acquaint them whither he design'd to lead them, four hundred and sixty brisk young Fellows offer'd to follow his Fortunes, whom he embark'd on a Fleet of nine Sail of Ships and Sloops; and being arriv'd upon the Coast of *Terra-Firma*, let his People know, that his Design was upon *Porto Bello*, one of the strongest, as well as the richest Towns the *Spaniards* had on the *North Sea*: And his Men (confiding in the Conduct and Bravery of their Commander) readily consented to engage in it. Some indeed did observe, that their Number was but small to attack so considerable a Place: But the Captain replying, *If our Number is small, our Hearts are great, and the fewer we are, the greater will be our Share of the Spoil*, they appear'd impatient to begin the Attack, and desired he would lead them on: But, as the Captain was well aware of the Hazard of the Undertaking, and sensible the Success must be very doubtful, if he did not use some Stratagem to surprize the Place before they could put themselves in a Posture of Defence; he landed in the Dusk of the Evening, at a Distance from the Town, and taking a *Spanish* Soldier Prisoner, that stood Centinel without the Works, from whom he learned the Condition the Garrison was in, he surrrounded one of the Castles that defended the Entrance of the Harbour, before the People of the Town knew he was landed, and ordered the Soldier he had taken, to call to his Comrades in the Castle, and let them know, that if they did not immediately surrender, he would give them no Quarter; and the Garrison thereupon firing upon the Buccaneers, with great

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and small Shot, the Captain ordered his Men immediately to scale the Walls; which they did in an instant, with their Pistols in their Hands (no Men being so dexterous at clambering Walls as Seamen) and, tho' a stout Resistance was made, the Buccaneers entered the Castle at so many different Places in the dark, that the Garrison were confounded, and surrendered at Discretion; whereupon *Morgan*, to strike a Terror into the Town and the rest of the Castles, resolved to put his Threats in Execution; and, having shut up all the Officers and Soldiers in one Room, set fire to a great Quantity of Powder he had placed underneath it, and blew up the Castle into the Air, with all the Prisoners in it: After which, he stormed the City, and took it with very little Resistance, ordering a Party of his Men to search the Cloysters, and bring him all the Monks and Nuns they could find.

In the mean time, the Governor and principal Townsmen retired into another of the Castles, with their Treasure and valuable Goods, and the Plate belonging to the Churches, and play'd upon the Buccaneers from their Artillery with that Fury, that *Morgan* was about to abandon the Place, when some of his Men possessing themselves of another Fort, and crying out *Victoria*, gave him fresh Hopes of Success. Having caused Ladders therefore to be made so broad, that three or four Men might mount them a-breast, he forced the Monks and Nuns to fix them to the Walls of the principal Castle; and the Governor still continuing to fire both great and small Shot, many of the Religious, Men and Women, were killed and wounded, crying out for Mercy both to Friends and Enemies, each Side seeming equally deaf
to

to their Cries : If they advanced, they were killed by the *Spaniards* ; and if they retired, they were slaughtered by the Buccaneers. At length the Pirates mounted the Walls, with their Pistols and earthen Pots full of Gun-powder and combustible Matter in their Hands, and drove the *Spaniards* from the Walls, who thereupon threw down their Arms, and cried Quarter : Only the Governor refused to accept Quarter, and compelled the Buccaneers to kill him, having first killed several of the Enemy that endeavoured to make him Prisoner, tho' his Wife and Daughter begg'd of him with Tears to accept of Quarter ; to whom, 'tis said, he answered, *No ; he had rather die like a Soldier, than be hang'd for a Coward.*

The Buccaneers having made an entire Conquest of the Place, and secur'd their Prisoners, fell to drinking and revelling, after their usual manner, compelling the Women to submit to their Embraces ; and every thing was in such Disorder the first Night, that fifty Men, 'tis said, might easily have retaken the Place, and cut off every Man of them : However, the next Day, being recovered from their Debauch, they fell to plundering the City, and torturing the Inhabitants, to make them confess where they had concealed their Wealth ; some of them having thrown their Jewels, Money and Plate into Wells, and others buried them in the Earth.

Fifteen Days these Freebooters spent in search of Treasure, and carrying it on board their Ships ; and, tho' they received Advice that the Governor of *Panama* was assembling all the Forces of *Terra-Firma*, to march against them, they made no great haste to quit the Place, but remained here till they had victualled

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Firma.

led their Fleet, and provided for another Expedition : Captain *Morgan* also demanded an hundred thousand Pieces of Eight, to redeem their City from the Flames, assuring them, that if they did not send to *Panama*, and provide that Sum, he would lay it in Ashes, and blow up all the Fortifications : But the Governor of *Panama*, instead of sending the Sum demanded, immediately began his March, to rescue *Porto Bello* and the Prisoners out of *Morgan's* Hands : Whereupon he possessed himself of a narrow Pass, through which he knew the *Spaniards* must march ; and, after a sharp Engagement, obliged the Governor to retire with some Precipitation ; and, the People of *Porto Bello* were in the End compelled to pay the hundred thousand Pieces of Eight that were demanded to ransom the Town and themselves.

The Governor of *Panama*, astonished that *Porto Bello*, and all its Castles, should be taken by four hundred Men, without great Guns, or any Breach made in the Walls, 'tis said, sent to *Morgan*, desiring to know what Arms he made use of, to reduce so strong a Place : Whereupon the Captain sent him a Pistol, and some small leaden Bullets, desiring he would accept of that Pattern of the Arms with which he had taken *Porto Bello*, and keep them a Twelve-month, when he assured the Governor, he would come to *Panama* and fetch them away ; which Promise, it seems, he kept faithfully, that City undergoing the like Fate within a Year or two.

Captain *Morgan* having taken the best Guns out of the Castle, with such Stores, Arms and Ammunition as he wanted, and nailed up and spoiled the rest of the Cannon, set sail from
Porto

Porto Bello for the Island of *Cuba*, where he divided the Spoil with his People, and found they had in ready Money two hundred and fifty thousand Pieces of Eight, besides Silks and other rich Merchandize; with which returning to *Jamaica*, the private Seamen soon consumed every Shilling they had gotten with such infinite Hazard, in Wenching and Drinking, which made Money more plentiful in that Island than ever it had been known before.

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The next Year, Captain *Morgan* assembled another Fleet, and upwards of five hundred Men, with which he took and plundered the Towns of *Maricaibo* and *Gibraltar*, situate on the Lake of *Maricaibo*, in the Province of *Venezuela*, and brought off the Value of two hundred and fifty thousand Pieces of Eight: But of this Enterprize I shall give an Account when I come to treat of that Province, and only observe, that his Men having spent the Money they got there, in the same manner they used to do their Prize Money, were easily prevailed on by the Captain, to undertake another Adventure. And indeed he had by this time gained such a Reputation, by his Bravery and Conduct, and the many successful Actions he had engaged in against the *Spaniards*, that every enterprising Seaman appeared ready to serve under him; of which the Captain being well apprised, invited all Seafaring Men to come to the Rendezvous he appointed at the Island of *Tortuga*, near the North Shore of *Hispaniola*, where he was sure to find a great many Men fit for his Purpose, and might victual his Fleet with the Cattle that run wild in the Woods of *Hispaniola*.

Morgan
plundered
Maricaibo
and *Gibraltar*.

The Captain arriving at *Tortuga* the latter end of *October* 1670, and finding himself at
the

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the Head of upwards of two thousand brave Fellows, and between thirty and forty Ships, employed part of his People in Hunting and salting up Beef for his Fleet in the Island of *Hispaniola*, and at the same time sent four Ships and four hundred Men to *Rio de la Hacha* on the Continent, where he knew there was great Plenty of *Indian Corn* to be met with, to procure a sufficient Quantity of it to victual his Ships for his intended Expedition ; in both which Attempts he was very successful, getting both Beef and Corn enough for his Purpose, within the Space of five or six Weeks.

Articles
between
Morgan
and his
Men.

And now, being ready to sail, he divided his Fleet, consisting of 37 Ships, into two Squadrons, constituting Vice-Admirals, Rear-Admirals, and other Officers, to whom he gave formal Commissions, to commit Hostilities against the *Spanish* Nation, and take their Ships, declaring them Enemies to his Master the King of *England*. After which, he caused Articles to be drawn and signed by his Officers ; wherein it was agreed, that *Morgan* the Admiral should have a hundredth part of all the Prizes and Plunder that should be taken ; every Captain the Shares of eight Men for the Expences of his Ship, besides his own ; every Surgeon two hundred Pieces of Eight for his Chest of Medicines, besides his Pay and Share ; each Carpenter a hundred Pieces of Eight, besides his usual Salary ; and that the following Rewards should be allowed for Smart-money, viz. one thousand five hundred Pieces of Eight, or fifteen Slaves, to every one who should lose both his Legs ; and one thousand eight hundred Pieces of Eight, or eighteen Slaves, to him that should lose both his Hands, at the Option of the wounded Men ; six hundred Pieces
of

of TERRA-FIRMA.


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of Eight, or six Slaves, for the Loss of one Hand, and as much for the Loss of one Leg; and one hundred Pieces of Eight for the Loss of an Eye; and to him that should signalize himself in Battle, by taking a Colours, entering a Breach first, or the like, a Reward of fifty Pieces of Eight was to be allowed; which Remunerances and Rewards were agreed to be paid out of the first Prizes or Plunder that should be obtained, after the respective Events or Accidents.

A Council of War being afterwards held on board the Admiral, it was debated, whether they should attempt *Carthagena*, *Vera Cruz*, or *Panama*; and it was resolved to attack *Panama*; which Town they imagined to be the richest of the three, tho' it was much the most difficult to reduce, being situated on the *South Sea*, where their Ships and great Guns could be of no Use to them, and they must, of necessity, leave a considerable part of their Forces behind them to guard their Fleet, nor were any of their People acquainted with the Avenues to that City.

To obviate the last of these Difficulties, it was determined in the first place to attack the Island of *St. Catherine's* or *Providence* again, which lies between forty and fifty Leagues to the Northward of the River *Clagre*; for here they were sure to find Outlaws and Banditti banished thither from the City of *Panama*, who were acquainted with all the by-ways to the Town, and would probably enter into the Service of the Buccaneers: Nor were they disappointed in their Expectations; for the *Spanish* Governor of the Island of *Providence* surrendering on the first Summons, three Banditti, who were acquainted with all the Ave-

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Firma.  nues to *Panama*, offered to be their Guides, on being promised to share in the expected Plunder.

The Castle
of *Chagre*
taken. While *Morgan* lay with his Fleet at the Island of *Providence*; in order to facilitate the grand Enterprize, he dispatched his Vice-Admiral *Brodley*, with four Ships and four hundred Men, to make themselves Masters of the Castle of *Chagre*, which stood at the Mouth of the River of the same Name: For by this River he proposed to transport his People in Boats and Canoes to the South-side of the Isthmus. But the taking this Castle proved a more difficult and hazardous Enterprize than had been expected: For the Castle stood on a Mountain at the Entrance of the River; the Top of the Hill divided, in a manner, in two Parts, by a Trench or Ditch thirty Foot deep; nor was there any Entrance to the Castle, but by a Draw-Bridge over this Ditch; there were four Bastions, with Batteries of great Guns towards the Land Side, and two more that looked towards the Sea; to the South-side of the Castle there was no possible Access, the Rock on which it stood was so very steep; the North-side was encompassed by the River, which was very broad; and at the Foot of the Castle, or rather of the Mountain, was a strong Fort mounted with eight Guns, which commanded the Entrance of the River; from whence the Way to the Castle was by a Pair of Stairs hewed out of the Rock; and at the Entrance of the Harbour there were Rocks under Water, which made the coming in very hazardous: And lastly, this terrible Castle was garrison'd by upwards of three hundred regular *European* Forces, as brave Men as any the Spaniards had in their Service. And yet, in these Circumstances, did

did four hundred desperate Buccaneers venture to attack this almost impregnable Fortrefs. They landed at some distance from the Place, and marched through thick Woods and Morasses, from Day-light till late in the Afternoon, that they might come to that Side of the Castle on which alone it was possible to approach it; and here they found themselves so exposed to the Fire of the Enemy, that they were once resolved to have turn'd their Backs, and fled out of the Reach of the Guns, and were actually retiring, when one of their Company that was wounded by an Arrow shot from the Castle by an *Indian*, drew the same Arrow out of his Body, and having wound some Cotton about the Head of it, fired it out of his Musket at a thatch'd Building within the Castle, which was immediately in Flames, and burnt with that Fierceness, that it set fire to the Magazine of Powder, that blew up part of the Wall, and threw it into the Ditch; and while the *Spaniards* were put in the utmost Confusion by this Accident, the *English* entered the Breach; which being defended by the Governor in Person, they met with a very obstinate Resistance; the *Spaniards* with their Fire-arms, Pikes, Stones and Swords, did all that could be expected from brave Men: However, the Buccaneers forced their Way through, and, after a very terrible Slaughter, made themselves Master of the Castle. The Governor retired to the *Corps du Garde*, before which he planted two Pieces of Cannon, determining to ask no Quarter, but to sell his Life as dear as he could, but he was in a little time shot through the Head; whereupon the Guard surrendered. Out of three hundred and fourteen the Garrison consisted of at the Beginning of the Attack, there were

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but thirty left alive, and of these twenty were wounded: Nor did the *English* take the Castle without great Loss; for of the four hundred Buccaneers, one hundred were killed outright, and seventy more wounded.

The Prisoners related, that the Governor of *Panama* had Notice three Weeks before from *Carthagena*, that the Buccaneers were equipping a Fleet, with a Design to attack the City of *Panama*, and that upon this Advice, he sent a hundred and sixty four Soldiers to reinforce the Garrison of the Castle of *Chagre*, which did not usually consist of more than a hundred and fifty Men: That the Governor had placed several Ambuscades on the River, between Fort *Chagre* and *Panama*, to interrupt their March; which, if they should escape, he had a Body of near four thousand Men, with which he proposed to engage them before they could approach that City; which Intelligence did not at all dishearten Captain *Morgan*: But as soon as he received Advice of the taking of the Castle of *Chagre*, he came with his whole Fleet into the Mouth of that River, but with so little Caution, that his own Ship and two more were split upon the Rocks that lay under Water, tho' he had the good Fortune to save the Men with their Arms and Ammunition. *Morgan* was no sooner come on Shore, but he entered the Castle of *Chagre* in Triumph, and immediately made Preparations for his March to *Panama*, but neglected, it seems, to lay in such a Stock of Food as was necessary for so long a March through a barren Country, where the Enemy also had destroyed every thing that might be of Service to his People.

Having

Having selected twelve hundred Men for this bold and hazardous Enterprize, he left five hundred in the Castle, and an hundred and fifty more to take Care of the Fleet, and embarked his Troops and Artillery on board such Boats and Canoes as he found in the River. Having sailed six Leagues up the Stream, he went on Shore, and sent out Parties in search of Provisions ; but they found all the Villages and Plantations deserted, and every thing carried off that could afford them any Subsistence, and continuing his Voyage the next Day, he found the River impassable for large Vessels any higher, and therefore was obliged to leave his great Boats and Artillery behind him, under a Guard, and advance only with the Canoes and small Boats, some of his People going by Land, and others by Water, and suffering intolerable Hardships for Want of Provisions, insomuch, that they were obliged to live on Roots, and glad to eat Leather and Vermin, to preserve themselves from starving. At length, after six Days laborious March, they arrived at *Venta de Cruz*, where the *Spaniards* of *Panama* embark their Goods on the River *Chagre* for *Porto Bello* : And here they met with fifteen or sixteen Jars of *Peruvian* Wine, which the *Buccaneers* drinking plentifully off, and having eat nothing but Trash for a Week before, they every Man fell sick, which made them conjecture the Wine was poisoned : However, they found themselves pretty well the next Day, and the River being navigable no higher, they continued their March by Land to *Panama*, being attacked by several Parties of *Spanish* *Indians*, who killed and wounded several of their Men with their Arrows in the Woods and Defiles, through

Terra-Firma.
Morgan marches to
Panama
with 1200
Men.

Terra-
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through which they were obliged to pass, the Way being frequently so narrow that ten Men could not march a-breast: Nor did the heavy Rains that fall at this Season, and the Morasses through which they were forced to wade up to the Middle, incommode the Buccaneers less than the Arrows of the *Indians*.

On the ninth Day some Parties of *Spanish* Horse appeared, and threatened to oppose their March; but having ascended a Mountain, and obtained a View of the *South* Sea and the Bay of *Panama*, they were so overjoyed, that they despised all Danger, threw up their Caps, sounded their Drums and Trumpets, and shouted as if they had already been Masters of the City; and seeing a Herd of Cattle in the Plain, they shot as many as they wanted, cut them to pieces, and roasted and broiled the Flesh, without fleaving off the Skin, in such haste were they to devour the Meat, after they had been forced to fast so many Days; and that Night encamped, or rather lodged in the open Air (for I don't find they had any Tents with them) in view of the Town, designing the next Morning to begin the Attack, but were prevented by the Governor's marching out against them with four Regiments of Foot and two Squadrons of Horse, a Force much superior to that of the Buccaneers. However,

Morgan
roots the
Spaniards.

Morgan advanced, and joined Battle with the *Spaniards*, who maintained their Ground very resolutely for two Hours, when Victory declaring for our *Welsh* Hero, the Enemy turned their Backs and fled, leaving six hundred of their Friends dead upon the Field of Battle.

Storms
and takes
Panama.

The Loss on the Side of the Buccaneers also, was considerable: However, they press'd towards the City, and within three Hours more
scal'd

scal'd the Walls, and became Masters of the Place, without making the least Breach; for they had not indeed any Artillery with them: *Morgan* finding himself in Possession of the City, gave out that all the Wine was poisoned, apprehending that his Men would get drunk as usual, and the *Spaniards* might rally and cut them in pieces, his Numbers being yet so much inferior to the Enemy: He placed his Guards also in the most proper Places to secure his Conquest, and gave as great Instances of his military Skill and Conduct, in preserving what he had so bravely won, as the most consummate General could have done; when, on a sudden, the whole City appeared in Flames, having been set on Fire in several Places at the same Instant; which some charge upon *Morgan*, tho' 'tis admitted he gave Orders for extinguishing it; others say, that it was set on Fire by the Inhabitants, to deprive the *Buccaneers* of the rich Treasures and Plunder they expected, which seems much the most probable; for why *Morgan* should burn the Town, before he had plundered it, and destroy the Prize he had in his Hands, is not easy to conceive.

The City
burnt and
entirely
destroyed.

But however it happened, all agree the Fire continued several Days, insomuch that scarce a House was left standing in the Place, which a little before contained two thousand Houses magnificently built, all the Beams whereof were Cedar, and the Furniture answerably rich; besides which, were five thousand Houses more of the inferior Tradesmen, and several beautiful Churches and Monasteries; for this, as has been observed, was the Repository of all the Treasures of *Peru* annually brought hither to be sent to *Europe*.

While

While the Fire continued, the Buccaneers encamped without the Walls ; but after it ceased, they returned, and quartered in the Ruins, making a very strict Search for the Plate and Money that was not consumed, of which they found great Quantities melted down : They also discovered abundance of Treasure hid in Wells, and Reservoirs of Water, and out of a Ship in the Harbour they took 200,000 Pieces of Eight ; and, not content with this, 'tis said they tortur'd the miserable Inhabitants various ways, to make them discover more, or offer large Ransoms for their Liberty ; and, according to my Author, they were more severe upon the Priests and Monks than any other People, knowing them to be possessed of very great Treasures, either of their own, or belonging to their several Churches and Convents.

My *Dutch* Author exclaims loudly also against the Buccaneers, for the innumerable Rapes they committed, charging *Morgan* their Commander, with being as guilty of these Outrages, as his Men : Particularly, he relates, that a beautiful young Lady, Wife to a rich *Spanish* Merchant of *Panama*, refusing to submit to his Embraces, he shut her up in a Dungeon, and used her very hardly ; but he acknowledges, the Captain afterwards, pleased to have found a Woman that was not to be tempted to be false to her Husband's Bed, generously gave her her Liberty. But to return from this Digression ; *Morgan* having remained near a Month in *Panama*, and collected the Ransoms he required for his Prisoners, loaded near two hundred Beasts with the Treasure he had got, and returned to *Venta de Cruz*, where he put it into Boats, and conveyed it
down

down the River to the Castle of *Chagre*; but the Buccaneers finding there did not come more than two hundred Pieces of Eight to the Share of every private Man, began to threaten the Captain for concealing the most valuable Part of the Plunder; at least the *French*, and some other Foreigners, among whom was our Author, pretended to be highly disgusted: Whereupon *Morgan*, having blown up the Fortifications of the Castle of *Chagre*, went on board his Ship, and with only four Sail of *English*, whom the Foreigners suspected were in the Secret, and shared with him the best of the Plunder, returned to *Jamaica*: After which, the *French* joined their Countrymen in the Islands of *Tortuga* and *Hispaniola*, and the rest of the Buccaneers went in search of new Adventures.

Captain *Morgan*, and the Buccaneers that returned to *Jamaica*, brought with them four hundred thousand Pieces of Eight, and the Captain was not only knighted by K. *Charles II.* for his Bravery and Conduct in taking *Panama*, but he was made one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty in that Island; and the Earl of *Carlisle*, Governor of *Jamaica*, returning to *England* for the Recovery of his Health, in the Year 1680, left Sir *Harry Morgan* Deputy-Governor there. However, upon the repeated Complaints of the *Spanish* Ambassador, of the Depredations of the Buccaneers in the *Spanish* Settlements in the *West Indies*, Sir *Harry* was sent for over to *England*, and committed to the *Tower*, where he lay three Years; and then his Health being pretty much impaired, he obtained his Liberty, but did not long survive his Imprisonment, according to the best Information I can get.

Morgan
brings
400,000
Pieces of
Eight to
Jamaica.
Knighted
for his
Bravery in
taking
Panama.

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Firma.
Some Ac-
count of
the Reason
of these
Attempts
of the Buc-
caneers.

It may be thought strange, that the Government of *England* should encourage, or even connive at the Depredations of the *Buccaneers* in the *Spanish West Indies*, at a time when the two Nations were at Peace in *Europe*. But nothing appears more frequent, than for the Nations of *Europe* to commit Acts of Hostility on each other, in the *East* and *West Indies*, without any Regard to Treaties or Alliances concluded in *Europe*.

The *Spaniards*, by virtue of the Pope's Grant to them of that new World, did for a great while make no Scruple to fall upon the *English*, *French* and *Dutch*, and every other Nation that attempted to make Settlements in *America*: As they had discovered the Country, they held that no other Nation had a Right to plant or inhabit it, tho' it was impossible they could use or cultivate a third part of the Country, and had not obtained the Leave of the Natives to possess any part of it. This was a Claim and Pretension that the rest of the Nations of *Europe* would by no means submit to, but in time planted great part of the Islands and Continent, which the *Spaniards* called their Property; and as the *Spaniards* endeavoured to disturb these new Settlements, took their Shipping, and sometimes massacred their Men. Tho' the *English*, for Political Reasons, did not think fit to declare open War against them in *Europe*, yet they suffered private Adventurers (who afterwards obtained the Name of *Buccaneers*) to retaliate the Injury, in order to bring the *Spaniards* to Reason, and that they might be induced to suffer our Shipping to trade with our own Plantations and Settlements without Disturbance: Those therefore, that have given Sir *Harry Morgan* and his

his Men the Denomination of Pirates, have done them a great deal of Injury ; if it be considered, in the first place, that the *Spaniards* had no other Title to *America*, than what was founded in Force and Usurpation ; and that they at this very time oppressed and tyrannized over the *Indian* Princes, who alone had a Right to this Country ; and would not suffer any other *European* Nation to have any Commerce with them, but fell in a hostile manner on all *European* Shipping that appeared in those Seas, whether they were at Peace with *Spain* in *Europe* or not ; which sufficiently justifies the *Buccaneers* in attacking their Settlements, tho' the Cruelties they are said to have exercised upon the People of *Panama*, and some other Towns, are not to be excused : But these have possibly been greatly exaggerated by their Enemies ; for the Person who wrote the History of the *Buccaneers*, acknowledges himself an Enemy to *Morgan*, and to have been highly disoblged by him, and therefore cannot be looked upon as very impartial in his Relation. But admitting those Stories of their Barbarities are true ; with what Face can the *Spaniards* complain of Cruelty, who tortured and massacred so many Millions of *Indians*, but threescore Years before, and dispossessed them of this very Country, without the least Shadow of Title to it ? unless the Pope's Grant, which all Mankind (Papists as well as Protestants, laugh at at this Day being sensible, that neither they, nor any other *European* Nation, can have a just Right to any Part of *America* that was inhabited, but what they gained by Treaty with the Inhabitants. And if the *Spaniards* fall upon the *English*, or any other Nation, for trafficking with the *Indians*,

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Firma.

and entering into Alliances with them, we may justly repel Force with Force, and retaliate the Injuries they do us. Sir *Harry Morgan* was indeed imprisoned at the Instance of the *Spanish* Ambassador, after he had performed the greatest Actions, perhaps, that ever Man did, with such a handful of Men, and in such Circumstances, and had been in some measure rewarded for them by the Government, tho' they quarrelled with him afterwards. But he is not the only brave Man that has been sacrificed to *Spain* for Reasons of State, when he ought to have had a Statue erected to his Memory: For he it is, has shewn us the Way, if ever we should be compelled to fall out with *Spain*, to make our selves Masters of the Gold and Silver Mines. He has shewn us, that if we possess the Isthmus with a good Force, and erect Fortresses on the *North* and *South* Seas, we may with ease render ourselves Masters of the Treasures of *North* and *South America*: If a thousand Men could effect such great Things against their principal Settlements there, what might not a Royal Fleet and Army do? Tho' I am still of Opinion this ought never to be attempted, unless the *Spaniards* compel us to fall out with them. The Nation will get more by trafficking with *Spain* and the *Spanish West Indies*, and improving our own Plantations in *Florida*, than by possessing their Mines. Gold and Silver possibly may have the same Effect upon us it has had upon them, renders us indolent, and enervate our People, and *Britain* might become as despicable a Nation in Time, as *Spain* has been almost ever since they possessed *Potosi*.

Porto Bello 2. *Porto Bello* is situated on a Bay of the *North* Sea, in 10 Degrees of North Latitude, and

and 82 Degrees of Western Longitude, about seventy Miles North of *Panama*, and had this Name given it by *Columbus*, on account of the Security of its Harbour. Terra-Firma.

Waser gives the following Description of the Harbour and Town: *Portobel*, says this Writer, is a very fair, large and commodious Harbour, affording good Anchorage and Shelter for Ships, having a narrow Entrance, and spreading wider within: The Galleons from *Spain* find good Riding here, while they take in the Treasures of *Peru*, that are brought thither from *Panama*. The Entrance is secured by a Fort on the left Hand going in, and by a Blockhouse on the other Side, opposite to it. At the bottom of the Harbour lies the Town, bending with the Shore like a Half-moon: In the middle of which, upon the Sea, is another small low Fort; and at the West-end of the Town, upon an Eminence, lies another strong Fort, yet commanded by a neighbouring Hill; and in all these Forts, there are usually about two or three hundred Men in Garrison. The Town lies open towards the Country without Wall or Works; and at the East-end is a long Stable for the King's Mules. The Governor's House stands upon the Eminence near the great Fort at the West-end of the Town. It is an unhealthful Place, the East-end being situated in a low swampy Ground, and the Sea at low Water leaving the Shore within the Harbour bare, a great Way from the Houses, which having a black filthy Mud or Ouze, occasions very noisome Vapours in this hot Climate: From the South and East Part of it, the Country rises gradually in Hills, which are partly Woodlands, and

Terra-Firma. and partly Savannah or Pasture ; but there are few Fruit-trees or Plantations near the Town.

Much the greatest part of the Inhabitants are *Indians*, *Mulattoes* and *Negroes*, no *Spaniard* of any Substance caring to reside in so unhealthful a Place, tho' at the time of the Fair, it is so crowded with rich Merchants, that above an hundred Crowns are given for a poor Lodging, and a thousand Crowns for a Shop, during the short time that the Galleons stay there, and all Provisions are proportionably dear, tho' they are cheap enough at other Times ; and so subject is the Place to pestilential Fevers, that five hundred People have died there during the time of the Fair only.

The English No People ever experienced the unhealthfulness of this Climate more than the *English*, when the Squadron under the Command of Admiral *Hosier* lay before it, without being suffered to enter upon Action, in the Year 1727 : For here we did not only lose Admiral *Hosier*, but the Seamen twice over ; and what added to the Misfortune was, that all the Ships were so damaged by the Worms, that it was with difficulty they were brought back to *England* again. We might have fixed our selves on the Isthmus, with less Expence of Men, Ships and Treasure, than it cost us to lie here, and render the *Spaniards* our irreconcilable Enemies, without acquiring the least Advantage to our selves.

Venta de Cruz. 3. *Venta de Cruz* is situated on the Banks of the River *Chagre*, where it begins to be navigable, about thirty Miles to the Northward of *Panama* : And here the Merchandize brought is embark'd for *Porto Bello*, in order to be sent to *Europe* ; but I don't find this Place to be considerable upon any other Account.

The

of TERRA-FIRMA.

31

4. The Town of *Cheapo* is situated on a River of the same Name, about twenty-five Miles North-east of *Panama*, and eighteen or twenty from the Sea, and is but a small Place. Terra-Firma.
Cheapo.

5. *Nata* is a Port Town on the West-side of the Bay of *Panama*, about seventy Miles South-west of the City of *Panama*. Their chief Dependance is on Cattle, Hogs and Poultry, with which they serve the Markets of *Panama*; for the Country about that City is so very barren, that they would frequently be in Danger of famishing, if they were not supplied by Shipping with Provisions from the Towns that lie at a distance from it. Nata.

6. The Town of *Conception* is situated near the Mouth of the River *Conception*, which falls into the *North Sea*, over-against *La Sounds Key*, one of the *Sambalas* Islands; but I meet with no particular Description of this Place. Conception.

7. *Santa Maria* is situated six Leagues from the Sea, on the South Bank of the River to which it communicates its Name, in 7 Degrees 40 Minutes North Latitude, about thirty Leagues South-east of *Panama*, and is considerable on account of the Gold Mines in the Neighbourhood of it, but does not seem to be of any great Strength, the Buccaneers and Privateers having plundered it several times. The Country about it is low and woody, and the Ouze and Mud on the Banks of the River, occasions a noisome stinking Smell, which makes the Air very unwholesome. Santa Maria.

8. *Scuchadero*, a small Town situated on the North-side of the same River nearer its Mouth, but standing on a good dry Soil, and open to the Gulph of *St. Michael*, from whence it is refresh'd by the Sea Breezes. This is esteemed a healthful Place; and what con-
ributes

Terra-
Firma.

tributes to render it more so, is a fine Rivulet of fresh Water that runs by it, for the Waters of this Province are frequently brackish: The *Spaniards* therefore, who resort with their Slaves to the Gold Mines and Rivulets at the proper Seasons, frequently come hither for their Health and Refreshments.

New
Edinburgh.

The last Place I shall mention in this Province, is *New Edinburgh*, or the Place which the *Scots* gave this Name to, when they attempted to make a Settlement on the Coast of *Darien*, or *Terra-Firma Proper*, and denominated the Country about it *New Caledonia*.

Its Situation.

This Fortrefs was situated on the Continent, near the North-west Point of the Gulph of *Darien*, in 9 Degrees odd Minutes North Latitude, on a most excellent Harbour (according to *Dr. Wallare*) being about a League in Length from the North-west to the South-east, half a Mile broad at the Entrance, and upwards of a Mile broad within, and large enough to contain five hundred Sail of Ships untouch'd from any Wind that can blow: The

The
Strength
of it

Forts stood upon a Peninsula, almost surrounded by the Harbour and the *North Sea*, and the Access to the Peninsula so defended by Rocks and Precipices, that a very little Art would have render'd it impregnable; and there was as much Land contained in it, as would have produced ten thousand Hogsheads of Sugar annually, if it had been cultivated (according to *Wallare*) the Soil being rich, the Air temperate, and the Water sweet; every thing contributed to render it healthful and convenient: The Land abounded in Venison and Poultry, and the Seas with the best Fish; and what were still greater Advantages, it stood in the Neighbourhood of the richest

The
Health-
fulness and
Fertility
of the
Country
about it,
according
to *Wallare*

Gold

Gold Mines in *America*, and a Communication with the *South Sea* might easily have been opened from thence by the way of the River *Darien*, and the Gulph of *St. Michaels*. The *Scots* thought themselves extremely fortunate in happening upon this important agreeable Situation, which they tell us the *English*, *Dutch* and *French*, tho' they had been all over this Coast, from *Porto Bello* to *Caribagena*, never once discover'd, and the *Spaniards* themselves were Strangers to it. Here it was the *Scots* arrived in the Month of *November* 1699, in order to fix a Colony of their Countrymen on the Continent; the Occasion whereof it may be proper to mention in this Place.

The Parliament of *Scotland* pass'd an Act in the Year 1695, for erecting a Company to trade to *Africa* and the *Indies*: By which they were authorized to plant Colonies and Settlements in the *East* and *West-Indies* under his Majesty's Letters Patent, which they also obtained; and both the *English* and *Hamburg* Merchants contributing very largely to this Enterprize, they equipped several Ships, which sailed with Forces, and every thing requisite to plant a Colony on or near the Isthmus of *Darien* in the Year 1698. They landed first on *Golden Island*, at the Mouth of the River *Darien*; but not liking the Situation, they went over to the Continent, and built the Fort of *Edinburgh* on the Spot of Ground already described, with the Permission of the Natives, calling the Country which the *Indians* assigned them to plant and cultivate, *New Calidonia*. That Part of the Isthmus, which the *Indians* their Friends then possess'd, the *Scots* inform us, extended along the *North Sea*, from the Gulph of *Darien* to

Terra-Firma.
Near the
Gold
Mines.

The Occasion of settling a Scot. Colony here

The Extent of the Country under the Dominion of the *Scots*

Terra-
Firma.

Port *Scrivan* on the *North* Sea, being about an hundred and forty Miles; and from *Caret* Bay, in the South-west Part of the Gulph of *Darien*, to the Head of the River *Cheapo* on the *South*, about an hundred and fifty Miles; the Breadth in some places sixty, and in others an hundred Miles, and upwards.

They are
well re-
ceived by
the *Indian*
Princes.

The *Indian* Princes within these Limits were eight at least, all of them then at War with the *Spaniards*, and received the *Scots* into their Country with a great deal of Joy, in Hopes of their Assistance against their ancient Enemies the *Spaniards*. The Settlement went on prosperously at first; but the *Spaniards* complaining to the Court of *England*, and declaring that they should look upon this as an Act of Hostility, *Darien* having long been subject to that Crown, as they alledg'd: The *English* East-India Company also complaining of this Settlement at the same time, as an Infringement of their Charter, the *English* Parliament thought fit to interpose and address King *William* to recall his Patent to the *Scots* Company.

The *Spaniards* and
the *English*
East-India
Company
oppose
them.

The *Scots*, on the other hand, sent up their Agents to the Court of *England*, to represent that this was no Invasion of the *Spanish* Dominions, because they were either never possess'd of that Part of the Isthmus; or, if they were, they had been driven from it by the Natives, who were at that time in the actual Possession of the Country, and at War with the *Spaniards*, as they had been many Years before the Arrival of the *Scots*: But how much soever the *Scots* might be in the right, such was the Influence of the Court of *Spain* and the *English* East-India Company, that all Measures were taken to ruin the *Scots* Settlement. The
English

English Ministry prevail'd on the *Hamburgers* to draw their Money out of the Stock; and the Parliament of *England* threatened the Merchants of *London*, who had any Shares in it, with their Displeasure, if they did not disengage themselves: And Orders being sent at the same time to *Jamaica*, and the *English* Plantations in the *West Indies*, not to suffer the *Scots* to furnish themselves with Provisions there, or give them any Assistance, our Northern Neighbours were unfortunately compelled to quit the Enterprize, which we ourselves found reason to regret a few Years afterwards, when *France*, in a manner, possess'd herself of all the *Spanish* Dominions; and among the rest of this important Place, which, had *Britain* remained possess'd of, she might easily have stop'd those Treasures coming to *Europe*, which so long enabled the *French* to carry on that second War against the Confederates. Another ill Consequence this piece of Injustice was attended with, was the making the *Scots* our Enemies, and obliging us to purchase their Friendship again, at the Expence of almost four hundred thousand Pounds; and whether any thing will perfectly satisfy them, but the Subversion of the *English* Constitution, is still a Question. On the other hand, the *Scots* offered to share the Settlement with the *English*, and would have been infinitely obliged to them, if they had encouraged and supported it: Nor is there a Spot of Ground, it is agreed, on the Continent of *America*, that could be of greater Service to *Britain*, than that of *New Edinburgh*, if ever we are doom'd to have a War with *Spain* and *France* again.

The *Scots*
obliged to
quit *New*
Edinburgh.

Terra-
Firma.
Islands on
the Coast
of Terra-
Firma
Proper.

Having taken a View of the principal Places upon the Continent of *Darien*, or *Terra-Firma Proper*, I proceed to give some Description of the Islands near the Coasts of this Province, both in the *North* and *South* Seas, which are very numerous, and of great Use to Sea-faring Men, who traffick in those Seas, tho' scarce any of them are inhabited.

Golden
Island.

On the *North* Sea, at the Entrance of the Gulph *Darien*, lie three Islands almost in a Triangle, which form a very good Harbour. The Eastermost of the three, and the smallest, is called *Golden Island*: There is a fair deep Channel between this and the Main; it is naturally strongly fortified, being defended by a steep Rock almost all round, except the Landing-place, which is a small sandy Bay on the South-side. The Island is moderately high, and covered with small Trees and Shrubs, and was recommended to the *Scots India* Company, as a proper Place to fix their first Colony on; but finding it barren, and destitute of Provisions, the *Scots* pitch'd upon a Place on the opposite Shore (as has been observed already) which was excellent fruitful Land, and no less scarce than the Island. The largest of the three Islands lies to the West of *Golden Island*, being swampy or marshy Ground, and so beset with Mangroves, that it is difficult getting on Shore. It lies near a Point of the Isthmus, which is the same sort of Ground for a Mile or two, and is scarce parted from the Main-land, but at high Water, and even then Ships cannot pass between.

Isle of
Pines.

The third, called *The Isle of Pines*, is a small Island, North of the other two; and, rising into Hills, is a good Sea-mark: It is covered with tall Trees fit for building, or
any

any other Use, and has a fine Rivulet of fresh Water in it. Terra-Firma.

Three Leagues North-west of these, lie a multitude of small Islands, extending as far as *Point Samballas*, generally denominated, *The Samballas Islands*; some of them lie one Mile from the opposite Shore of the Continent; some two Miles, and others two Miles and a half from the Shore, and about as far from each other, and there are navigable Channels between them: The Sea between this long Range of Islands and the Continent, is navigable also from one end to the other, and affords every-where good Anchoring in hard sandy Ground: It is good landing either on the Islands, or the Main; and let the Wind fit how it will, Ships never want a good Road to ride in on the Inside of one or other of these Islands, on which account this Channel was the general Rendezvous of the Buccaneers and Privateers on this Coast, especially *La Sounds Key* and *Springers Key* (or Island) which do not only afford good Shelter for careening, but good Wells of fresh Water not far from the Surface, if they dig for them. But tho' it be such good riding on the Inside of these Keys or Islands, there lies a Ridge of dangerous Rocks on the Outside, at about half a Mile distance; and there are others lie under Water, between these Islands and the Gulph of *Darien*.

The *Samballas* are generally low, flat, sandy Islands, but have Variety of Fruit-trees and Forest-trees upon them; particularly the *Mammees*, *Sapadillo's* and *Manchineel* Trees: Their Shores also afford good Shell-fish; but no People have thought fit to plant or inhabit any of them. From the *Samballas* Islands

Terra-
Firma.

*Nomb're de
Dios.
Bastimento
Islands.*

Islands passing to the Westward by Port *Scrivan*, and the Bay where the Town of *Nomb're de Dios* once stood, we arrive at the Islands of *Bastimento*, being four or five in number, and lying about a Mile from the Continent: They are, for the most part, high Land covered with Wood; and one of them has a Spring of fresh Water in it. These, with the Main-land opposite to them, form a good Harbour, into which there is an easy Passage, with the Sea-Breeze between the Eastermost Island and the next to it, and as good going out with the Land-Breeze the same Way. A little farther Westward, over-against *Porto Bello*, are two small flat Islands without Wood or Water: They lie so near the Continent, that there is but a very narrow Channel between. Beyond the *Bastimentos*, to *Porto Bello*, the Coast is generally rocky; and within the Land the Country is full of high steep Hills, covered with Wood, unless where they are cleared for Plantations by the *Spanish Indians* tributary to *Porto Bello*; and these, in *Waser's* Time, *Anna* 1681, were the first Settlements on the North Coast of *Darien* under the *Spanish* Government: The *Spaniards* had then neither Command over the *Indians*, or Commerce with them to the Eastward of Port *Scrivan*. The same Writer indeed says, *he was inform'd*, the *Spaniards* had courted the Natives since, and won them over to their Party; but 'tis certain this was not effected in the Year 1698, when the *Scots* landed on the Isthmus; for they found all the *Indians* between the Gulph of *Darien* and Port *Scrivan* at open War with the *Spaniards*. I proceed, in the next place, to the Description of the Islands belonging to this Province of *Darien*,

The Indians on the Isthmus at War with the Spaniards.

of TERRA-FIRMA!

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rien, or *Terra-Firma Proper*, that lie in the Bay of *Panama* in the South Sea.

Terra-Firma.

The Bay of *Panama* is of a semicircular Form, and made by *Point Garrachina* on the South-east, and *Panta Mala* on the North-west, being about an hundred Miles over, and three hundred in Circumference, including the Gulph of *St. Michaels* at the Mouth of the River of *St. Marys*.

The Bay of Panama.
The Islands in it.

The *Kings* or *Pearl* Islands, being low, woody Islands, and very numerous, lie almost in the middle of this Bay, stretching from the South-east to the North-west, in Length about fourteen Leagues. The Northermost of them, called *Pacheque*, lies twelve Leagues South-east of *Panama*; and the Southermost of them, called *St. Paul*, twelve Leagues North-west of *Point Garrachina*; and they are generally about seven Leagues distant from the Main-land of *Darien*.

The Kings or Pearl Islands.

These Islands belong to the Citizens of *Panama*, who keep Negroes here to plant and cultivate them: They afford some Fruits, particularly *Plantains* and *Bonana's*, and in some of them Rice is sown; but many of them, especially the largest, are wholly uncultivated, and almost over-run with Weed, tho' it seems to be a fruitful Soil that would produce any thing. These unplanted Islands shelter their fugitive Negroes, who lie concealed in the Woods in the Day-time, and in the Night rob the *Spanish* Plantations.

There are narrow Channels between most of these Islands, only fit for Boats to pass: but betwixt the Islands and the Main-land, is a Channel seven Leagues over, where there is a sufficient Depth of Water, and good Anchoring all the Way: The Prospects on each

Side

Terra-
Firma.

Side extremely pleasant; for, on the Continent, are little rising Hills, always green; and the *Kings* Islands on the other Side the Channel are no less beautiful.

Chepelio
Island.

The Island of *Chepelio*, situated seven Leagues East of *Panama*, and a League from the Continent, is the pleasantest Island in the Bay of *Panama*. It is about two Miles over either Way, partly high Land, and partly Valleys. The low Lands are planted with the best *Indian* Fruits; such as *Sapadillo's*, *Avagato Pears*, *Mammee's*, *Mammee Sapota's*, *Star-Apples*, &c. and the middle of the Island with *Plantains*. The Islands of *Perico* are three small Islands, which lie before the City of *Panama*, about three Miles from it, and may be called the Port to that City, the great Ships lying here, because there is not Depth of Water to approach nearer.

Tabago
Island.

The Island of *Tabago* lies about six Leagues South of *Panama*, being about three Miles long, and two broad: A mountainous Island, the North-side whereof affords a present Prospect, appearing like a Garden of Fruit, surrounded with high Trees. Close by the Sea stand abundance of Cocoa-nut-trees; and on this Side a fine Rivulet of fresh Water falls from the Top of the Mountain. There is a small Island on the North-west Side of this, called *Tabogilla*; and another about a Mile from it on the North-east, with a good Channel between them.

Oloque
Island.

Oloque is an Island South-west of *Tabago*; in which there are good *Plantain* Walks with Negroes upon them, belonging to the Citizens of *Panama*, who look after them, and breed Fowls and Hogs for their Masters, as they do at the *Pearl* Islands. The Island of *Chuche*

Chuche
Island.

is

is a small low woody Island, that lies West of the *Pearl* Islands, and does not appear to be either inhabited or planted; but could not be omitted, because it has a Place in our Maps: As has also that of *Gallera*, another small, flat, barren Island, which lies between *Point Garrachina* and the *Pearl* Islands, only remarkable for an Engagement between the *Spaniards* and Captain *Harris*, who was attacked by them here, as he was sharing the Gold with his Men that he took in *Santa Maria*; but the Privateers made such a brave Defence, that the *Spaniards* thought fit to retire, and leave them in Possession of their Plunder.

Terra-Firma.

Gallera Island.

The Soil of the Isthmus of *Darien*, or *Terra-Firma Proper*, is good in the Middle of the Province, according to *Waser*; but both the Shores of the *North* and *South* Seas are generally either a dry barren Sand, or drown'd Mangrove Land, that will scarce produce any kind of Grain. Mr. *Wallace* indeed informs us, that his Countrymen, the *Scots*, were so fortunate to meet with a Spot of Ground, where they built the Fort of *New Edinburgh*, almost surrounded by the Sea; the Soil whereof was rich; the Air temperate, the Water sweet, and every thing about it contributing to make it healthful and convenient: That the Land afforded Deer, Rabbits, wild Hogs, Guanoes, Turkeys, Pheasants, Partridges and Parrots; and the Sea *Manatee*, Turtle, and a vast Variety of smaller Fish, from the Bigness of a Salmon, to that of a Perch.

The Soil and Produce of Terra-Firma Proper.

It is very possible, in the most barren and unhealthful Countries, to meet with some small Portions of it that differ from the rest; and such was that, it seems, the *Scots* proposed to

Terra-
Firma.
The Air.

fix their Colony upon : But still it is very certain, that the Sea-Coasts of this Province are generally unhealthy, being excessive hot, and very wet two-thirds of the Year ; and all Travellers agree, that the Mountains, which have Mines in them, produce scarce any thing, but Shrubs. The Country about *Panama*, the Capital City, is so exceeding poor, that their Corn, Flesh, and other Provisions, are brought them by Sea, from Countries at a very great distance ; and that City would be starved, if their Communication with their Neighbours by Sea was cut off half a Year ; for tho' the Heart of the Country is said to be fruitful, yet very little of it is cleared of Wood, or cultivated. As to the *Indians*, they are not very numerous ; and they clear no more Ground than just serves their respective Families, sowing a little *Indian* Corn ; and having small Gardens in the Woods, that produce Plantains and Potatoes, and some other Fruits and Roots, which, with what they take in hunting and fishing, furnishes them with a poor Subsistence ; and as to the *Spaniards*, they seem to be above working and cultivating the Ground, both in the Old and New World : The little that is cleared and planted in *America*, is done by the *Negroes* or the *Indians* ; and tho' the Country might yield good Crops of Grain and Grass, if it were inhabited by an industrious People, yet, in the present Situation of Affairs, it affords but little Provision, insomuch that our Buccaneers, the hardiest Race of Men upon Earth, who have marched through it, and plundered the *Spanish* Towns, have been more in Danger of Famine, than any other Enemy : And should the *English* ever attempt to dislodge the *Spaniards* from

from the Isthmus, they must carry a double Stock of Provisions with them; for I question whether the Country would be able to subsist a thousand Men in their March.

Terra-
Firma.

The *Indians* of *Darien* resemble those in the Eastern Provinces of *Mexico*; only it is observed, as they approach nearer the Equator, their Complexions are darker. When they are engaged in hunting, fishing, planting, or any laborious Exercise, they usually go naked, having their Skins painted with various Colours and Figures; but they have their Robes of Ceremony (as *Waser* informs us) both white and black, that are made of Cotton Linnen, and reach down to their Heels; and the Men wear Coronets of Cane on their Heads, adorned with Feathers: Nor do they ever stir abroad without their Arms, their Bows, Arrows, Lances and Daggers, or great Knives; and many of them of late use Fire-arms, which they purchase of the *Europeans*.

Their
Persons
and Ha-
bits.

Waser observes, that both Men and Women are of a round Visage; have short bottle Noses; their Eyes large, generally grey, yet lively and sparkling: They have high Foreheads, white even Teeth, thin Lips, and Mouths moderately large, their Cheeks and Chins well proportion'd; and that they are in general finely featur'd, but the Men more so than the Women. Both Sexes have long black Hair, coarse and strong, which they usually wear down to the middle of their Backs, or lower at full Length; only the Women tie it together with a String just behind the Head, from whence it flows loose like the Mens. They suffer no other Hair to grow, but that on their Heads, their Eye-

Terra-
Firma.

brows and Eye-lids. Their Beards, and all below, are pulled up by the Roots, as soon as any appears; and they have the same Custom as the *East-Indians* and *Africans* have of anointing their Heads and Bodies with Oil or Fat.

A Race
of white
Indians.

There are, it seems, among these dark complexion'd *Indians*, some that are perfectly white in the Province of *Terra-Firma Proper*. Their Skins, says my Author, are not of such a White, as our fair People in *Europe*, who have some Tincture of Red in their Complexion: Nor is it like that of our paler People, but a pure Milk-white; and there grows upon their Bodies a fine short Milk-white Down, through which however the Skin appears. The Hair of their Heads and Eye-brows also is white, growing to the Length of six or eight Inches, and inclining to curl. These People are less in Stature than the other *Indians*. Their Eye-lids are also differently form'd, bending like the Horns of the Moon; from whence, and their seeing so well by Moon-light, the *Buccaneers* call them Moon-ey'd. They cannot see at all in the Sun-shine; and therefore scarce ever go abroad in the Day-time, unless in dark cloudy Weather. In Moon-shiny Nights they are all Life and Activity, says my Author, skipping about like wild Bucks, and hunting in the Woods; for they are as nimble as the other *Indians*, tho' not so strong and big-bon'd.

They are condemn'd by the Copper-coloured *Indians*, who look upon this white Complexion as monstrous, and to proceed from some Infirmary or Defect: They are not a distinct Race by themselves, but proceed from tawny Parents on both Sides: And tho' some have
suspected

suspected these white Children to be the Issue of some *Europeans* upon *Indian* Women, my Author says, that it is not at all probable; *First*, Because few *Europeans* come into this Country; *Secondly*, Because the Issue of an *European* and an *Indian* is not white, but only a brighter tawny than the *Indians*; and *Thirdly*, This Complexion is a different White, as has been observed already, from any thing seen amongst us; but it is very unaccountable, that the Issue of these white *Indians* are not white like their Parents, but Copper colour'd: And *Waser* relates it as the Conjecture of one of the *Indian* Princes, that this Whiteness proceeds from the Force of the Mother's Imagination, looking at the Moon at the Time of Conception; but perhaps the Reason of this very white Complexion of the *Darien Indians*, and the very dark Complexion of the *Negroes*, will be found out together: I shall only observe here, that tho' a great deal is ascribed to the Strength of the Woman's Imagination in both Cases; yet other Causes probably concur to make such remarkable Differences in the Complexions of Mankind.

The Men in this Province, like those in *Mexico*, wear silver and gold Plates in their Noses, which hang down over their Lips; and the Women Rings of the same Metal. They have also Pendants in their Ears, Chains of Beads and Shells about their Necks, and other Ornaments, as the *Mexican Indians* wear. Their Houses also are built in the same manner, and their Lodging is generally in Hammocks: Nor is their Food or Exercise different from what has been related already of the other *Indians*, who have preserved their Liberties, and are not yet under the Dominion
of

Terra-
Firma.

of the *Spaniards*; and therefore I shall not weary my Readers with the Repetition of these Articles.

Their
Govern-
ment.

Waser informs us, that the Country was governed by the Heads of their respective Tribes or Families, at the Time of his being there in the Year 1681; but that there was a Prince, named *Lacinta*, superior to the rest, in the South-part of the Isthmus; and those on the North-side paid him great Respect. *Wallare*, on the other hand, who was in *Darien* in the Year 1699, says, the People, where the *Scots* were about establishing a Colony, were under no formal Government; but every Captain commanded his own River, Bay, or Island, where he resided; and that the Commander, who lived near the *Samballas Point*, could bring into the Field all the People for twenty Leagues round. What *Wallare* therefore means by *no formal Government*, I do not fully apprehend, unless he would intimate, that the General, who commanded them in War, had no Authority over them at other Times; or that they were not governed by Laws, but by their Prince's Will: However, *Waser* assures us, they were governed by Laws; and that Murder, Adultery and Theft were punished by Death, and Rapes very severely.

The *Darien* Indi-
ans still
preserve
their Li-
berty.

The Reason the *Indians* of *Darien* have so long maintained their Independency, notwithstanding it was the first Province on the *Terra-Firma* the *Spaniards* discovered, and is of such importance to them to be Masters of, as it lies upon both Seas, is, that the Country, in many Places, is inaccessible. The Torrents that fall for two-thirds of the Year from the Mountains into the *North* and *South* Seas, are scarce passable by any but the Natives.

These,

of TERRA-FIRMA.

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Terra-
Firma.

These and the thick Woods cut off all manner of Communication between *Panama* and *Peru* by Land: There is therefore no Road through the Country; but whoever goes from *Panama* to *Peru*, is forced to go by Sea. Our Buccaneers have ever found it extremely difficult to cross the Country, from the *North* to the *South* Sea; but it would have been much more difficult to travel the Length of the Country, from East to West, as they must have crossed ten times more Rivers than they did the other Way: However, the Country People, Men, Women and Children, if we may credit *Waser*, swim over these Torrents frequently, and are in no Danger of being overtaken, or surprized by the *Spaniards*; their Horse finding it impracticable to march over their numerous Rivers and Mountains. And since the *Spaniards* have found it impossible to subdue this Province entirely, and that other Nations have treated with the Natives, and endeavour'd to establish Colonies amongst them, they have at length seen their Error in treating these *Indians* as Enemies; and therefore, of late Years, have endeavour'd to cultivate a Friendship with them. However, as the Natives are still in Possession of the best Part of their Country, I cannot see why we might not treat with them, and endeavour to plant *English* Colonies in the Isthmus, if *Spain* persists in her Depredations on our People in that Part of the World, and cannot by fair Means be prevailed on to accommodate the Differences between the two Nations.

I have taken a great deal of Pains, and been more inquisitive than ordinary, in searching out the State of this small Province, be-

The Im-
portance
of the
Isthmus to
any Euro-
pean Power

Terra-
Firma.

cause of the vast Importance it would be to us to make Settlements, and erect Forts here, if we should ever be at War with *Spain*; and we may also conjecture, from this Account, what a Disadvantage it would be to us, if the *French*, or any powerful and enterprizing People, should possess themselves of it: Since therefore we have it not ourselves, it is much better it should remain in the Hands of the *Spaniard*, than any other Nation; for they are a lazy indolent Generation, who take off the Manufactures of the rest of the Countries of *Europe*, and give us the Gold and Silver of the *Indies* in return for them: Whereas, were any other People possess'd of those prodigious Treasures, probably they would take but little of the Manufactures of *Britain*, and become dangerous Neighbours to us.

Cartha-
gena Pro-
vince.

Carthagena, the second Province of *Terra-Firma* I am to describe, received its Name from the Capital City, and is bounded by the *North Sea* on the North; by the Province of *St. Martha* on the East; by *Popagan* and *New Granada* on the South; and by the Gulph of *Darien*, which separates it from *Terra-Firma Proper*, on the West; and is said to be about three hundred Miles in Length, from North to South; and about two hundred in Breadth, from East to West. The Chief Towns are, 1. *Carthagena*, the Capital; 2. *Madre de Popa*; 3. *Cenu*; and 4. *Tolu*.

Chief
Towns.

Cartha-
gena City.

Carthagena is situated in a Peninsula, on a Bay of the *North Sea*, in 11 Degrees North Latitude, and 76 Degrees of Western Longitude lying about an hundred Leagues to the Eastward of *Porto Bello*; and is said to have been so named by the *Spaniards* that founded it in the Year 1532, either because they were Natives

Natives of *Carthagena* in *Old Spain*, or because it resembled that Harbour in the *Mediterranean*. But however that be, it is generally esteem'd one of the strongest and securest Ports in the *West-Indies*; which is the reason great part of the Treasures of the rest of the Provinces of the *Terra-Firma* are lodged here, to be put on board the Galleons on their Return to *Europe*. The Galleons also dispose of great part of the Cargoes they bring from *Europe* in this City, from whence they are distributed to the neighbouring Provinces.

The Town is built of Free-stone, and has several fine Churches and Monasteries in it; but the Jesuits Cloister and Church excells all the rest. As to the Form of the Town, it is like others of *Spanish* Foundation, with a Square in the middle; from whence most of the Streets run in parallel Lines: It is walled round, and defended by Forts, Block-houses, and other Works; which render it one of the strongest Places in the *West-Indies*. However, Sir *Francis Drake* took it by Storm in the Year 1585, and was much censured that he did not keep Possession of it; for it would have enabled us to have commanded the Navigation of those Seas, and to have made what Settlements we pleased upon the Isthmus and the adjacent Continent, from whence the *Spaniards* bring such prodigious Treasures. The *French* Admiral *Pointi* also had this City betray'd to him, in the Year 1697, by a discontented *Spaniard* of the Garrison; and, 'tis said, the Plunder the *French* brought off amounted to eight or ten Millions of Pieces of Eight. This City is a Bishop's See, Suffragan to the Archbishop of *Santa Fé* in *Granada*,

Taken by
Sir *Francis*
Drake.

Taken by
the *French*.

Terra-
Firma.

*Madre de
Pepz.*

nada, and the Seat of the Governor and of the Courts of Justice of this Province.

2. *Madre de Popa*, situated on a high Mountain, about fifty Miles South-east of *Carthagena*, chiefly famous for a Convent and Chappel dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*, so vastly rich, that it is only exceeded by that of *Loretto*. Innumerable Miracles are said to be wrought at this Shrine; and pious Pilgrims from all Parts of *Spanish America* continually resort hither with their richest Offerings: All their Blessings, and all the Misfortunes of their Enemies, the *Spaniards* ascribe to the Image of the Blessed Virgin, which is worshipped here, according to *Dampier*. When the *Oxford* Man of War was blown up near *Hispaniola*, the *Spaniards* reported, that the Blessed Virgin, or rather her Image, was abroad all Night, and came home very wet; and often returns with her Cloaths rent and dirty, when she has been out upon any Expedition against the Buccaneers or Privateers that infest their Coasts; thus being deem'd the grand Patroness and Protector of the maritime Places, Merchants, and Seafaring People. Her Devotees, that inhabit the Coasts of this and the adjacent Provinces, are exceeding bountiful when they come in Pilgrimage to this celebrated Shrine; and particularly take Care to furnish her with new Cloaths and Ornaments, instead of those they are taught to believe she has worn out or spoil'd in their Service.

Cenú

3. *Zenu*, or *Cenu*, situated upon a River of the same Name, ten Leagues from the *North* Sea, and about twenty-five Leagues South of *Carthagena*, most remarkable for the Salt that is made here, and its Fisheries.

4. *Tolu*,

of TERRA-FIRMA.

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4. *Tolu*, situated on the *North Sea*, about twenty-five Leagues South-west of *Carthagena*, celebrated for the excellent Balm or Balsam found in the Neighbourhood of this Town, from whence it derives its Name.

Terra-Firma.
Twit.

The Province of *Carthagena* is a mountainous woody Country, the Valleys tolerably fruitful ; but I don't find there are any Mines of Gold or Silver in it : Some Emeralds, 'tis said, are found here ; and the Balm, Gums and Drugs it produces are in great Esteem.

The Face of this Province, and Produce.

The principal River of this Province is that of *Rio Grande de Magdalena*, which, rising to the Southward of *Granada*, runs directly North, and afterwards divides the Province of *Carthagena* from that of *St. Martha* ; falling into the *North Sea*, in 12 Degrees North Latitude, about twenty-four Leagues North-east of the City of *Carthagena*. This River is two Leagues broad at the Mouth, but large Ships cannot enter it, on account of the Rocks and Sands that lie before ; and the Stream is so rapid, that they are forced to drag their Boats up the River with Men or Horses. There is an Island at the Entrance of the River, which divides it into two Channels.

River Magdalena.

3. The Province of *St. Martha* is bounded by the *North Sea* on the North ; by the Province of *Rio de la Hacha* on the East ; by *New Granada* on the South, and by *Carthagena* on the West ; being about three hundred Miles in Length, from East to West ; and two hundred in Breadth, from North to South. This is a very mountainous Country, and, according to *Dampier*, higher Land than the Pike of *Teneriff*, or any other Land in the known World, being seen at Sea near two hundred Miles. From these Mountains run a Chain

St. Martha Province. Situation and Extent.

Face of the Country mountainous.

Terra-
Firma.

of Hills, almost directly South, quite through *South America*, to the Straits of *Magellan*. Those which bound *Peru* on the East, and are usually call'd *The Andes*, are a part of them.

Soil and
Produce.

The Soil produces *Indian Corn* and Fruits; and almost all manner of Fruits and Plants come to great Perfection, which are carried thither from *Old Spain*: They have also Mines of Gold and Copper in their Mountains, Emeralds, Sapphires, and many other precious Stones. The Sea-coasts are excessive hot, but their Mountains cool, being cover'd with Snow, even in this warm Climate.

Air.

Chief
Town.

The chief Towns of this Province are,
1. *St. Martha*; 2. *Ramada*; 3. *Baranca*;
4. *Ciudad de los Reyes*; and 5. *Tamalameque*.

*St. Mar-
tha*.

1. *St. Martha*, the Capital, which gives Name to the Province, is situated on a Bay of the *North Sea*, in 11 Degrees odd Minutes North Latitude, and 74 Degrees of Western Longitude: It has a large Harbour form'd by the Continent, and two Islands that lie before it. This Town is a Bishop's See, and the Seat of the Governor and Courts of Justice.

Ramada.

2. *Ramada*, situated also on the *North Sea*, to the Eastward of *St. Martha*; it stands at the Foot of a Mountain, and is remarkable for its Copper Mines.

Baranca.

3. *Baranca*, situated on the East-side of the River *Grande*, South-west of *St. Martha*; a Place of great Traffick, the Merchandize of *New Granda* being brought down thither by the River.

Los Reyes.

4. *Ciudad de los Reyes*, situated at the Conflux of two small Rivers, about a hundred Miles to the Southward of *St. Martha*; of which I meet with no farther Description.

5. *Tama-*

5. *Tamalameque*, situated on the East-bank of the River *Grande*, two hundred Miles to the Southward of *St. Martha*, sometimes call'd *The City of Palms*, from the Palm-trees in the Neighbourhood. Terra-Firma. *Tamalameque*.

4. The Province of *Rio de la Hacha*, bound- ed by the *North Sea* on the North; by the Province of *Venezuela* on the East; by *Granada* on the South, and by that of *St. Martha* on the West: It is a small Province, and frequently reckon'd a Part of that of *St. Martha*: It abounds in Corn and Cattle, and has a Pearl-fishery upon the Coast, and some Salt-works. Rio de la Hacha Province. Situation and Extent. Produce.

The chief Towns are, 1. *Rio de la Hacha*; and 2. *Rancheria*. Chief Towns.

1. The Town of *Rio de la Hacha*, situated near the *North Sea*, on a River of the same Name, in 11 Degrees odd Minutes Northern Latitude, to the Eastward of the Town of *St. Martha*. This Place has been so often plunder'd by Enemies and Buccaneers, that the *Spaniards* abandon'd it for a time; but have taken Possession of it again. Rio de la Hacha Town.

2. *Rancheria*, situated on the same Coast, about twenty Leagues North-east of *Rio de la Hacha*, and inhabited chiefly by the Pearl Fishermen, that Fishery lying about four or five Leagues from the Town. Rancheria

5. The Province of *Venezuela*, in which I include the District of *Caracos*, is bounded by the *North Sea* on the North; by *New Andalusia* on the East; by *Granada* on the South, and *Rio de la Hacha* on the West; being about four hundred Miles in Length, from East to West; and three hundred in Breadth, from North to South. This is the most northerly Province of *South America*, the Capes of *La Vela* Venezuela Province. Situation and Extent.

Terra-
Firma.
Face of
the Coun-
try.

Produce.

Chief
Towns.

Venezuela.

Vela and *Conquibacoa* lying in 12 Degrees odd Minutes North Latitude. In this Province we find abundance of exceeding high Mountains and deep Valleys, especially in the District of *Caracos*, which stretches along the *North Sea* for twenty Leagues. This Part of the Country, *Dampier* observes, is a continued Tract of high Ridges of Hills, intermix'd with small Valleys, pointing upon the Shore from South to North; the Valleys not half a Mile wide: And farther within Land, the Mountains are still higher, and the Valleys so narrow, that the Land appears like one great Mountain at a distance. The Tops of these Hills are barren; but the lower Part of them, and the Valleys between have a rich Mould; so that here is Plenty of Sugar, Tobacco, Corn, Cattle, and rich Pastures, and good Store of Venison, Fish, Fowl, and Fruits. Their Plantations of Cacao-nuts are esteem'd the best in the *Spanish West-Indies*, of which they export great Quantities, as they do of Corn and salted Flesh. There are also several Gold Mines in this Province. These Advantages have drawn great Numbers of *Spaniards* and *Indians* hither; and it has as many populous Towns as any Part of *South America*; the chief whereof are, 1. *Venezuela*; 2. *Caracos*; 3. *Maracaibo*; 4. *Gibraltar*; 5. *St. Jago de Leon*; 6. *New Segovia*; 7. *Tucuyo*; 8. *Trugillo*; 9. *Laguna*; and 10. *Maricapano*.

1. *Venezuela*, or *Little Venice*, so called from its Situation in the Waters, stands upon a Peninsula near a Gulph, to which it communicates its Name, in 11 Degrees of North Latitude, and 69 Degrees of Western Longitude, and has frequently the Name of *Coro* in our

our Maps: It is the Capital of the Province, the Residence of the Governor and the Courts of Justice, and a Bishop's See, Suffragan to the Archbishop of *St. Domingo* in *Hispaniola*.

2. *Caracos*, the Capital of a District on the Coast of the *North* Sea, to which it gives its Name, is situated in 10 Degrees North Latitude, and 68 Degrees of Western Longitude: The Country about it is remarkable for the best Cocoa-nut to make Chocolate. *Caracos.*

3. *Maracaibo*, pleasantly situated on the West-side of a great Lake, to which it gives its Name, in 10 Degrees odd Minutes North Latitude, and 70 Degrees of Western Longitude. The neighbouring Lake is fresh Water, sixty Leagues in Length, and thirty in Breadth, and discharges itself into the *North* Sea. Upon the Coasts of this Lake the Towns and Villages stand very thick; among which is, *Maracaibo.*

4. *New Gibraltar*, a large Town, situated forty Leagues within the Lake, in a pleasant Country, abounding in Cocoa, Sugar and Tobacco, and affording abundance of Cedar-trees, and other valuable Timber, fit for building Ships or Houses. *New Gibraltar.*

Both these Towns of *Maracaibo* and *Gibraltar* were taken and plunder'd by *Lolonois*, Captain of the *French* Buccaneers, in the Year —; and afterwards by Capt. *Morgan*, in the Year 1669; an Enterprize that deserves to be recorded, being one of the boldest Attempts that ever was made on the *Spanish* Settlements in *America*; of which we have the following Relation from a Person engaged in it, *viz.* Both the last Towns taken by Sir Henry Morgan.

Capt. *Morgan*, having assembled a Fleet of fifteen Vessels, of all sorts, manned with nine hundred and sixty Men, appointed them to rendezvous at the Port of *Occa*, a little to the Westward

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Westward of *St. Domingo* in *Hispaniola* ; where he propos'd to take in Cattle, and victual his Fleet. The Governor of *Jamaica* also order'd an *English* Ship of thirty-six Guns to join him, which *Morgan* design'd for his Admiral : But as he was feasting his Officers, drinking of Healths, and firing Guns, on board this Ship, it blew up, and three hundred and fifty of the Men perish'd in her ; but *Morgan* and his Officers, who were drinking in the great Cabin, with about thirty more, which happen'd to be at some distance from the Powder-room, escap'd with their Lives. The Loss of this great Ship, with so many Men, one would have thought should have discouraged *Morgan* from prosecuting his intended Enterprize, especially when seven more of his Fleet were, by some Accident, separated from the rest, and never join'd him afterwards. But the Captain, with eight small Vessels only, of which the largest carried fourteen Guns, and five hundred Men, resolv'd still to stand over to the Continent, and attempt the Town of *Maracaibo*. Setting sail therefore from *Hispaniola*, he arriv'd at the Island of *Araba*, situated about twelve Leagues to the Westward of the *Dutch* Island of *Curaçow* ; and here having furnish'd himself with Wood and fresh Provisions, he set sail again, and arriv'd the next Day at the Mouth of the Gulph of *Maracaibo*, the Entrance whereof he found defended by two Forts, which he attack'd with great Vigour, and the *Spaniards* defended them with no less Bravery the whole Day, but in the Night abandon'd them ; and *Morgan* took Possession of the Forts, in which he had another very narrow Escape ; for the *Spaniards* left behind them a kindled Match near a Train of Gun-powder,

which

which would have blown up all the Buccaneers in a few Minutes, if it had not been discovered by Captain *Morgan* himself, who, snatching up the Match hastily, saved his own and the Lives of all his People.

In these Forts they found great Quantities of small Arms, Ammunition and Provision, and sixteen Pieces of Cannon, between twelve and twenty-four Pounders: The next Day, the Captain, having distributed the small Arms and Powder among his Men, nailed up the Cannon, and demolished part of the Walls; ordered his Fleet to get over the Bar at the Entrance of the Lake, and advanced to the Town of *Maracaibo*, which he found abandon'd by the Inhabitants: Whereupon he posted his Main-guard in the principal Church, and sent out Parties every-way in search of the *Spaniards*; and, having taken about an hundred of them, he put several to the Torture (as my Author says) to make them discover their Wealth: And having continued these Practices for three Weeks, he marched to *Gibraltar*, situated about forty Leagues further on the same Lake; where being arrived, he was very warmly saluted, both by great and small Shot, from the Walls; but, after some Resistance, this Town also was abandon'd to the Buccaneers. *Morgan* thereupon order'd out some Parties in Pursuit of the *Spaniards*, and two or three hundred were taken, and tortur'd by various Ways (if we may credit our Author) to make them discover their Treasure and Effects; and the Governor of *Gibraltar*, who had retired to an Island in a River that falls into the Lake, very narrowly escaped their Hands, being removed further to an inaccessible Rock but a

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little before the Buccaneers came to search for him.

Morgan, having spent twelve Days in Pursuit of the Governor, through Woods and Bogs, and continual Rains, returned to *Gibraltar*, with his Men, so harrassed and fatigued, that fifty *Spaniards*, 'tis said, might have defeated and cut them to pieces in their March, if they durst have attack'd them; but so much were these Adventurers dreaded by the *Spaniards*, that they fled if they heard a Leaf stir.

The Buccaneers, having remain'd full five Weeks in Possession of *Gibraltar*, and extorted five thousand Pieces of Eight from the Inhabitants for ransoming the Town from Fire, began their March towards the Mouth of the Lake, taking along with them some of the principal *Spaniards*, as a Security for the Money the People had promised for their Liberty: Being arrived at *Maracaibo*, they understood, that three large *Spanish* Men of War waited at the Entrance of the Lake to cut off their Retreat, which occasion'd some Consternation amongst the Buccaneers: However, Captain *Morgan* put a good Face upon the Matter, and sent one of his Prisoners to the Commander of that Squadron, demanding of him a considerable Sum of Money to redeem *Maracaibo* from the Flames: To which the grave *Spaniard* sent the following Answer, *viz.*

Don Alonzo del Campo & Espinosa, Admiral of the *Spanish* Fleet, to Captain *Morgan*, Commander of the Pirates:

“ Understanding that you have dared to
“ attempt and commit Hostilities in the Coun-
“ tries

“ tries, Cities and Towns belonging to the
 “ Dominions of his Catholick Majesty, my
 “ soveraign Lord; I let you know, by these
 “ Lines, that I am come, according to my
 “ Duty, to that Castle which you took out
 “ of the Hands of a parcel of Cowards, and
 “ have repaired the Fortifications, and re-
 “ mounted the Artillery you nail’d up. My
 “ Intent is to dispute your Passage out of the
 “ Lake, and pursue you wherever you go :
 “ However, if you will submit to surrender
 “ the Plunder you have taken, together with
 “ the Slaves and Prisoners, I will let you pass
 “ to Sea without Molestation ; but if you
 “ refuse this Offer, I will send for Forces
 “ to *Caracos*, and put every Man of you to
 “ the Sword. Be prudent therefore, and do
 “ not abuse my Bounty : My Soldiers de-
 “ fire nothing more ardently than to revenge
 “ on you the Cruelties and Outrages you have
 “ committed on the *Spanish* Nation in *Ane-*
 “ *rica*. Dated on Board the *Royal Magdalen*,
 “ lying at Anchor at the Entrance of the
 “ Lake of *Maracaibo*, April 24, 1669.

Upon the Receipt of this Letter, Captain
Morgan assembled his Men in the Market-
 place of *Maracaibo* ; and, having acquainted
 them with the Contents of it, he demanded if
 they chose to surrender their Plunder, or
 fight their Way through the Enemy? And they
 answered unanimously, they would spend the
 last Drop of Blood in Defence of their Booty;
 and one of them proposed the fitting up a great
 Vessel they had taken in the Gulph for a Fire-
 ship, with which he engaged to set Fire to the
 Admiral : However, the Difficulties of get-
 ting out of the Lake by Force appeared so
 insuperable, that it was thought proper to

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make some further Overtures to the *Spaniards*, in order to obtain a Passage without fighting : And, 1. They offered to quit *Maracaibo*, without requiring any Ransom for the Town ; 2. They offered to release their Prisoners and one half of the Slaves ; 3. To release the Hostages they had taken for the Contributions required. But Don *Alonzo* rejected these Proposals with Scorn, and would grant no other Terms than those he first offered them : Whereupon the Buccaneers prepared to force their Way through ; and having fitted up their Fire-ship with combustible Matter, and disguised her like a Man of War, they sailed to the Entrance of the Lake, and came to an Anchor in Sight of the Enemy, on the 30th of *April*, in the Evening. The next Morning early, being *May-day*, Captain *Morgan*, weighed Anchor again, and sailed directly towards the Enemy, with the Fire-ship at the Head of his little Fleet ; which the *Spanish* Admiral looking upon as the Ship of the best Force, was preparing to engage her, when he was suddenly clapped aboard, and grappled by the Fire-ship ; and tho' the Admiral made great Efforts to disengage himself, he had the Mortification to see his Ship consumed in the Flames with most part of his Men. At which another of the *Spanish* Ships was so terrified, that the Captain run her aground near the Castle, and set Fire to her himself ; and the third was taken by the Buccaneers.

After this Victory, Captain *Morgan* made a Descent, and attack'd the Castle ; for, without being Master of this Fortress, he found it would still be very difficult to get out to Sea, the Channel for Ships to pass lying just under it : But Don *Alonzo*, the *Spanish* Admiral

miral, having thrown himself into the Castle, with a numerous Garrison, repair'd the Works, and mounted abundance of Artillery on the Walls; fir'd on the Buccaneers so briskly, that they were forced to retire to their Ships, having had thirty of their Men kill'd, and as many wounded.

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Morgan, after this Repulse, enquir'd of his Prisoners what Forces the *Spaniards* had sent against him, and whether any more Ships were expected to oppose his Passage out of the Lake. To which a Pilot, that belonged to one of the *Spanish* Men of War that was burnt, answer'd, That their Fleet at first consisted of six Men of War, whereof the largest carried eight and forty Guns, and another forty-four, which were equipped out in *Old Spain*, to cruise on the *English* Pirates, who infested their *American* Plantations; but, being arrived at *Carthagena*, the two largest Ships received Orders to return to *Spain*, being judg'd too big to cruise upon these Coasts; and *Don Alonzo*, the Vice-Admiral, sail'd with the other four to *Campeachy*, in quest of the *English*, and lost one of the four in a violent Storm that blew from the North in that Bay. From *Campeachy*, *Don Alonzo* sail'd with the three remaining Men of War to *Hispaniola*, and from thence to *Caracas* on the Continent; where he understood, Captain *Morgan* had plunder'd *Maracaibo* and *Gibraltar*; and therefore determin'd to lie with his Squardron at the Mouth of the Lake, to prevent the Buccaneers returning home with their Plunder: And, tho' the Admiral received Advice they were preparing a Fire-ship, he slighted the Intelligence, believing they had neither Skill nor Materials to fit out a Fire-ship;

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Firma.

ship ; and suffering himself to be surprized, Captain *Morgan* had obtain'd that easy and unexpected Victory.

The Pilot also informed the Captain, that one of the Ships that was burnt had forty thousand Pieces of Eight on board : Whereupon he order'd one of his Ships to fish up as much of the Treasure as they could, and returned with the Man of War he had taken, and the rest of his Fleet, to *Maracaibo* ; and sent a Message to the Admiral, that he would entirely destroy that Town, unless he gave him thirty thousand Pieces of Eight to redeem it from the Flames, and five hundred Oxen to victual his Fleet ; which the Governor refusing to comply with, the Inhabitants, however, agreed among themselves to raise twenty thousand Pieces of Eight, and furnish him with the Oxen he requir'd ; which the Captain accepted, and received Advice, about the same time, that the Ship he left to fish up the Treasure had got fifteen thousand Pieces of Eight more. But still the great Difficulty remain'd, how they should pass the Castle, and get out of the Lake : Whereupon Captain *Morgan* sent another Message to Don *Alonso*, the Admiral, to let him know, he would hang up all his Prisoners if he attempted to interrupt his Passage. The Admiral, however, was not moved with this Threat ; but prepar'd to oppose the Passage of the Buccaneers with all his Force. Whereupon Captain *Morgan* had recourse to another Stratagem : He landed great part his Men, as if he intended to attack the Castle a second time ; which induced the Governor to remove most of his great Guns to the Land-side, and place the best part of his Forces there : But it was no sooner dark,

dark, than *Morgan* reembark'd his Men again; and, suffering his Ships to fall down with the Tide, without one Sail standing, passed the Castle with his Fleet before he was well perceived; and then spreading his Sails, in an instant got out of the Reach of their Guns before they could do him any considerable damage; and the Buccaneers, not long after, arrived safely at *Jamaica*, with their Plunder, which amounted to two hundred and fifty thousand Pieces of Eight, besides a vast Quantity of rich Merchandize.

6. The sixth Province of *Terra-Firma* I shall describe, is *New Andalusia*; in which I shall comprehend the Districts of *Comana* and *Paria*, and bound it by the *North Sea* on the North; by the River *Oronoque*, which divides it from *Caribiana*, or *Guiana*, on the East; by the Country of the *Amazons* on the South; and by the Provinces of *Granada* and *Venezuela* on the West; extending in length, from North to South, five hundred Miles and upwards; and in breadth, from East to West, between two and three hundred Miles. The principal River which waters this Country, and into which fall many other considerable Streams, is that of *Oronoque*, or *Paria*, which rises in the Mountains of *Andes*, in the Kingdom of *Peru*, not far from the *South Sea*, and running directly East for near two thousand Miles; then turns to the North, and, continuing that Course above a thousand Miles more, falls into the *North Sea* by several Channels, between 8 and 9 Degrees of North Latitude.

New Andalusia,
with *Comana* and
Paria.
Situation.

The River
Oronoque.

The Inland Part of this Country is mountainous, and covered with Woods, intermixed with Valleys and Meadows that yield Corn and

The Face
of the
Country
and Pro-
duce.



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The Face
of the
County
and Pro-
duce.

Terra-Firma. and Pasturage; but it is not near so fruitful as that of *Venezuela*, or so full of Towns and Inhabitants: It is the most easterly Province the *Spaniards* have in South *America*; for tho' *Caribiana*, or *Guiana*, is usually included in their *Terra-Firma*, the *Spaniards* have very few Settlements there. The Produce of *New Andalusia* is chiefly Sugar and Tobacco, *Brazil* Wood, and some other valuable Timber and Woods for Dying, with some Gums and Drugs. The *Spaniards* also have introduced most of the Fruits of *Europe* here; and there was formerly a valuable Pearl-fishery on this Coast. The chief Towns are, 1. *Comana*, or *New Cordaba*; 2. *Verina*; and 3. *St. Thomas*.

Chief
Towns.

Comana. 1. *Comana* is situated on a Bay of the North Sea, in 10 Degrees North Latitude, and 65 Degrees of Western Longitude; said to have a good Harbour, and surrounded with Hills and Woods; so that the Town cannot be discerned till a Ship enters the Harbour: And it is a Place of that Strength, that we find they repulsed the Buccaneers who attack'd it in the Year 1670.

Verina. 2. *Verina* is situated on the same Coast, a little to the Eastward of *Comana*; being a small Town, but remarkable for the excellent Tobacco that grows in the neighbouring Fields.

St. Thomas. 3. *St. Thomas* is situated on the East-side of the River *Paria*, or *Oronoque*, near its Mouth in 8 Degrees North Latitude, and is the only considerable Settlement the *Spaniards* have to the Eastward of that River, as far as I can learn: The Forces Sir *Walter Raleigh* carried over to plant a Colony in this Country, attack'd and took this Town, which proved fatal to him; for he lost his Son in the Enterprize

terprize, and afterwards his own Head, on the Complaint of the *Spanish* Ambassador to Court of *England*; the *Spaniards* being more apprehensive than ordinary of our fixing a Settlement here, as it lay in the Neighbourhood of some of their Gold Mines, which they were then beginning to work: But I don't find these Mines have answered their Expectations, or that any others have been discovered of any Consequence in this Province.

Terra-Firma.

7. The Province of *Guiana*, or *Caribiana*, bounded by the northern or *Atlantic* Ocean on the North and East; by the Country of the *Amazons* on the South; and by the Provinces of *Granada* and *New Andalusia* on the West: It extends from the Equator to the 8th Degree of North Latitude, and lies between 50 and 63 Degrees of Western Longitude, extending twelve hundred Miles and upwards along the *Atlantic* Ocean, viz. from the Mouth of the River *Oronoque*, to the Mouth of the River of *Amazons*. Some divide it into two Parts, calling that on the Sea-coast *Caribiana*, and the Inland Country *Guiana*.

The Province of *Guiana*, or *Caribiana*.

Several *European* Powers have Settlements on or near the Sea-coasts of this Country, particularly the *Spaniards*, the *French* and *Dutch*; but the Natives are yet possessed of much the greatest part of it, and are not in Subjection to any of them, unless upon the Sea-coast. There are abundance of considerable Rivers (besides those of *Oronoque*, and the River *Amazon*, already mention'd;) and these, having their Sources in the Mountains on the South-west, generally run towards the North-east, and fall into the *Atlantic* Ocean. The principal whereof are, 1. *Esquebe*; 2. *Brebue*; 3. *Coratine*; 4. *Surinam*; 5. *Mar-*

European Settlements in this Province.

Rivers.

Terra-
Firma.

wyen, or *Maroni*; 6. *Cayenne*; 7. *Wia*; 8. *Caurwo*, or *Courwo*; 9. *Aperwacca*, or *Aprouaque*; 10. *Wiapoco*; 11. *Aracawo*; and 12. *Arabony*.

The Face
of the
Country
and Air.

The Sea-coast of this Country is generally low, and subject to Inundations, such a multitude of Rivers running precipitately from the Mountains in the Inland Country during the rainy Season. The Air is excessive hot and unhealthful, especially in such Parts of the Country as are not cleared of the Woods; but there are even here some elevated Situations tolerably cool and healthful, where the Air hath a free Passage. Indeed the *Europeans* generally choose to fix their Colonies near the Mouths of Rivers, among the salt Marshes and stinking Ouze, for the Conveniency of Importation and Exportation; and such Situations are unhealthful in all Countries; but if they advance never so little up into the Country, make Choice of an elevated Situation, and a hard firm Soil, they find a very sensible difference, even in Countries most dreaded by Foreigners; of which we made a very happy Experiment at *Benconli* in *Sumatra*, which rotted all the Soldiers and Factors we sent thither for many Years: But, upon removing the Town to an Eminence three Miles distant from the former Fort, we found the Country as healthful as any other. From whence it is evident, that if we chuse a Situation for Health, we can scarce miss of it in any Country; but if our View is solely to Trade, and the Convenience of Navigation, we must be content to want that Health we never sought after.

Indian
Towns.

As for Towns in this Country, I find no other among the Natives, who possess all the
Inland

Inland part of it, but straggling Villages, consisting of poor Huts, of the form of ordinary Barns, which they frequently remove also, living a kind of vagrant Life. Their Furniture consists of little more than the Hammocks they sleep in (which are sometimes fastned to the Ridge-poles of their Houses, and as often to the Trees without Doors) Baskets, Earthen-pots and Pans, Gourds and Calabashes, that serve them for Bowls, Bottles, Pails, and all manner of Uses: These make up the rest of their Household Equipage.

Terra-Firma.



The *English* had formerly several Settlements on this Coast, which were yielded to the *Dutch* by the Treaty of *Breda*, in the Year 1667; and the *Dutch* and *French* have still a great many Forts and Settlements here, with a good Extent of Country near the Mouths of the Rivers, which furnish them with Sugar, Tobacco, Cotton, Flax, Skins, or paltry Drugs, Dying-woods, and several other considerable Articles: But I don't find they have met with any Mines of Gold or Silver, which our first Adventurers expected.

The *English* Settlements yielded to the *Dutch*.

The chief *Dutch* Settlement is that of *Surinam*, situated five Leagues within the River of the same Name, in 6 Degrees odd Minutes North Latitude. They have given the Name of *Surinam* to all the Country about this Fortrefs for several hundred Miles; and look upon themselves as Sovereigns of it; and, indeed, these are the only considerable Acquisitions the *Dutch* have had in *America* since the *Portuguese*, drove them from *Brazil*, and the *English* from *New-York*.

Surinam the chief *Dutch* Settlement.

The chief *French* Settlement is that of *Cayenne*, situated on an Island at the Mouth of a River of the same Name, in 5 Degrees

Cayenne the chief *French* Settlement.

Terra-
Firma.

of North Latitude, above an hundred Leagues to the Northward of the River of *Amazons*. The Island is about seven Leagues long, and three broad; well wooded and watered with Rivulets; and has several good *French* Towns upon it, besides Villages of *Indians*, producing Sugar, Tobacco, *Indian* Corn, and other Grain and Plants, like the neighbouring Continent; and is held to be more healthful, as it lies open to the Sea-breezes. The *Dutch* Admiral *Binks* took it from the *French* in the Year 1676; and the Count *d'Estrees*, the *French* Admiral, recovered it the same Year; and it was long contended for by *France* and *Holland*, but the *French* are now in Possession of this Island; and, as their Settlements extend to the Southward, as far as the Equinoctial, 'tis said, they have given the Name of *Equinoctial France* to all the Sea-coasts between the River of *Cayenne* and the River of *Amazons*.

The Per-
sons of the
Caribbees.

As to the Persons of the *Indians* of *Guiana* and *Caribiana*, their Complexion is a dark Copper Colour, as all those are that lie so near the Equator; but they resemble their more northern Neighbours of *Terra-Firma* in Size and Features. Here are no Nations or Tribes of a gigantic or diminutive Stature, as the first Discoverers pretended. Those who live in the Neighbourhood of the *Europeans* wear some little Cloathing, for Decency sake; but the rest scarce any, either Men or Women: Tho' in Ornaments most of the *Americans* seem to agree, as in Plates and Rings for their Lips and Noses; heavy Strings of Beads and Shells about their Necks, that reach almost down to their Bellies; and in anointing and painting their Faces and Bodies:

Cloathing
and Orna-
ments.

And,

And, instead of Beds, they use Hammocks in most Places, both of *North* and *South America*. And as Giants, Dwarfs and Monsters seem at present to be expelled from this Continent, tho' our first Discoverers met with scarce any thing else, the Case seems much the same as to Canibals. There was not a Province in *America*, where we were not assured there were Tribes of these ; but in *Caribiana*, the Country I am now describing, we were told there was nothing else but Devourers of their own Species: That it was dangerous for a Man to sleep near his best Friend, lest he should take that Opportunity of murdering him, in order to feast upon his Carcase ; and yet, for these last hundred Years, we meet with no Canibals here, or any where else. That People have eaten one another, driven to it by Famine, I make no manner of doubt ; and an Instance or two of this Nature has been thought sufficient to denominate the whole Country Canibals. Men may sometimes also have sacrificed their own Species to their Gods ; of which others have had such an Abhorrence, that they made no difficulty to believe they eat the Sacrifice, especially when it was usual to feast upon other Animals sacrificed to Idols by almost all People. But further, every Nation, in Countries where Ignorance prevails, looks upon other Nations, especially their Enemies, as barbarous ; and are perpetually making or telling Stories to create in their Acquaintance an Abhorrence of them: And, as nothing is more detestable than the killing and eating our own Species, all People almost seem to have agreed in charging this Piece of Barbarity upon their Enemies, and those they have little Acquaintance with. I make no doubt,

Terra-
Firma.

Reputed
Canibals
by the first
Discover-
ers ; the
Truth
whereof is
enquired
into.

The PRESENT STATE

doubt, but many of the *American* Nations, as others had done in *Asia* and *Europe*, charged their Enemies with this Instance of Barbarism; and, when the *Europeans* came amongst them, were full of these Stories, which our credulous Seamen took upon Trust; and some of them, possibly, went so far, as to say they had seen the *Americans* kill, dress and make a Meal of their Enemies: After which, no Man was thought to have made any Discoveries in that part of the World, who could not say he was conversant with those supposed Devourers of human Flesh. And this was the reason every Traveller almost brought home some Account of the Canibals he had seen in every other part of *America*, as well as this. But can we suppose that the Popish Missionaries, and others, would so often have ventured themselves in the Inland and unsubdued Parts of *America*, and especially in *Caribiana*, without a Guard, as we are assured they have done, if they had not been satisfied these Relations were fabulous? A very credible Traveller informs us, indeed, that being about to pass through *Caribiana*, the many Relations he had met with of their devouring their Enemies and Strangers, had made such an Impression on him, that he communicated his Fears to one of their Caciques, who could not help expressing his Indignation, that he should entertain such Thoughts of their People; declaring, that a Foreigner might pass through their Country with as much Security as he could propose in travelling through any other. To this give me leave to add what I have observed before in treating of *Asia*: That it appears, several Nations, who have been charged with eating human Flesh, have been so far

far from it, that they have eat no Flesh at all ; but lived upon Roots, Herbs, Fruits, or Pulse ; scarce eating any thing that had Life, some of them making Conscience of eating any Animal.

Terra-Firma.



Our Buccaneers, who have traversed the most barbarous and uncultivated Parts of *America*, and seem to be very ready to give into these Stories of Canibals, have not, as I remember, been able to give us one Instance of their having seen any one Man eaten ; only they tell us, that one of their Comrades being taken by the *Indians*, they supposed he was roasted and eaten ; because, the next Day, they came to a Place where a great Fire had been made, and discovered human Bones in the Ashes : Which they might have done, if the *Indians* had only burnt their Friend in *Terrorem*, as well as if they had broiled and eaten him : Nor is it at all improbable, the Man was burnt ; for the Buccaneers have frequently committed such Outrages, both upon the *Spaniards* and *Indians*, as to induce them to retaliate the Injuries they have received, by putting them to the cruellest Deaths. I shall conclude this Topic with Mr. *Dampier's* Opinion of the Matter, who had visited as many Parts of the World as any *Englishman* ever did, and especially several Places of *America*, said to be inhabited by Canibals, having been himself a Buccaneer.

“ As for the common Opinion of Man-eaters
 “ (says that Gentleman) I did never meet with
 “ any such People ; all Nations and Families
 “ in the World, that I have seen or heard
 “ of, having some sort of Food to live on ;
 “ either Fruit, Grain, Pulse, or Roots, which
 “ grow naturally, or else are planted by them ;

Dampier's
 Opinion of
 Canibals.

“ ii

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Firma.



“ if not Fish and Land Animals besides :
 “ Yea, even the People of *New Holland* had
 “ Fish amidst all their Penury, and would scarce
 “ kill a Man purposely to eat him. I know
 “ not what barbarous Customs may have for-
 “ merly been in the World : To Sacrifice
 “ their Enemies to their Gods, is a thing that
 “ is much talked of, with relation to the Sa-
 “ vages of *America*. I am a Stranger to that
 “ also, if it be, or have been, customary in
 “ any Nation there : And yet, if they sa-
 “ crifice their Enemies, it is not necessary
 “ they should eat them too. After all, I
 “ will not be peremptory in the Negative ;
 “ but I speak as to the Compass of my own
 “ Knowledge, and know some of these *Canibal*
 “ Stories to be false ; and many of them have
 “ been disproved since I went to the West-In-
 “ dies. At that Time how barbarous were
 “ the poor *Florida Indians* accounted, whom
 “ now we find to be civil enough ! What
 “ strange Stories have we heard of the *In-*
 “ *dians* ! Whole Islands were called *The Isles*
 “ *of Canibals* (*Caribbees* ;) yet we find they
 “ trade very civilly with the *French* and
 “ *Spaniards*, and have done so with us. I do
 “ own, that they have formerly endeavoured
 “ to destroy our Plantations at *Barbadoes*, and
 “ have hindered us from settling the Island
 “ of *St. Lucia*, by destroying two or three
 “ Colonies successively ; and even the Island
 “ of *Tabago* has been often annoyed and ra-
 “ vaged by them, when settled by the *Dutch* ;
 “ and still lies waste (tho’ a delicate fruitful
 “ Island) as being too near the *Caribbees* on
 “ the Continent, who visit it every Year.
 “ But this was to preserve their own Right,
 “ by endeavouring to keep out any that
 “ should

“ should settle themselves on those Islands
 “ where they had planted themselves ; yet,
 “ even these would not hurt a single Person,
 “ as I have been told by some that have been
 “ Prisoners amongst them. I could instance
 “ also in the *Indians of Boca Toro and Boca*
 “ *Drago*, and many other Places where they
 “ do live, as the *Spaniards* call it, wild and
 “ savage ; yet there they have been familiar
 “ with Privateers, but by Abuses have with-
 “ drawn their Friendship again. And as for
 “ the *Nicobar* People (an Island in the Gulph
 “ of *Bengal*, reported to be inhabited by Ca-
 “ nibals) I found them affable enough ; and
 “ therefore did not fear them.

The Relations of there being Nations of
 Giants and Dwarfs in *South America*, seems to
 have no better Authority than their Stories of
 Canibals. There may have been Men seen
 above the common Size there, as we find some
 tall People in *Ireland* and *Germany* ; but these
 are not common any where any more than a
 Race of Dwarfs ; tho’ some Travellers relate,
 they have seen Nations, where a Person three
 Foot high was looked upon as a tall Man
 amongst them.

Enquiries
 into the
 Stories of
 Giants
 and
 Dwarfs.

But there is nothing the common People
 in every Country seem to have been more uni-
 versally agreed in, than in their Notions of
 Magic, Witchcraft, and a visible and familiar
 Conversation that some Pretenders to the Black
 Art have with the Spirit of Darknefs ; by
 whose Assistance they gratify their Revenge
 upon their Enemies, foretell future Events,
 and know Things transacted at the greatest
 distance the very moment they are done.

Of Witch-
 craft and
 Magic.

Every Nation of the *Americans*, and especially
 the *Caribbees*, pretend to have some such Ad-
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Firma.

epts amongst them; and this Office of Conjuror or Diviner is generally assign'd to their Priests, possibly for no other Reason, but because they are something superior to the common People in their Experience and Knowledge of Nature; which has made many a Man looked upon as a Conjuror in this Part of the World, particularly the celebrated Frier *Bacon*; and it is not unlikely, that the Priest or Conjuror endeavours sometimes to contribute to the Cheat, to keep up or advance his Reputation among ignorant People.

Waser's
Account
of the *Indian*
Pawawers or
Conjurors.

Mr. *Waser* (Surgeon to a Company of Buccaneers) who resided a considerable time among the *Darien Indians* in the Year 1681, gives the following Account of these Pawawers, or pretended Conjurors, of *Terra-Firma*. He says, enquiring of the *Indians* when they expected any Ships, they sent for some of their Conjurors, who immediately went to work to raise the Devil, and enquire at what time a Ship would arrive; and first, they made a Partition in the House with Hammocks, that the Pawawers might be by themselves; they continued some time at their Exercise, and *Waser* and his Comrades heard them making most hideous Yellings and Shrieks, imitating the Voices of all manner of Animals; they beat also on their Wooden-drums, sounded their Court-shells, and had some String-Instruments they play'd upon; making altogether a horrible Noise: Then they broke out into loud Exclamations, which were followed with a profound Silence; and receiving no Answer, after they had waited a considerable time, they came and turned all the Christians out of the House, and then went to work again; but still receiving no Answer, after an Hour or more,

more, they made a new Search, and finding some of the Christians Cloaths hanging up in a Basket, they threw them out of Doors, and then fell to pawawing again: After a little time, they came out in a muck Sweat, and going down the River and washing themselves, they returned and delivered their Oracle to this effect: *That the tenth Day, from that time, there would arrive two Ships; and in the Morning of that Day they should hear the first Gun, and some time after another: That one of the Christians should die soon after; and that going on board they should lose one of their Muskets.* They were so particular also to tell them, that the Demon informed them, one of them would be an *English Ship*; of the other they were doubtful, but said they were afraid it would prove a *Spanish Ship*; which Prediction, *Waser* assures us, was exactly fulfilled, even as to that Circumstance that one of the Ships was *Spanish*, and under the Command of a *Spaniard* at the time of the pawawing; but was afterwards taken by the *English Privateer*, which arrived with her upon the Coast; and *Waser* and his Comrades were no sooner on board the *English Privateer*, but *Gopsoy* one of their Number died, having been over-set and half-drown'd in going on board, and lost his Musket, as the Pawawers had foretold.

As these Things are no part of our Creed, People are at liberty to give what Credit to them they please; but *Waser's* taking notice, that these Pawawers could do nothing as long as the Christians, or any thing that belonged to them, was in the House, puts me in mind of the Pretensions of the *East Indians* to the like Commerce with Satan, to whom (if we may

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may believe them) he appears personally, and entertains frequent Conversation with them in the Night; but when any of our Soldiers have offered to go with them, and be Witnesses of their Conferences with the Spirit of Darkness, they always refused them this Favour, alledging, he would not appear if any Christian was present, which smells strongly of a Cheat; for many of our People, who resort to these Countries, have not more Christianity than the *Indians* themselves, if we may judge by their Morals: Satan need not be afraid to appear before them on account of their Sanctity; and even *Wafer* tells us, in another Place, that he gave very little Credit to these Appearances of the Devil; for, when one of these Pawawers told the Company he appeared, and pretended to entertain a Conversation with him, they saw nothing, nor heard any Voice but their own.

Religion
of the Ca-
ribbees.

As to Religion, we are told, that these People have a great Veneration for the Sun and Moon, as the *Mexicans* have; but pay them no divine Honours, or apply to them in their Distresses, but to inferior Demons, to which our Travellers have given the Appellation of Devils; tho' 'tis very possible, that the *Indians*, as well as the *Pagans* of old, look upon them as a kind of Mediators to the supreme Deity, and worship them as such. They may also be apprehensive of Mischief from an evil Spirit, as the *East-Indians* are, and endeavour to appease him, by paying him divine Honours; but most of the Accounts we have yet received of these Things, have very much of the Air of a Fable.

8. *New Granada*, the next Province I am to describe, is bounded by the Provinces of *St. Martha*, *Venezuela*, and *New Andalusia*, on the North; by *Guiana*, or *Caribiana*, on the East; by the Country of the *Amazons* on the South; and by *Popayan* on the West; being about six hundred Miles in Length, from the North-east to the South-west; and five hundred in Breadth. This large Inland Country affords vast Variety of Hills and fruitful Valleys; is well watered with navigable Rivers, and esteem'd as healthful as any Part of *Terra-Firma*. The chief Rivers are, 1. The River *Grande*, or *Magdalena*, which, rising in the South, runs directly cross it; falling into the *North Sea*, to the Northward of *Carthageña*. 2. The River *Oronoque*, which rising in *Popayan*, runs directly East the whole Length of this Province; and then turning to the Northward, falls into the *North Sea* against the Island of *Trinidad*.

Terra-Firma.
New Granada.
The Situation and Extent.

Face of the Country.

Rivers.
Magdalena

Their Mountains have Mines of Gold and Silver in them: They have Cedar-trees, and a great deal of other good Timber; and no want of Horses, Oxen, Hogs, Goats, Venison, Fish and Fowl; but the Country is not proper for Sheep. Here is also great Plenty of Corn and Fruits, both *Spanish* and *American*, Guaiacum, Balm, and several other valuable Gums and Drugs.

The chief Towns are, 1. *Santa-Fé de Bogotá*; 2. *Tocama*; 3. *Pampeluna*; 4. *Pérez*; 5. *Trinidad*; 6. *Palma*; 7. *Tunia*; and 8. *St. John de Linos*.

Santa-Fé de Bogotá, is situated in the Lake *Guntavita*, a little to the Eastward of the River *Magdalena*, in 4 Degrees odd Minutes North Latitude, and 74 Degrees of Western

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Longitude, in a plentiful Country, that abounds in Corn and Cattle: This is the most considerable Town in all the *Terra-Firma*; the Seat of the Governor and the Courts of Justice, and an Archbishop's See, to whom the Bishops of *St. Martha*, *Carthagera*, and *Popayan*, are Suffragans.

Tocama.

2. *Tocama*, situated at the Conflux of the Rivers *Magdalena* and *Pati*, a little to the Northward of *Santa-Fé*; remarkable for the Salt-springs in the Neighbourhood of it.

Pampeluna.

3. *Pampeluna*, situated at the Foot of the Mountains, sixty Leagues North of *Santa-Fé*, has some Gold Mines near it.

Velez.

4. *Velez*, situated almost in the Midway between *Pampeluna* and *Santa-Fé*, near a remarkable Vulcano, by whose Eruptions this and the adjacent Towns are sometimes damaged and endangered.

Trinidad.

5. *Trinidad*, situated on the River *Magdalena*, twenty Leagues to the Northward of *Santa Fé*; near which, 'tis said, are found Quarries of fine Marble, Rocks of Crystal, Emeralds, and other precious Stones.

Palma.

6. *Palma*, situated thirty Miles South-east of *Trinidad*.

Tunia.

7. *Tunia*, a Fortrefs situated on a Mountain fourscore Miles South-east of *Trinidad*, erected by the *Spaniards* to keep the *Indians* in Awe, and received its Name from the *Indian* Nation that inhabits this Part of the Country.

St. John of the Plains.

8. *St. Juan de los Llanos*, or *St. John of the Plains*, situated on the River *Baraguan*, an hundred and thirty Miles South-east of *Santa-Fé*, near which, 'tis said, there are Gold Mines; but as this is an Inland Country, seldom visited by Foreigners, and the *Spaniards* industriously

industriously conceal the Produce of it from the rest of the World, lest they should be tempted to disturb them in the Enjoyment of these valuable Acquisitions ; it must be confessed, the Accounts we have received of these Places are very imperfect.

The last Province I am to describe in the *Terra-Firma*, is that of *Popayan*, bounded by the Province of *Terra-Firma Proper* on the North ; by *New Granada* on the East ; by the *Audience* of *Quitto* in *Peru* on the South ; and by the *Pacific Ocean* on the West ; extending in Length from North to South four hundred Miles, and in Breadth three hundred. A Chain of barren Mountains, almost impassable, runs through the Country from North to South ; some of which are *Vulcano's*, and in one of them the Load-stone is found. Towards the Shores of the *South Sea* the Land is low and flat ; and, as it rains near three Quarters of the Year, innumerable Rivers and Torrents fall from the Mountains into the *South Sea*, in the Sands whereof is found a great deal of Gold-dust ; and there are Mines of the same Metal in the Mountains, which induces the *Spaniards* to build Towns and reside in some Parts of it, how uncomfortable soever it may be to live just under or near the Equator, where the Heat and Rains are extremely troublesome, as well as unwholsome.

The chief Rivers are, 1. *Bonaventura*, which rising in the Mountains, runs to the Westward, and falls into a Bay of the Sea of the same Name, in 4 Degrees odd Minutes North Latitude. 2. The River *Tomaco*, which rises in the same Mountains, and running parallel to the former, falls into the *South Sea*, to the Southward of it,

Terra-Firma. in 2 Degrees odd Minutes North Latitude.
 3. The River of *St. Jago*, which takes its
 Course in like manner to the Westward, and
 falls into the same Sea, near the Point or Pro-
 monatory of *Manglares*, about twenty Leagues
 to the Southward of *Tomaco*.

Chief Towns. The chief Towns of the Province of *Popayan* are, 1. *Popayan*; 2. *Agreda*, or *St. John de Paslo*; and 3. *Madrigal*.

Popayan. The City of *Popayan* is situated at the Foot of the Mountains, on a fruitful Plain, in 3 Degrees of North Latitude, and 76 Degrees of Western Longitude. It is a Bishop's See, Suffragan of *Santa-Fé*; the Seat of the Governor and of the Courts of Justice; and is said to be a large Town, and a Place of good Trade.

St. John de Paslo. *St. John de Paslo* is situated upwards of an hundred Miles South-west of *Popayan*, in a pleasant Plain, well watered with Rivers; in the Neighbourhood whereof are many Sugar-farms; and they feed great Herds of Cattle in their Savannahs or Meadows.

Madrigal. *Madrigal* lies an hundred and forty Miles to the Southward of the City of *Popayan*, in a barren Country, but rich in Gold Mines.

I shall, in the next place, give some Description of the remaining Islands that lie on the Coast of *Terra-Firma* (those near *Terra-Firma Proper*, both in the *North* and *South* Seas, having been already described.)

Islands on this Coast. Those that lie in the *South* Sea, on the Coast of *Popayan* are, 1. *Gorgona*, a pretty high woody Island, producing large tall Trees, and several Springs of good Water, lies in 3 Degrees North Latitude, and four Leagues West of the Continent: The Anchoring-place in a deep sandy Bay at the West-end of the Island.

It

It is about six Miles in Length, and four in Breadth, but uninhabited ; and at the East-end is a small Island that looks white with the Dung of Fowls ; and another like it at the West-end. The Coast on the Continent over-against it is low Land ; but there are exceeding high Mountains beyond in the Inland Country. Between the Island *Gorgona* and the River *Bonaventura*, twenty-five Leagues North-east of it, are several small Rivers, in the Sands whereof the *Spanish Indians* find Gold Dust, that is washed down from the neighbouring Mountains.

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The Island of *Gallo* lies twenty-five Leagues to the Southward of *Gorgona*, in a deep Bay, on the North-east Part whereof is good Riding for Ships. This also is pretty high Land, well furnished with good Timber, and has several Springs of fresh Water in it : There are also several fine sandy Bays in the Island, where a Ship may be cleaned. The Water is shallow all round the Island ; and both at the North and South Points are several Rocks, some whereof look like Barns, and others like Ships under Sail. To the North-east, on the main Land, three Leagues distance, is the large River *Tomaco* ; and a League and half within the River an *Indian* Village of the same Name, where Shipping frequently touches to take in Refreshments. From this River, a Wood of fine Timber-trees extends ten or twelve Leagues to the Southwards, whither the *Buccaneers* and *Privateers* resort, when they want Masts and other Ship-timber ; for neither the Islands nor the neighbouring Coast on the Continent are inhabited by *Spaniards*, only they come hither in the dry Season to search the Sands of the numerous Rivulets on this Coast for Gold.

The

Terra-
Firma.
These I-
lands re-
sorted to
by Adven-
turers.
Cape
Francisco.
Drake
took a
Galleon
here.

The Islands of *Gorgona* and *Gallo* have been frequently visited by the Buccaneers and other Adventurers, who take in Wood and Water, careen their Ships, and wait for *Spanish* Prizes here ; these Islands lying in the Road from *Peru* to *Panama*. Near *Cape Francisco*, about twenty-five Leagues to the Southward of *Gallo*, Sir *Francis Drake* took that rich Prize from the *Spaniards*, call'd the *Cacafogo*, in which he found eighty Pounds Weight of refined Gold, twenty-six Tons of Silver, and a considerable Quantity of precious Stones and Pearls : And, near the same Cape, our Countryman *Dampier* took two Prizes from the *Spaniards* in the Year 1704 ; but these were laden only with Provisions, viz. Wine, Brandy, Sugar, Marmalade, Flour, Bacon, Chocolate, &c. that the *Spaniards* were carrying from *Peru* to supply the City of *Panama*. This *Cape Francisco* lies in 1 Degree North Latitude, and in 81 Degrees odd Minutes Western Longitude.

Cape Pas-
seo.

To the Southward of *Cape Francisco* lies *Cape Passeo*, just under the Equator, or rather 8 Minutes South of it ; which is another Nation where our Privateers use to wait for the *Spanish* Plate-Fleets going from *Peru* to *Panama*. The Land near this Cape is mountainous and woody.

I proceed, in the next place, to describe the rest of the Islands on the Coast of *Terra-Firma* in the *North* Sea, which lie between the Mouth of the River *Oronoque* on the East, and the Entrance of the Gulph of *Venezuela* or *Maricaibo* on the West.

Trinity
Island.

The principal of these Islands, and the most Easterly, is that of the *Trinity*, subject to the *Spaniards* ; so named by *Columbus*, who discovered it in his third Voyage, Anno 1498.

It

It is situated near the Mouth of the River *Oronoque*, three Miles from the Continent of *Paria*, or *New Andulusia*; between 9 and 10 Degrees of North Latitude, and 60 and 64 Degrees of Western Longitude; and is about thirty Leagues in Length, and twenty in Breadth. The Air is deem'd unhealthful, but the Soil tolerably fertile, producing Sugar, Cotton, *Indian* Corn and Fruits, and the best Tobacco the *Spaniards* are Masters of. The chief Town is named *St. Joseph*, situated on a Bay of the Sea, over against the Continent. It was taken by Sir *Walter Raleigh* in the Year 1595, and by the *French* in 1676, who, besides their Plunder, extorted eighty thousand Pieces of Eight from the *Spaniards*, to ransom it from the Flames.

Tabago lies a little to the North-east of *Trinity*; but this belonging to *Great Britain*, will be described among the rest of the *British* Islands in *America*. Terra-Firma.

The most considerable *Spanish* Island on this Coast, next to *Trinity*, is that of *Margaretta*, situate in 12 Degrees North Latitude, about forty Leagues to the Westward of *Trinity*, and seven or eight Leagues from the Continent. It is about sixteen Leagues in Length, and eight in Breadth, high Land; and had the Name given it by the *Spaniards*, on account of the fine Pearl-fishery they found there, which seems to be exhausted at present. The Soil affords *Indian* Corn and Fruits, and the *Spaniards* have introduced many of the Plants and Fruits of *Spain*; but they are forced to import all the Water they drink from the Continent; and there is very little Wood or Pasture to be met with on the Island. The chief Town is that of *Monpater*, at the East-end of the Margaretta.

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the Island, defended by a good Fort, where the Governor resides.

Salt Tortuga.

Salt Tortuga, fourteen Leagues to the Westward of *Margaretta*, so named from its Salt-pits, and to distinguish it from *French Tortuga*, on the North-coast of *Hispaniola* and *Tortuga*, near the South Cape of *Florida*; every one of which received their Names from the Numbers of Tortoises that resort thither at the Season to lay their Eggs: This *Tortuga* is a barren desert Island, yielding neither Corn or Grass, and is not more than ten or twelve Miles in Circumference; only valuable to the *Spaniards*, on account of the Salt they sell to Foreigners, particularly to the Inhabitants of the *Caribbee* Islands.

Orchilla,
Roca,
Aves.

The Islands of *Orchilla*, *Roca* and *Aves*, are small inconsiderable Islands, situated to the Westward of *Tortuga*, and scarce deserves mentioning, except for a good Harbour in the middle of that of *Aves*, on the North-side, whither the Buccaneers frequently resort to careen their Ships, and take in fresh Water. A *French* Squadron of Men of War, commanded by Count *D'Estrees*, was cast away on the Rocks that lie before this Island in the Year 1678, and not two of their Ships saved.

Bonayre.

A little to the Westward of *Aves*, lies the Island of *Bonayre*, in Form of a Crescent, about sixteen Leagues in Compass, and situated about twenty Leagues North of the Coast of *Caracos*: The Middle of the Island in 12 Degrees 16 Minutes North Latitude. This belongs to the *Dutch*, who have seven or eight Soldiers here, and five or six Families of *Indians*, who plant Maize, *Guinea* Corn, Yams and Potatoes for their Masters; but their chief

chief Employment is the looking after their Goats, of which the *Dutch* salt up great Numbers every Year: They have also some Horses, Cows and Oxen upon the Island, and the *Dutch* make Salt at the East-end of the Island.

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Nine or ten Leagues farther to the Westward, and about as many from the Continent, lies the Island of *Curassow*, or *Querisao*; the most Northerly Point of it in 12 Degrees 40 Minutes North Latitude. There is a good Harbour on the South-east Part of the Island, where the *Dutch* have a considerable Town, defended by a strong Fort. The Country is level, and feeds abundance of Cattle; they have also some Sugar-farms, and small Plantations of Fruits and Roots; but *Dampier* observes, it is not so much esteemed for its Produce, as its Situation for a Trade with the *Spanish West-Indies*: Formerly the Harbour was never without Ships from *Carthagera* and *Porto-Bello*; the *Spaniards* purchasing a thousand or fifteen hundred Negroes at a time of them, besides great Quantities of *European* Commodities; but Part of this Trade has of late fallen into the Hands of the *English*: However, the *Dutch* have still a very extensive Trade in the *Spanish West-Indies*, sending Ships of good Force from *Holland*, freighted with *European* Goods to this Coast, from whence they make very profitable Returns. Let the *Spanish* Governors prohibit this smuggling Trade never so severely, the *Spaniards* stand so much in need of *European* Commodities, that they will run any Hazards to deal with the *Dutch*; and as it is their common Interest to connive at this kind of Traffick, the People cannot be very hearty in their Endeavours to prevent it.

Curassow

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Firma.
Araba.

The Island of *Araba*, or *Oraba*, lies seven or eight Leagues to the Westward of *Curassow*, at the Entrance of the Gulph of *Venezuela*, or *Maricaibo*, being about five or six Leagues in Compass. It is a level Country, except only one Hill, that rises like a Sugar-loaf in the middle of it: This Island also belongs to the *Dutch*, and furnishes *Curassow* with Goats and Sheep; and there are some few Sugar Plantations in it. These are all the Islands the *Dutch* are Masters of in *America*; nor have they any thing upon the Continent, unless *Surinam* in *Guiana*, or *Caribiana*.

Before I dismiss the Description of *Terra-Firma*, it may be proper to take Notice of the Discovery and Conquest of it by the *Spaniards*; of which we have not so large and particular an Account as we have of the Conquests of *Mexico* and *Peru*; this being reduced under the *Spanish* Yoke by abundance of inferior Adventurers, who bought or beg'd the respective Provinces, comprehended under the general Name of *TERRA-FIRMA*, of the King of *Spain*; or usurped upon those that had obtained Patents or Grants from that Prince. These, after a miserable Slaughter of the naked and defenceless *Indians*, fell out among themselves, and cut one anothers Throats, scarce any of the Adventurers dying natural Deaths, or by the Swords of the *Indians*, but generally by each others Hands.

The Discoverers of
Terra-Firma.

Columbus barely discovered this North-coast of *South America*, from the Mouth of the River *Oronoque* in the East, to *Porto-Bello* in the West; and tho' he went on Shore in several Parts of it, with an Intent to erect Forts, and plant Colonies, in proper Places, he was diverted

verted from it, and did not fix one Settlement upon that Coast.

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Vasco Nunez de Balboa, who attended General *Enciso* in an Expedition from *Cuba* to *Darien*, or *Terra-Firma Proper*, first settled a Colony, and built a Fort on the West-side of the Gulph of *Darien*, about the Year 1510, to which he gave the Name of *Santa Maria el Antigua*, or *Old St. Mary's*.

The first Colony planted in *Darien*, or *Terra-Firma Proper*.

Enciso, it seems, was very unfortunate in this Enterprize, lost a great many Men in several Engagements with the *Indians*, and more by the Hardships his People underwent for want of Provisions; whereupon those that escaped, having a great Opinion of the Bravery and Conduct of *Vasco*, to whose Prudence they ow'd their Preservation in a great measure, refused to obey *Enciso* any longer, and elected *Vasco Nunez* their Commander, a Man every-way qualified for great Undertakings: And *Enciso* thereupon returned to *Spain*, to complain of the Desertion of his People, and get his Commission confirmed and enlarged.

In the mean time, *Vasco* applied himself to make farther Discoveries; and, in order to it, endeavoured to cultivate a Friendship with *Careta* the Cacique, who commanded that Part of the Country, which lies to the Westward of the Gulph of *Darien*; and when he found he was not disposed to enter into a Treaty with the *Spaniards*, he surpris'd the Cacique in the Night-time, making him Prisoner, and killing some of his People: But *Vasco* offering to give the Cacique his Liberty, on Condition he would furnish him with Provisions, they made an Alliance; and, to cement it the closer, the Cacique gave *Vasco* one of his Daughters, a beautiful young *Indian*, for his Wife; or, as

Terra-
Firma.



the *Spaniard* understood it, for a Concubine ; and he used her with great Tendernefs, tho' he afterwards married a *Spanish* Lady. *Vasco* also found two *Spaniards* in the Territories of *Careta*, that escaped thither out of a Ship, and lived almost two Years among the *Indians*, who were very serviceable to him, as Interpreters, in his succeeding Enterprizes.

Intimati-
ons given
the *Spani-*
ards of the
South Sea,
and the
Treasures
of *Pou.*

Careta being engaged in War with *Ponca*, a neighbouring Cacique, at the Arrival of the *Spaniards*, put them upon invading his Territories ; and *Ponca* finding himself unable to resist his old Enemy, supported by these Strangers, abandoned his Country, where the *Spaniards* found considerable Quantities of Gold. *Comagre*, another Cacique, a Friend of *Careta*, voluntarily submitted to *Vasco*, and furnished him with Gold to a considerable Value ; and the Son of this Cacique, observing the *Spaniards* ready to fight about dividing their Treasure, having handsomely reproved their covetous fordid Temper, told them, he would direct them to a Country where they would find as much Gold and Silver as their Hearts could wish, if they thought it worth the while to undergo the Fatigues, and run the Hazards, that were necessary to obtain it ; for the Country lay beyond high Mountains of difficult Access, and they must afterwards traverse another Ocean beyond those Hills, before they came at it ; and as they were to pass through the Territories of several powerful Princes before they arrived at that Sea, the *Indian* Prince advised, they should increase their Forces to a thousand Men, before they entered upon so great an Undertaking.

Vasco Nunez de Balboa was overjoyed to hear of Countries thus abounding with Treasure,

sure, and of another Ocean ; and upon this Intelligence returned to *Darien* again, in order to make suitable Preparations for the Discovery of them. He also dispatch'd Expresses to *Hispaniola*, and to *Spain*, with the joyful News ; desiring such a Reinforcement, as might enable him to reduce those Countries under the Obedience of his Catholick Majesty. He also sent over to *Spain* the Value of 15000 Pieces of Eight in Gold, as a Specimen of what those Countries produced ; and every Man sent some Present to his Friends of the same Metal : Upon seeing whereof, and hearing the Representations that were made of the Country, by those that were sent over, it was named *Castilla del Oro*, or *Golden Castile* ; tho' it afterwards recovered the Name, first given it by *Columbus*, of *Terra-Firma*.

But these fortunate Beginnings met with a considerable Check from the Divisions among the Adventurers ; for *Vasco*, having no other Authority, than what the Troops had conferred upon him, every one expected to have his Advice attended to, and if he was not considered as he expected, became a Malecontent : So strong was the Party form'd against him, that he was once compelled to quit the Town of *Darien* to the Mutineers ; but a Supply of an hundred and fifty Men being sent him from *Hispaniola*, with a Commission to be Captain-General of *Terra-Firma*, his Enemies all submitted to him, and he continued his Preparations for the Discovery of the *South Sea* ; tho' he received Intelligence from *Spain*, that *Enciso* had so far prevailed in his Complaints against him, that he would be soon sent for over, and another Governor appointed for that Service. He consider'd, 'tis said, that if he

prov'd

The PRESENT STATE

prov'd successful in this Expedition, it would probably obliterate all his Faults ; and if he did not, Death would put an end to his Cares.

He made Choice therefore of two hundred *Spaniards* and a thousand *Indians*, whom he embarked on board a Brigantine, and some Canoes, the Beginning of *September* 1713 ; and went by Water to the Territories of the Cacique *Careta*, who had given him his Daughter ; and being join'd by the Forces of that Cacique, advanced towards the Mountains, through the Dominions of the Cacique *Ponca*, who fled at first at the Approach of the *Spaniards* ; but, upon an Assurance that *Vasco* intended no Hurt to him, or his People, *Ponca* returned, and furnished the *Spaniards* with such Provisions as the Country afforded ; for which the *Indians* were paid in Axes, Knives, and such other Tools and Implements as they valued most. This Cacique also furnished them with Guides to pass the Mountains, and with Porters to carry their Baggage.

Vasco continued his March up the Mountains till he came to the Territories of another Cacique, nam'd *Quarequa*, who assembled his Forces, and made some Shew of opposing their Passage : This Prince, the Historian relates, was cloath'd in a quilted Cotton Coat, which he wore as Armour, and was sufficient to break the Force of their Country Weapons (but his Subjects were most of them naked) their Arms being Bows and Arrows, Slings, Spears and Darts, pointed and hardened in the Fire, and Clubs ; but, upon the firing two or three Muskets, these Warriors all turned their Backs and fled, imagining, says my Author, that their Enemies had the Command of Thunder and Lightning, as they saw their Men

Men drop down dead at the time the Guns were fired, and they heard the Report: While the *Spaniards*, to increase their Terror, and that the *Indians* might no more dare to oppose them, killed upwards of six hundred of these poor defenceless People as they fled, among whom was the Cacique *Quarequa* himself. The *Spaniards* had no Horse with them at this Time, and as the *Indians* were naked, and much swifter of Foot, they would probably have escaped this Slaughter, had not the *Spaniards* carried Packs of great Dogs with them, which overtook and worried these miserable People, till their cruel Masters came up, and slaughtered them at Pleasure. This was the Way the *Spaniards* made War upon the *Indians* in almost every Part of *America*; neither Woods or Mountains could save the Natives from their Rage; they hunted them out, and tore in pieces Men, Women and Children; which made the *Americans*, who at first took the *Spaniards* to be Gods, change their Minds, and look upon them as Devils.

Terra-Firma.
Several hundred *Indians* cut in pieces by the *Spaniards*.

After this Victory, as the *Spaniards* call it, they plunder'd the Houses of the *Indians*, where they found great Quantities of Gold; and, what was still more barbarous, caus'd many of the People they found in them to be torn to pieces by Dogs, under pretence they were Sodomites, tho' they had no manner of Proof of it, as their own Historian *Antonio de Herera* acknowledges.

From the Place where the *Spaniards* landed, to the Tops of the Mountains, was reckoned about six Days Journey; but the Want of Provisions, and other Interruptions, occasioned their spending five and twenty Days in their March, before they arrived at the Hills where the

The South-Sea diisco-vered.
South

Terra-
Firma.

South Sea might be discerned : And now *Vasco Nunez* having notice, that they should have a View of that Sea, on advancing a little farther, ordered all his Forces to halt ; and going up to the Top of the Hill alone, saw that vast Ocean ; whereupon he fell upon his Knees, and with Hands lifted up, gave Thanks to Heaven, that he was the first *European* who had seen it : Then calling up his Men after him, great Rejoicings were made upon the Occasion ; and an Instrument was drawn up, importing, That here *Vasco Nunez* took Possession of the *South* Sea, and all the Countries bordering upon it, for the Crown of *Castile*. Crosses were erected, and great Heaps of Stones raised, and the King of *Spain's* Name engraved on several Trees : This was performed on the 25th of *September* 1513. The *Indians* stood amazed at all this Formality, not being yet acquainted with the Ambition and Avarice of the *Spaniards*, who came to take their Country from them, and had already swallowed this new World, and all its Treasures, in their Imaginations.

From this Mountain, the *Spaniards* descending into the Country of the Cacique *Chiapa*, found that Prince and his Forces assembled to oppose their March ; but these also fled, on the firing two or three Muskets ; and many of them were slaughtered by the *Spaniards*, or torn in pieces by their Dogs ; which Execution so terrified *Chiapa* and his Subjects, that they immediately submitted, and made the General a Present of all the Gold they had, in order to appease him ; and the *Spaniards* took up their Quarters in *Chiapa's* chief Town ; from whence *Vasco* afterwards, marched to the *South* Sea, and going into it up to his Knees, again took Possession

Possession of this Sea, and all that belonged to it, for the King of *Castile* and *Leon*, and then returned to his Quarters. He afterwards crossed a great River, and made an Incurſion into the Territories of the Cacique *Cocara*; and having deſtroyed ſome of his People, this Prince alſo ſubmitted, and deſired the *Spaniards* Friendſhip, making them a Preſent of his Gold, for which he received *European* Tools and Toys in Exchange.

Vaſco Nunez arriving at a fine Bay of the Sea, on the 29th of *September*, gave it the Name of *St. Michaels*, which it ſtill retains: And the Caciques informing him, that there were ſome Iſlands not far off, where great Quantities of Pearls were to be had, he deſired them to bear him Company thither; but they repreſented it was dangerous going thither in Canoes at that time of the Year: However, ſince he would not be diſſuaded from the Enterprize, they went off with him in their Canoes, but were ſoon driven back again, and the *Spaniards* very narrowly eſcaped being drowned.

He afterwards invaded the Territories of a Cacique named *Tumaco*, which lay upon this Bay, who being terrified into a Submiſſion, as his Neighbours had been, preſented the General with Gold to a very great Value, but much more in large Pearls, which had received ſome Damage by the Fire the *Indians* till then uſed in opening the Pearl Oyſters: *Tumaco* alſo informed *Vaſco*, that the Coaſt extended without End to the Southward, pointing towards *Peru*, where he ſaid there were prodigious Treasures of Gold and Silver to be found.

Terra-
Firma.

Vasco Nunez, having made these Discoveries, resolved to return to *Darien* not directly, but took a Circuit through the Territories of several other Caciques, some of whom he subdued by Force, and others voluntarily entred into Alliances with him: But the Conditions on which the *Spaniards* generally afforded them their Friendship, were, that the *Indians* should deliver up the Gold they were possessed of, and afterwards procure what they could more of the same precious Metal, and send after them. Upon these Terms the *Spaniards* engaged to remain for ever their good Allies and Protectors.

The General, being arrived at *Darien* the 19th of *January* 1514, was received by his People with Transports of Joy, when they understood the Discoveries he had made, and the vast Quantities of Gold and Pearls he had acquired; for he divided the Treasure equally, as well among those that remained behind in the Fortrefs of *Darien*, as among the Troops he took with him; first deducting the King's Fifth, which he immediately sent over to *Spain*; together with a full Account of the Situation of his Affairs, desiring a Reinforcement of a thousand Men, to prosecute and improve the Discoveries he had already made.

Pedrarias
made Go-
vernor of
*Terra-
Firma.*

This News was very acceptable to the Court of *Spain*, and twelve or fifteen hundred Men were embarked immediately for *Darien*, under the Command of *Peter de Arias*, or *Pedrarias*, as he is usually called, to whom the Government of that Province also was committed; and with him were sent over Father *John Quevedo*, a *Franciscan* Friar, as Bishop of the Place, with several other Monks of that Order, to instruct the Natives in the Christian Religion.

But

But a more covetuous and barbarous Wretch was never sent abroad with a Command, than this *Pedrarias*. He arrived at *Darien* the latter End of *July*, 1514, and was received by *Vasco* with all the Respect due to his Commission; but the Government was no sooner surrendered to him, than he began a Prosecution against the Man who had made all those important Discoveries, that he might engross the Wealth of those Countries to himself, and have no Rival or Check upon his savage Disposition. Then he ordered his Troops out every Way, and without any Regard to the Treaties and Alliances that *Vasco* had made with the neighbouring Caciques, plundered their Countries, and massacred their Subjects without Mercy; and, above all, he endeavoured to establish a Communication with the *South Sea*, in order to make himself Master of the Gold and Pearls he understood were to be found on that Side; but the *Indians* finding themselves thus slaughtered and abused, notwithstanding their former Submission, assembled their Forces, and laying Ambuscades, cut off a great many of his Parties, and he was not for some time able to fix Colonies in any Part of the Isthmus.

In the mean time, the Friends of *Vasco* having represented the Hardship of his Case to the Court of *Spain*, and the important Services he had done or might do the Crown, a Commission was sent him to be *Adelantado*, or Lord-lieutenant of the Coast of the *South Sea*, that he might prosecute the Discoveries he had begun on that Side; with Orders to *Pedrarias*, to furnish him with such Forces as were necessary for such an Expedition; but *Vasco* however remained as a Prisoner at *Darien* for some time: At length Bishop *Quevedo* interposed his good Offices,

Terra-
Firma.



Vasco dis-
covers
Peru.

Is behead-
ed by *Pedrarias*.

Who reduces all the
Country as far as
Veragua.
Nata and
Panama
founded.

and procured a Reconciliation between the two Generals; and, in order to cement their Friendship the stronger, *Vasco* married the Daughter of *Pedrarias*. Soon after which he applied himself to the building of Brigantines and Vessels; the Timber whereof he caused to be carried cross the Mountains of the Isthmus to the *South Sea*, and put together there; and these being destroyed by the Worms in a short time, he built more on the other Side, with which he sailed to the Pearl Islands in the Bay of *Panama*, and afterwards as far as *Port-Pinas* in *Peru*; but some malicious Officer informing *Pedrarias*, or rather the Governor pretending to be informed, that *Vasco* was about to renounce all Dependence on the Crown of *Spain*, and to set up for himself, commanded him to return to *Darien*, and answer the Accusation; which Summons *Vasco* readily obeyed, being conscious of his Innocence; but *Pedrarias* so managed the Matter, that he got him convicted, by the Forms of Law at least, and caused him to be beheaded, to the great Surprise of all Men who were acquainted with the Services he had done the Crown of *Spain*.

And now *Pedrarias*, being without a Rival, or any one to check his Fury, ravaged the Country in a terrible manner from Sea to Sea, and even as far as the Province of *Veragua*, planting a Colony at *Nata*, and another at *Ranama*, on the *South Sea*. *Nata*, it seems, took its Name from the Cacique, who was Governor of that Part of the Country when the Spaniards subdued it; and *Panama*, which was then only a small Village, inhabited by Indian Fishermen, received its Name from the Employment of its Inhabitants; *Panama*, in their

their Language, signifying a *Fishing-Town*. *Pedrarias* also founded another Town on the *North Sea*, which was named *Nombre de Dios*, between which and *Panama* all the Trade was carried on from the *North* to the *South Seas* for some time; but the *Spaniards*, not liking the Situation of *Nombre de Dios*, abandoned it afterwards, and built the Town of *Porto-Bello*, removing the Trade thither; and this still continues the most considerable Port on the *North Sea*.

Terra Firma.

Nombre de Dios, and *Porto-Bello* founded.

Pedrarias also reduced the Provinces of *Veragua* and *Nicaragua*, by the Forces he sent thither under the Command of *Francis Hernandez*; but entertaining some Suspicion that *Hernandez* had too great a Regard to his own Interest, he served him as he had done *Vasco Nunez*, and cut off his Head, under Pretence he was about to throw off his Dependence on the Crown of *Spain*, and set up for himself; and expecting to be called to an Account for the many Outrages he had committed, both on the *Spaniards* and *Indians*, he quitted *Darien*, before his Successor arrived there, and removed to his Acquisitions in *Veragua*, where he looked upon himself to be out of the Reach of Justice; but what became of him afterwards History does not inform us, only Father *Bartholomew de Casas*, Bishop of *Chiapa*, has given us a very melancholy Relation of the numerous Cruelties and Ravages committed by this Commander, in reducing these Provinces under the Dominion of the Crown of *Spain*.

The Cruelties of *Pedrarias*.

There landed (says the Bishop) in *Terra-Firma*, in the Year 1514, a mischievous Governor, who not only wasted and dispeopled the Sea-coast, but plundered and ravaged large Realms and Countries, murdering infinite

Terra-
Firma.

nite Numbers of People from *Darien* to the Province of *Nicaragua*, being upwards of fifteen hundred Miles, full of People, governed by several Princes and great Lords in their respective Territories, who were possessed of more Gold than any Princes upon the face of the Earth at that time.

This Governor and his Officers every Day invented new Torments, to make the *Indians* discover their Gold; some they racked, others they burnt by Inches till they expired in Torments; and instances in a great Lord or Cacique, who having given *Pedrarias* the Weight of nine thousand Ducats to obtain his Favour, ordered him to be set on the Ground, with his Legs stretched out, and then fastened to a Stake: After which, he ordered Fire to be applied to his Feet, till he sent for three thousand *Castellans* more, and still continued to burn him till the Marrow dropped from his Bones, and he died in the most exquisite Torment; all which was inflicted on this unhappy Prince, without any other Provocation given the merciless *Pedrarias*, than that he could not, or would not discover such a Quantity of Gold as he expected; and many other great Lords were used in the same barbarous manner, when they could not produce as much Gold as was demanded of them: That another great Cacique, named *Paris*, making his Submission, and presenting the *Spaniards* with Gold to the Value of fifty thousand Pieces of Eight, they pretended to be satisfied with it, and agreed to march out of his Territories; but returning again at Midnight, they set fire to the Town, massacred the Inhabitants, and carried off the Value of fifty or threescore thousand Pieces of Eight more: The Cacique him-
self

self however escaping, assembled several thousands of his Subjects, overtook the *Spaniards*, of whom he killed fifty, and recovered most part of the Plunder ; which *Pedrarias* and his Officers severely revenged a little afterwards ; for they sent another Body of Forces into the Territories of the Cacique *Paris*, and massacred or made Slaves of all his People, insomuch that the Bishop assure us, when he wrote this Relation, there was not of the Natives one Man, Woman or Child to be found in that Country for thirty Leagues, though it was before very populous.

That *Pedrarias* and his Successors did not destroy less (in that Government only) than eight hundred thousand People, and plundered the Country of several Millions of Gold, of which they did not send the King more than the Value of three thousand Crowns.

The rest of *Terra-Firma*, or the North Part of *South-America*, from *Darien* to the River *Oronoque*, was subdued by private Adventurers, at their own Charges ; every one begged a certain Extent of Country of the Court of *Spain*, and used the Natives as they thought fit, ravaging and plundering the several Countries, and murdering or enslaving the miserable Inhabitants, who were able to make but little Resistance to these Tyrants, as the Bishop of *Chiapa* calls them.

The rest of *Terra-Firma* reduced by private Adventurers.

Garcia de Lerma brought the Indians of *Santa-Martha* under the *Spanish* Yoke, about the Year 1529 : *Ambrose Alfringer* got the Grant of *Venezuela*, and carried over eight hundred or a thousand *Germans* thither about the same time, with whom he harrassed the Country in a terrible manner for some hundred

Santa-Martha discovered. *Venezuela*.

Terra-
Firma. } hundreds of Miles to the Southward, spending up-
wards of three Years in this Expedition.
Cartha- } The Province of *Carthagena* was begged by
gena. } *Don Peter de Heredia*, who enslaved the Na-
tives, and settled *Spanish* Colonies there in the
Year 1532.

Granada. } *Gonsalo Ximines de Quesada*, and *George*
Federman the *Dutchman*, with the rest of the
Governors of these three Northern Provinces,
last mentioned, penetrated far within the Land
to the Southward, and subdued that large Pro-
vince which now bears the Name of *New Gra-*
nada, about the Year 1535.

Guiana
and Cari- } *Alonso de Herera*, and *Anthony Sedony*, made
biana. } large Discoveries and planted Colonies in *Guiana*,
Paria and *Caribiana*, now called *New Andalusia*,
about the Year 1533. The Province of
Popayan. } *Popayan* was discovered and subdued by *Se-*
bastian de Belalcazar, Governor of *Quitto*, in the
Year 1536; and if we may credit the Relation
of the Bishop of *Chiapa*, whose Business it was to
enquire into the Usage of the oppressed *Indians*,
the Conduct of all these Adventurers was
rather more barbarous than that of *Cortez* in
Mexico, or of *Pedrarias* in *Darien* and
Veragua.

Those who reduced *Santa-Martha*, he says,
perfectly depopulated a Country which was
before crowded with People for the Space of
four hundred Leagues; nor were they content
with barely massacring these miserable People,
but so tortured and oppressed those that sur-
vived, that they chose Death rather than to live
under the Tyranny of these barbarous *Spani-*
ards.

That they had carried into Slavery two
Millions of People, from the Coast of *Guiana*,
or *New Andalusia*, many of whom perished at
Sea

Sea for want of Provisions, and the rest in the Mines; and that in the Pearl Fisheries on this Coast they destroyed many thousands more, by compelling them to dive for Pearls beyond their Strength.

In the Province of *Venezuela* (tho' the People readily submitted to the *Dutch* and *German* Adventurers sent thither, and treated them with all the Goodness and Hospitality imaginable) they destroyed four Millions of Souls and upwards; and most of their Princes and great Men were racked and tortured till they expired, to make them discover the Gold these savage Christians suspected they had concealed.

That they sometimes drove the *Indians* into Barns, and threatened them with Death, unless they redeemed themselves with Gold; and when they had procured as much as was required for their Liberties, then they used to imprison them again, and demand as much more; which, if they could not produce, they were shut up sometimes till they were starved; and others were cut to Pieces, or burnt by hundreds, for not answering the Expectations of their *Conquerors*, as they called themselves.

Father *Bartholomew de Casas* adds, that those who had been Eye-witnesses of the *Spanish* Cruelties in *New Granada*, deposed on their Oaths before the Court of *Spain*, that the *Indian* Caciques or Princes in that Province quietly submitted to the *Spaniards* and *Germans*, with all their People, and were contented to become their Vassals; and the several Lordships and Districts were divided among the *Spanish* and *German* Officers and Soldiers, with all the Natives upon them, as their respective Properties. That the *Indians* did not only cultivate the Grounds for their new Masters, and

Terra-
Firma.

furnished them with Provisions, but presented them with Gold and precious Stones to a very great Value; which was so far from satisfying their Avarice, that these new Lords proceeded to exercise all manner of Cruelties on the miserable Natives, to extort more Gold from them.

That the greatest Prince of this Country, named *Bogata* (from whom the Capital City was afterwards called *Santa Fé de Bogata*) was tortured by the General for several Months, to make him discover his Gold and Emeralds; who, in hopes of being released from his Tormenters, promised them at length to furnish them with a House full of Gold; and dispatching Expresses to every Part of his Dominions, brought in a prodigious Quantity: But the House being not quite filled, he was still racked and tortured to make him produce more; which being impossible, he expired in Torments under the Hands of his merciless Persecutors.

And as this great Prince had been used by the *Spanish* General, so his Officers and Soldiers used those of an inferior Rank, torturing and burning them to pieces by Inches, to make them discover their Treasures: That it was a common thing to cut off the Hands and Noses of Men and Women in Sport, and give them to their Dogs: That when the poor Natives fled to the Woods and Mountains, to shelter themselves from their Rage, this was called a Rebellion, and they were hunted out by Dogs, torn in Pieces, slaughtered, and thrown from the Tops of the Rocks by hundreds: And when any of them had secured themselves in inaccessible Places, the *Spaniards* would treacherously offer them their Lives and Liberties, to induce them to surrender, and then

then cut them in Pieces as soon as they had them in their Power : That it was impossible to describe the Mischiefs and Cruelties of these Monsters of Mankind ; and if they were suffered to go on, the Inhabitants must be totally extirpated, and these populous and fertile Countries become a Wilderness (as in reality it happened not long afterwards, for upwards of six hundred Leagues) the Emperor's Commands for redressing these Outrages being very ill observed.

Terra-
Firma.

That these Adventurers here, as well as those in other Parts of *America*, kept Packs of great Mastiffs on purpose to hunt and tear in Pieces the *Indians* : It was an ordinary thing to kill an *Indian*, without any Offence given them ; and to lend a Brother *Spaniard* a Quarter of a Man, as they would lend a Neighbour a Quarter of Pork or Mutton to feed their Dogs ; promising to return it in kind when they killed a Slave.

That others would go out a hunting for *Indians* with their Dogs as they would hunt wild Beasts, and boast of their having killed twenty or thirty in a Day : Which Facts, how monstrous soever, appeared to be true, by the Testimony of Numbers of Witnesses, on the Trials of Causes in the Courts of *Spain*, between the several Adventurers, who frequently fell out about the Limits of their respective Provinces, the Distribution of the Natives, and the rest of their Plunder ; and in these Contests, the Truth frequently came out,



C H A P. II.

*Of the Name, Situation, and Extent of
Peru ; and of the Face of the Country.*

Peru.
Peru de-
scribed.
Its Name.



DO not find that the Natives had any general Name for this Country, only it was looked upon as the Dominion of the great King, or Emperor of *South America*, who was called *The Inca*, and so it might be stiled the Empire of the *INCA's*, as the *East Indies* is called *the Empire of the Great Mogul*.

As to the modern Name of *Peru*, *Garcilasso de la Vega* gives us this Account of its obtaining that Appellation: He says, that *Vasco Nunez de Balbao* having first discovered the *South Sea*, the King of *Spain*, as a Reward of that Service, constituted him Admiral of that Sea, in the Year 1514, and Governor of all the Kingdoms and Countries he should discover in it. Whereupon *Vasco* built three or four Ships, to go upon Discoveries in that Ocean, one whereof stretching to the Southward beyond the Equinoctial Line, and sailing close by the Shore, discovered an *Indian* Fisherman in the Mouth of a River ; who, while he stood staring at the Ship as she was under sail (a most amazing Sight to a Man that had never seen one) they sent out their Boat and surpris'd the *Indian*, making him their Prisoner ; and demanding of him by the *Indians* they

they carried with them (or by Signs, according to *De la Vega*) what Country it was? he mistaking them, and supposing they had asked him his own Name, answered *Beru*; and the *Spaniards* still seeming importunate to know something more, he answered, *Pelu*; which was the Name of the River; or, according to some, is a common Name in the Language of those People for any River; however, from both these Words the *Spaniards* formed another, and called the Country *Peru*; and some of their Writers, *Piru*; but however that was, the Dominions of the *Inca's*, of which this was the most Northerly Province, have ever since gone under the Name of *Peru*. When the *Spaniards* arrived here, the Country was divided by the *Inca's* into four grand Divisions, the Limits on the North being the River *Passao*, or the *Azure* River, just under the Equinoctial; the Southern Limits were the *Aranco's*, in 40 Degrees of South Latitude (now Part of *Chili*) the Eastern Limits were the *Cordelero's*, or Mountains of the *Andes*; and the Western Boundary the *South* Sea, or *Pacifick* Ocean.


Peru.

The Limits of the Dominions of the *Inca's*.

The Limits of modern *Peru* are much the same now, except on the South; for the *Spaniards* still bound it by the Province of *Popayan* (which extends to the Equator) on the North, by the Mountains of the *Andes* on the East, by *Chili* on the South, and the *Pacifick* Ocean on the West; extending it from the Equator to 25 Degrees of South Latitude only; so that as the Land extends, or runs from the North-west to the South-east, *Peru* must be near two thousand Miles in Length, and in Breadth it is generally about two hundred; but in the *South*, it may be four or five hundred Miles broad.

The Limits of Peru.

The

Peru.

 The Face
 of the
 Country:

The Face of the Country, according to *Acosta*, is very different, as it is distant from, or approaches near the Sea. He divides the Country into three long narrow Slips, viz. 1. The *Lanos*, which are sandy Plains that run along the Sea-coast. 2. The *Sierras*, which are Hills beyond those Plains, intermixed with Vallies. 3. The *Andes*, or *Cordelero's*, still further within the Land, which are steep craggy Mountains, far surpassing all the rest in Height. The *Lanos*, which lie along the Coast, are about ten Leagues in Breadth; in some Places more, in others less. The *Sierras* twenty Leagues in Breadth, and the *Andes* something more than twenty Leagues over.

The *Andes* and *Sierras* are two Ridges of Mountains that run from North to South, parallel to each other for above a thousand Leagues: Nor are the *Lanos* that lie between the *Sierras* and the Sea-shore low Land. Both *Dampier* and *Waser* inform us, that *Peru* has generally a high bold Shore, and that there is no landing on it, but at the Ports, or in some particular Bays: However, these Plains may be called low in Comparison of the *Sierras* that surmount them, and of the *Andes* that far surpass both, and are esteemed the highest Land in the known World. Beyond the City of *Casco*, which lies in 14 Degrees odd Minutes South Latitude, the two Ridges of Mountains separate themselves to a greater Distance, inclosing a fruitful Plain of a vast Extent, which is called the Province of *Callao*, watered by many Rivers, and by the great Lake *Titiaca*, which is fourscore Leagues in Compass; most of these Rivers falling into the Lake.

The *Lanos*.
 1765.

The *Lanos*, or sandy Plains near the Sea, are perfectly barren, except some few Vallies, into which

which they turn small winding Streams, and that Part of the Coast which lies within three or four Degrees of the Equator, where they have very heavy Rains great Part of the Year.

The *Sierras* also are barren Hills; but then there are fine fruitful Vallies between them, that yield all Manner of Grain and Fruits; and these being temperate between the Extreame of Heat and Cold, are best inhabited; for the *Lanos* by the Sea are for the most part excessive hot: The *Andes*, on the contrary, are cold barren Mountains, the Snow lying upon them great Part of the Year. Timber and Wood in general seems to be very scarce, here, and in all Parts of *Peru*, unless near the Line, and there they meet with enough.

Acosta, speaking of the unparallelled Height of the *Andes*, and of the Disorders the Air occasioned in all that passed them, says, he once resolved to make the Experiment himself, and mounted one of the highest Tops of these Hills, called *Pariacaca*; that he went prepared for the Adventure according to the best Instructions he could get, with several more who had the like Curiosity; but notwithstanding all his Precaution, when he came to mount the Stairs or Ladders near the Top, he was seized with such Pains that he thought he should have fallen to the Ground; and the rest of the Company being under the like Disorder, they all made haste to get down the Mountain as fast as they could, none staying for his Companion: That they were all taken with such Reachings to vomit, that he thought they should have brought up their Hearts; for not only green Phlegm and Choler came up, but a great deal of Blood; and that this lasted for three or four Hours, 'till they had descended to the lower

Part

Peru.

Part of the Hill ; and some of them purged violently : But generally this Sickness goes off as they come down the Hill, and is attended with no ill Consequences.

And not only this Passage of *Pariacaca* has these Properties, but the whole Ridge of Mountains called the *Andes* for upwards of five hundred Leagues ; in what Place soever People pass it they meet with strange Disorders, but more in some Parts than others ; and those are more sensible of the ill Effects who ascend from the Sea, than those that ascend from the neighbouring Plains ; for he had passed the *Andes*, in four other different Places, and always felt the like Disorder, but not so violently as at *Pariacaca* ; and the best Remedy they found against it was to stop their Mouths, Noses, and Ears, as much as possible, and to cover their Breasts ; for the Air was so subtle and piercing, that it penetrated the Intrails, not only of Men, but Beasts ; and he had known Horses so affected by it, that no Spurs could make them move. And such is the Height of the *Andes*, that the *Pyrenees* and the *Alps* were but as ordinary Hills in comparison of them ; from whence he concluded, that the Air here was too pure and subtile for Animals to breathe in (they requiring a grosser Medium) and this he supposed occasioned that Disorder in the Stomach.

He observed farther, that the high Mountains he had passed in *Europe* were only excessive cold, and made him clothe himself the warmer when he passed them ; but the Stomach and Appetite for Meat was still stronger, and they had no Reachings to vomit there, as here ; the outward Parts only were affected : On the contrary, on the *Andes*, they were

were not affected with Cold at the time of the Year they passed them, either in their Hands or Feet, or any Part of their Bodies; only their Intrails were affected, and that most when the Sun was hottest; which confirmed him in the Opinion, that the Disorder proceeded from the Pureness and Subtilty of the Air.

Peru.

He adds, that this Ridge of Mountains is for the most part desart, without Villages or Habitations for Men, not so much as to lodge a Night in: Nor are there any Beasts upon them, wild or tame, except their Country Sheep, whose great Excellency lies in their climbing Rocks and Precipices, with Burthens on their Backs, where neither Man nor Beast can follow them. But to return to the Mountains; he relates, that the Grass upon them is frequently burnt up and black, and that these Desarts are five and twenty or thirty Leagues over, and five hundred Leagues long, tho' in other Places he makes them but twenty Leagues broad.

The same Writer informs us, that there are other mountainous uninhabited Desarts in Peru, where a sudden Blast of Air sometimes strikes a Traveller dead in an Instant: That the Spaniards formerly passed these Mountains in their Way to Chili, but now either go by Sea, or by the Side of these Mountains, to avoid the Danger, so many having perished in going over them; and others, that have escaped with their Lives, have lost their Fingers and Toes, and been lamed. *Acosta* says, he was informed by General *Cof-tilla*, who lost three or four Toes in passing this Desart to Chili, that they fell off without any Pain; and that the same General marching over it once before with an Army, great part of his Men suddenly fell down dead, and their Bodies remained there without Stench or Corruption.

Pestilential Blasts in other Parts of Peru.

Fe.u. tion : That he had Relations of the same kind from others ; and conjectured that these People were killed by the excessive Coldness of the Air, which preserved their Bodies also from Putrefaction after they were dead. But as he says in other Places, that they met with these pestilential Blasts in the Valleys between the Hills, I am apt to think they were rather hot than cold Winds, and that it was the hot Sands that preserved their Bodies from Corruption ; for near the same Latitude, viz. between 20 and 30 Degrees North, in the Desarts of *East-India*, *Persia*, and *Africa*, we frequently meet with the *Samiel*, or hot Winds, which have the like Effects : And some *English* Seamen, who have been ashore in this very Country of *Peru*, assure us, that they have seen great Numbers of Bodies lying dead upon the Sands there ; particularly, our Countryman *Waser* relates, that landing with thirty more at *Verneio*, in ten Degrees South Latitude, in search of Water, and marching four Miles up a sandy Bay, they found the Ground covered with Men, Women and Children, which lay so thick, that a Man might have walked on them half a Mile. That these Bodies to Appearance seemed as if they had not been dead a Week ; but when he handled them, they proved as dry and light as a Sponge or a Piece of Cork : That he carried on board the Body of a Boy of about nine or ten Years of Age, designing to have brought it to *England* ; but the Seamen had a foolish Conceit that the Compass would not traverse aright so long as a dead body was on board, and compelled him to throw it into the Sea. These People were very probably destroyed by such hot Winds as we meet with in *Persia*, and the *East-Indies*, there appearing
no

no Signs of Wounds or Violence upon them ; tho' *Waser* said he was informed by an old Man, that they buried themselves in the Sands, to avoid the Cruelties of the *Spaniards* in the preceding Age (which is scarce credible.) However, thus much will be agreed on all hands, that the Heat of the Sands and the Dryness of the *Peruvian* Air preserved these Bodies from Putrefaction, whatever was the Cause of their Deaths. If it be objected, that the Defart, *Acosta* mentions, was in a much cooler Climate, viz. between 25 and 30 Degrees of Latitude, and therefore it could not be supposed the Soldiers he speaks off were killed by the hot Winds ; it may be answered, that the Defarts of *Persia*, *Africa*, and *Arabia*, where the like hot Winds are met with, lie between the Tropick and 30 Degrees of Latitude ; and that the Heat is frequently as great in this Climate as within ten Degrees of the Line ; for the Situation of the Country, the Length of the Days, and the Nature of the Soil, contribute almost as much to extreme Heat as the Sun itself: Sandy Vallies between Hills are usually excessive hot, and the hot Winds are occasioned by their blowing over a long Tract of burning Sand for some hundreds of Miles ; the Sun also continuing longer about either Tropick, and the Days being longer there than under the Equinoctial, that Luminary gives more intense Heat usually in Countries seated near either Tropick, than it does in those about the Equator.

Peru.

Peru.



C H A P. III.

*Of the Seas, Rivers, Lakes, Springs,
Winds, Tides, Air, and Seasons of
Peru.*

The Sea
of Peru.



THE only Sea that borders upon Peru is the Pacifick Ocean, which obtained its Name from the constant serene Weather that reigns here from 4 Degrees to 30 or 35 Degrees South Latitude, in which is comprehended Part of *Chili*. If we go farther Southward, this Sea, tho' it still retains the Name of the Pacifick Ocean, is as tempestuous as any other; and within 3 or 4 Degrees of the Line they have the like variable Winds and heavy Rains, most part of the Year, as we meet with in other Seas in the same Climate: And to the Northward of the Tropick of *Cancer* (and sometimes within it) *Dampier* and other Seamen relate, they frequently meet with Storms and Hurricanes, tho' this Part of that Sea also bears the Name of the Pacifick Ocean. When I speak therefore of that which is properly the Pacifick Sea, in this Description of Peru and *Chili*, I would be understood to mean only that Part of it between the 4th and the 35th Degrees of South Latitude; and from the *American* Shore Westward, indefinitely: Here we have no Rain or dark Clouds, says *Dampier*, tho' 'tis often so thick and hazy as to hinder

hinder an Observation of the Sun with a Quadrant ; and in the Morning there is hazy Weather frequently, and thick Mists that wet a little ; but there are not in this Sea, says the same Writer, any Tempests, Tornados or Hurricanes : Tho', North of the Equator, they are met with in this Sea as well as in the *Atlantick* Ocean : This *Pacifick* Sea, however, at the New and Full Moon swells and runs with high long Surges, or Waves ; but such as never break at Sea, and so are safe enough. On the contrary, where they fall in and break upon the Shore, they make it very dangerous landing. At *Guiaquil*, on the *Peruvian* Coast, situated in 3 Degrees South Latitude, the Tide runs very strong, and rises 16 or 18 Feet perpendicular ; but it does not rise so high on any Part of the Coast to the Southward, where there are not such Bays, or so many Rivers, as there are here ; for, according to *Dampier's* Observation, the Tides always run strongest and rise highest in Gulphs or Bays of the Sea, and up the Mouths of Rivers : *Funnel* observes, that the Winds in the *Peruvian* Seas, and on all the Western Side of *America*, from 38 Degrees South, to 7 Degrees North, are always Southerly two Points upon the Shore ; so that where the Coast runs due North and South, the Wind is at South South-West ; and where the Coast runs South South-East, the Wind is due South (except it be in the Night, when the Sea-wind generally ceases, and there comes a fine moderate Gale from the Land, which they call the Land-breeze ; but *Dampier* observes, that on Promontories and Head-lands, and such Places as lie open to the Sea, they have scarce any of these Land-breezes, it being in Creeks and Bays chiefly that they have the Advantage of Land-breezes.)

Winds in
this Oce-
an.

Dampier

Peru.

Winds on the Coast of *Peru* continue to blow 140 or 150 Leagues from the Shore before they alter ; but then they may be perceived to come about more Easterly ; and about two hundred Leagues to the Westward of that Shore the true Trade-wind sets in at East South-East, which never alters till they have passed the Pacifick Ocean, and arrive at the *East-Indies*.

But both *Dampier* and *Funnel* relate, that at *Arica*, which lies on the Coast of *Peru*, in 18 Degrees odd Minutes South Latitude, for near an hundred Leagues to the Southward, this Sea is very subject to Calms, within 35 or 40 Leagues of the Shore ; but that these Calms are not usual on any other Part of this Sea : It is observed also, that when the Sun is in the Northern Signs, *viz.* from *March* to *September*, the Sky is generally bright and clear : but when the Sun retorts back to the Southern Signs, then the Weather is frequently so thick and hazy, that they cannot take an Observation, tho' they have no Rain even then, either at Sea or on the Coast.

Weather
at Sea.Weather
at Land.

As to the Weather on Shore it is various, according to the Situation of the Land ; the *Lanos*, or sandy Plains by the Sea-side, never have a drop of Rain upon them ; but frequently thick Mists rise here. On the *Sierras*, or Hills beyond, the Rains fall when the Sun is in the Southern Signs, as they do in other Countries that lie between the Equator and the Tropick of *Capricorn*. And on the *Cordebero's*, or *Andes*, the high Mountains that are situated farthest from the Sea, it rains or snows two thirds of the Year, and is excessive cold ; and as the Valleys between the Hills, called
Sierras

Sierras, are the most fruitful Parts of the Country, their Season for planting and sowing there is at the Beginning of the Rains, and their Harvest at the Return of the dry Weather: Their Vintage also is in the fair Season, and their Vines thrive best in those Vallies near the Sea, where there is little or no Rain, and which are watered by Rivulets that fall from the Hills in the rainy Season; but most part of the *Lanos*, or sandy Plains by the Sea-side, are barren Desarts, bearing neither Trees nor Herbs; and are very little inhabited, except some few Port-Towns situated at the Mouths of Rivers.

Acofta, and other Writers, have endeavoured to account for this everlasting Draught on the Sea Coast of *Peru* and *Chili*: They suppose, in the first place, that the Country being a dry sandy Soil affords no Vapours, or not enough to furnish them with Rain, tho' Mists arise here. And secondly, That the Mountains called the *Andes* or *Cordelero's* are so exceeding high, that the Clouds are stopped there, and can come no farther Westward: But to this it may be answered, if the Land affords but few Vapours, one would think that the *South* Sea that adjoins to it might afford as many Vapours as any other Sea; and the Wind constantly blows obliquely from that Sea upon the Coast. And as to the Mountains of *Andes* intercepting the Clouds that come from the Eastward, this is not true in Fact; for the *Sierras* or Hills which lie between the *Andes*, and the *Lanos* or Plains on the Sea Coast, have their periodical Rains, as all other Countries have that lie between the Tropicks; tho' the Plains on the Sea-shore have no Rain; and this is the more strange, inasmuch as the Sea Coasts in other

The Reasons for the general Draught on the *Peruvian* Coast enquired in-
to.

Peru. other Countries are usually more subject to Rain and cloudy Weather, than either the Ocean at a great Distance from Land, or the Middle of any Continent; as the low Countries in *Holland* and *Flanders*, that lie on the Sea, have more wet and cloudy Weather than either the Middle of *Germany* or *France*; and in like manner, when we are at Sea four or five hundred Miles from Land, especially between the Tropicks, we have usually serene settled Weather, and judge ourselves near Land when we see thick Clouds, which usually hang over it: Sea-men also observe, that Tornadoes and Hurricanes are more frequent and violent near Land, than they are an hundred Leagues out at Sea, tho' in this peaceful Ocean, and on the Coast, they know not what Storms or Hurricanes mean; insomuch that this Sea is navigated by Barklogs; and in these awkward Floats they carry on great part of their coasting Trade from Port to Port, as they did before the *Spaniards* arrived there: These Barklogs are only rough Timber Logs laid in Squares a-cross each other, and built up two or three Stories high; of which I shall give a more particular Description, when I come to treat of their Navigation.

The Capes, Islands, and Port Towns on the Coast of Peru. I proceed in the next place to give some Description of the most considerable Capes, Islands, and Ports on the Coast of *Peru* and *Chili*, from the Equator to 30 Degrees of South Latitude; and, 1. Of Cape *Passao*, which lies in 8 Minutes South Latitude, and 82 Degrees of Western Longitude. It is an high round Cape, with some few Trees upon it; and further up in the Country the Land is mountainous and very woody. 2. Cape *Lorenzo*, in one Degree South Latitude; near which, Shipping may furnish themselves with fresh

fresh Water. This Cape also is high Land, and has some Trees and Bushes upon it : Five Leagues West South West of Cape *Lorenzo*, is a small barren Island called *La Plata*, from its being the Place where Sir *Francis Drake* shared the Plate with his Company which he took out of the *Spanish* Galeon, called the *Calefogo*. 3. Cape *St. Helena*, in 2 Degrees 20 Minutes South Latitude ; near which is a small Town of *Spaniards* and *Indians*, that keep Store-houses of Flower, salted Flesh, Fish, Biscuit, and other Provisions, with which they supply the Shipping that touches there in their Passage to and from *Panama*. The Point itself is high Land, and level on the Top ; but the Land about it is low. 4. The Island of *St. Clara*, in three Degrees South Latitude ; it is pretty high Land, covered with small Trees. 5. Cape *Blanco*, in 3 Degrees 45 Minutes South Latitude (pointing *St. Helena*) makes the North Point of the Bay of *Guiaquil*, as Cape *Blanco* does the South Point. The Town of *Guiaquil*, which will be described hereafter, and gives Name to the Bay, is situated about six Leagues up a navigable River, and is the Port to *Quitto*. 6. The Port of *Payta*, in 5 Degrees 15 Minutes South Lat. a fine large Bay, capable of containing an hundred Sail of Ships ; the Town consists of about fourscore Houses, most of them *Spaniards* ; and the Bay is seldom without Ships, it lying very convenient for the Ships of *Peru*, in going to and from *Panama*, who put in here for Refreshments that are brought down hither from *Colón* ; for the Town of *Payta* itself does not so much as afford fresh Water. In this Bay, the Sea and Land Winds succeed each other very regularly ; the Sea Winds blowing in the Day,

Peru.

La Plata Island.

Cape *St. Helena*.

St. Clara Island.

Cape *Blanco*.

Guiaquil Island.

Payta Port.

The Sea and Land Winds.

- Peru. time South and by West, and the Land Winds in the Night-time, from the East. 7. The Island of *Lobos*, in 6 Degrees 20 Minutes South Lat. in which is an Harbour on the North East, but no fresh Water : The Island is about two Leagues in Compass, but produces neither Trees, Bushes, or Herbage. 8. The Port of *Malabrigo*, in 8 Degrees South Latitude, which is known by a Mountain near it of the same Name. The best Place to anchor in is, to Leeward of the Mountain, bringing it to bear due South : Here is five Fathom Water good fast Anchor-ground. 9. *Guanchaco*, in 8 Degrees 15 Minutes South Latitude, being but an indifferent Harbour, as it lies almost exposed to all Winds ; and there usually runs so great a Sea upon the Shore, that Boats cannot go or come on board sometimes for three or four Days ; notwithstanding which, *Guanchaco* is a Place of pretty brisk Trade, being the Port Town to the City of *Truxillo*, which lies six Miles up the River ; from whence, Flower, Wine, Brandy, Sugar, and Marmaleet are exported to *Panama* every Year, in great Quantities. 10. *Cosma*, a very good Port, in 9 Degrees 50 Minutes South Latitude, and 78 Degrees of Western Longitude ; the common Anchoring-place being at the Mouth of a fresh Water River. 11. *Vermeio* is a very good Port, a little to the Southward of *Cosma* ; but here is no Town or Inhabitants, or any fresh Water within a Mile of the Sea. The Mountain *Mongou*, which lies about seven Leagues to the Northward of this Port, is said to be one of the highest Mountains on the Coast. 12. The Port of *Guara* lies in 11 Degrees South Latitude, and 77 Degrees of Western Long. near which is a Mountain, with several Pyramids on the Top of it ; and a little

a little to the Northward is the small Port of *Peru Salinas*, from whence they export great Quantities of salt Beef, both to *Lima* and *Panama*.
 13. The Island of *Callao*, a high barren Island, two Leagues in Length, that has neither fresh Water, Wood, or any green thing upon it; and yet, on this barren Spot, stands the Town of *Callao*, the Port Town to *Lima*, the Capital of *Peru*.

The Port is defended by a strong Castle, that has seventy brass Guns mounted on the Walls, close under which is the usual Place of Anchoring; and here the Ships ride in six Fathom Water, good fast Ground; tho' in all the Bay and Port of *Callao*, it is very secure Riding; it growing shallow gradually from twelve to four Fathom Water; and the Ships are defended from the Southerly Winds, which reign on this Coast, by a small Island.

This Port of *Callao* lies in 12 Degrees 20 Minutes South Latitude, and is about two Leagues distant from *Lima*. The *Armadilla*, or little *Armada*, sails annually from hence to *Arica*, where most of the Silver and Gold of *Peru* is embarked on board this Fleet; and returning to *Callao* the latter End of *March*, the same Treasure is transported in the Month of *May* to *Panama*, and from thence by Land-carriage conveyed to *Porto-Bello*, as has been intimated already. 14. The Port *Nº* lies in 17º Port.

18 Degrees South Latitude, and is a good Harbour; and near it is a Stream of fresh Water called the River *Nº*, which is very rapid from the beginning of *January* till the latter End of *June*, when it begins to decrease, and in *September* it is quite dried up; which is the Cause of most of the Rivers on the Coast of *Peru*.

15. The Port of *Arica*, situate in 18 Degrees 20 Minutes South Latitude, and in 72 Degrees

- Peru.* Western Longitude : Here the Treasure brought from the Mines of *Potosi* is constantly embarked every Year for *Lima*. It is a good Harbour, the best Anchoring-place close under Mount *Arica*, in eight Fathom Water, where Ships ride secure from the South Winds. It is a large Town, inhabited by *Spaniards*, *Indians*, and *Malottoes*. 16. The Port of *Copiapo*, a good Harbour, defended from all Winds, lies in 21 Degrees South Latitude ; the Inhabitants most of them *Indians*, who make good Wine here, and have Plenty of Corn, Flesh, Fruits, and other Provisions. 17. *Coquimbo*, situated in 30 Degrees South Latitude, at the Foot of a Mountain, in the Form of a Sugar-loaf ; a rich City, driving a great Trade with *Lima* and *Panama*, and is a very good Harbour.

Lakes of Peru. Altho' there is no other Sea borders upon *Peru* but the Pacifick Ocean, yet have they some Lakes that may be called Seas, if we regard the Greatness of their Extent.

The Lake Titicaca. The Lake *Titicaca* (already mentioned to be fourscore Leagues in Circumference) is situated in the Province and Valley of *Callao*, the Middle of it being in 15 Degrees South Latitude, and 67 Degrees of Western Longitude, reckoning from the Meridian of *London* : upon this Lake they sail in Ships, and other Vessels, as upon the Ocean ; but 'tis subject to Storms sometimes ; for the first Ship the *Spaniards* built upon it was broken to Pieces by a Tempest that drove it on Shore. The Water of it is not so salt as the Sea, but too thick and foul to be drank. There are abundance of large Fish in the Lake not esteemed wholesome Food : There are also great Shoals of small Fish, very bony, but better Eating than the

the former ; and there are prodigious Flocks of wild Ducks, and other Water-fouls, in it. The Towns and Villages bordering upon the Lake are esteemed the most agreeable Dwellings in *Peru* : From this Lake issues a large Stream to the Southward, which forms another Lake called *Paria*, not much inferior to the former in its Demensions, and has several Islands in it. On the Banks of these Lakes are rich Savannahs, or Meadows, that feed great Herds of Cattle. There are also many Lakes upon the Mountains, which are the Sources of several large Rivers. *Acosta* mentions two Lakes, particularly on the high Mountains, one on each side of the great Road leading from *Arequippa* to *Callao* ; from one of which issues a River that falls into the Pacifick Ocean, and from the other the River *Aporima*, said to be the principal Stream that forms the celebrated River *Amazon*, which falls into the *Atlantick* Ocean, esteemed the largest River in the World.

Peru.
This the
best Part
of *Peru*.

Lake of
Paria.

Lakes on
the Tops of
the Mountains.

One of
them the
Source of
the River
Amazon.

The same Writer observes, that it is very strange there should be so many Lakes on the Tops of the Mountains into which no Rivers enter, and from whence many Streams issue, and yet these Lakes do not appear to be much diminished at any Season of the Year. Some conjecture, that these Lakes proceed from melted Snow, or Rain ; but this does not entirely satisfy him, he says, because there are several of these Mountains on which there does not fall much Snow or Rain. He is of opinion therefore, that they are Springs which rise naturally ; tho' he admits it probable, that they may sometimes be increased by Snow and Rain. He adds, that these Lakes are so common in the highest Tops of the *Peruvian* Mountains,

Peru.

Mountains, that there is scarce a considerable River but has its source in one of them ; Their Waters are usually very clear, but breed few Fish, and those very small, the Water being generally extreme cold.

A Lake
of hot
Water.

However, the Waters of some Lakes in the Valleys are extremely hot, particularly one in the Valley of *Tarpaya* near *Potosi*, the Waters whereof in the Middle are so hot, that they perfectly boil up for more than twenty Foot Square, which is the Spring ; but the Heat is so moderate near the Shore, that the Inhabitants frequently bathe in it. The Waters of this Lake, *Acosta* observes, are never known to increase or decrease, tho' they have drawn a Stream from it that turns several Mills for grinding their Metals.


The
Springs of
Peru.

As to the *Peruvian* Springs, they have great Variety of them in that Part of the Country which is remote from the Sea, but very few on the sandy Plains near the Shore : *Acosta* mentions one of a very extraordinary Nature near the Quicksilver Mines in *Guancavilica*. This Fountain, he says, throws out hot Water, which in running a little way turns into Stone, and forms a Rock ; of which Stone the Inhabitants build their Houses, it being soft, light, and easily wrought, and yet very durable : As this Water turns into Stone after running a little way, the Passages are frequently stopped up, and the Stream alters its Course as the Rock increases, and is branched out into many small Channels: There are also at Cape *St. Helena*, and many other Parts of *Peru*, Fountains of liquid Matter called *Coppey*, very much resembling Tar, or Pitch, and put to the same Uses by Sea-faring Men, to preserve their Ropes, Planks and Tackle ; as we learn not only from *Acosta*, but from

Water
that forms
Rock.

Partly
foun-
tains.

Dampier,

Dampier, Funnel, and several other English Peru.
Buccaneers. 

At the *Incas* Baths, as they are called, is a Hot Spring of Water that issues out hot and boiling, and near it another as cold as Ice, which those Princes used to temper and mingle together in their Course to bathe in; and in the Province of *Charcas*, the most Southern Province of *Peru*, are abundance of Springs so hot, that a Man cannot bear his Hand in their Waters.

At a Farm near the City of *Casco* is a Fountain, the Waters whereof in a short Course turn into Salt; which, *Acosta* observes, would be an Estate to a Man in any other Country, but is not valued in this, where Salt is plentiful. A Salt Spring.

The Waters near *Guiaquil* are famous for curing the *French* Disease, which is the Reason why Multitudes of People resort thither continually; for no Disease prevails more in *Peru* than this. These Waters are supposed to receive their Virtue from the Roots of *Sassiparella*, which abound in this Country, and communicate this healing Quality to the Waters that run by them. Salutary Waters.

From the Top of the Mountain *Balconotta*, Hot esteemed the highest in *Peru*, which in some Places looks black, as if it was burnt, *Acosta* relates, there rise two Fountains, which run different Ways, and soon form two large Streams: These Springs, when they first issue from their respective Rocks, are of an Ash-colour, hot and smoking, and smell of burning Coals; and thus they run a great way, till mixing with other Streams, they become cool, and lose that burning Smell. The same Writer says, he has seen another Fountain in *Peru*, Hot smoking Waters.
from

Peru. from whence there runs a Stream as red as blood, and has from thence obtained the Name of the *Red River*.

Waters as
red as
Blood.

Most of the Rivers of *South America* rise in the *Peruvian Mountains*, that go under the Name of the *Cordelero's*, or *Andes*, which run from North to South, from 10 Degrees North Latitude, to 50 South, almost parallel to the Coast of the *South Sea*, and for the most part forty or fifty Leagues to the Eastward of it.

And fall
into the
North Sea.

Those Rivers which rise on the Eastward of the *Andes*, and fall into the *North*, or *Atlantic Ocean*, have a very long Course, and are some of them the largest Rivers in the known World. Those that rise on the West-side of the *Andes*, are rather Torrents than Rivers, made by the annual Rains, which fall on the Mountains, for the most part, between *May* and *September*, and before *January* are perfectly dry'd up; but as the Mountains they fall from are exceeding high, and their Course scarce ever more than fifty Leagues, before they fall into the *South Sea*, their Streams are so shallow and rapid, that scarce any of them are navigable.

Magdalena
River

The four principal Rivers, that rise on the East-side of the *Andes*, are, 1. The River *Magdalena*, or *Grande*; which rising in the Province of *Quitto*, near the Equator, runs above a thousand Miles directly Northward, falling into the *North Sea* between *Carthagera* and *St. Martha*.

Oronogue
River.

2. The River of *Oronogue*; whose Source is near that of *Magdalena*, almost under the Line, and takes its Course first to the Eastward for fifteen hundred Miles, and upwards; and then turning directly North, runs almost

Peru. it; but this River will be further described also, in treating of the Province of *La Plata*.

Rivers that fall into the South Sea; As to the Rivers that rise on the West-side of the Mountains of *Andes*, and fall into the *Pacific Ocean*; the chief of them mentioned by the Buccaneers, who have visited that

Colanche, Coast, are, 1. The River *Colanche*, in 2 Degrees South Latitude; 2. The River of *Guiaquil*, in 3 Degrees; 3. The River *Payta*, in 5 Degrees 15 Minutes; 4. The River *Ylo*, which discharges itself into the Sea, in 18 Degrees

Arica. 5. The River of *Arica*, which falls into the same Sea, near the Town of *Arica*, in 18 Degrees 20 Minutes; besides which, there are a great many other small Rivers, that fall into the Sea, within 18 or 20 Degrees of South Latitude; but farther Southward, *Dampier* informs us, they did not meet with a River on the Coast of *Peru* or *Chili*, once in a hundred, or a hundred and fifty Leagues. *Acosta* indeed mentions abundance of Rivers he had crossed; but this must be either near the Equator, or in the Province of *Callao*; where a great many Rivers discharge themselves into the Lakes of *Titicaca*, *Paria*, &c. and never reach the Sea.

Rivers that discharge themselves into the great Lakes.



C H A P. IV.

The Provinces the Kingdom of Peru is divided into; its Sub-divisions, and chief Towns; and their publick and private Buildings.



THE Kingdom of *Peru*, like that of *Mexico*, is divided into three Audiences, viz. 1. The Audience of *Quitto*; 2. The Audience of *Lima*; and, 3. The Audience of *Los Charcas*.

Peru.
Peru divided into three Audiences.

The Audience of *Quitto*, the most Northernly of the three, is bounded by *Popayan* on the North; by the Country of the *Amazons* on the East; by the Audience of *Lima* on the South; and by the *Pacific* Ocean on the West; being about four hundred Miles in Length, from North to South; and two hundred in Breadth, from East to West; and is subdivided into three Provinces, viz. 1. *Quitto Proper*; 2. *Quixos*; and, 3. *Pacamores*.

Quitto
 Audience.

Sub-divisions of it.

The Province of *Quitto Proper* lies upon the Sea-coast, being bounded by *Popayan* on the North; by the Provinces of *Quixos* and *Pacamores* on the East; by the Audience of *Lima* on the South; and by the *Pacific* Ocean on the West; and is about two hundred Miles in Length, from North to South; and upwards of an hundred Miles in Breadth, from East to West.

Quitto
Proper.

Peru.

Chief
Towns.

Quitto
City.

The chief Towns of *Quitto Proper* are, 1. *Quitto* ; 2. *St. Jago de Puerto Veijo* ; 3. *Guiaquil* ; 4. *Tombes* ; 5. *Thomebamba* ; 6. *Lana* ; 7. *Zamora* ; 8. *St. Michael's* ; and, 9. *Payta*.

The City of *Quitto*, the Capital of this Province, and of the whole Audience, is situated in 30 Minutes South Latitude, and in 78 Degrees of Western Longitude, at the Foot of the Mountains, which almost surround it. It is a rich populous City, built after the *Spanish* Model, with a great Square in the Middle, and spacious Streets running from it on every Side ; and a Canal runs through the Middle of it, over which are several Bridges. It is the Seat of the Governor, and of the Courts of Justice ; a University, and a Bishop's See, Suffragan to the Archbishop of *Lima*. They have a good Trade in Woollen Cloths, Sugar, Salt, and Cattle ; but their greatest Riches proceed from the Gold that is found in the adjacent Mines and Rivers : This, as all other Countries near the Equator, is subject to annual periodical Rains and Floods, which make the Town unhealthful. The *Peruvian* Emperor had made a Conquest of *Quitto*, which was the Residence of the former Kings of this Country, but a very few Years before the *Spaniards* arrived there ; and there are still to be seen the Ruins of some of their Palaces, and of the Temple of the Sun, the chief Object of their Adoration.

There is a *Vulcano* in one of the Mountains near this Town, whose Eruptions have, more than once, endangered the Ruin of it.

*Puerto
Veijo*

St. Jago de Puerto Veijo is situated on the Coast, in 1 Degree South Latitude, a little to the Eastward of Cape *Lorenzo*, in an unhealthful Part of the Country ; near which, there was

was formerly a Quarry of Emeralds, that made it much resorted to; but the Quarry being exhausted, the Town declined with it.

Peru.

Guiaquil is situated upon a navigable River, *Guiaquil.* fix or seven Leagues from the Mouth of it, in 3 Degrees South Latitude, about two hundred Miles to the Southward of *Quitto*; Part of it lying on the Ascent of a steep Hill, and the other Part in a Bottom on a Bog; it is divided into the new and old Town, by the River that runs through it, and consists chiefly of one long Street, about a Mile and half in Length; there are four or five hundred Houses in the Place, whereof some are built of Brick, and others of Timber; but the common People have only Huts of *Bamboe* Canes: It contains also five Churches, and several Convents, some of which are built of Stone; and it is defended by three Forts, two whereof are upon the River, and the third and largest upon the Hill. There being Plenty of Timber in the Neighbourhood of this Place, a great many Ships are built here for the King of *Spain*; and it has a pretty brisk Trade, especially in Timber, and Cacao-nuts, for Chocolate; they export also a great deal of Salt, Salt-fish, dried Beef, Rice, and Cotton; but there is no Gold or Silver Mines near it, nor have they any Corn, but *Indian* Corn: They are supplied with Wheat-flour from *Truxillo*, and other Southern Parts, and with several Sorts of good Woollen Cloth, and strong Bays, from *Quitto*, where they are made; they receive Wine, Brandy, Oil, Olives, and Sugar, from *Pisca*, *La Nasca*, and other Towns farther South; and a Market is held daily in Boats and Bark-logs on the River, where Flesh, Fish, Fruits, and other Provisions, in which the Country abound,

Peru.

abound, are sold very cheap. Governor *Rogers* relates, that the River is so wide at the Mouth, that a Man can scarce see crôss the Channel; that the Country on the Sides of it, is low, marshy Ground, incumber'd with Mangrove-trees and Shrubs; that the Tide flows above eighteen Feet perpendicular, and is quicker and stronger than that in the *Thames*; that the River is navigable fourteen Leagues beyond *Guiaquil*, for large Vessels; and the Tide flows twenty Leagues above it.

Both the Civil and Military Government of this Town, and the Territory belonging to it, according to the same Writer, is lodg'd in the Corregidore, and his Lieutenant, tho' they have a Council for managing the Affairs of the Government, and determining Causes of Consequence, which consists of the Lieutenant, two Alcalds, or Judges, who are Lawyers; the Alguizil, Major, a Sheriff, and eight Regidors, or Aldermen; from whom, however, there lies an Appeal to the Court of *Lima*. The Officers of the Inquisition act more arbitrarily here, 'tis said, than in *Spain* itself. Their Magistrates and Officers, all, affect pompous Titles; the Corregidore styles himself General; and his Deputy, Lieutenant-general; besides whom, they have a Camp-master-general, a Serjeant-major, a Commissary of Horse; four Dons Captains of large Companies of Foot; and another Don, that commands two hundred Horse; and yet have all these great Officers, with a proportionable Number of Troops under their Command, suffered this important Town of *Guiaquil* to be taken and plunder'd, by a Handful of Men, several times; which has given some Occasion to think, that the *American Spaniards* are

are so much degenerated from their Ancestors of old *Spain*, that they might be driven from the *West-Indies*, as easily as they drove out the *Indians* two hundred Years ago. Most of the Towns within the Jurisdiction of *Guiaquil* lie upon the River, and are governed by Lieutenants, appointed by the Corregidore, and can join him with their whole Forces within two Tides; which makes it the more to be admir'd, that they should so often suffer themselves to be surpris'd, as it appears they have been.

In the Year 1687, the *French* Buccaneers came to an Anchor in the Mouth of the River *Guiaquil*, and sent a Detachment of two hundred and sixty Men up the River, in the Night-time, who landed within Cannon-shot of the Town, about two Hours before Day; but the Garison was alarm'd by the firing of a Musket accidentally; however, they advanced, and attacked the Town at Break of Day; and after a very little Opposition, drove the *Spaniards* out of their Forts, and took possession of the Place, with no other Loss, than nine Men kill'd, and twelve wounded; however, they put to the Sword nine hundred *Spaniards*, and took seven hundred Prisoners of both Sexes, among whom were the Governor and his Family. Here they found abundance of Pearls and precious Stones, a great Quantity of Silver-plate, and near an hundred thousand Pieces of Eight in Money, besides a great deal of rich Merchandize, particularly, they took a Vermilion Eagle, that had two large Emeralds for its Eyes, said to belong to one of their Churches; and nothing could be richer than the Furniture of the Governor's House; they found also two of the King's

Guiaquil
taken by
the *French*
Bucca-
neers.

Ships

Peru.



Ships upon the Stocks, several Gallies, and fourteen or fifteen Barks; and the Governor agreed to ransom himself and Family, the City, Cannon, Forts, and Ships, at a Million of Pieces of Eight; but the Town being set on Fire, either by Design, or Accident, the Governor refused to pay the Ransom: Whereupon the Buccaneers cut off the Heads of four of the Prisoners, and threatened the rest, if the Ransom was not immediately paid; however, they contented themselves, at length, with two hundred and sixty thousand Pieces of Eight; upon the Receipt whereof, they released their Prisoners, and retired to their Ships.

The *French* relate, that the *Spanish* Friars had represented the Buccaneers as Monsters, and Canibals; and that some of the Women, that were taken Prisoners, were ready to grant them any Favours, on Condition they should not be devoured; especially, when they observed nothing shocking in their Figure.

Guiaquil
taken by
Captain
Rogers.

Dampier, and the *English* Buccaneers, attempted this Town in the Year 1685, and very narrowly missed surprising it: And Captain *Rogers*, who had the Queen's Commission during the last War between the Confederates and the *French*, took *Guiaquil* by Storm, with very little Loss, in the Year 1703; and plunder'd it of some Treasure, and rich Effects; making the *Spaniards* pay thirty thousand Pieces of Eight, to ransom the Town, and Ships in the Harbour: But most of the Treasure was carried away, before the Captain made himself Master of the Place.

Tumbez.

Tombes, or *Tumbez*, is situated at the Foot of the Mountains, about twenty Leagues South of *Guiaquil*, upon a good fresh-water River:
Here

Here the *Spaniards*, at their Arrival, found a Temple dedicated to the Sun, and abundance of Silversmiths in the Place, who made Vessels of Gold and Silver for the Temple, and the Palace the *Inca* had here; and they relate, that the Walls of the Temple were lined or covered with Silver Plate.

Thomebamba is situated on the great Road of the *Inca's*, one hundred and sixty Miles South of *Quitto*, in a Plain, at the Conflux of two Rivers: Here also was a Royal Palace of the *Inca's*, and a Temple dedicated to the Sun; both of them adorned with Gold, and Images made of Touch-stone and Jasper, of a very great Value. In the Year 1544, there were discovered Gold Mines near this Place, incredibly rich.

Loxa also is situated at the Conflux of two Rivers, on the great Road of the *Inca's*, in five Degrees South Latitude. It is a pretty large Town, and has several Monasteries in it.

Zamora is situated an hundred Miles to the Eastward of *Loxa*, well-built with Stone, and hath very rich Gold Mines in the neighbouring Mountains of the *Andes*; and their Rivers replenished with Gold Sands.

The Town of *St. Michael's* is situated in 5 Degrees South Latitude, on the River *Shu-quimayo*, two Leagues East of the Ocean, and as many from the Port of *Payta*; a large Town, chiefly inhabited by Fishermen, and such as carry on a Coasting-trade in Barklogs, as far as *Panama*; by which, many of them grow very rich.

Payta is situated in 5 Degrees, some odd Minutes South Latitude, being one of the best Harbours upon the Coast, and the Town pretty

Peru.

well fortified: But this has been describ'd already among the Port-Towns.

Quixos
Province.

The Province of *Quixos* is bounded by *Popayan* on the North, the Country of the *Amazons* on the East, the Province of *Pacamores* on the South, and by *Quitto Proper* on the West. The only Town I meet with of any Note in this Province is that of *Quixos*, situate about sixty Miles South-east of *Quitto*, at the Head of a River said to be one of the Sources of the River *Amazon*.

Quixos
Town.

Pacamores
Province.

The Province of *Pacamores* is bounded by that of *Quixos* on the North, by the Country of the *Amazons* on the East, by the Audiente of *Lima* on the South, and by *Quitto* on the West. The chief Towns whereof are, 1. *Loyola*; 2. *Valladolid*; 3. *St. Jago*; 4. *St. Francisco de Borgia*.

Loyola.

Loyola is situated in 6 Degrees South Latitude, and 74 Degrees of Western Longitude.

Vallado-
lid.

Valladolid is situated seventy Miles North-west of *Loyola*.

St Jago.

St. Jago de Montanas lies in 5 Degrees South Latitude, and 71 Degrees of Western Longitude.

St. Francis
Borgia.

St. Francis de Borgia stands about sixty Miles North of *St. Jago de Montanas*, on one of the Branches of the River *Amazon*; but I meet with no other Description of these four Towns than their Situation.

Lima
Audience.

The Audiente of *Lima*, or *Los Reyes*, is bounded by that of *Quitto* on the North, by the Country of the *Amazons* on the East, by the Audiente of *Los Charcas* on the South, and by the Ocean on the West; being about eight hundred Miles in Length from North to South, but the Breadth very unequal, and uncertain, not four hundred Miles in any Part, except on the South. The

of P E R U.

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The chief Towns are, 1. *Lima* ; 2. *Caxamalca* ; 3. *Guanuco* ; 4. *Truxillo* ; 5. *Pisca* ; 6. *Gumanga* ; 7. *Cusco* ; 8. *Arequipa*.

Lima, the Capital of this Audience, and of the whole Kingdom of *Peru*, is situated in 12 Degrees and an half of South Latitude, and 76 Degrees of Western Longitude, on the Banks of a River of the same Name, about six Miles from the Sea, and as many from the Island and Port of *Callao*, lying in one of the most spacious and fruitful Plains of *Peru* : It is built like other *Spanish* Cities, having a large Square or Parade in the Centre, with Piazza's on every Side ; all the principal Streets terminating in the Square ; on the Sides whereof stand the Cathedral, the Archbishop's Palace, the Viceroy's Palace, the Treasury, the Town-Hall, the Armory, or publick Magazine, and a School or College of the Jesuits, where the *Indian* Languages, and Arts and Sciences are taught.

There are, besides the Cathedral, a great many Parochial and Conventual Churches, a University, abundance of Monasteries and Nunneries of every Order, and five or six large Hospitals. The whole City being about four Miles in Length, and two in Breadth ; the Air moderately temperate and healthful, considering the Climate ; prodigiously wealthy, and plentifully supply'd with Provisions, and *Indian* and *European* Fruits ; and well watered with Canals, that are supply'd from the River. The Outfides of their Houses make but a mean Appearance, being built with Bricks dry'd in the Sun ; many of them have only Clay Walls, and scarce any of them are more than one Story high ; the Roofs exceeding light, cover'd with Reeds and Matts, and

Peru.
Chief
Towns.
Lima
City.

Peru.

sometimes only a Cloth, for which they give two very good Reasons ; one is, that they are subject to Earthquakes ; and the other, that the Sun does not heat these Roofs as it does Tiles or Slate : And they have no occasion to provide against wet or stormy Weather, for it never rains on this Coast, and they are never disturb'd by Storms or Tempests, but enjoy constant serene Weather ; and the Heats are much abated by the Sea and Land Breezes. But this great City, thus happily situated, is not without its Allays. The Earthquakes they are frequently subject to, must necessarily cast a Damp on all their Enjoyments ; especially when great part of their Town has been several times laid in Ruins by them ; particularly in the Years 1586 and 1687 ; in the last of which Years, the Sea ebb'd so far from the Shore, that there was no Water to be seen ; and after the Sea had disappear'd a considerable time, it return'd in rowling Mountains of Water, which carried the Ships in the Harbour of *Callao*, the Port to *Lima*, a League up into the Country ; overflow'd the Town of *Callao*, tho' situated on a Hill, together with the Fort, and drown'd both Men and Cattle for fifty Leagues along the Shore. The Ships, an hundred and fifty Leagues at Sea, to the Westward of *Lima*, were sensible of it, as *Waser* assures us, who was then in those Seas : The Ship he was in felt so violent a Shock, he relates, that they thought they had struck upon a Rock ; but after their Consternation was a little over, they cast the Lead and sound'd, but could find no Ground ; tho' the Sea, which usually looks green, was then of a whitish Colour, and the Water they took up mixed with Sand ; which

made

made them conclude the Shock was occasion'd by an Earthquake; and a little after, they were informed there had been a terrible Earthquake at *Lima*, at the same time: But to return to the Town. The City is surrounded by a Wall fortified with Bastions, but of no great Strength, if compar'd with *European* Fortifications. However, as it is very populous, it may be strong enough to resist any Force that can be brought against it in that Part of the World. The Plain of *Lima*, in which it stands, produces Plenty of Corn, Wine, Oil, Sugar, Flax and Fruits.

Caxamalca is situated at the Foot of a *Caxamalca* Mountain, in 7 Degrees odd Minutes South Latitude, on the great Road of the *Inca's*, thirty Leagues East of the *Pacifick Ocean*. This was an ancient Town when the *Spaniards* arrived there, and if we may credit their Writers, well-built, surrounded with a Stone Wall, and defended by a Castle: On one Side of the City stood the Temple of the Sun, and on the other a magnificent Palace of the *Inca Atabalipa*, who was taken here in the Year 1533 by *Pizarro*, and afterwards murdered by him.

Guanuco is situated near the Lake of *Bombon*, an hundred and fifty Miles North of *Lima*, a well-built Town, and standing in a good Air. Here also was a fine Palace of the *Inca's*, and a Temple dedicated to the Sun, when the *Spaniards* arriv'd.

Truxillo is situated on the Banks of a pleasant River in the Valley of *Chinca*, six Miles from the Port of *Guanacabo* and the Ocean, in 8 Degrees odd Minutes South Latitude. It is a handsome *Spanish* Town, consisting of five hundred Houses; the Air healthful; the Country

Peru.

Port.

Peru. try fruitful ; abounding in Corn, Wine, Figs, Oranges, and other Merchandize and Provisions, of which they export a great deal to *Panama*, and the more Northern Settlements, The Sea beats with that Violence on the Coast, that it is bad landing frequently at the Port of *Guancacho*, that lies exposed to almost every Wind.

Pisca. *Pisca*, or *Pisco*, is a Port-Town situated in 14 Degrees South Latitude, in a mountainous Country ; but the Valleys produce more good Wine, and they export more of it than any Town on the Coast of *Peru*.

Guamanga *Guamanga* is situated on the great Road of the *Inca's*, in a fine Plain, an hundred and eighty Miles East of *Lima*. It is a well-built *Spanish* Town, and stands in a healthful Air. The Country about it abounds in Corn and Cattle ; and it is considerable for the Mines of Gold, Silver, Copper, Sulphur, and Loadstone, in the neighbouring Hills.

Cusco. *Cusco* (the Metropolis of *Peru*, during the Reigns of the *Inca's*) is situated in 13 Degrees odd Minutes South Latitude, and in 70 Degrees of Western Longitude, 350 Miles to the Eastward of *Lima*. It is built on the side of a Hill, in the midst of a spacious Plain surrounded by Mountains, from whence there fall four small Rivers that water the Country, and altogether afford a most agreeable Prospect from the Town, which proudly overlooks the Vale. The City itself also is watered by one of these Rivers that runs through it, and supplies several Canals that are cut through the principal Streets.

The Climate, here, is said to be exceeding temperate and healthful, and there is very little Difference between Summer and Winter ;
the

the Air rather dry than moist ; infomuch that Meat hung up will keep without corrupting, and grow as dry as Mummy if it hangs long ; and this Dryness of the Air preserves the Natives from Musketo's, Gnats, Flies, and all other noxious Insects, which are scarce ever found here, tho' they are the Plague of other hot Countries.

The chief Streets of the old Town pointed to the four Winds ; and the Houses were generally built with Stone, cover'd with Reeds, or thatch'd. The principal Buildings in it were, the Temple of the Sun, the Palace of the *Inca*, and the Castle.

What the Form or Dimensions of the Temple of the Sun were, neither *De la Vega* or any other Writers pretend to describe ; but relate, that amongst all their Buildings, none was comparable to this Temple : That it was enrich'd with the greatest Treasures that ever the World beheld. Every one of their *Inca's*, or Emperors, adding something to it, and improving and perfecting what his Predecessor had omitted.

It was built of Freeze-stone, and lin'd or wainscotted (if I may use the Expression) with Gold Plate, the Cieling being of the same Metal ; however, the Roof was no better than common Thatch, that People not knowing the Use of Tiles or Slate : It was divided into several Chapels, Cloisters or Apartments ; in the principal whereof, which stood towards the East, was placed the Image of the Sun, consisting of one Gold Plate that cover'd the whole Breadth of the Chapel, almost from the Top to the Bottom, and was twice as thick as the Plates that cover'd the other Walls.

This


Peru.

This Image, representing the Sun, was of a round Form, with all his Rays and Emissions of Fire and Light proceeding from him, much in the same manner as the *European* Painters draw him: On each side of this Image were placed the several Bodies of the deceased *Inca's*, so embalm'd, 'tis said, that they seem'd to be alive. These were seated on Thrones of Gold, supported by Pedestals of the same Metal, all of them looking to the West, except the *Inca Haana Capac*, the eldest of the Sun's Children, who sat directly opposite to it. Upon the Arrival of the *Spaniards*, the *Indians* carried off and concealed these embalmed Bodies, with most of the Treasures of the Temple; only the Image of the Sun was not removed, which falling to the Share of a *Spanish* Nobleman, named *Macio Serra de Lequicano*, known to our Author *De la Vega*, he play'd it away before Sun-rise the next Morning.

The Temple had several Gates cover'd with Gold, the principal whereof open'd towards the North; and round the Top of the Temple, on the Outside, was a kind of Cornice a Yard deep, consisting of Gold Plate.

The
Chapel
of the
Moon.

Besides the Chapple of the Sun, there were five others of a Pyramidical Form. The first being dedicated to the Moon, deem'd the Sister and Wife of the Sun. The Doors and Walls whereof were cover'd with Silver: and here was the Image of the Moon, of a round Form, with a Woman's Face in the Middle of it. She was called *Mama Quilca*, or Mother Moon, being esteem'd the Mother of their *Inca's*; but no Sacrifices were offered to her as to the Sun. On each side of this Image, were placed the Bodies of their deceased

ceased Empreſſes, rang'd in Order ; only that of *Mama Oello*, the Mother of *Huayna Capac*, ſate with her Face towards the Moon. Peru. 

Next to this Chapel was that of *Venus*, The called *Chafca*, the *Pleiades*, and all the other Chapel of the Stars. *Venus* was much eſteem'd, as an At- tendant on the Sun, and the reſt were deem'd Maids of Honour to the Moon. This Chapel had its Walls and Doors plated with Silver, like that of the Moon ; the Cieling representing the Sky, adorned with Stars of different Magnitude.

The third Chapel was dedicated to Thunder and Lightning ; which they did not eſteem Gods, but as Servants of the Sun ; and they were not represented by any Image or Picture. The Chapel, however, was ciel'd and wain- scotted with Gold Plates like that of the Sun. Of Thunder.

The fourth Chapel was dedicated to *Iris*, or the Rainbow, as owing its Original to the Sun. This Chapel alſo was cover'd with Gold, and a Representation of the Rainbow on one ſide of it. They had a great Veneration for this *Phenomenon*, and whenever it appeared in the Air, clapped their Hands before their Mouths, as a Teſtimony of their Regard for it, I preſume ; and not, as my Author ſurmifes, leſt their Teeth ſhould drop out. Of the Rainbow.

The fifth Apartment was for the Uſe of the High-Prieſt, and of the reſt of the Prieſts, who were all of the royal Blood ; not intended for eating or ſleeping in, but was the Place where they gave Audience to the Sun's Vo- taries, and conſulted concerning their Sacri- fices : This alſo was adorn'd with Gold, from the Top to the Bottom, like the Chapel of the Sun. The Prieſts Chapel or Apartment.

Peru.

And tho' there was no other Image worshipped in this Temple but that of the Sun, yet had they the Figures of Men, Women and Children, and of all manner of Birds, Beasts, and other Animals, of wrought Gold, placed in it for Ornament, as big as Life; and having many more than were sufficient for this Purpose, the rest were laid up in Chambers and Magazines, piled one upon another; and still every Year the People, at their great Festivals, presented more Gold and Silver, which the Goldsmiths, who resided near the Temple, and were dedicated to the Sun, form'd into one Figure or other, as the Offerer desired; for besides the Figures of Animals, they made all sorts of Vessels and Utensils, as Pots, Pans, Bowls, Fire-shovels, and even Spades and Rakes for their Gardens, of the same precious Metal.

The
Royal
Palace.

De la Vega does not give so particular a Description of the Palaces of the *Inca's* in *Cusco*, as could be wish'd. He only relates, they were vastly large and magnificent, and mentions some particular Rooms, and the manner of their building them: He says, there were Galleries, or rather Halls, two hundred Paces in Length, and fifty or sixty in Breadth: one of which, in his Time, was left undemolished, and converted into the Cathedral Church. He adds, that the *Indians* of *Peru* never raised one Story above another in their Buildings; nor did they join one Room to another, but always left some Space between the Rooms, and perhaps a whole Court or Quadrangle, unless sometimes in the largest Halls they built Closets or Withdrawing-rooms at the Corners. He observes also, that when they had built the four Walls of Stone or Brick,

they

Their
way of
building.

they erected Pillars in the middle of the Room, to support the Roof; for they knew not how to cross their Beams, or fasten them with Nails or wooden Pins, but laid their Timbers upon the Walls, and fastened them with Withs or Cords. These main Beams they cross'd with Rafter, and fasten'd in like manner, and thereon laid a Covering of Thatch or Straw a Yard deep, extending the Eaves a Yard beyond the Walls, which serv'd for a Pent-house. Besides their Walls of Stone, they had those of Sun-dry'd Bricks, which they formed in Moulds, mixing the Clay with Straw; the least of their Moulds being a Yard long, a sixth Part of a Yard broad, and a sixth in Thickness. These being dry'd in the Sun, were laid upon each other in the Shade; and after they had lain out of the Sun and Weather three Years more, were used in building, cemented with the same Clay, mix'd with Straw; but they never attempted to make common Clay or Mud Walls.

Whenever one of the *Inca's* dy'd, they lock'd up the Room where he usually slept, with all the Furniture, Ornaments, Gold and Silver in it, and none were ever suffer'd to enter it afterwards, the Place being looked upon as sacred; but they kept it in Repair on the Outside as long as it would stand. The like Ceremony was observ'd as to all other Rooms where the deceased *Inca* had slept, tho' it was but one Night on a Journey, or by Accident: Therefore on the Death of the *Inca*, they immediately fell to building a new Apartment for the Successor. The Stones of these Buildings were generally so well laid and join'd, 'tis said, that they needed no Cement; and if any were used, it was a slimy Liquor,

Peru.

like Cream, which so united and closed the Stones together, that no Seam or Crevice appear'd: And in many of the royal Palaces and Temples, for the greater Magnificence, says *Pedro de Sieca*, they closed up the Seams of their Buildings with melted Gold and Silver; which afterwards occasioned the total Destruction of most of them, the *Spaniards* subverting the very Foundations, in hopes of finding Treasure. The Furniture, or rather Ornaments of these Palaces, like that of their Temples, were the Figures of Men, Beasts, Birds and other Animals, cast in Gold; and on the Walls, instead of Tapestry, were Plants and Flowers irritated, of the same Metal, intermixed with Serpents, Butter-flies, and other Insects, that appear'd extremely natural.

Furniture
and Orna-
ments.

I don't find they had any Chairs; but the *Inca* himself sat on a Stool made of Gold, without Arms or Back, having a Pedestal of the same Metal: And they had no other Bedding but Blankets, or rather Carpets, made of the Wool of their Country Sheep, spread on the Floor; which serv'd both to lie on, and cover themselves with; and in some Parts of the Country they lay in Hammocks.

Beds.

Bagnios.

Utenfils
of Gold.

They had Bagnios, and Cisterns of Gold also in their Palaces; and all the Utenfils of their Kitchens, and in the meanest Offices about the Palace, were of that Metal. Inasmuch that *Pedro de Sieca* avers, that if all the Treasures in their Temples and Palaces, which were then lost, should be recovered, they would be found so great, that all the Riches the *Spaniards* had possessed themselves of, would be no more, in comparison of them, than a Drop of Water to a Bushel.

However,

However, the *Indians* neither purchased Lands or Houses with it, or esteemed it the Sinews of War, as the *Europeans* do; but only adorned themselves, their Houses and Temples with it while alive, and buried it with them when they died: And the *Indians*, observing how the *Spaniards* thirsted after Gold, and transported into *Spain* all they could seize or lay their Hands on, buried and concealed whatever they could from them.

Peru.

They buried their Treasures with them.

De la Vega also informs us, that the royal Gardens of the Palace were not only planted with a great Variety of Trees, Fruits and Flowers; but the Figures of these, and all manner of Animals, were made of Gold, and placed in the Walks and Squares to adorn them.

Their Gardens.

The same Writer, speaking of the Castle of *Cusco*, says, its Works are incredible to those who have not seen it; and those that have, are apt to look upon it as erected by Enchantment, seeming to surpass the Art or Power of Man. This Fortress stood upon the Top of the Hill on which the City was built, and towards the Town was defended by a high Rock, perfectly perpendicular; so that there was no approaching it on this Side, and towards the Country it was defended by triple semicircular Walls, of such Thickness and Height, that they were proof against all the Force that could be brought against it, the innermost Wall rising above, and commanding the other two. The Stones of these Walls were so very large, especially the three first Rounds, that they appeared to be entire Rocks; and it was past Man's Understanding to conceive, how they were hewn out of the Quarry, or brought thither, the *Indians* having no Iron Tools,

The Castle of *Cusco*.

Vast Stones in the Walls.

or



Peru.

or Instruments to fasten them, or Beasts to draw them thither; or any Pullies or Engines to lift them into the Places where they were fixed; such was their Bulk and Weight, that they must have broken down any Carriages they could be laid upon. *Acosta* relates, that he measured a Stone in the Walls of an *Indian* Castle, that was thirty-eight Foot long, eighteen broad, and six in Thickness; and yet the Stones in the Fortrefs of *Cusco* were still larger; and these were drag'd by the Strength of Men, ten, twelve and fifteen Leagues over Hills and Valleys, and the most difficult Ways to that Place: There is one Stone to which the *Indians* give the Name of *Syacusá*, that is, the tired or weary, because it never arrived at the Place it was design'd for, but remains still on the Road.

This Rock was drawn by twenty thousand *Indians*, fifteen Leagues over very rugged and uneven Ways; one half of them drew before, the rest came after it, and on each Side, to poise its Weight, and keep it in a direct Course, lest it should fall into a Precipice, or be wedg'd into any Place from whence it could not be recover'd; but notwithstanding all their Care, it got the better of them; and tumbling down a steep Hill, kill'd several hundred of the *Indians*, who were endeavouring to poise the Weight: however, they rais'd it once again, and with incredible Pains dragg'd it to the Plain in the Neighbourhood of *Cusco*, and there they were forced to leave it, never being able to get it up the Hill; here, according to their way of Expression, it tired, fainted and wept, and was able to travel no further, but bled with the Fatigue and Labour it underwent in the Passage. Which the Reader

der will have the Sagacity to discern, no doubt, is to be apply'd to the poor Wretches who drew it, and perished in the Enterprize; and seems to me, to resemble another Expression that has been frequently made use of in this Part of the World, where abundance of People have been destroyed by the Labour and Hardships imposed on them by tyrannical Princes, in erecting Cities and magnificent Works, to eternize their Memories. In these Cases, it is frequently said, *that the Walls or the Foundations were laid in Blood, or cemented with the Blood of so many thousand Men:* Which metaphorical Expressions have, indeed, by some unthinking Readers been interpreted literally, or rejected as fabulous, when a very moderate Share of Reflection might have set them right.

To return to the Castle: In the outward Wall were found the Stones of the largest Size, which, *De la Vega* was of Opinion, were never dug out of any Quarry, but loose Rocks found in the Mountains, and piled one upon another in a rustick manner, without polishing; but so well fitted, however, to each other, 'tis said, that there were no Chafins or Seams left open: A Work so prodigious, that had they been Masters of all our modern Engines, it would have been thought beyond all human Force to erect such another Fortrefs.

Between each Wall, there was a Space of twenty-five or thirty Foot, which was fill'd up with Earth, and every Wall had a Breast-work on the Top of it: Beyond these three Walls, were three spacious Towers, standing in a Triangle, answerable to the Bending of the Walls, which were in the Form of a Crescent on this Side, as has been observed already.

The

Peru.

The principal of these Towers, which stood in the Middle, and was called *Mayoc Marca*, or the round Fortress, had a Fountain of excellent Water in it, brought a great way by a subterraneous Aqueduct ; but from whence, *De la Vega* says, the Natives themselves did not know ; for these were Secrets communicated to none but the *Inca* or his Council, possibly lest an Enemy should discover the Stream, and cut it off, in case of a Siege. In this Fortress, the *Inca's* had an Apartment, which was adorned and furnished with Gold Plate, Vessels, and Images of all kinds, of the same Metal, like their other Palaces. The other two Towers on the right and left were both square, and contained Rooms for the lodging and quartering the Garrison, who were all of the Blood of the *Inca's*, no others being admitted into any of them ; the whole Fortress being consecrated to the Sun for the Exercise of Arms, as the Temple was for Prayers and Sacrifices.

A Labyrinth.

Under the Foundation of these Towers was as much Room as above ; and they had a Communication with each other by a subterraneous Labyrinth, so difficult to pass, that no Stranger could find his way through without a Guide, or a Line fastned at the Entrance, by which he might discover the Turnings and Windings in his Return. This Labyrinth, *De la Vega* assures us, was remaining in his Time, and he had been often in it ; but the upper Rooms were all ruin'd. In the framing these Vaults, as they were ignorant of arching, they laid over great Slabs of Stone, which serv'd instead of Beams ; and in these, and many of their Works, the *Inca's* seem'd to have a View rather to their Glory, than to the

the Use or Convenience of the Building, as was the Case of those Princes that erected the Walls of *Babylon*, the Pyramids of *Egypt*, and other Structures that obtain'd the Name of the World's Wonders: Most of the new City of *Cusco* was built with the Stones found in the Ruins of this Fortrefs.

From the grand Market-place in old *Cusco*, Four issued four High-ways to the four Quarters of the Empire. Those to the North and South running upwards of five hundred Leagues each, and were carried over Mountains and Valleys pitch'd with Stone; in some places rais'd, in others sunk, to render it commodious travelling, and to facilitate the March of their Armies from one Province to another; but these will be more largely described hereafter, in treating of their Roads.

Every Nation of this extensive Empire had Quarters assign'd for their Residence in the royal City of *Cusco*. The vassal Princes of every Province, and especially the Caraca's, or conquer'd Princes, were obliged to send their eldest Sons to Court, and build them a Palace; about which all the Natives of the same Province, residing in *Cusco*, had their Houses; and every People were obliged to retain the Habits of their respective Provinces, being chiefly distinguished by their Head-Dresses.

These Institutions added to the Splendor of the *Inca's* Court. The Sons of the Caraca's, or vassal Princes, being obliged to wait at the *Inca's* Palace in their turns, contributed much to the Security of the Government; these young Lords remaining in a manner Pledges of their Fathers Loyalty; tho' the Reasons usually given for their Attendance were, that they

Peru.

might be the better educated and instructed in the Laws of the Empire, and prepared for Posts in the Administration: But whatever was the Reason of the Institution, by this means the Court Language, and the Manners and Customs of the capital City, were communicated to the most distant Provinces; and the Court, on the other hand, were justly informed of the State of their remotest Territories.

Cusco
compar'd
to old
Rome.

De la Vega, in describing *Cusco*, compares it to ancient *Rome*; for, 1. like *Rome*, he observes, it was founded by its own Kings; and 2. was the Metropolis of many Nations subject to its Empire: 3. It might be compar'd to *Rome* for the Excellency of its Laws; and 4. for the admirable Virtues and Endowments of its Citizens, who were famous for their Politicks, as well as military Discipline; civiliz'd, and freed from all barbarous Customs: However, it must be confess'd, he says, that *Rome* had one great Advantage, and that was in the Knowledge of Letters, whereby the Fame of that City was rendered immortal: Whereas poor *Cusco* had nothing but Memory, and Tradition, to deliver its great Actions to Posterity: *Rome*, he insinuates, might be as much indebted to the Pens of its Historians, who had recorded their wise Institutions, their Victories and Successes, and set them in an advantageous light, as to the Heroes she had bred: *Peru* had abounded in Men famous in Arms and Arts, but wanting the Knowledge of Letters, had left no other Memory of their Actions than what Tradition had preserved, and transmitted to Posterity in some few abrupt and scattered sentences deliver'd from Father to Son, which were also
in

in a great measure lost by the Entrance and Invasion of a new People ; for where an Empire has had its period, being over-whelm'd by the Power of a stronger Nation, there of course the Memory of Actions and Customs are lost ; especially where Letters are wanting to record them.

As for the City of *Cusco* since it has been The new rebuilt, 'tis sufficient to say, that it is purely City. *Spanish*. They have thrown it into large Squares with their Piazza's, from whence the principal Streets, which are very long and broad, run in direct Lines, and these again are cross'd by other Streets at right Angles ; and as it is divided into the upper and lower Town by the River which runs through it, they have built several arch'd Stone Bridges on the River, for the more easy Communication, instead of Planks, which the *Indians* used in the old Town, not understanding how to make arch'd Bridges.

Besides the Cathedral, there are several Parochial and Conventual Churches, Monasteries and Nunneries of every Order, and some noble Hospitals, as well for *Indians* as *Spaniards*. And it must be said, for the Honour of the *Spaniards*, that none take more care of their Hospitals, and of sick and infirm People than they do in every Part of the World. The Bishop of *Cusco* is Suffragan to the Archbishop of *Lima*, which the *Spaniards* have thought fit, since their Conquest, to make the Capital of *Peru*. I shall only add, that the Gentlemen and Citizens of *Cusco* (as the *Indians* had formerly) have most of them their Country Houses in the pleasant and healthful Valley of *Yuca*, through which there runs a fine River, that makes it one of the most fruitful Valleys
in

Peru. in *Peru*, and is now planted with almost all manner of *Indian* and *European* Corn and Fruits.

Arequipa. *Arequipa*, the last of the great Towns I shall mention in the Audience of *Lima*, is situated on a River that falls into the *Pacifick Ocean*, about forty Miles South West of the Town, lying in 16 Degrees odd Minutes, South Latitude, an hundred Leagues and upwards South East of *Lima*, and 80 Leagues South West of *Cusco*. It consists of about three or four hundred Houses, and stands in a Country abounding in Corn and Wine; but is most considerable for the Gold and Silver Mines in the Neighbourhood of it. This Town was founded by the Marquiss *Pizarro*, one of the first Conquerors, and over-turned by an Earthquake forty Years afterwards; but the *Spaniards* liked the Situation of the Place so well, that it was soon after rebuilt; and it is now a Bishop's See, Suffragan to the Archbishop of *Lima*.

Los Charcas Audience. The Audience of *Los Charcas* is bounded by the Audience of *Lima* on the North, by the Province of *Paraguay* or *La Plata* on the East, by *Chili* on the South, and by the *Pacifick Ocean* on the West; being about seven hundred Miles in Length, from East to West, in the broadest Part, and about the same Breadth from North to South; but both the Length and Breadth very unequal: The chief Towns in this Audience are, 1. *Potosi*; 2. *Porco*; 3. *La Plata*; 4. *Santa Cruz*; 5. *La Paz*; 6. *Chinquita*; 7. *Tiagunaco*; 8. *Arica*; and 9. *Hillo*, or *Ylo*.

Chief
Towns

Potosi,

Potosi, which takes its Name from the Mountain at the Bottom of which it stands, is situated in 22 Degrees South Latitude, 67 Degrees West of *London*, in one of the most barren Countries of *America*; there being neither Trees or Grass to be found near it, but the richest Silver Mines that ever were discovered; which has brought Multitudes of People hither, insomuch that it is said to be one of the largest and most populous Towns of *Peru*: Nor is it ill supply'd with Provisions; all the Countries round about, for 30 or 40 Leagues, supplying their Markets, where they are sure to be well paid for what they bring. As to the Mines, which have rendered this Town famous through the World, I shall describe them under another Head; and only observe here, that there are several thousand People constantly employed in digging and refining the Silver. So diligent have the *Spaniards* been since they discovered this Mountain, that tho' it be three or four Leagues in Circumference, and one thousand six hundred and twenty-four Rods (I presume it should be Yards) high; it is now little more than a Crust or Shell, out of which they have taken most of its internal Riches, and are daily in Search of new Mines. The *Spaniards* have erected a Chapel on the Top of the Hill, to which they ascend by a narrow winding Path; but the Mountain is so exceeding cold, that it is scarce habitable: possibly, the Chapel therefore was erected more for Ostentation than Devotion. There are also a great Number of Churches, Chapels, and Convents in the Town; for however the Religious seem to have renounced the World, it is observ'd,

Peru.


they are usually most numerous, where Silver most abounds.

Porco.

Porco is situated ten Leagues North-west of *Potosi*, considerable on account of its Silver Mines, before those of *Potosi* were discover'd; but the latter being richer, and not so much incommoded by Water, *Porco* was in a manner deserted: However, 'tis probable, the Mines of *Porco* will be resorted to again, since those of *Potosi* are in a manner exhausted, according to the Relations of some Travellers.

La Plata, Capital of the Province, receiv'd its Name from the Silver Mines in the Neighbourhood; which were the first the *Spaniards* wrought. It is situated on one of the Sources of the great River *La Plata*, in 21 Degrees odd Minutes South Latitude, and 66 Degrees of Western Longitude. The Town stands in a fine Plain, and in a much more fruitful Soil than either *Potosi* or *Porco*; and is the See of an Archbishop, and the Residence of the Governor and Courts of Justice of this Province; the Inhabitants whereof are exceeding rich. The Cathedral, with the rest of the Churches and Convents, are very magnificent; and the Revenues of the Archbishoprick are said to amount to eighty thousand Crowns *per Annum*.

Santa Cruz

St. Croix, or *Santa Cruz*, of the Mountains, is situated on another Branch of the great River *La Plata*, fifty Leagues to the Eastward of the City of *La Plata*; but I meet with no particular Description of the Place.

La Paz.

La Paz, or *City of Peace*, stands on the great Road of the *Inca's*, an hundred Leagues to the Northward of *La Plata*. It is a small Town, pleasantly situated in a fruitful Plain

on

on the River *Cajana*, and has several Gold Mines in the adjacent Mountains.

Peru.

Chiniquita is situated on the great Lake *Titi-caca*, in an exceeding plentiful Country ; and is a very wealthy Town.

Chiniquita.

Tiguanuca is situated on the South-end of the Lake ; besides which, there are abundance of fine Towns and Villages bordering on the Lake, this being the pleafantest and most fruitful Part of *Peru*, as well as the most temperate.

Tiguanuca

Arica lies in 18 Degrees 20 Minutes South Latitude, on the *South* Sea, an hundred Leagues North-west of *Potosi*, and is the Port-town, where most of the Treasure is embarked for *Lima* ; but this has been already described among the Ports.

Arica.

Ylo, or *Hillo*, is another small Port, situated on the *South* Sea, about 20 miles North of *Arica*, in a fine Valley, abounding in *Indian* and *European* Fruits ; and has been frequently plundered by the *Buccaneers*.

Ylo.

In treating of the *Peruvian* Towns, it is necessary to inform the Reader, that before the Arrival of the *Spaniards*, there was only one great Town in every Province ; all the rest were Villages, consisting of little Huts or Cottages, that did not deserve the Name of Towns : But in the Capital of every Province was a Palace belonging to the Governor, or vassal Prince ; a Temple dedicated to the Sun, and a Convent of select Virgins, resembling those in the Imperial City of *Cusco* ; there were also four royal High-ways running through the whole Empire, that center'd in the Grand-square, or Market-place of *Cusco* : And upon these High-ways were Magazines and Store-houses of the *Inca's*, sufficient to supply all

Of the
Peruvian
Towns
general.

Peru.

the Forces of the Provinces in which they stood; the *Indians* had also noble Aqueducts, by which they brought Water into their great Towns and Corn-fields many Miles, which render'd the most barren Lands fruitful; as was the Usage of the ancient *Persians*, and many other People, where the Soil was dry and sandy, like that of *Peru*.

Convents
of select
Virgins.

I have already describ'd the Palaces of the *Inca's*, and the Temple of the Sun at *Cusco*, by which Model those in the other Provinces were built. As to the Convents of select Virgins, those seem to have been built like Cloisters, with Cells for the Virgins on the Sides of them, without any upper Rooms.

Their
royal
Highways
describ'd.

In the Nunnery of *Cusco*, 'tis said, there were no less than fifteen hundred Virgins, all of the Blood of the *Inca's* or Emperors: And in the Convents of every Province, the Nuns were the Kindred of the vassal Princes, or of the Lords of the respective Provinces. But according to *De la Vega*, these Nuns were not intended for the Service of the Temple of the Sun. On the contrary, no Female was ever suffer'd to enter into these Temples: Nor was any Man admitted to come within the Walls of these Nunneries. But I shall treat further of their Institution under the Head of Religion, and proceed to the Description of their royal High-ways, of which *Augustin Carete* gives the following Relation: He says, that the *Inca Guaynacava*, marching with his Army from *Cusco*, to subdue the Province of *Quitto*, distant five hundred Leagues from that Capital, met with great Difficulties in his March over almost inaccessible Rocks and Mountains. Whereupon returning victorious, he caus'd a spacious Way to be hewn out through

through the Rocks; levelling the rough and uneven Ground, by raising it in some Places fifteen or twenty Fathoms, and in others sinking it as much; and in this manner carried on the Work for fifteen hundred Miles (and future *Inca's* continued it as far to the Southward.) He afterwards caused another Way, of equal Extent, to be carried through the plain Country forty Foot wide, which was defended by Walls on each side: And along these Ways were Houses at certain Distances, shady Groves, and Rivulets or Reservoirs of Water, introduced for the Refreshment of his Troops, or weary Travellers, upon a March. At the Houses erected by the *Inca's* on the great Roads, says *De la Vega*, Travellers were supplied *gratis* with Victuals, and other Provisions for their Journeys: And in case any Traveller fell sick, he was attended and taken care of as well as he could be at his own House: But the Truth is, says the same Writer, no Person was suffer'd to travel for Curiosity, Pleasure, or private Business, but only in the Service of the *Inca*, or the Lord of the Province; all who had not Orders, or Licences at least, for travelling, were taken up as Vagrants, and punish'd: But *De la Vega* does not inform us within what Limits the Natives were confin'd: As I apprehend, they were at liberty to travel any where within the District of the particular Lord under whose Government they liv'd, without a Licence. The *Inca's* also had their Palaces and Houses of Pleasure on the Tops of the Mountains in these Roads, from whence they had the finest Prospects in the World: But to proceed to their Magazines. In every Province, says *De la Vega*, there were always two Magazines,

Magazines

Peru.

zines, or Store-houses; in one of which they laid up Corn and Provisions for the Support of the Natives in Years of Scarcity; and in the other, the Provisions belonging to the Temple of the Sun, and the *Inca's*; besides which, they had smaller Store-houses, built upon the High-ways, three or four Leagues distant from each other; which the *Spaniards* make use of at this Day, as Inns, when they travel. All the Estate of the Sun and of the *Inca*, within fifty Leagues of the City of *Cusco*, was brought thither for the Maintenance and Support of the Court; the Overplus whereof the *Inca's* distributed among the vassal Princes, and great Officers Civil and Military, that attended at *Cusco* in their turns; only a certain Portion of the Revenue of the Sun, within those Limits, was laid up in Magazines for the Use of the People of the respective Districts.

The Revenues arising in the Provinces above fifty Leagues from *Cusco*, were laid up in the King's Store-houses, and from thence carried to the lesser Store-houses, standing on the common Road, consisting of Ammunition and Provision, Arms, Cloaths, Shoes, and whatever else was necessary for an Army in the Field; from whence the Forces were readily supply'd wherever they march'd, and the Soldiery was never quartered upon the People, or in the least burthenome to them. There were Magazines and Store-houses also erected in the Mountains and Plains out of the Road, at the Distance of a Day's March or two, near some Rivulet; where an Army might, at any time, be supply'd with Arms and Provisions of all kinds, and these were called *Tombo's*.

From



From their Roads, we very naturally come to their Bridges, by which they pass over Rivers ; and these seem to have been the meanest of all their Works: They neither knew how to erect Arches, or to fix Piles in the middle of a Stream to support a Bridge ; and therefore, whenever the Stream was too wide to lay Planks over from one Bank to the other, they had a kind of floating Bridges fasten'd to each Side, made of Flaggs or Rushes: And instead of Ferry-boats, they had Floats of Calabashes, or Rushes, to convey over Travellers. It is related also, that they sometimes fastened Ropes cross their Rivers, and drew themselves over in Baskets, sliding along the Ropes.

As to their Carriages, and way of Travel-
ling, it appears that they had no Cattle fit for Draught ; every thing was drawn by Men, how weighty soever ; nor had they any Beasts of Burthen, but a kind of Sheep, one of which would scarce carry an hundred Weight, and will be particularly describ'd hereafter, under the Head of Animals: Most of their Baggage, therefore, was carried by Porters. Their great Men also were carried on Chairs or Couches, on the Shoulders of Men ; or in Hammocks ; which last was the usual way of carrying sick People ; and is still used in many Parts of *America*.

Their
Carriages,
and way
of Travel-
ling.



CHAP. V.

Of the Persons and Habits of the Peruvians ; of their Genius and Temper ; Arts, Manufactures, Food, Exercises and Diversions ; Diseases and Physicians.

Peru.
Persons
of the
Peruvians.
No Giants
or Mon-
sters.



THE *Peruvians* are generally of a middle Stature. There are no Nations of Giants or Pigmies, in that Part of the World, as our first Adventurers related: Nor can I find any of those deform'd Monsters in *South America*, that Sir *Walter Raleigh* and his People were pleas'd to amuse us with.

The *Inca*, or royal Historian *Garcisasso de la Vega*, indeed, informs us, that there was a Tradition in his Time, that a Race of Giants, some Ages past, invaded that Country, landing at Cape *St. Helena*, on the *South Sea*, in 2 Degrees of South Latitude ; and refers us to the Account *Pedro de Sieca*, the most circumstantial of the *Spanish* Writers, gives of them ; which, with the Reader's Leave, I shall transcribe the Substance of.

“ There were, says *De Sieca*, many Ages
“ since, Men of an extraordinary Size arriv'd
“ in this Country in great Ships : Such was
“ their Stature, that an ordinary Man reach'd
“ but to their Knees : Their Heads were
“ proportionably large, cover'd with long
“ Hair

“ Hair hanging down their Shoulders, and
 “ they had great saucer Eyes, but no Beards.
 “ Some of them were cloathed with the Skins
 “ of Beasts, others naked, without any other
 “ Covering than the long Hair which Nature
 “ had given them. There were, near Point
 “ *St. Helena*, some Ruins of vast Wells and
 “ Cisterns, hewn out of the Rocks, when
 “ *De Sieca* wrote, which he supposed must
 “ be made by these Giants, to preserve fresh
 “ Water in the dry Season.

“ They were no less put to it, he relates,
 “ for Victuals than they were for Drink ; for
 “ one of these Giants eating as much as fifty
 “ of the Natives, they soon wasted the
 “ Country, and made a Famine in the Place,
 “ till they found means to take great Quan-
 “ tities of Fish, with which they satisfied
 “ their voracious Appetites.

“ They liv’d but in ill Terms with the
 “ Natives ; not only because they plunder’d
 “ them of their Provisions, but took their
 “ Women from them, who died in their rude
 “ Embraces, or at least in Child-birth : Thus
 “ these Giants having no Women by whom
 “ they could propagate their Species, were
 “ guilty of Sodomy openly with each other ;
 “ and were all destroyed by Thunder and
 “ Lightning, and an avenging Angel, in the
 “ very Act ; only their Skulls and Bows re-
 “ main’d as an eternal Monument of this
 “ Judgment.

“ *Pedro de Sieca* adds, that he heard some
 “ *Spaniards* say, that they had seen a Piece of
 “ a hollow Tooth of one of these Giants,
 “ that weigh’d above half a Pound ; and
 “ others had seen a Shank-bone of incredible
 “ Length and Bigness ; and he thought the
 Vol. XXIX. Z “ Wells

Peru. “ Wells and Cisterns, already mention’d,
 “ clear Testimonies of their inhabiting this
 “ Part of the Country.”

From hence it appears, that there had been no Giants in *Peru* for many Ages before the *Spaniards* arriv’d there (which I look upon as a great Point gain’d) and they had only an uncertain Tradition that there ever were such People. As for the Cisterns hewn out of the Rocks, greater Things have been effected by Men of an ordinary Size ; and as to a Tooth or a single Bone or two, pretended to be found there, since the Scene is laid on the Sea-Coast, both the Tooth and Bone might belong to some great Fish ; for we find Mistakes of the like nature in this Part of the World.

Sir *Walter*
Raleigh’s
 Monsters.

I proceed, in the next Place, to Sir *Walter Raleigh’s* Monsters : The Writer of that Expedition to *Guiana* in *South-America* says, as for the Monsters of Men, *they are said to be not seen by our Men, but reported by the Savages*, with Mouths in their Breasts, and Eyes in their Shoulders ; and of others, headed like Dogs, which lie all Day in the Sea. These Things are strange, says that Author ; yet I dare not esteem them fabulous, only suspend my Belief, till some Eye-witness of our own shall testify the Truth. But as such Monsters have never been seen since in *South-America*, Sir *Walter*, had he liv’d in our Time, probably would have made no Scruple to have rejected these Stories as fabulous ; but to proceed in the Description of their Persons. The *Peruvians*, as has been observed already, like other *Indians*, were of a middle Stature, and of an Olive Complexion generally ; but near the Equator of a perfect Copper-colour ; their Hair, as that of all other People between the Tropics,

The real
 Stature
 and Com-
 plexion
 of the
Peruvians

Tropics, always black ; most of them had their Heads shav'd ; and the Hair of their Beards and other Parts of the Body was pull'd off from time to time with Tweezers whenever any appear'd, except on their Eye-Brows and Eye-Lids. The several Nations were distinguish'd chiefly by their Head-dresses : Some wore whole Pieces of Cotton-Linnen, wrapp'd about their Heads like Turbants ; others had only a single Piece of Linnen tied about their Heads : some wore a kind of Hats ; others, Caps in the Form of a Sugar-loaf ; and a multitude of other different Fashions there were of their Head-Attire, and these they never alter'd, but continued the same in their respective Nations and Tribes from Generation to Generation. But this is to be understood of the better sort of People ; for the rest, as far as I can perceive, went bare-headed ; at least, the *Spaniards* have represented them so, in the Pictures they have given us of the *Peruvians* at the Time of their Conquest. The Head-dress, Cap or Turbant, seems to have been granted to their Chiefs as a Mark of Distinction : Their Heads and Bodies also were anointed with Oil, or Grease ; and some of them used Paint, like the rest of the *Americans*.

Their Holy-day Dress was a sort of Shirt, and a Vest without Sleeves, and a Mantle : They had also Shoes, or rather Sandals, on their Feet, made of the Skins of Beasts untanned ; but the common People usually went naked, except a small Piece of Linnen about their Waists : They had scarce any Clothes on when they were at Work, when they went a Hunting, or travell'd the Road.

Peru.

De la Vega, speaking of the ancient *Indians*, and of some Nations of them in his Days, says, their manner of Clothing, or covering their Bodies, was, in some Countries, as immodest as ridiculous: That some had no other Covering but what Nature gave them; tho' others, perhaps for Ostentation, girt a Piece of Cotton-Linnen about their Waists. He had seen some Nations of *South-America* that went perfectly naked, in the Year 1570.

That the Women went naked as well as the Men; only those who were married tied a String round their Bodies, to which they fasten'd a Cotton-Clout about a Yard square, which look'd like an Apron; and where they had no Linnen, they made use of broad Leaves. So barbarous, says he, were the *Indians* in the hot Countries, who were not under the Dominion of the *Inca's*. And the People in the colder Countries were clothed only with the Skins of Beasts, or Matts, and that rather to defend them from the Weather, than out of regard to Modesty or Decency; concluding, that in his Time there were some Nations of *Americans*, both Men and Women, under the Dominion of the *Spaniards*, and even their menial Servants, that no Arguments but Force could prevail on to wear Clothes.

But wherever the *Inca's* had any Power or Influence, says *De la Vega*, the People (he must mean the better sort of People) were decently cloath'd; in hot Countries, their Clothes being made of Cotton-Linnen, and in colder of Wool; but every Garment was wove fit for the Use it was design'd without cutting, whether it were a Shirt, a Vest, or a Mantle; they were all of a-piece, as they came from the Loom, only dy'd into various Colours that never faded. In

In another place *De la Vega* observes, Peru.
 that it was one of the establish'd Laws of the *Inca's*, that no Man should change the Habit and Fashion of his Country, tho' he chang'd his Habitation.

The principal Ornaments of the *Peruvians* Orna-
ments.
 were their Rings and Jewels in their Ears, which they stretch'd to a monstrous Size, and occasion'd the *Spaniards* to give some of them the Appellation of *the People with great Ears*. They had also Chains of Jewels and Shells about their Necks; but I don't find the *Peruvians* wore Gold Plates, or Rings in their Noses, like the *Indians* situate to the Northward of the Equator.

Antonio de Herera relates, that when the *Spaniards* first invaded the North Part of *Peru*, they were oppos'd by a People that were stark naked, but painted, some red, and others yellow: but among these he informs us, there were some (probably their Chiefs) that had Mantles, and other Garments made of Cotton, or of Wool, and adorned with Jewels.

The Habits of the *Peruvian* Women were The
Habits
of the
Women,
 not very different from those of the Men, for these also are said to have worn Vests and Mantles; only as the Men shav'd their Heads, and wore Caps or Turbants, the Women dress'd in their Hair, which reached down to the Middle of their Backs, sometimes loose and flowing, and at others braided and twisted in several Braids: And as the Sun frequently changed their Hair from black to a russet-brown, or red, they were at great Pains to restore it to its original Colour, dipping their Hair into a black hot Liquor, over which they would lie several Hours in great Uncasiness,

Peru. easiness, till it was sufficiently ting'd; nothing being esteem'd a greater Beauty among the Women than long shining black Hair: and both Men and Women, at Festivals, and other solemn Times, frequently adorn'd their Heads with Flowers and beautiful Feathers; but the *Peruvians* now follow the *Spanish* Modes in every thing.

The *Americans* were no less surpris'd at the Complexion and Dress of the *Spaniards*, than the *Spaniards* were at theirs; but admir'd nothing so much as their long Beards, having never seen a Beard in their Country; and their glittering Swords and Fire-Arms perfectly amaz'd them. However, as the *Spaniards* did not at first treat them in a hostile manner, they adored these white Strangers as so many Gods, and made them rich Presents; but of this hereafter, when I come to their History: I shall only add, under this Head of Complexion and Dress, that nothing amaz'd the *Indians* more than the Blackness of the *Negroes* Slaves the *Spaniards* carried with them. They could not believe this to be natural, having never seen a Black in *America*. They desir'd the *Spaniards*, therefore, to let them make the Experiment, and try if they could not wash off the black Paint (as they took it to be) which made the *Negroes* and his Masters exceeding merry.

The
Genius
and Temper
of the
Peruvians.

As to the Genius and Temper of this People, if we were to credit the first Accounts we received of them from the *Spaniards*, they were little better than Brutes in human Shape. They relate, that they sacrificed Men, and even their own Children, fed on human Flesh, were guilty of Sodomy, and all manner of Vice. And this has been the general Conduct of

of Mankind (as has been observ'd already) to represent distant Nations, and those they are Enemies to, as Barbarians. The great Conquerors and Heroes of Antiquity among the *Greeks* and *Romans* always represented their Enemies, and those they were pleased to make such, as strange unpolish'd Animals; and one Reason of invading and subduing them they pretended was, to civilize and instruct them in better Morals, as well as in Arts and Sciences: And such, it seems, were the Pretences of our modern Conquerors of *Peru* and *Mexico*; namely, To reform that new World, destroy Idolatry, and establish the Christian Religion there; tho' in the end it appears, they made them, in the Scripture Phrase, tenfold more the Children of Hell than they found them.

Peru.
The
Reasons
People
represent
their Ene-
mies as
barbarous.

It is remarkable also, that the *Inca's*, or Emperors of *Peru*, gave much the same Reasons the Ancients did, for making War upon their weaker Neighbours, and subjecting all the Nations in that Part of the World under their Dominion.

Garcilasso de la Vega, the royal Historian, in the 7th Chapter of his first Book, relates, that he received the following Account of the ancient Inhabitants of this Country, from one of his Relations, a Descendant of their *Inca's* or Kings, as he himself was, (*viz.*) that they were like so many brute Beasts, without Religion or Government; they neither ploughed or sowed, or cloathed themselves; they dwelt solitarily in Caves or Holes of the Rocks; fed on Herbs, Roots, and wild Fruits, and on Man's Flesh; enjoyed their Women, as well as Lands, in common, and understood nothing of Property: But that their Father the

Peru.-

the Sun (as the *Inca's* and royal Family call'd him) beholding the savage Disposition of these People, sent a Son and Daughter from Heaven to instruct them in the Worship of himself (the Sun) to give them Laws and Precepts, to teach them to live in Societies, cloath themselves, and cultivate their Lands, and reform their barbarous Customs ; *constituting them (the Inca's) Lords and Princes over that People.*

From whence it appears, that the *Inca's* of *Peru*, like the ancient Law-givers, pretended to be descended from some God, who had conferred the Dominion of those Nations upon them ; or at least, had dictated those Laws and Rules they promulg'd and requir'd the People to observe. And *De la Vega* tells us, Chap. 12. of his 5th Book, that the two principal Motives or Reasons the *Inca's* gave for making War upon their Neighbours, and subduing them where they refus'd to submit tamely to their Dominion, were, *the Barbarity and Ignorance of the People, and the Violence and Oppression they exercis'd over their Subjects.* And these have been the pretended Motives of most of our Heroes and Conquerors on this Side the Globe ; tho' 'tis evident, Ambition is generally at the bottom of these specious Pretences : We can never therefore make a just Estimate of the Characters of any People from the Accounts we receive from those who have enslav'd them, or usurp'd the Dominion over them. They usually represent the Conquer'd in the most shocking and frightful Forms, in order to justify or excuse their own cruel Ravages and Oppressions.

To proceed in the Character *De la Vega* gives of the ancient *Peruvians*. He says, they sacrificed Men to their Gods ; were Canibals ;

Canibals; had Shambles of Man's Flesh, and made Saufages of their Guts; but he reflects severely upon those Spanish Writers who relate, that there were any such Sacrifices, or any Canibals in Peru, since the Inca's reign'd there; which was four or five hundred Years before the Invasion of the Spaniards; from whence we may very well conclude, that all the modern Accounts we have of human Sacrifices and Canibals in South America from the Spanish Writers are false. There were no such People when they arriv'd there, nor for four hundred Years before, if we may credit *De la Vega*, a Native of Peru, who was better acquainted with their Language, History and Customs, than any of the Spanish Writers, and generally esteem'd the best Historian that ever wrote of that Country. *Acosta de Sieca*, and the rest of their Historians are infinitely to blame therefore, in slandering that People, and abusing the World with such fabulous Relations.

Peru.
No Probability of human Sacrifices or Canibals in Peru.

If it be admitted then, that there were no such barbarous People in Peru, no Canibals, or any human Sacrifices there for four hundred Years before the Spanish Conquest, we may take it for granted, there were none there before that time; at least there could be no Certainty of any such, the Peruvians having no possible way of recording their History, as they were destitute of Letters; and for a Tradition of four hundred Years standing, it is not to be much valued, especially when it is evident, that the Inca's invented or encourag'd such Stories of the Barbarity of the conquer'd Nations, as other pretended Heroes have done in our Part of the World, to excuse or justify their own Ravages and Invasions.

Peru. and to make the World believe they have
 been such mighty Benefactors to Mankind, by
 reducing them to a civiliz'd Life, and abolishing
 such brutish Customs as they found in the
 conquer'd Provinces. I proceed now to en-
 quire into the real Character of the *Peruvians*
 when the *Spaniards* arriv'd there. *Blas Valera*
 (to whom *De la Vega* seems' to give entire
 Credit in this Particular, L. 2. Cap. 33.
 of *The Royal Company of Peru*) says, that the
 People of *Peru* exceed most Nations in the
 World in Quickness of Wit and Strength of
 Judgment; which appears in that, without
 the Help of Letters, they have attain'd the
 Knowledge of many Things which the Learn-
 ing of the *Egyptians*, *Chaldeans*, and *Greeks*,
 could never reach. If they had any thing that
 seem'd shocking to the *Europeans*, it did not
 proceed from the Want of natural Parts, or
 Endowments of Mind, but from their being
 unpractis'd in the Fashions and Customs of
Europe, and their Want of Masters to instruct
 them in the Liberal Sciences; for such of them
 as had the Advantage of Masters, since the
 Arrival of the *Spaniards*, became greater Pro-
 ficients than the *Spaniards* themselves, and
 would imitate any thing they saw so exactly,
 without being taught, that it surpris'd the
European Artists; and as to their Memories,
 they generally exceeded the *Spaniards*, and
 would cast up their Accounts, by Knots, with
 more Expedition than a *European* could by
 the Help of Cyphers.

Courage
 and mili-
 tary Skill.

As to their military Skill and Conduct,
 making Allowance for Circumstances, they
 appear'd also superior to the *Spaniards*. Let
 me see, says my Author, the bravest Captains
 of *France* or *Spain* on Foot, without Horses,
 without

without Armour, without Spears, Swords, or Fire-Arms; with no other Cloaths than their Shirts, no other Head-piece than a Cap of Feathers, or Garland of Flowers; a Shield made of a Piece of a Mat; and *let their Diet be only Herbs and Roots of the Field*; then let us see how they will be able to oppose Swords, Spears, Guns, &c.

Peru.

On the contrary, were the *Indians* arm'd, as the *Europeans* are, train'd up in the same military Discipline, and instructed in the Art of War by Sea and Land, they would be more invincible than the *Turks*, as Experience has shewn; for whenever the *Spaniards* and *Indians* were equally arm'd, the *Spaniards* were defeated. No Estimate can be made of the military Skill or Bravery of the *Indians* of *Mexico* and *Peru* therefore, from the *Spanish* Conquests in those Empires, on account of the Inequality of their Arms, and above all, the Invention of Fire-Arms, which was more terrible to them than all the rest, and seem'd to them something more than what was human and natural: *And in fact we find, that the Indians of Chili, having furnish'd themselves with European Arms, are at this Day a Match for the Spaniards, and have driven them out of many Places they possess'd themselves of in that Country.*

To return to the *Peruvians*. It is observ'd, that as they defended their Country, as well as could be expected, with such Arms as they had, yet when any Province was conquer'd, and had submitted to the *Spaniards*, they remain'd faithful to them, however hardly they were us'd; and readily assisted them in the Conquest of the rest of their Country; being persuad'd, that they ought to remain faithful

Peru.

Subjects to those they had submitted to, how unjustly soever they were invaded, and might not attempt the Recovery of their Liberties afterwards.

Hospita-
lity.

Friar *Mark*, who went with some of the first Invaders from *Panama* to *Peru*, says, they found the *Peruvians* extremely hospitable and kind ; courteous in Conversation, and friendly to the *Spaniards*, giving them Gold and precious Stones, Male and Female Slaves, and all manner of Provisions: Nor did they offer to commit any Hostilities, till the *Spaniards*, by their Outrages and Cruelties, compelled them to stand upon their Defence. It must be confess'd, that the *Americans* had made but little Proficiency in the Sciences, or indeed in mechanick Arts, having never convers'd either with *Europeans* or *Asiatics*, and being destitute of Instruments, and even of proper Materials for forming them.

There were, says *De la Vega*, certain among them call'd *Amanta's*, who were subtle in their Argumentation, and laid down certain *Phænomena* of natural Things ; but in regard they were unacquainted with Letters, they could leave none of those Conceptions they had form'd to Posterity, unless some few Principles discover'd by the Light of Nature, which they represented by Glyphicks, or some rude

Morality. Figures ; however, in Moral Philosophy, they attained to a greater Degree of Perfection ; for their Laws and Customs were their daily Lessons, and the Doctrine of Good-manners being the Study and Business of the Magistrate, an easy and constant Improvement was made therein.

Natural
Philoso-
phy.

In Natural Philosophy they had studied little, and only knew Things by their Effects ; as, that
Fire

Fire would warm them, and the like; and thus they learn'd something of Medicine, and the Virtues of Plants and Herbs, which Experience and Necessity taught them. Peru.

As to their Astronomy, they had observ'd the various Motions of the Planet *Venus*; the Increase and Decrease of the Moon. The *Inca's* also observ'd, that the Sun perform'd his Course in the Space of a Year; tho' the common People divided it only by the Seasons; and the End of their Harvest, with them, was the End of the Year: while the *Inca's* mark'd out the Summer and Winter Solstices by high Towers, which they erected on the East and West of the City of *Cusco*. When the Sun came to rise directly opposite to four of these Towers erected on the East side of the City, and to set just against those of the West, it was then the Summer Solstice; and in like manner, when it came to rise and set against four other Towers, it was the Winter Solstice: Which Towers, *De la Vega* says, were standing in his Time. They had also erected Marble Pillars in the great Court before the Temple of the Sun, by which they observ'd the Equinoctials; and when the Sun came near the Equator, the Priests attended, and waited to see what Shadow the Pillars cast; and when the Sun at its rising came to dart a Shadow directly from it, and at Mid-day the Pillars cast no Shade, but were enlighten'd on all sides, they then concluded the Sun to be in the Equinoctial, and crown'd the Pillars with Garlands of Flowers and odoriferous Herbs; and as they held the Sun then appear'd in its greatest Lustre, this was one of their chief Festivals, wherein they offer'd to this Deity rich Presents of Gold and precious Stones.

And

THE PRESENT STATE

And as they describ'd their Year by the Course of the Sun, so their Months were distinguish'd by the Moon, and their Weeks were call'd Quarters of the Moon; but they had no Names for the Days of the Week but the Order they stood in, as the first, second, third, &c. They were astonish'd at the Eclipses of the Sun and Moon; and when the Sun hid his Face, believ'd it was for their Sins; imagining it prognosticated Famine, War and Pestilence, or some other terrible Calamity.

When the Moon was entering into the Eclipse, and it began to grow dark, they imagin'd she was sick; and when totally obscur'd, that she was dying; and sounded their Trumpets, Kettles and Pans, and every thing that would make a Noise, to rouse her from this Lethargy; and taught their Children to cry out and call upon *Mama Quille*, or Mother Moon, that she would not die, and leave them to perish. They made no Predictions from the Sun or Moon, or the Conjunction of the Stars, but chiefly from their Dreams, or the Intrails of Beasts they offer'd in Sacrifice; and when they saw the Sun set in the Sea, as they might every Night to the Westward, they imagin'd the Waters were divided by the Force of the Fire, and that the Sun plunged himself into the Deep, diving quite through the Sea to appear next Morning in the East.

Physick. They had so much Skill in Physick, according to *De la Vega*, as to know, that bleeding and purging were two necessary Evacuations, and usually open'd that Vein which was nearest to the Pain; their Lancet being a sharp-pointed Flint set at the end of a small Cane, which with a gentle Fillip cut it with less Pain than one of our Lancets. They

They usually purg'd when the Patient was but a little indispos'd, and before the Disease had prevail'd, but afterwards left him to Nature and a regular Diet ; and their principal Ingredient was a white Root resembling a Turnip, which being dry'd and powder'd, they took in Water or their ordinary Drink, and then the Patient set himself in the Sun, that his Heat and Blessing might contribute to the Operation ; and in an Hour's time it began to work upwards and downwards in a violent manner, bringing away Worms and all indigested matter, and yet left the Body strong and vigorous, and with a very good Appetite, which the same Author says he twice experienc'd by himself.

Their Physick was administred to the *Inca's* and great Men by Botanists, that studied the Virtues of their Herbs and Plants. These transmitted their Secrets of this kind to their Children, and were, in a manner, hereditary Physicians to the Royal Family, and the great Lords ; but the common People cured one another by such Prescriptions as they learn'd by Tradition.

They had several Herbs and Roots which they apply'd to Wounds with great Success ; but used neither Plaisters nor Ointments, and had no compound, only simple Medicines. The *Spaniards* much improved their Physick, having discover'd the Virtues of many Herbs and Plants that grew in that hot Climate, which the *Indians* were ignorant of ; and particularly, that their Maize or *Indian* Corn was an excellent Remedy against the Cholick and Stone, observing that the *Indians*, who eat this Food chiefly, were never troubled with those Distempers.

They

Pera. They had only Geometry enough to measure their Lands, and describe the Bounds and Limits of their Provinces ; but this, our Author says, he has seen well perform'd, particularly the City of *Cusco*, and the Country about it, with the Buildings, Streets, Hills, Valleys, Rivers, Roads, &c. as well laid down and distinguish'd by Lines and Colours, as any of our modern Cosmographers could have done it.

Poetry. Their Amanta's, or Philosophers, were Poets also, and invented Comedies and Tragedies, which were acted on their Festivals before the King and the Royal Family ; the Actors being the great Lords of the Court, and principal Officers of the Army ; every one acting the Part that was agreeable to his Quality or Post, and had no constant Sets of Actors to personate others : The Subject of their Tragedies were the Victories and great Actions of their Ancestors, which seems to have been the best Means they had of preserving the Memory of what was pass'd ; and yet in these it seems Fiction had so great a Share, that it was difficult to distinguish what was real from what was fabulous. In their Comedies, their Husbandry, their Household Affairs, and their Commerce with the World were represented, and the most remarkable Follies in Life exposed.

Musick. These Amanta's also compos'd Songs and Ballads ; for they had both vocal and instrumental Musick ; some resembling our Trumpets, Flutes, and other Wind-musick, but intolerably harsh and disagreeable to an Ear used to softer Sounds. They had also their String-musick, but not a whit better than the former.

They

They seem to have been more perfect in Arithmetick than any Science, and would cast up an Accompt, substract, multiply and divide by certain Lines or Threads of various Colours tied in Knots, which they call'd *Quippos*, with more Expedition than a *European* by the Help of Figures: And by these *Quippos* they had the Art of imprinting many things in their Memories, and communicating their Thoughts to others with the Assistance of ill-drawn Pictures or Images; for they knew something of Painting and Statuary, as appears by the Furniture and Ornaments of their Temples and Palaces; every Plant and Animal almost being represented in Gold or Silver Plate; and this brings me to treat of their mechanick Arts. And first of their Gold and Silver-Smiths, of whom, says the royal Historian *De la Vega*, tho' there were great Numbers that labour'd constantly at their Trade, yet were they not so skilful as to make an Anvil of Iron, or any other Metal, but made use of a certain hard Stone of a yellowish Colour, which they smooth'd and polish'd; nor had they learn'd to put Handles to their Hammers, but beat their Plate with certain round Pieces of Copper or Brass; neither had they any Files or graving Tools, or Bellows for melting down their Metals; but instead of Bellows, had Copper-Pipes of a Yard long, and small at one End, almost in the Form of a Trumpet, with which they blow'd up their Fires. They had no Tongs to take their heated Metal out of the Fire, but drew it out with a Stick or a Copper Bar, and cast it into a Heap of wet Earth to cool; and as they had learn'd that the Steam or Effluvia arising from hot or melted Metals were prejudicial to their Health, all their

Peru.
Arithme-
tick.

Mecha-
nick
Arts.

Peru.

Founderies were in the open Air without any Covering. Their Carpenters had no other Tools than Hatchets made of Copper or Flint; no Saws, Augers or Planes, not having learn'd the Use of Iron; tho' they did not want Mines of that Metal; and instead of Nails, as has been observ'd already, they fastned their Timber together with Cords or Withs; Nor had their Stone-Cutters any Tools but sharp Flints or Pebbles, with which they wore out the Stone in a manner with perpetual rubbing; Pullies and other Engines also were wanting for lifting and placing Stones in their Buildings; all was done by Strength of Hand, and Multitudes were employ'd to remove a Piece of Stone or Timber, which an ordinary Team of Horses would have drawn upon proper Carriages: And yet under the Want of all these Things they rais'd strong and magnificent Edifices, as appears by their Buildings already describ'd, the Ruins whereof are seen at this Day.

They us'd a Thorn or a fine Bone for a Needle, and their Threads were the Sinews of Animals, or the Fibres of some Plant, or of the Bark of a certain Tree. Scissars they had none, and their Knives were Flint or Copper; and under such Disadvantages (as my Author observes) their Needle-work was very indifferent.

Combs were made of the long Thorns already mention'd, set on each Side a Piece of Cane, which serv'd for the back of the Comb; and the Rasors they shav'd their Heads with were no better than sharp Flints; in which Operation the Patient underwent so much, that there was nothing the *Spaniards* carried over, was more acceptable to them, than steel Rasors

Rafors and Sciffars : They had no Looking-Glasses, but instead of them, the *Peruvian* Ladies made use of a round Plate of polish'd Brass or Copper ; and in this, the Natives of the *East-Indies* agree with them, having no other Mirrors at this Day, but what they get of the *Europeans*.

Peru.

As to ordinary Working Trades, there were no Fraternities or particular Men that applied themselves to these ; but every Man was his own Carpenter, Shoemaker, Weaver, Taylor, and Mason : Every Man knew how to weave, make his Cloaths, build his House, and cultivate his Lands ; and the Women assisted in the most laborious Employments.

But there were Societies of Poets, Painters, Musicians, Goldsmiths, Engravers, Founders, and Accomptants, who were employ'd in the Service of their Temples, and of their Princes and great Men ; but ordinary and necessary Works, as has been said, were done by the Family : The common People instructed their Children in them, and never hir'd Servants, or call'd in foreign Assistance ; and for the polite Arts, as they were not necessary to their Subsistence, so they never troubled themselves about them.

Their Woollen and Cotton Cloths, which they wove and dy'd into all manner of Colours, were their principal Manufactures ; but no Man was suffer'd to wear a Garment, Cap, or Turbant, of different Colours, but those of the royal Blood.

Their Carpets and Blankets, on which they lay, were made of the Wool of their Country Sheep, or the fine Hair of their Goats ; and their Hammocks of Cotton, or other Network. In the hot Countries, as has been

Peru. observ'd, their Garments were of Cotton; and in the colder Countries of Wool, wove exactly fit for the Uses they design'd, and the Pieces never cut.

Traffick. They had little or no Trade, either with Foreigners, or with one-another; every Family having its Plantation, and all Necessaries almost within itself; only they sometimes truck'd or barter'd Fruits and Eatables with their Neighbours, some Grounds producing what others wanted.

Food. The general Food of the *Peruvians*, before the *Spaniards* arriv'd amongst them, was Maiz, or *Indian* Corn (which has been already describ'd, in treating of *Mexico*.) This they ground between two Stones, and made thin Cakes and Biscuits of the Flower, which they baked on their Hearths or Stoves: They also boil'd it, and made a sort of Hasty-Pudding of the Maiz; and in some Countries that did not produce Maiz, they had a very small Grain, or Seed, that was produced from a Plant like Spinage; and this they converted to the same Uses. In other Parts, they had the Cassavy-Root, which they boil'd, dry'd, and ground to Powder; of which also they made thin Cakes that serv'd them instead of Bread: They eat also Potatoes, and other Roots, and almost all manner of Fruits raw, roasted and boil'd, which their Country produc'd: Nor was there scarce an Herb that grew, but what serv'd them for Food, not as Sauce or Sallads, as we use them, but as substantial Dishes; as to Flesh, they eat very little, for their *Inca's* and great Lords were Masters of all the Cattle wild and tame, and of all the Game of the Country, which the common People were not suffer'd to take or
kill

kill under the severest Penalties. But there was a general Hunting-bout appointed by their Princes once a Year; wherein a great deal of Venison and Game was taken, and distributed to the People, who cut it in thin Slices and dry'd it; and this, with the Flesh of the tame Cattle, which was also given them annually, serv'd for the whole Year: They never eat Joints of Meat, or indeed any Quantity of it as the *Europeans* do, but having cut their dry'd Flesh in Pieces, stew'd, and season'd it high with *Axi* or Pepper; they eat it as Sauce to their other Food, and as we eat Anchovies, or Pickles, to relish our Flesh. I don't know any Country between the Tropicks where the People eat great Meals of Flesh: In many Places they eat none at all (much less human Flesh.) The *Spanish* Historians observe, that one of their Men eat ten times as much as an *Indian*. Their usual way of dressing their Food was in Pans or Dishes over their Stoves, on which they stew'd or baked it, and they roasted their Roots and Fruits in the Embers frequently.

The usual Times for eating, according to *De la Vega*, were between Eight and Nine in the Morning, and about Sun-set in the Evening; for they made but two Meals a-day. However, they were not altogether so abstemious in drinking as eating. Their Gentry and great Men, who had little else to do, fate drinking great part of the Day; and of the same *Indian* Corn that serv'd them for Bread, they made a kind of Malt, and brew'd good strong Drink of it. The *Magbey* Tree also affords them a very strong intoxicating Liquor; and they make a kind of Wine of almost all manner of Fruits, by boiling or steeping

Pera.

sleeping them in Water ; but the common People, I find, very seldom drank any strong Liquors. The common Beverage here, as well as in *Mexico*, was Water with a little of the Flower of Maiz infused into it, being the same that our Buccaneers call *Pofole*, or Poor Soul. But as they have both Palm and Cocoa Trees, there is no doubt but the *Spaniards* have taught them to draw Palm Wine, and drink the Liquor of the Cocoa-Nut, as they have taught them to eat and drink all manner of Meat and Drink that *Spain* affords; which, by the way, the *Spaniards* observe, has been no Advantage to them ; for such sort of Meat and Drink, they tell us, is by no means fit for People that live between the Tropicks, and has introduc'd many Diseases the *Peruvians* knew nothing of before, inso-much that they give this as one Reason the Natives of *America* do not multiply so fast as they did formerly, but rather decrease in their Numbers at present ; but whether this is not a mere Pretence to conceal their own Barbarity, who depopulated these Countries by their Cruelties and Oppressions, and would now have us believe that the Natives have been diminish'd by this Alteration in their Diet, I very much question : For 'tis certain, the Wines the *Spaniards* have taught them to make of Grapes, will rather preserve their Healths than destroy them in that hot Climate ; and as People have no Inclination to eat great Quantities of Meat there, they very seldom hurt themselves that way.


Neither can I think, but that Milk, Butter and Cheese, which the Natives knew nothing of before the Arrival of the *Spaniards*, must be a good wholesome kind of Diet in that warm Latitude ;

Latitude ; and of these they have a great deal at this Day, now *European* Cattle are multiply'd so prodigiously, as all Writers agree they are ; and I'm apt to think, one Reason of that Increase is, that neither *Spaniards* or *Indians* in that warm Country are very fond of Flesh of any kind.

Peru.

While I am treating of their Food, it is *Feasts*. very natural to speak of their Feasts, of which they had many within the compass of a Year ; particularly four in Honour of the Sun, and one at every new Moon, which I shall enlarge on under the Head of Religion. They had also their Feasts at the Accession of their Princes, and upon every Victory or Conquest as with us : Feasts at their Weddings and the Birth or Weaning of their Children, and almost upon every joyful Occasion as in other Countries. And at these the Guests were entertain'd with vocal and instrumental Musick, and Dancing, and the Men drank hard ; but according to *De la Vega*, they always left off early in the Evening and went home, and rising betimes in the Morning return'd to the Feast again ; some of these Entertainments lasting several Days. Their Princes and great Men also at such Times were entertain'd with *Tragedies* and *Comedies*, in which the Nobility and great Officers acted the principal Parts. Nor were there any constant Setts of mercenary Actors. However, according to *De la Vega*, they did not speak their own Sense, but their Poets compos'd the Play, and put Words in their Mouths ; which might be a proper and very easy way of instructing the young Nobility and Gentry in Principles of Morality and Politicks, and of forming their Action, and giving them an agreeable Address.

The

Peru.

 Exercise
 of Arms.

The exercising their Arms, the Lance or Spear, the throwing Darts, and shooting Arrows, were other Parts of their Recreations and Diversions ; to which all the better sort of People were bred ; and indeed we find Part of the Royal Family of the *Inca's* addicted to War and warlike Exercises (as others were to the Service of their Temples) and train'd up to Hardships from their Infancy, in order to make them good Soldiers, and qualify them for Posts in the Army.

Hunting.

Hunting was another of their Exercises and Diversions ; but this was not permitted to the common People. They were not to meddle with the Beasts of Chace or Game, under the severest Penalties ; only once a Year the Prince appointed a general Hunting-Match in some Part of his Dominions, contriving it so, that every Place enjoy'd four Years Rest ; during which Space the Game never were disturb'd, but had time to increase.

Of these hunting Expeditions, *De la Vega* gives the following Account. He says, after the Breeding-time was over every Year, the *Inca* or Prince assign'd a certain Part of the Country for this Diversion, appointing twenty or thirty thousand *Indians* to encompass a certain Space of Land, and beat twenty or thirty Leagues round by the sides of Rivers, and through Woods and Mountains ; and they march'd along hooping and hollowing till the Game came to be so straiten'd on all sides that they could not get away, and were easily taken. As to wild Beasts, such as Lions, Bears, Foxes, Mountain-Cats, Serpents, and all venomous Creatures, these they kill'd as they went along, and did not drive them into the Circle with the Game ; which consisted chiefly

chiefly of red and fallow Deer, and of the wild Huanacu or Lama's, and Vicuna's, that is, the Country Sheep and Goats, of which there was such Plenty, before the *Spaniards* arriv'd there, that they frequently took thirty or forty thousand of these sort of Deer and Cattle at one Hunting-Match.

Peru.

The Female Deer they suffer'd to escape, except the old barren Does which were kill'd. They releas'd also as many of the Males as were thought necessary to propagate the Species; and the rest being kill'd, their Flesh was divided among the common People; they also shorn the Sheep, and divided the Wool in like manner. But the fine Hair of the Vicuna's, or Goats, was reserv'd for the *Inca* and the Royal Family; for no other People might presume to wear Garments made of it.

But besides these annual Huntings, if I understand *De la Vega* right, the Caraca's, or great Lords, had every one the Privilege of hunting and taking Game within their respective Territories or Lordships; tho' the common People were not suffer'd to meddle with them at any time.

Before I conclude this Head of their Exercises and Diversions, it may be proper to observe, that every Nobleman and Gentleman learn'd some mechanick Art, such as the making of their Arms, Utenils of Husbandry, Cloathing, and the like, in which they busied themselves when they had nothing else to do: An idle slothful Man being universally detested, and severely punish'd by the Laws of *Peru*: Even their Women of Quality carried their Reels, Spindles, and Needle-work with them wherever they visit'd; nor was the Lady of the Family ever found unemploy'd.

Every Nobleman learn'd some Trade.

Visits and Ceremonies

Peru.

They were, according to *De la Vega*, like the *Chinese*, courteous and ceremonious even to a Fault in their Visits and Commerce with each other, always addressing their Superiors, and even their Equals and Inferiors, in the most obliging and complaisant Language; and yet these were the People that the first *Spanish* Adventurers represented as brutish and barbarous, and made this the Pretence for taking away their Country and enslaving them; many of the *Indians* they charge even with sacrificing their own Species and eating them; particularly here in *Peru*, *Acosta*, a celebrated Writer, has the Assurance to say, they sacrificed Children at their grand Festivals. Whereas, *De la Vega*, who was a Native of *Peru*, and better acquainted with their Customs than any Man that ever wrote, is positive there were no human Sacrifices or Canibals, in the Dominions of the *Inca's*, which extended three thousand Miles, while they govern'd *Peru*, which was four or five hundred Years; and what there was before that Time no Man can pretend to say, there being no such thing as Letters amongst them to record their Actions. But to return to the Exercises of the *Peruvians*. The being swift of Foot was esteem'd a very great Accomplishment, and Prizes given to those that excell'd at their Foot-Races by publick Authority; for as there was no Writing, every thing of Importance was committed to Memory: And if a distant Viceroy, or Governor, had any thing to communicate to the Emperor at *Cusco*, it was done by word of Mouth, and that not by one Express, but perhaps by forty or an hundred: For at every Quarter of a League on the great Roads were little Houses

or

Races.

Posts and
Expresses.

or Guard-rooms, where seven or eight of the Emperor's Messengers or Pursuivants always attended, who were of the better sort of People, and capable of receiving and telling a Message very exactly, their Heads being as well furnish'd as their Heels: One or more of these were dispatch'd upon all Affairs of State; and having deliver'd their Message at the next Stage, some of those ran and deliver'd the Message to the next, and so on till they reach'd the Court; but they all carried their Quippo's or colour'd Strings and Knots with them, which as to Numbers, and the Qualities of many Strings, assisted their Memories very much, and prevented Mistakes. And so swiftly did these Expresses (or Chaquis) run, that the Court received the Intelligence in twenty-four Hours, tho' the Governor who sent it was at an hundred and fifty Miles distance: And in case of a Rebellion or Invasion, they had Beacons on high Hills at proper Distances, which they fired, and thereby gave Notice from one to another; so that the Court had Intelligence of it in a few Hours from the remotest Part of their Dominions.





C H A P. VI.

Of the Peruvian Animals.

Peru.
Animals.



S Peru and Mexico both lie for the most part between the Tropicks, their Animals, Beasts, Birds, and Fishes are, for the most part, of the same Species. I shall not

therefore describe those again that have been treated of already in *Mexico*, but speak chiefly of such as seem peculiar to *Peru*. And first of those Animals to which the *Europeans* have given the Names of Sheep and Goats, because they resemble those Animals more than any other we have in this Part of the World.

Paco's, or
Peruvian
Sheep

The *Peruvian* Sheep I find in different Authors are call'd by different Names, as Paco's, Lama's, Huanacu, and Guanacu; and these are distinguish'd again by the tame and the wild, the large and the small kind. The large tame Huanacu, *De la Vega* informs us, is of the Bigness of a Stag, and resembles a Camel the most of any other Beast, only it hath no Bunch on its Back: He hath a long smooth Neck, his Body is cover'd with a coarse Wool, and the Hide makes excellent Leather. They are of a Disposition, says *Blos Valera*, as gentle and tractable as the *Indians* themselves, being so tame that a Child may govern them, and were the only Beasts used in carrying of Burdens when the *Spaniards* arriv'd there. The tame ones differ

as much in Colour as Horses do in *Europe*; but the wild are always of a Chestnut Colour: The Flesh of this Creature is tender, and exceeding fine eating, and so wholesome and inoffensive, that it is the Food of sick People, and preferred before Chickens; but what they were most valued for before Horses and Mules were imported was, their carrying Burdens; all kind of Merchandize being transported from one Part of the Country to the other on the Backs of these Creatures. *De la Vega* says, it was common to see eight hundred or a thousand of them in a Caravan, and being very sure-footed, they would carry their Burdens over Rocks and Precipices, where a Man could hardly travel on Foot: Their usual Burden was about three or four-score Pound Weight, with which they travelled nine or ten Miles a-day; but were not to be driven beyond their usual Pace, for if they were, they tired and lay down, and there was no getting them up again, tho' their Burdens were taken off their Backs; for which Reason they had always forty or fifty of them unladen in their Caravans; and when they observ'd any one of the laden Sheep began to tire, they eas'd him of his Burden, and laid it upon one that was fresh.

They were no Charge to their Masters, who only took off their Packs and turn'd them up to graze in the common Fields at the End of every Stage; tho' they would eat Corn if it was given them: Nor was there any need of Pack-saddles, the Wool on their Backs serving instead of them: And as they were cloven-footed, and had a callous spongy Matter at the Bottom of their Feet, they needed no Shoeing.

The

Pern.



The lesser sort of Sheep, or Paco's, carry'd no Burdens, but their Flesh was almost as good Meat as the former, and their Wool long and much esteem'd, of which they made several sorts of Stuffs for Cloathing, dying it of various Colours that never chang'd or faded. But the *Peruvians* neither milked the one or the other, or indeed any Animal.

The wild Sheep, to which the Name of Huanacu sometimes seems to be appropriated, afforded them Wool, but not so fine as the tame ones; nor was their Flesh so good Meat. *De la Vega* relates, that the Males usually kept a Watch on the Hills while the Females fed in the Valleys; and when they discover'd any People coming towards them neigh'd like Horses; whereupon the Females fled to their Cover, and the Males always brought up the Rear till they were out of Danger.

Vicagnes,
or Goats.

The *Peruvian* Goats (call'd *Vicagnes* or *Vicuna's*) had that Name given them by the *Spaniards*, because they resembled a *European* Goat more than any other Animal. It is a long-leg'd Creature, bigger than the largest Goat, without Horns, and so swift of Foot, that no Greyhound can take it, and therefore they are usually shot or snar'd. Their Flesh is lean, tough, and ill-tasted, and yet in much Esteem with the *Indians* on account of some medicinal and healing Qualities it is said to have: And its Wool, or rather fine soft Fur, is much more esteem'd than the Wool of their Sheep; for of this they make the finest Garments and Carpets, which were permitted to be worn and used only by the *Inca's* and the Royal Family. And as this Wool is of a light Chestnut Colour, they never dy'd it. These Creatures commonly herd together
in

in the highest Parts of the Mountains near the
Snows. Peru.

Acofta relates, that in these and most of the Bezoar-wild Cattle of *Peru*, the Bezoar-Stone is found Stone. in their Stomachs and Bellies, and that there are sometimes, two, three, or four together of different Shapes, Size, and Colour, some as big as Filberts, others of the Size of Pidgeons Eggs, or Walnuts, and some as large as Hens Eggs; and he had seen of them as big as Oranges, and they were also of several Colours; some black, others white, dark, grey, green, and some look'd as if they were gilded, and were covered with many Coats and Skins. The Bezoar-Stone is found both in the Male and Female, and all Beasts that engender it chew the Cud, and usually feed upon the Rocks in the Snow. And as there are many Herbs and venomous Reptiles that poison the Waters and Pastures in this Country, so there is one Herb, which the *Vicuna's* and other Beasts which engender the Bezoar-Stone, run to by Instinct when they find themselves poison'd, and by that means expell it: And the *Indians* are of Opinion, that of this Herb the Stone in the Stomach of these Animals is compounded; from whence it receives that Virtue against Poisons, and produces many other wonderful Effects; and this, our Author observes, agrees with *Pliny's* Relation of the Mountain-Goats, which fed upon poisonous Herbs without suffering any Damage: but these seem to be very uncertain Conjectures. Our Author adds, that these Stones are frequently form'd in the Stomach, upon little Pieces of Wood, Shells, or Iron, which are found in the Centre of the Ball. Since these Stones have been so much in Esteem, the
Indians

Peru.

Indians have counterfeited them, and these Counterfeits not producing the like Effects as those that are real have made some People question their good Qualities ; but *Acosta* assures us, he has seen many notable Cures done by them.

Deer.

There are red and fallow Deer in *Peru*, but much less than those of *Europe* ; they were so numerous before the Arrival of the *Spaniards*, that they came in Drove into the Villages, the common People never attempting to kill or take them, as they were royal Game. They had also tame and wild Rabbits, and these every Man was at Liberty to keep or take, and scarce a House without them.

Wild
Beasts.

As to wild Beasts, they had some few Lions, but neither so large or so fierce as those of *Africa*. They had still fewer Bears, and not any Tygers, unless upon some of the highest Mountains of the *Andes*. Nor do I find they had any Wolves, so that People travell'd in great Security, and their tame Cattle were in no Danger of being destroy'd by them as in *Europe* ; which was very happy, especially as they had no Dogs capable of defending their Flocks ; and indeed they had no other Dogs but a kind of Mongrels or Lurchers that never bark'd. *De la Vega* mentions a Beast that is found on the Mountains of the *Andes* in Shape like a Cow, but less, and without Horns ; of whose Hides they make Buff and very strong Leather : But he says, there are scarce any of the Pecoree or Warree (a kind of *American Hog* describ'd in *Mexico*) in *Peru*, or any-where to the Westward of the Mountains of the *Andes*.

Monkeys.

There are great Numbers of Monkeys in this Country of various Kinds and Colours, some with Tails, others without, and some four

four times as large as the ordinary Monkeys. The account *Acosta* gives of their Tricks and Dexterity is scarce credible, and yet we find *De la Vega* asserts he has been an Eye-witness of the like.

Some of these Monkeys, says *Acosta*, are black, others grey, and a third sort are spotted. Their Activity and Motion is such, that they seem to have Reason and Discourse : They would leap from one Tree to another ; and when the Distance was such, that one could not reach the Place, they would hang themselves from the Bough of a Tree, one at the Tail of another, and fetching a long swing, the lower-most with the help of the other would throw himself to the Bough they aim'd at, and when he was there help'd his Companions after him. These Monkeys, when they were tam'd and taught, seem'd to equal Men in Understanding. He saw one of *Carthagera* that was often sent to the Tavern for Wine, his Master giving him Money in one Hand and a Bottle in the other : And when the Creature came to the Tavern, he would not deliver his Money till he had receiv'd his Wine ; and if the Boys met him by the way, and play'd the rogue with him, he would set down his Bottle, and throw Stones at them till he had clear'd his way, and then take up his Bottle, and run home. And tho' he loved Wine excessively, would never touch a Drop without his Master's Leave : If he met with a Woman well dress'd he would seize upon her Cloaths, and be more familiar with her than she desired. Concluding, that he thought there was no Animal in the World so sagacious and so delighted with human Society as this Species of Monkeys.

Peru.

It has been observ'd already, that there were not to be found either in *Peru*, or any other Part of *America*, when the *Spaniards* arriv'd there, any Horses, Cows, Elephants, Camels, Affes, Mules, Sheep, or Hogs.

Cattle
imported
from *Eu-
rope*.

The first Horses and Mares were carried over about the Year 1495, from *Andaluzia* in *Spain*, to the Island of *Hispaniola* and *Cuba*, where they multiplied prodigiously, and were from thence transported to *Mexico* and *Peru*, being of great Service to the *Spaniards* in those Conquests: They were so valuable that no Man knew what Price to set upon his Horse, or indeed would part with him on any Terms, only in case the Master dy'd, or return'd to *Spain*, his Horse was set to sale, and the Price was usually four or five thousand Crowns; and my Author relates that he was acquainted with a certain *Spanish* Gentleman, who seeing a Negroe Boy leading a fine manag'd Horse in the Year 1554, offer'd ten thousand Crowns for the Horse and the Boy, which was refus'd by the Officer that own'd them; and a few Days after, the Horse was killed in a Battle, and the Master mortally wounded; but the Price of Horses soon abated, being turn'd loose into the Fields, where they multiplied apace, and prov'd a better Race than their *Spanish* Sizes, being broke and made fit for Service at three Years of Age.

The *Indians* were a great while exceeding fearful of Horses, and never thought themselves safe if they saw one loose in the Streets, expecting to be trampled under foot; nor would any of them for a great while be persuaded to take up the Trade of a Blacksmith (tho' they prov'd excellent Artists in forming any kind of Metal) lest they should be put upon

upon shoeing of Horses : And the *Indian Boys* that were taught to dress their Horses could hardly ever be persuaded to mount them.

The *Spaniards* at first found some Difficulty in breaking those wild Colts that were bred in the Mountains, but when they had once broke them, they became the most tractable Animals in the World.

Cows and Oxen also were highly valued when they were first imported. *De la Vega* relates, that he knew the first Man that was Master of a Cow in *Peru* ; and that the first Oxen he ever saw at Plow was in the Valley of *Cusco* in the Year 1550, when a great many thousand *Indians* were assembled to see the Novelty of the *Spanish* Husbandry.

The first Cows were only preserved for breeding, and when they had multiplied a little, and were brought into the Market for Sale, they were usually sold at 200 Crowns a-head, but in 1554 they were fallen to 100 Crowns a-piece, and in the Year 1590 they were so mightily increased that they were sold for twenty or thirty Shillings a-head : And being suffered to run wild in the Mountains, they were within a little time hunted in the manner described in *Mexico*, and killed for their Hides, which made Part of the Cargoes of such Ships as sailed to *Old Spain* ; Their Flesh it seems was little valued either by the *Spaniards* or *Indians*, which shews how absurd it is to represent the People who inhabit those hot Countries between the Tropicks as Devourers of Man's Flesh, where they eat little or no Flesh, and could not digest what we call a Belly-full of Meat if they did : I have seen Cuts indeed in some Histories of those Countries where the Natives are represented roasting of Legs and

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Arms of Men upon Spits, but such Writers surely were little acquainted with the Cookery of the *Peruvians*, who never saw a Joint of any Meat roasted till the *Europeans* came amongst them. The little Flesh they had, as has been observ'd already, was cut into thin Slices; and dry'd over a slow Fire, so that it would keep several Months; and when they dress'd it they stew'd a little of it with a good quantity of Herbs, Roots, Fruits and Pepper, in a Pot, six or seven Hours, and I don't find they had any other way of dressing their Meat: So far were they from roasting whole Joints either of Men or Animals upon Spits.

A Jack-Ass it seems was in much esteem also in *Peru* at first, the *Spaniards* buying them to get Mules out of their Mares: *De la Vega* says, he knew one sold for near eight hundred Crowns, and a Goat for an hundred, but these also multiplied so fast that they were become of little Value in his time. Hogs were much dearer than Goats. *Pedro de Sieca* relates, he saw a Sow and Pigs sold for near four hundred Pounds, and that young Pigs were sold for a hundred Crowns a-piece, but then we are to consider how plentiful Silver was in those Countries at that time; and that the *Spaniards* would give any Price for their own Country Food: These Animals also multiplied in *Peru* to a prodigious Degree; for *De la Vega* relates, that he saw two Sows in 1558 that had two and thirty Pigs each.

There have also been some Camels carried over, but these have not increased much.

The first *European* Sheep *De la Vega* saw in *Peru* was in the Year 1556, when they were valued at forty and fifty Crowns a-head, but they were increased so much in ten Years time, that

that a Sheep might be had for a Trifle; one Reason of which may be, that there are no Wolves, or scarce any wild Beasts to destroy them. And as they have great Numbers of Sheep, so they have a proportionable Quantity of Wool, but not fine; all the Wool I have seen in Countries between the Tropicks has been coarse, and more like Hair than Wool; and indeed the *Spanish* Writers tell us, the Wool of *Peru* serv'd only for the cloathing of the common People; the Garments, the *Indian* Princes wore were made of the fine Hair or Furr of the Vicugnes, or Mountain-Goats.

There were not it seems either House-Cats or Rats in *Peru* till the *Spaniards* imported them, and the Rats probably were carried thither in Shipping against their Wills; but they multiplied so fast, and grew so large on the Coast of *Peru*, that in the Year 1572 and 1573, they almost occasion'd a Famine, by eating up the Corn as soon as it was sown, and by pilling the Bark of the Fruit-Trees, and gnawing the Roots; insomuch that they were forc'd to publish a Proclamation, or Act of State, that every House should lay Ratbane to destroy them, and in the mean time that they should cover their Meat and Drink from the Rats, to prevent People's being poison'd: *De la Vega* says, as he walk'd one Evening by the Water-side, he saw the Ground cover'd with Rats that had been poison'd and came thither to drink for above an hundred Paces; and by this and some other Means their Numbers were considerably lessen'd for a time.

The *Peruvians*, according to *De la Vega*, Fowls had no tame Fowls or Poultry till the *Spaniards* imported them, unless it were a Fowl that something resembled a Duck, and was between

Peru.

between the Size of a Goose and a Duck : These the *Indians* called *Nuuma*, deriving the Name from *Nuna*, *to suck*, because they drew in their Meat as if they were sucking.

But as to wild Fowl and Birds they had great Variety both on the Land and on the Water : They had Eagles, but not so large as those of *Europe* ; Hawks of several kinds, and some sorts that were never seen on this Side the *Atlantick* ; but the *Spaniards* could never bring any of them to fly at Game, and therefore imported *Spanish* Hawks for that Sport : The most remarkable Bird of Prey was that which the *Indians* call'd the *Conder*, or *Cuntur*, many of which with the Wings extended measured fifteen or sixteen Foot from the extremity of one Wing to the other ; they are a very fierce voracious Fowl, and have Feet like a Hen (not Talons like the Eagle ;) however, they are so strong that two of them 'tis said will set upon a Bull or a Cow if they find them lying down, and rip up their Bowels ; and some of them have killed Boys of ten or twelve Years of Age, and devoured them ; they are black and white like a Magpye, and have Combs on their Heads ; and when they rise, or light, their Wings make such a humming Noise that it astonishes a Man ; there are but very few of these terrible Animals, but it seems they make no small havock among the Cattle where they haunt.

The same Writer mentions a kind of large Carrion Crows, which devour Flesh to that degree, that they can't fly till they have disgorg'd it, and says it is one of the Diversions of the Country to pursue them on Horseback ; when they spue up the Flesh all the way, they run
till

till they are light enough to fly ; but are sometimes taken before they can moant.

Upon the Coast of the *Pacifick Ocean* there are such Numbers of Birds and Fowls which prey upon the Shoals of Fish, that they sometimes darken the Sky for two or three Leagues, in *De la Vega's* Phrase ; their Rivers and Lakes also abound in Water Fowl, such as Herons, wild Ducks, wild Geese, Swans, and many other kinds that we never saw in *Europe*.

They have two sorts of Partridges, and a pretty great Plenty of them ; one sort as large as Hens, and the other less than *European* Partridges, both of them of a greyish Colour, and delicious Food ; they have also good store of Wood-pidgeons, but had no Dove-house Pidgeons till they were imported from *Spain* ; there are Turtle-doves of the Size and Colour of those of *Europe*, and others no bigger than Larks, that build in the Eves of Houses, and a great Variety of small Birds ; but they abound more in Parrots than any other, and these are of various Sizes and Colours, the least of the Bigness of Larks, and the largest as big as Pullets ; they are green, yellow, blue, and red, and some of them have fine long Feathers in their Tails, with which the *Indians* adorn their Heads on Festival Days.

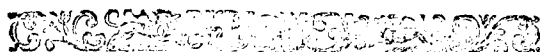
These Parrots, at the Season of the Year when the Corn is ripe, come from the Mountains into the Plains in such Numbers that they spoil great Quantities of Maiz, or *Indian* Corn.

The *South-Sea* is well replenish'd with all Fish. manner of Fish (particularly Pilchards) which are a great Part of the Subsistence of the People upon the *Peruvian* Coast, but their Rivers afford

Peru.

afford scarce any Fish, which is ascrib'd to their Rapidity falling with great Violence from the high Mountains of the *Andes*, and the Shallowness of their Channels; and there may be this further Reason for it, that most of them are dry at one Season of the Year, when the Fish must perish if there were any in them; at other times they have some Fish in their Lakes, but scarce any that are good for much, most of them a small long Fry not bigger than Sprats and without Scales; there is one kind indeed *De la Vega* mentions that has a broad Head like a Toad, which he says are pretty good eating.





C H A P VII.

Of the Mexican Vegetables, viz. of their Forest and Fruit Trees, Corn, Herbage, Roots, Flowers, Balm, Gums, and Drugs.



FOREST or Timber Trees are very scarce in *Peru*, unless in the Province of *Quitto* near the *Equator*, and here they have Cedars, Cotton-Trees, Coco-Trees, Palms, Mangroves, Bamboes, the Maho-Tree, Light-wood, and many other kinds of Wood which have been describ'd in treating of *Mexico*; but none are more valuable than the Tree which furnishes us with the *Kinquina*, or *Peruvian Bark*, which grows in the Province of *Quitto*, upon the Mountains near the City of *Loxa* (situated in 5 Degrees, South Latitude.) Mr. *Bernard* informs us, that it is of the Size of a Cherry-Tree, the Leaves round and indented, and bears a long reddish Flower, from whence arises a kind of Pod, in which is found a Kernel like an Almond, cloath'd with a slight Rind: That Bark which comes from the Trees at the Bottom of the Mountains is thickest, because it receives most Nourishment from the Earth. It is smooth, of a whitish Yellow without, and of a pale Brown within; that which comes from the Trees at the Top of the Mountains is abundantly more

Peru.
Vegetables.
Forest Trees.

Kinquina,
or *Peruvian*
Bark.

Peru. delicate ; but the Trees which grow in the
 Middle of the Mountains have a Bark still
 browner than the other, and more rugged ;
 all these Barks are bitter, but that from the
 Trees at the Bottom of the Mountains less than
 the others.

It follows from hence, that the Bark of the
 least Virtue, is that which grows in the lowest
 Places ; because it abounds more with earthly
 and watry Parts, than that which grows high,
 which for the contrary Reason is better ; but
 the best is, that which grows in the Middle of
 the Mountains, because it has not too much or
 too little Nourishment : There is another kind
 of this Bark which comes from the Mountains
 of *Potosi* (in 21 Degrees and a half, South
 Latitude) that is browner, more aromack,
 and bitterer than the former, but much scarcer
 than any of the rest.


The Qualities we ought to observe in the
 Bark are, that it be heavy, of a firm Substance,
 sound and dry ; we ought to reject such as is
 rotten, and will suck-in Water presently, and
 such as flies into Dust on breaking, or is dirty
 and unclean ; but we should make choice of
 little thin Pieces, dark and blackish without,
 with a little white Moss sticking to it, and
 reddish within, and it should be of a bitter
 disagreeable Taste : That which is of a russet
 Colour ought to be rejected ; and Care should
 be taken there be no other Wood mix'd with it,
 there being sometimes more of that than of the
 Bark itself.

Emery describes the *Kinquina* or fever
 Bark in the following manner ; he says, the
 Tree from whence it is taken is of the Size
 of an ordinary Cherry-Tree, and that there
 are two Sorts of it, the one cultivated, and the
 other

other wild, and that the cultivated is much preferred to the other; that the best Bark is of the most lively Colour, resembling dark Cinnamon, most curl'd up, as coming from the smaller Branches; of a bitter Taste, very astringent, or rough and stiptick upon the Tongue, and whitish outwardly: The thick flat dark-coloured is not so good, and if it wants the bitter Taste and Stipticity is good for nothing.

Physicians observe, that it is a Specifick for all sorts of intermitting Fevers and Agues, and that it stops Catarrhs and Fluxes of all sorts; but that it ought not to be given in continued burning Fevers, or when the Fit is upon the Patient: It is prohibited also in Obstructions, or where People are costive, and in many other Cases; and in short, they would never have it administred without the Advice of the Learned; but to me it seems to be the most innocent Medicine that ever was taken, especially if the Bark be chew'd: This way I believe it may be taken almost in any Case, and at any Time, without any Danger, and is not near so nauseous as in the Powder; and if I may judge by Experience, has more Effect this way than any other, and a less Quantity of it will do than when it is taken in Powder; one Reason whereof may be, that Persons who chew it usually make choice of the best; whereas the Apothecary crams Wood or any thing down the Patient's Throat, and such Rubbish cannot be expected to have the same Success as real Bark.

Maiz, or *Indian* Corn, which has been de- *Indian*
scrib'd already, may be call'd the Staff of *Corn*.
Life in this Country, being as generally eaten
as Wheat in *Europe*. They also made their

Peru.  strongest Drink of it after they had steep'd and dry'd it, as we do Barley; and as the Country is for the most part hot and dry as well as mountainous, they were at great Pains in collecting the Waters and introducing Rivulets into their Corn-fields, without which this kind of Grain will not grow in that hot Climate. They throw their Fields therefore into level Squares, that they may retain the Water; and where they meet with a Mountain of a tolerable good Soil they cut it into Squares, one above another, from the Bottom to the Top, supporting them with little Stone Walls; so that they look like hanging Gardens or Stairs: And if they can meet with a Fountain on the Top of the Hill, from thence they water all the Squares beneath: They used also to make Aqueducts and Canals, several hundred Miles in Length, into which they brought all the Streams and Rivulets they could meet with, and from these every Man was allow'd to let Water into his Grounds, in his turn, to improve both his Corn and Grass. So diligent and industrious were the ancient *Peruvians* in their Husbandry. But the *Spaniards*, we are told, have let most of these Aqueducts run to ruin; one Reason whereof may be, that the *Spaniards* have now introduc'd Wheat and other *European* Grain, which may not require so much Moisture: And another Reason for this Neglect may be, that these Countries are not half so populous as when the *Spaniards* arriv'd there, and consequently less Grain is wanting. I can't avoid taking Notice here, that the *Chinese* and the *Peruvians* seem to agree pretty much in their Agriculture, and to have been equally industrious in improving their Grounds, cutting their Hills into square Spots,


Their
Husbandry.

Spots, so as to make them fruitful to the Top. Both these distant Nations also agreed in this, that human Dung was the best Compost for some Grounds.

By the Sea-Coast, below *Arequipa*, for two hundred Leagues, they use no other Dung but that of Sea-Fowls, of which there are incredible Numbers breed on the Islands near the Coast, and lay such Heaps of Dung, that at a Distance they appear like Hills of Snow. On other Parts of the Coast, more to the Southward, they dung their Lands with a small Fish like Pilchards; and it is with infinite Labour here, for six or seven hundred Leagues along the Coast of *Peru* and *Chili*, that the Natives find a Subsistence; for they have no Springs or Rivers; nor does a Drop of Rain ever fall on those parch'd Sands: The Natives therefore near the Sea, according to *De la Vega*, dig through the Sand eight or twelve Foot deep, and there meeting with Earth which has some Moisture in it, plant Grains of Maiz in Holes, at equal Distances, and in the same Holes put some Pilchards Heads, which, without any other dunging or watering, brings the Corn to Perfection; by which Means they get Bread enough to sustain the few Inhabitants that dwell on that barren Part of the Coast.

Wheat and Barley, my Author says, were first imported into *Peru* about the Year 1540, by a noble Lady, who had a Plantation bestowed on her by the *Spanish* Viceroy, for being so great a Benefactor to the Country; both these kinds of Grain thriving well, and yielding a great Increase in several Parts of *Peru*.

Engrain
Grain
sow'd in
Peru.

Peru.

 Vines
 planted
 there.

Francis de Caravantes, a Nobleman of *Toledo*, had the Honour of planting the first Vines in *Peru*, which he imported from the *Canaries* about the same time. The *Spaniards*, in a very few Years afterwards, made Wine there ; but it seems the *Indians* preferred their own Liquor, made of *Indian Corn*, to any Wine made of Grapes, and liked Bread made of Maiz better than wheaten Bread ; such ungentile Palates had my Country-men, says *La Vega*.

Their
 Vineyards
 water'd.

They water their Vineyards in all Parts of *Peru* chiefly by turning Rivulets through them, or letting-in the Water from some adjacent River or Reservoir ; for the Country is so hot and dry, that their Vines will yield no Grapes if they are not water'd : When they would have them bear Fruit therefore, they water the Vines, and they have ripe Grapes at what Time of the Year they please.

Scarce any
 Difference
 of Seasons.
 Olives.

The same thing is observ'd of their Maiz or *Indian Corn*, one Man is sowing of it, while his Neighbour has it grown up a good Height, and perhaps is ready for Harvest ; that it may truly be said, in great Part of the Country, they know no Difference of Seasons.

Sugar,
 Oranges,
 Peaches,
 &c.

Olives have been carried over also into *Peru*, but they do not thrive there so well as other *European* Plants ; tho' they are found very agreeable to the Soil of *Chili*. However, *Peru*, at this Day, abounds in Sugar-Canes, Oranges, Lemons, Figs, Cherries, Apples, Pears, Quinces, Nectarines, Peaches, Apricots, Plumbs, and Pomgranates ; none of which Fruits were in *Peru* before the *Spaniards* arrived there : But they had Coco-nuts, Cacao-nuts, Pine-apples, Guava's, Plantains, and most of the Fruits enumerated in *Mexico*.

Coco,
 Cacao,
 Pine-apples,
 &c.

As

As to the Kitchen-Garden, they had neither Lettice, Radishes, Turnips, Garlick, Onions, Beets, Spinage, Asparagus, Melons, Cucumbers, Pease, Beans or Rice; of all which there are now great Plenty, as there are also of Roses, Jessamin, and many odoriferous Flowers they never saw before the *Spaniards* imported them. But then they had several sorts of Herbs, Flowers, Sallading and Roots that we want, particularly the Cassavi-Root, which serv'd great part of *North* and *South-America* instead of Bread, as has been observ'd in the Description of *Mexico*: And 'tis observ'd of the Fruits and Plants that have been carried thither from *Europe*, that they thrive better, and grow much larger there than they do here. *De la Vega* relates, that he had seen Bunches of Grapes from eight to ten Pound weight, Quinces as big as his Head, and other Fruits proportionably large.

Peru.
Kitchen
Gardens.

Cassavi
Root.

Fruits of
Europe
vastly
large.

I must not pass over the Plants that produce those excellent Balms and Gums for which this Country is celebrated, and particularly that call'd *The Balsam of Peru*, of which we meet with the following Account in the *History of Drugs*. It proceeds from the Trunks and Branches of a little Tree. There are three sorts of it. The first is call'd the Balsam by Incision, and is a white Liquor; the second is call'd Balsam of the Shell, which drops from the Ends of the Branches that are cut, to which they hang small Flasks or Baskets, to receive it; and thus they draw it off till the Tree will yield no more. They expose it some Days in the hottest Places, where it congeals, and changes to a reddish Colour. The third is a black Balsam, which is made by boiling the Bark-Branches and Leaves of these little Trees in

Balm.

Balsam
of Peru
describ'd

Peru. in Water; and after they have boil'd some time, they take off the Fat or Scum that swims on the Top, which is of a black brown Colour, and call'd (as well as the former) *Balsam of Peru.*

In the second Description of this Balsam in the *History of Drugs*, it is said there are three sorts also; but that the first is call'd Dry Balsam, being a sort of hard, reddish, fragrant Rosin, the second a liquid white Rosin, and the third a black odoriferous Balsam, which is most common, and generally used as well in Physick as for Perfumes: It ought to be viscous, and of a Turpentine Consistence; of a blackish brown Colour; a sweet agreeable Taste, having some Resemblance of Storax. These Balsams are proper for the Brain and Stomach, drive malignant Humors off by Perspiration, deterge and heal Wounds, strengthen the Nerves, and resolve cold Tumors: the Dose from a Drop to four or five.

Besides this Balm, the Country produces Anami, Caranna, Storax, Cassia-festata, Guaiacum, Sarsaparilla, Saffiras, Copal, Liquid Amber, and several other Gums and Drugs, mention'd already in the Description of *Mexico*.



C H A P. VIII.

Of their Minerals and precious Stones.



OLD and Silver were so plentiful in *Peru* in the sixteenth Century, when *De la Vega* flourish'd, that he relates, there had been exported from thence to *Spain* every Year, for twenty-five Years successively, the Value of twelve or thirteen Millions (of Crowns, or Pieces of Eight I presume he means) each Year, besides what had pass'd without Account. And observes, that Gold was found in every Province of *Peru*, more or less; some found on the Surface of the Earth, and wash'd down by Torrents, which the *Indians* gather'd up in Baskets and separated from the Sand, being usually as small as the Filings of Steel; tho' sometimes Pieces are found of the Size and Form of Melon-seeds, and some are round, and others oval: And that the Gold of *Peru* is generally about eighteen or twenty Quillats (I suppose it should be Carats) in Goodness; only the Gold that comes from the Mines of *Callavia* or *Caravani*, he says, he has been inform'd is of the Fineness of twenty-four Carats or better. And here it may be proper to inform such as are not conversant in these Matters, that a Carat of Gold is of the Weight of a Scruple, or twenty-four Grains, and consequently twenty-four Carats make an Ounce:

Peru.
Minerals.

Gold.

Peru.

And Gold that is entirely fine, is call'd of twenty-four Carats, because, if you put an Ounce of such Gold to the Proof it will not be diminished; but if an Ounce of Gold waste a Scruple in the Proof, it is Gold of twenty-three Carats. If it waste two Scruples, it is Gold of twenty-two Carats, and so on. But several Refiners are of Opinion, there is no Gold of twenty-four Carats; for let it be refin'd never so well, there will remain some light Portion of Silver in it.

Our Author proceeds and relates, that in the Year 1556, there was dug out of the Veins of a Rock in the Mines of *Callavia* (of the finest sort of Gold, being of twenty-four Carats) a Piece of Gold Ore as big as a Man's Head, something resembling a Man's Lungs in Colour and Shape, having certain Perforations in it from one End to the other; and in all the Holes were little Kernels of Gold, as if melted and drop'd into them. And some who understood the Nature of this Mineral were of Opinion, that had it remain'd in the Rock, it would all have turn'd into perfect Gold in time.

The owner of this valuable Piece of Ore was carrying it over to *Spain*, in order to make a Present of it to King *Philip II.* but the Ship was cast away in the Voyage, and he perish'd with his Treasure.

Gold, says a certain Writer, is the most solid, weighty, compact Metal, generated in Mines in several Parts of the World; but the greatest Quantity is brought in Bars or Ingots from *Peru*. That which is found in a Mass or Lump in the Mines, is call'd *Virgin Gold*, because it comes pure out of the Mine, and
needs

needs no farther Preparation, and is soft enough to receive the Impression of a Seal. Peru.

The second sort is in Grains, not so fine as the first. The third is Gold mix'd with other Metals ; and the Marcasite or mineral Stone, the Gold and the Stone being form'd and incorporated together: This is call'd Gold-Ore. And the fourth is Gold-Dust, mix'd with Sand at the Bottoms of Rivulets ; and there is ten times more Gold found in such Sands than is acquir'd all other ways.

All Stones, which contain any Metal, are call'd Marcasite. But the three principal Stones that are call'd Marcasite are, those that contain Gold, Silver, or Copper. The two first are in little Balls, of the Bigness of a Nut, almost round, weighty, and brownish without, but of different Colours within ; for the first is of the Colour of Gold, the other of Silver, but both bright and shining.

Gold is often found mix'd with Silver or Copper. That which is mix'd with Silver, is of fewer Carats than that mix'd with Copper. Father *Feuillee* relates, that he was at *Lima* in *Peru* in the Year 1709, and saw in the Cabinet of *Don Antonio Portocaroro*, a Piece of Gold Ore as it came out of the Mines, that weigh'd thirty-three Pounds some odd Ounces, which was found by an *Indian* in a Brook. The upper Part of it was Gold of twenty-two Carats, and the lowest of seventeen Carats and an half, decreasing gradually in its Fineness to the Bottom.

There are a great many Silver Mines in several Parts of *Peru* ; but those of *Potosi*, in the Province of *Charcas*, in 22 Degrees of Southern Latitude, are the richest. These were discover'd in the Year 1545, about

Peru. fourteen Years after the *Spaniards* invaded that Country. The Mountain, in which the Mines are, is now entirely undermin'd, such vast Quantities of Silver having been drawn from it. It is of the Form of a Sugar-Loaf, of a dark red Colour, a League in Circumference at Bottom, and a Quarter of a League towards the Top, and stands in the Middle of a Plain, being some Mornings cover'd with a Cap of Snow, for it is exceeding cold here, considering it lies within the Tropicks; and never was a more barren Country seen for several Leagues round; but 'tis observ'd, wherever the Earth is enrich'd with this kind of Treasure, there are no fruitful Fields or Pastures to be met with: At the Foot of this Mountain, rises another little Hill, in which are some Mines, and the *Spaniards* have given it the Name of *Young Potosi*. These Mines were never discover'd, or wrought by the *Indians*, before the Arrival of the *Spaniards*, tho' they had dug those of *Porco* about six Leagues distant from *Potosi*.

Acosta relates, that they were discover'd by mere Accident. He says, an *Indian*, pursuing his Game up the Mountain of *Potosi*, and being like to fall, laid hold of a Shrub, that grew upon a Vein of Silver, to save himself; and happening to pull it up by the Roots, thereby discover'd the rich Metal underneath. He kept the Thing secret, it seems, till he had drawn from it Silver enough to enrich himself and his Family; but at length it was discover'd to the *Spaniards*, who thereupon parcel'd it out among such Adventures, as would undertake the digging and refining the Silver, on such Terms as the Government impos'd on them.

That

That which made the Mines of *Potosi* the more valuable, was, that they were never hinder'd working by Water, as they are in other Mines, tho' they had sunk them two hundred Fathom deep. *Acosla* informs us, that the first forty Years these Mines of *Potosi* were wrought, there were register'd † *One hundred two thousand Millions of Pieces of Eight* (or Crowns) besides a great deal that had been carried off without paying Custom; but according to some late Travellers, these Mines begin to be exhausted. To proceed:

The same Writer gives the following Account of the State of the Mines of *Potosi*. In his time, he says, this Rock of *Potosi* then contain'd four principal Veins, all which lay on the East-side of the Mountain towards the rising Sun; and on the West Part there was not any one Vein: That the Veins run from North to South, the largest of them being six Foot over, and the narrowest about a Span broad; and there are other Ramifications which branch'd out like the Boughs of Trees: That in the richest of these Veins, there were seventy-eight Mines, eighty or a hundred Fathom deep, and some two hundred. But at length, instead of digging downwards, they open'd the Rock at the Bottom, and so proceeded horizontally, till they met with the Silver-Veins; but he observes, that the nearer the Vein is to the Surface of the Earth, the richer it is. These Vaults, by which they pierc'd into the Mountain, were call'd *Soccabous*, being eight Foot in Breadth, and a Fathom in Height, and by these they easily drew

† This must surely be a Mistake; the *hundred* at least ought to have been left out.

Peru.



out the Metal as they found it ; but he says, the Rock was so hard, that they work'd between twenty and thirty Years in the principal of these *Soccabous*, before they came at the Metal: And as they labour in these subterraneous Passages, without receiving either Light or Heat from the Sun, the Air is so cold and unwholesome, that a Person, at his first Entrance into them, is seiz'd with a Disorder, not unlike that of Sea-Sickness ; as our Author himself, who visited them, experienc'd. The Labourers in these Mines take it by turns, working alternately Night and Day, which to them are alike, as they always work by Candle-light. The Ore is commonly so hard, that they are forced to break it with Hammers, and it splits, as if it were Flint.

Quick-
silver
Mines.

Another Part of the Riches of *Peru* consists in their Quicksilver, of which they have several Mines in the Audience of *Lima*, particularly in the Mountains of *Oropeza* and *Guancavilca*, near the City of *Guamanga*. It is found, according to *Acosta*, in a kind of Stone call'd *Cinabar*, which likewise yields Vermilion. He observes, that the Native *Indians* had long wrought these Mines before the *Spaniards* arriv'd, without knowing what Quicksilver was. They sought only for the *Cinabar* or Vermilion, which they call'd *Limpi*, esteeming it for the same Reason the *Romans* and *Ethiopians* did anciently ; namely, to paint their Faces and Bodies on Festivals and Rejoicing-Times, and to beautify and adorn the Images of their Gods.

Nor did the *Spaniards* discover there was Quicksilver in these Mines, till the Year 1567, when *Henriques Garcias*, a Native of *Portugal*, happening to meet with a Piece of that
Ore,

Ore, which the *Indians* call'd *Limpi*, and with which they painted their Faces, consider'd that this must be the same which they call'd Vermilion in *Spain*, and knowing that Vermilion was extracted out of the same Ore as Quicksilver was, he went to the Mines to make the Experiment, and found it to be according as he had conjectur'd; and great Numbers of Labourers were immediately employ'd to draw the Quicksilver out of these Mines, of which there are many in the abovesaid Mountains; one whereof *Acosta* describes to be a Rock of hard Stone, intermix'd with Quicksilver, extending above fourscore Yards in Length, and forty in Breadth, and threescore and ten Fathom deep; so capacious, that three hundred Men might work in it at a time. They did not begin to refine their Silver with Mercury, at *Potosi*, till the Year 1571, when *Fernandez de Valesco* came thither from *Mexico*, and put them into this Way: Whereupon they convey'd their Quicksilver to the Port of *Arica* by Sea, and from thence by Land-Carriage to the Mines of *Potosi*, and by this means they extracted a great deal more Silver from their Ore, than ever they could do before by Fire alone.

Father *Acosta* proceeds to give us this farther Account of the Manner of refining, or separating Quicksilver from the Ore. He says, they take the Stone, or hard Ore in which it is found, and beating it to Powder, put it into the Fire in Earthen Pots well luted and clos'd, and the Stone being melted by the Heat of the Fire, the Quicksilver separates itself, and ascends, till it encounters the Top of the Pot, and there congeals; and if it was suffer'd to pass out, without meeting any hard

Peru.



hard Substance, it would mount, till it became cold, and then congealing, would fall down again; but as they melt the Ore in Earthen Pots, it congeals at the Top of the Pots, which they unstop, and draw out the Metal when it is cold; for if there remain any Fume or Vapour, it endangers the Lives of the Workmen, at least they will lose their Teeth, or the Use of their Limbs.

They put the Quicksilver, when it is melted, into Skins, for it keeps best in Leather; and thus they send it from the Quicksilver Mines to *Potosi*, where they spend above seven thousand Quintals (Hundred Weight) in refining Silver, every Year, besides what is spent at other Mines. The richest Ore, 'tis observ'd, consumes most Quicksilver, and the poorest much less: They first beat, or grind the Ore very small, and sift it through fine Sieves: Then they put it into Vessels upon the Furnaces, allowing to every fifty Quintals of powder'd Ore, five Quintals of Salt, for the Salt separates the Earth and Filth from the Metal, and thereupon the Silver is the more easily extracted by the Quicksilver. *As to the rest, I refer to the Description of Mexico, where I have already inserted Acofta's Account of refining Silver by Quicksilver.*

Quicksilver, both fix'd and running, found in the Mines.

In the History of Drugs it is said, that Quicksilver is found in the Mines after different Manners, sometimes inclos'd in its own Mineral, and sometimes fluid, and of as changeable a Figure as we see it: It is found sometimes among Earth and Stones, and very often embodied in natural Cinabar: Those who take Quicksilver from its Mine, or more properly from the Places it lies in, make use of great Iron Retorts to separate it from its Mineral,

Mineral, or other hard Bodies with which it is joined; and by means of Fire, and the fresh Water into which it falls, they render it fluid as we commonly have it: When it is found running, or liquid in the Ground, the Slaves who gather it have nothing to do but to strain it through Shamois Leather to cleanse it from its Impurities; and according to this Author, there are but two Places in *Europe* where Quicksilver is found, *viz.* in *Hungary* and *Spain*; and tho' some have asserted it has been found in *France*, they are mistaken; he admits indeed there was a Mine of Cinabar lately found in *Normandy*, but the great Charges of working it oblig'd them to stop it up again: *Lemery* observes, that Quicksilver is found on the Tops of Mountains, cover'd with white Stones as brittle as Chalk, and that the Plants which grow upon such Mountains are greener and larger than in other Places; but the Trees that are near the Quicksilver Mines rarely produce Fruits or Flowers, and that they usually find a great deal of Water about these Mines, which is necessary to draw off at the Foot of the Mountain before they can be wrought.

Quicksilver is so very weighty, that Mr. *De Furetiere* affirms, a solid Foot of Mercury weighs nine hundred forty-seven Pounds, and that a cubical Foot of the *Seine* Water weighs but seventy Pounds, so that a Vessel that will hold thirty-five Pints of that Water, will contain nine hundred forty-seven Pounds of Quicksilver; and it is so exceeding strong as well as weighty, that an hundred and fourcore Pounds of Quicksilver will bear up an Iron Weight of fifty Pounds, as this Writer avers he had seen and experienced.

Peru.

The Properties of Quicksilver, says that Gentleman, are so great, that they exceed Imagination; into whatever Shape you metamorphose Mercury, you may make it return to its first State, and that with a very little Diminution. *Borrichius* a *Danish* Chymist says, that having operated upon Mercury for a Year together, and reduc'd it into several Forms, it took its own Shape at last by means of a little Salt of Tartar: I shall not, say the same Writers, pretend to decide the Controversy, whether it be cold or hot; but can affirm, it is so cold externally, that it is impossible to hold one's Hand in a Quantity of Quicksilver a Quarter of an Hour: He adds, that when the *Dutch* have a Mind to make Quicksilver portable, they fix it very easily, and put it into all sorts of Vessels, even into Paper, and send it to their Correspondents, who have the Secret to make it run again without any Charge.

As Mercury (says *Lemery*) is a very fluid Body, so it is more difficult to be found than other Metals, for it insinuates itself into Earths, and into the Clefts of Stones, so that you often lose the Sight of it, when you think you are just going to take it up; and Men cannot work at it many Years without having the Palsy, so that few are employed in it but Criminals, (in *Europe* he means.) He adds, that Quicksilver is not always taken out of the Mine neat and running, but generally mix'd with Earth, or reduc'd into a natural Cinabar, by some Portion of Sulphur it has met withal: That which has but a little Earth with it may be separated, by straining it through Leather; but when it has a great deal of Earth, or other Impurities,

Impurities, it must be put into Iron Retorts, to be purified in the manner above-mentioned.

The best way of purifying Quicksilver, says the same Author, is to mix together two equal Parts of Powder of Cinabar, and Filings of Iron, and fill about half, or two thirds of a Retort with them, then place it on a reverberating Furnace, and fit to it a Glass Recipient full of Water, without luting the Joints: Increase the Fire to the fourth Degree; you will find the Quicksilver distill and fall to the Bottom of the Recipient: Keep on the Fire till no more will rise, and you will have thirteen Ounces of running Mercury, from one Pound of Cinabar, which must afterwards be wash'd, and dry'd with Linnen Cloths, and strain'd through a Leather, and we may depend upon its Purity.

Cinabar, according to *Lemery*, is of two sorts; the one natural, call'd *Mineral Cinabar*, the other artificial, call'd simply *Cinabar*: The natural is found form'd in Stones that are red, shining, and weighty, in the Quicksilver Mines.

The natural Cinabar hath been sublimated by the subterraneous Fires, almost in the same manner as the artificial Cinabar; but as in its Sublimation it is mixed with Earth, it is not so weighty, pure, or beautiful as the artificial Cinabar, and contains less Mercury.

The artificial Cinabar is made with three Parts crude Mercury, and one Part Sulphur mix'd, and put into subliming Vessels over a gradual Fire. It ought to be made choice of in fair Stones, very weighty and bright, with long, clear, and fine Points, of a brownish red: Each Pound of Cinabar has fourteen Ounces of Mercury to two Ounces of Sulphur.

Peru.
Vermi-
lion.

Vermilion, says the same Writer, is Cinabar in Stone ground, with Urine, or *Aqua Vitæ*; it is a most beautiful Red, made use of by Painters, &c.

As to the Medicinal Virtues of Quicksilver, or Mercury and Cinabar, I must refer the Reader to the *History of Drugs* for his Satisfaction, or rather to advise him never to meddle with them, without the Directions of the Learned; for tho' they are excellent Medicines, a very small Mistake in the Application of them, I perceive, may be fatal to the Patient.

Precious
Stones.

As to the precious Stones of *Peru*, I find they have great Plenty of Emeralds here as well as in *Mexico*; but those having been treated off there, it is needless to describe them again.

Pearls.

They have also Turquoises, which are of a blue, or azure Colour, as the Emeralds are green, but not so much esteem'd; Crystal also is found here: And Pearls they had in greater Plenty in *South*, than in *North-America*, particularly on the Coast of *Terra-Firma* in the *North-Sea*, and in the Bay of *Panama* in the *South-Sea*; but those Fisheries seem to be almost exhausted.





C H A P. IX.

*The History, Religion, and Government,
of the ancient Peruvians, before the
Spanish Conquest.*



NOTHING is more uncertain ^{Peru.} than the Original of Nations, even in this Part of the World, where we have the Advantage of Letters ; perhaps there is not any one Country in *Europe* that can tell from what particular People they are deriv'd, and consequently neither know how, or when it was planted ; much less what were the Religion, Customs, or Manners of the first Inhabitants ; how then can we depend on the Accounts they give us of *Peru* for any Number of Years before the *Spanish* Conquest, when they had neither Letters or Characters to record the Transactions of preceeding Ages ?

Garcilasso De la Vega has indeed attempted to give us the History of *Peru*, even before the *Inca's* founded that Empire, that is, four or five hundred Years before the Arrival of the *Spaniards*, and was as well qualified for such an Undertaking, as any Man could be in such Circumstances, being descended, by his Mother's Side, from the Royal Family of the *Inca's*, and bred up among his Mother's Relations before they were converted to Christianity, or had received the *Spanish* Customs : And by
the

Ancient
History,
Religion,
Govern-
ment, &c.

Peru.

the Father's Side was descended from a *Spaniard* of Quality, and had the Advantage of a liberal Education : This Gentleman it seems made it his Business for several Years to inform himself, from his *Indian* Relations and Acquaintance, of the History and Customs of their Ancestors ; and afterwards came over to *Spain*, where that Court put him upon digesting and methodizing his Observations, and making them publick ; which he did, under the Title of *The Royal Commentaries of Peru*, and wanted no Assistance which the *Peruvians*, or *Spaniards* could give him in compiling of them ; but the *Spaniards* took Care that this History should be so modell'd, as to cast as little Reflection on their Conduct in subduing *Peru* as possible ; and the Historian himself seems to have had a strong Bias towards the Family of the *Inca's*, or *Peruvian* Emperors, from whom he was descended, ascribing the Civilizing of that People, and the Instructing them in every thing that was useful or excellent, to them. And that he may reflect the greater Honour on the *Inca's*, he represents the People of *Peru*, before the Foundation of that Empire, as barbarous as any People on the Face of the Earth ; nay, more savage than the Brutes themselves : And he might have this farther View in those horrid Accounts he gives us of the ancient *Peruvians* ; namely, to justify the *Inca's* Invasions of their Neighbours, and reducing them under their Obedience by Force, and compelling them to abandon their former way of Life, and submit to the Laws and Government of the *Inca's* ; affecting to give them the Title rather of Benefactors, than Destroyers of Mankind, as we find has ever been the Practice of both

both ancient and modern Conquerors, in order to palliate the Injustice of their Invasions, on the Liberties and Properties of their peaceable Neighbours.

Peru.



De la Vega tells us, that the ancient *Peruvians* were at best but tam'd Beasts, and some of them worse than the most savage Creatures; and beginning with their Religion, he says, every Tribe and Family had its particular God; that they ador'd Trees, Mountains, and Rivers, and worship'd Lions, and Tygers, and all manner of Animals; others made Stocks and Stones the Objects of their Adoration; and sacrificed not only their Enemies, but their Children to them, and eat them in great Joy and Festivity when they had done.

The savage Lives of the ancient *Peruvians*, according to *De la Vega*.

He confirms even that horrid and improbable Tale of *Blos Valeras*, who relates, that the Inhabitants of the Mountains of *Andes* eat Man's Flesh, and worship'd the Devil, who appear'd to them in the Form of a Serpent, or some other Animal: That when they took an ordinary Prisoner in War, they quartered him, and divided him among their Wives, Children, and Servants, to be eaten; or perhaps sold his Flesh in the Shambles: if it was a noble Captive, they strip'd him of his Garments, and ty'd him to a Stake, and alive as he was, cut him with Knives and sharp Stones, paring off Slices from the more fleshy Parts, as from the Buttocks, Calves of his Legs, and the brawny Parts of his Arms, and sprinkling the principal Men and Women with Part of the Blood, drank the Remainder, and eat his Flesh in haste, before it was half boil'd, lest the miserable Wretch should die before he had seen his Flesh devoured, and intomb'd in their Bowels; all this was perform'd

Peru. form'd by way of a religious Offering, till the Man expir'd ; and then they compleated the Feast, by devouring all the Remainder of his Flesh and Bowels, eating them with Silence and Reverence, as sacred, and partaking of a Deity. *Such, says De la Vega, was the Manner of these Brutes, because the Government of the Inca's was not receiv'd into their Country ; insinuating, that all Peru was peopled with such Savages, till the Inca's civiliz'd them : But sure such monstrous Relations need no Confutation, the very repeating them is sufficient to discredit them ; human Nature, could never be thus depraved and degenerated ; and thus much we are sure of, that De la Vega could have no Certainty of these Facts, for they are either related of such People as liv'd five hundred Years before he wrote ; or of those who inhabited distant and inaccessible Countries, which the Inca's never penetrated, or had any Commerce with.*

No Foundation for these Stories.

However, from such Stories as these, which the *Peruvians* seem to have been very full of, I make no manner of doubt but the *Spaniards* first took the Hint, and represented the *Peruvians* themselves to be addicted to the same barbarous Customs, and made this a Pretence for oppressing and enslaving them : And when both *Spaniards* and *Indians* contributed to support the Truth of such Relations, no wonder they were soon propagated all over *Europe* ; and we find it extremely difficult to undeceive the present Generation, especially as Mankind are frequently delighted with such Relations as are most monstrous and unnatural, and seem to wish they might be true.


De la Vega proceeds to represent the ancient *Peruvians*, as living under no Government, and

and in no Societies, but dispers'd over the Country in Dens and Caves, like wild Beasts; neither building, planting, or cloathing themselves, but feeding upon such Roots and Fruits of the Earth as grow spontaneously, or upon Man's Flesh.

Peru.

That others lived by Robbery, or Spoil, tyrannizing over their weaker Neighbours, and treating them as Slaves: That Mens Carcasses were commonly sold in their Shambles, and Sauzages made of their Guts: That they eat their own Children, and the Women they had them by, if they were Captives taken in the Wars, fattening such Children when they came to be ten or twelve Years of Age, as we do Calves or Lambs (says *De la Vega*, and some other *Spanish* Writers) and reserving them as most delicious Dishes for their own Tables. For all which, however, they have no better Authority than Tradition, as has been observ'd already, which, with the Improbability of the Thing, is abundantly sufficient to make any one suspend his Belief of such Relations, especially if it be consider'd that there are no such People upon the Face of the Earth; and many of those Nations, that have been represented as barbarous, have proved more humane, gentle, and tractable than their Enemies, who found it their Interest to dress them up in such shocking Colours, particularly the People of *Florida*, and those who inhabit some Mountains and Islands in the *East-Indies* and *Africa*; daily Experience now discovering they have been grossly abused by such Misrepresentations.

In the next Chapter, *De la Vega* charges the ancient *Indians* with Sodomy, and with having their Women in common, without any

Peru.  Regard to Kindred or Relation; and with practising the Arts of Poisoning and Witchcraft.

The Reformation of the Peruvians by the Inca's. But then he comes and relates in his 7th Chapter, that all these barbarous Customs were abolish'd by the *Inca's*, when they laid the Foundation of their Monarchy, and the People reduc'd to a more regular and decent Way of Living; of which they had in their Family the following Tradition.

That their Father, the Sun (*the Inca's giving out that they were the Off-spring of that glorious Planet*) beholding Mankind in that deprav'd and savage State above related, took Compassion on them, and sent a Son and Daughter of his own from Heaven to Earth, to instruct them to worship and adore him as their God, and to give them Laws and Precepts to govern themselves by, to form them into Societies, and instruct them in Building, Planting, and Husbandry, that they might live like Men, and enjoy the Fruits of the Earth.

With such Instructions, their Father (the Sun) plac'd his two Children in the Great Lake of *Titicaca*, from whence they were to begin their Labours for the Reformation of Mankind, giving them a little Wedge of Gold, which they were to strike into the Ground at every Place they slept or rested; and wherever this Wedge should sink into the Earth, and vanish out of their Sight, in that Place they were to make their Residence, and the People should resort to them to be instructed, their Father (the Sun) constituting them Lords and Sovereigns over all Men, that should be reduc'd from their savage Way of Life by their means.

That

That travelling Northward from the Lake of *Titicaca*, and striking the Golden Wedge into the Earth in the Valley of *Cusco*, there it disappear'd, as had been foretold; and thereupon they agreed to assemble the People there, in order to instruct them in the Doctrines committed to them: Accordingly the Man and the Woman separated, the one going to the North, and the other to the South, declaring to all they met in those wild and uncultivated Desarts, that their Father (the Sun) had sent them to be their Teachers and Benefactors, to draw them from that rude and savage Way of Life, form them into Societies, and instruct them in all such Arts as might render their Lives easy and comfortable.

That the Savages, observing these two Persons cloath'd and adorn'd, as their Father, (the Sun) had equip'd them, and that by the Gentleness of their Words, and the Grace of their Countenances, they manifested themselves to be the Children of the Sun, they were struck with Admiration, and gave them entire Credit, ador'd them as Children of the Sun, and obey'd them as their Princes.

Great Multitudes being assembled, they led them to that Spot of Ground where *Cusco* now stands, laid out the Plan of the City, and instructed the People how to prepare Materials for building it. In the next place, the *Inca* shewed the Men how to cultivate their Lands, and bring the Streams of Water into them, while his Queen taught the Women to spin, and weave their Cotton into Garments, to dress their Meat, and other Parts of Housewifry. This Colony flourishing extremely, drew in the Neighbouring Tribes to join them, and be Partakers of their Happiness; and

Peru.



now the *Inca*, finding himself in a Condition not only to defend himself against the rest of the Savages, but able to enlarge his Territories by Force, taught the People the Use of Arms; and those, who refused to submit themselves voluntarily, were compell'd, says my Author, by Force, to relinquish their former vagrant Life, and be obedient to the Laws of Society, the *Inca* extending his Conquests every Day, and planting Colonies in all Parts of the Country. This first *Inca* was named *Manco Capac*, and his Queen *Coya Mama*; and, according to *De la Vega's* Computation, they flourish'd about four hundred Years before the Arrival of the *Spaniards*.

*Manco
Capac, first
Inca.*

His Laws.

Manco Capac did not only teach all his Subjects to adore his Father (the Sun) but instructed them also in the Rules of Morality and Civility, directing them to lay aside their Prejudices to each other, and to do as they would be done by. He ordain'd, that Murder, Adultery, and Robbery, should be punish'd with Death: That no Man should have but one Wife; and that in Marriages they should confine themselves to their respective Tribes: And over every Colony, he plac'd a Caracas, or Prince; or, as they call such a Chief in other Parts of *America*, a Cacique, who govern'd the People under them, as their Subjects. He also built a Temple to the Sun, taught the People to offer Sacrifices, and other Religious Rites, and erected a Cloyster for a certain Number of select Virgins, who were all to be of the Blood Royal, and dedicated to the Sun.

Religious
Rites.

Among other Institutions, this *Inca* commanded, that all the Males of his Family should have their Heads shav'd, which they submitted

submitted to, tho' nothing could be more troublesome in their Circumstances, having no better Instruments than sharp Flints to scrape off the Hair; insomuch that *De la Vega* says, it was an Observation of one of his *Indian* Friends, *That had the Spaniards introduc'd no other Inventions amongst them, than Scissars, Looking-Glasses, and Combs, they had deserv'd all the Gold and Silver their Country produc'd.* He also order'd them to bore their Ears, which they did with a Thorn, and afterwards stretch'd the Orifice to such a Degree, that it would hold the Wheel of a small Pulley; and their Ear-Rings were of that Form, which occasioned the *Spaniards* to call them *Large Ears*; they were also order'd to wrap a Wreath, or Cloth of various Colours, four or five times about their Heads, in Form of a Turbant; which three Things were to distinguish the Royal Family of the *Inca's* from other People; tho' the rest of the People were afterwards indulg'd so far, as to have their Crowns shav'd, to wear a black Wreath about their Heads, and to bore their Ears, but not so wide as the Family of the *Inca's*.

Lastly, having reign'd many Years, he summon'd a General Assembly of the Chiefs of his Subjects, at the City of *Cusco*, acquainting them, that he intended shortly to return to Heaven, and take his repose with his Father the Sun; and being now to leave them, as the last Testimony of his Affection for those who had been his Chief Ministers, and Instruments of reforming that People, he adopted them for his Children, conferring on them his own Title of *Inca*, which they and their Posterity retain'd ever afterwards.

Peru.

Sinchi Roca
second
Inca.

The *Inca* being dead, was succeeded by his eldest Son *Sinchi Roca*, whom he had by his Wife *Coya Mama* his Sister; he also, after the Example of his Father, married his eldest Sister by the same Mother, and this was the Practice of all succeeding *Inca's* in their Marriages, to marry their eldest Sisters of the whole Blood, tho' they did not suffer their Subjects to marry their Sisters, or near Relations: The *Inca's* also had many Wives and Concubines that were not of the Royal Blood, but those never inherited the Crown.

The *Peruvians* No-
tion of
God.

The Corps of the first *Inca*, *Manco Capac*, was afterwards embalm'd, and placed in the Temple of the Sun, where he was worship'd by his Subjects as a God, as were all the succeeding *Inca's*: But both the Sun and the *Inca's* seem to have been worship'd as inferior Deities, according to *De la Vega*; for he assures us, the *Peruvians* acknowledg'd one Almighty God, Maker of Heaven and Earth, whom they call'd *Pacha Camac*, *Pacha* in their Language signifying, *the Universe*, and *Camac*, *the Soul*: *Pacha Camac* therefore signified him who animated the World: And here he takes notice, that *Pedro de Siéca* supposes, in his 62d Chapter, that the *Peruvians* called the Devil by this Name; but that he, who was an *Indian* born, and better acquainted with their Language, could assure us, that they never took this Name into their Mouths, but with the greatest Veneration, and Signs of Devotion; much more than when they mentioned the Sun, or their *Inca's*: And being ask'd who *Pacha Camac* was, they answer'd, it was he who gave Life to the Universe, sustain'd and nourish'd all Things; but because they did not see him, they could not know him,

him, and therefore seldom erected Temples, or offered Sacrifices to him, but worship'd him in their Hearts as the *Unknown God*, tho' there was one Temple it seems in the Valley, called from thence, the Valley of *Pacha Camac*, dedicated *To the Unknown God*; which was standing when the *Spaniards* arriv'd in *Peru*: *De la Vega* adds, that the Name by which the *Peruvians* call'd the Devil, was *Capay*, which they never pronounced but they spit, and shewed other Signs of Detestation. He proceeds to inform us, that their Sacrifices, and religious Rites and Ceremonies, were all taught them by the first *Inca*: That their principal Sacrifices to the Sun were Lambs, but they offered also all sorts of Cattle, Fowls, and Corn, and even their best and finest Cloaths, all which they burnt in the Place of Incense, rendring their Thanks and Praises to the Sun, for having sustain'd and nourish'd all those Things, for the Use and Support of Mankind; they had also their Drink-Offerings, made of their Maiz, or *Indian Corn*, steep'd in Water; and when they first drank after their Meals, (for they never drank while they were eating) they dip'd the Tip of their Finger into the Cup; and lifting up their Eyes with great Reverence to Heaven, gave the Sun Thanks for their Liquor, before they presum'd to take a Draught of it; and here he takes an Opportunity to assure us, that the *Inca's* always detested human Sacrifices, and would not suffer any such in the Countries under their Dominion, as they had heard the *Mexicans*, and some other Countries did.

All the Priests of the Sun that officiated in the City of *Cusco* were of the Royal Blood, tho' the inferiour Officers were taken out of

Their
Priests of
the Royal
Blood.

Peru.

those who had been adopted into the Privileges of the *Inca's*; the High-Priest was either the Brother, or Uncle of the King, or one of his nearest Relations; but the Priests had no Vestments to distinguish them from others of the Royal Family; in other Provinces, Persons of Distinction among the Natives were made Priests, but the High-Priest was always an *Inca*; and each Province had its Cloyster of select Virgins, that vow'd perpetual Virginity.

All the Laws and religious Rites their first *Inca* instituted, were pretended to be the Commands of his Father the Sun, to give them the greater Authority, tho' future *Inca's*, it seems, frequently took an Opportunity of making such Improvements and Alterations as they saw requisite for the Times they liv'd in.

Besides the Worship of the Sun, *De la Vega* informs us, they paid some kind of Adoration to the Images of several Animals and Vegetables, that had a Place in their Temples; and that the Devil enter'd into such Images, and spoke to them from thence, their Priests and Conjurers entertaining a familiar Conversation with such Spirits: Of which kind of Idolatry, *De la Vega* says, he can bear Testimony, because he has seen it with his own Eyes, (*I presume he means he had seen Images worship'd in the Temple of the Sun, but he does not pretend to say, he heard any Voice. This Part of the Story probably he had from Hear-say or Tradition*;) and these were the Images brought from the conquer'd Countries, where the People ador'd all manner of Creatures, animate or inanimate; for whenever a Province was subdu'd, their Gods were immediately remov'd to the Temple of the Sun at *Cusco*, where

The Peruvians brought the Idols of all Nations into the Temple of the Sun.

where the conquer'd People were permitted to pay their Devotions to them, for some time at least, for which there might be several political Reasons assign'd.

He proceeds to give some Account of the Civil Government, instituted by the first *Inca's* : He says, the People were divided into Decurions, or Tythings, of which an exact Register was kept : That over every Decurion, or ten Families, the Master of one of the Ten was appointed to preside ; that over every Five of these Divisions was another Decurion, who had the Command of fifty Families, another Officer was placed over an Hundred, another commanded five Hundred, and the chief Officer a Thousand ; but no Man was suffered to govern more than a thousand Families : The lowest Decurion of Ten was to see that those under his Command wanted none of the Necessaries of Life, and was to deliver out to them Corn to sow their Lands, Wool for their Cloathing, and Materials to build their Houses, and to take care of such as were sick and infirm : He was also to be the Cenfor of their Actions, and inform his Superiours of any Crimes, or Immoralities, committed by those under his Care, which were to be punish'd by him ; but as for trivial Offences, the lowest Officer had the Correction of them, and the Decision of Suits and Controversies of small moment ; and where Differences arose between two Provinces, these were decided by Commissioners appointed by the *Inca* himself ; and there was a General Cenfor appointed to inspect the Conduct of the Chief Officers, and Ministers of State, who were punish'd Capitally, if ever they oppress'd the Subjects, or betray'd their Trusts.

Peru.

The Civil Government of the *Inca's*.

The

Peru.

A profound Sub-
mission to
Parents
requir'd.

The Conduct of Parents and Masters of Families was nicely inspected; and the Decurion, as well as the Father, was answerable for the Faults of the Children of those under their Care : Like the *Chineſe*, they inculcated nothing more than a most resign'd Submission and Obedience of Children to their Parents, encouraging a modest Behaviour, and the utmost Civility and Respect, in speaking to and addressing their Superiours; and as the *Indians* were naturally of a gentle and tractable Temper, never was more Peace and Order seen in Families, according to *De la Vega*.

Other
commer-
dable In-
stitutions.

As every Family was registred, so the Decurions took care from time to time, to intimate such Alterations as happen'd on them by Births, Marriages, or Deaths; so that the *Inca's* were always apprized of the State and Condition of their Provinces, the Numbers of their Subjects, and the Forces and Revenues proper to be required of them upon all Occasions, and were inform'd also of such Calamities and Misfortunes as befell them, whether from Floods, Fires, unkind Seasons, Pestilence, and the like; and the *Inca's* thereupon immediately supplied them with whatever was wanting; so that the *Spanish* Writers themselves observe, they might justly be stil'd, Fathers and Guardians of their People; and it seems one of the *Inca's* Titles was, *A Lover of the Poor*; and so dutiful were their Subjects, and obedient to the Laws, that in this vast Empire, which extended upwards of a thousand Leagues, it was rare to find one Person convicted of a Crime within the Space of a Year, if we may credit *De la Vega*.

The Historian in the next place proceeds to give us some Account of the Reign of *Sinchi*

chi Roca, the second *Inca*, who answered the Name that had been given him of a prudent and brave Prince; the Word *Sinchi* signifying *Wise*, and that of *Roca*, *Valiant*.

Peru.
Second
Inca.

This Prince having solemnized his Father's Funeral in a magnificent Manner, instead of being crown'd, had a Wreath, or Coronet of various Colours bound about his Temples, such as the supreme *Inca's* wear; and was no sooner established on his Throne, but he proposed to the *Caraca's*, or Vassal Princes, the making an Expedition in Person to the South, to summon the neighbouring Nations to come in, and acknowledge the Sun for their God, and the *Inca* for their Sovereign, and to require them to abandon their former Superstition, and savage course of Life: The *Caraca's* expressing their Readiness to attend their Prince, he set forward at the Head of a numerous Army, employing Heralds to march before him, and declare the Intent of his Approach: And the People were so alarm'd with the Gentleness of his Administration, and the Happiness they saw his Subjects enjoy beyond the rest of Mankind, says *De la Vega*, that they immediately submitted to him, without Compulsion; and during his whole Reign, which was a long one, he never engag'd in War, or compelled any People to submit to him by Force, tho' he considerably enlarg'd his Empire; 'tis very possible however, that the Appearance of so formidable a Power was the strongest Argument to induce these *Indians* to resign their Liberties, and change their Religion for that of the *Inca's*; for few Men part either with their Religion, or ancient Form of Government, how absurd or inconvenient so ever, upon Choice.

Sinchi

Peru.



Sinchi Roca having reign'd many Years, in Imitation of his Predecessor, declared he was going to repose himself with his Father the Sun, and dying soon after, was succeeded by *Loque Yupanqui*, his Son by his Wife and Sister *Mama Cora*; having other Children by her, but many more by his other Wives and Concubines, of the Blood of the *Inca's*, all of which were held Legitimate; but those he had by other Women were looked upon as base born: The *Inca's* were allowed to multiply and increase their Children by any means, it being requisite, says *De la Vega*, that the Posterity of the Sun should be numerous; But the Vulgar were confin'd to one Wife a-piece.

Third
Inca.

The *Inca*, *Loque Yupanqui*, receiv'd his first Name from his being Left-handed, and the other from his exalted Station, that of *Yupanqui* being given only to the Sovereign *Inca*.

He was not altogether so peaceable as his Predecessor; for those Nations that refused to obey him on his first Summons, were invaded, and treated in a hostile manner, till they made their Submission; and were contented to forsake their former Laws and Customs, to adore the Sun as their God, and become Subjects of the *Inca*.

He extended his Conquests to the Southward of the Lake *Titicaca*, and taught the subdu'd People how to cultivate their Grounds, to introduce Rivulets into them, to make Aqueducts, to build, to plant, and cloath themselves decently; in all which the *Peruvians* were defective, according to *De la Vega*, till they were instructed by the *Inca's*; so that he would have us look upon these Invasions and Conquests to be infinitely to the Advantage of the conquer'd People, and an ample Equivalent

Equivalent for all the Ravages and Devastations of War, tho' there is not much doubt, but the unhappy People, who felt the Force of those Arms they could not resist, would have been very well contented with their native Simplicity and Ignorance, rather than have been beaten into better Manners ; but to proceed, the *Inca Loque Yupanqui*, having finished a glorious Reign, and left a numerous Issue of Sons and Daughters, died in a good old Age, and was succeeded by his Son *Mayta Capac*, whom he had by his Sister and Wife *Mama Coya*.

Mayta Capac, the 4th *Inca*, enlarg'd his 4th *Inca*. Dominions by the Conquest of several other Nations lying to the Southward of the Lake of *Titicaca*. In one of which, 'tis related, they found several ancient magnificent Structures of hewn Stone, with Variety of Statues of human Form, excellently well carv'd ; but, this I must confess I can scarce credit ; for if it be true, it confutes what *De la Vega* so often affirms, that the *Inca's* first taught the *Mexicans* to build, carve, &c. There is little else remarkable in this Reign, unless it be the *Inca's* making a great Bridge or rather Float of Oziers, on which he transported his Army over great Rivers, and invaded his Enemies, who thought themselves secur'd by those Waters from all Invasions : And that this so astonish'd those People, that they submitted to the *Inca* without striking a Stroke. He died, according to *De la Vega*, after a triumphant Reign of thirty Years, wherein he acquir'd a great Name both in Peace and War. But tho' this Author acknowledges, it was very uncertain how many Years he reign'd, because they had no Registers or

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Letters to record their Actions ; yet he afterwards says, it is certain he died full of Honour, &c. Now if their Quippo's or Strings were of so little Use to them, that they knew not how to mark the Number of Years a Prince reign'd, much less could they convey down his Character, or the History of his Actions to Posterity. As I look upon the History of the *Inca's* therefore to be in a great measure fabulous, I shall give but a short Abstract of it, till I come down to those who reign'd about the Time of the *Spanish* Conquest.

5th *Inca*. *Capac Yupanqui*, the eldest Son of *Mayta Capac*, succeeded his Father, who seems to have been an unactive Prince, there being little said of him.

6th *Inca*. *Inca Roca*, eldest Son of the former Emperor, succeeded him. The *Spanish* Writers make this *Inca* one of the principal *Peruvian* Law-givers, and have given us some of his most celebrated Sayings: As, that upon his viewing and considering the Heavens he would say, *If the Heaven be so glorious, which is the Throne of the PACHA CAMAC (or great God) how much more resplendent must his Person and Majesty be who was the Creator of all Things.* Again, *If I was to adore any terrestrial thing it should be a wise and good Man, whose Excellency transcends all other Creatures.* Another Saying they ascribe to him is this: *That he that cannot make himself immortal, nor recover Life after Death, is not worthy of Adoration.* But these were probably made by some of the *Spanish* Missionaries ; for how they should be informed of the Sayings of a Prince who lived two or three hundred Years before the *Spaniards* arriv'd there, is not easy to conceive.

Inca

Inca Roca was succeeded by his eldest Son *Tabncor Huacac*; in whose Reign there was a great Rebellion of the *Chanca's*, inasmuch that the *Inca* abandon'd the capital City of *Cusco*, leaving it to be defended against the Enemy by his Son *Viracocha*, who gave the *Chanca's* a great Defeat; being miraculously assisted by the Sun, as was pretended, who turn'd the very Stones into Men, and form'd them into Troops in Favour of the *Inca Viracocha*. Peru.
7th Inca

After this Victory, *Viracocha* became extremely popular; and his Father so lost the Esteem of his Subjects by abandoning his capital City, that it was agreed to depose the old *Inca*, and advance his Son *Viracocha* to the imperial Dignity; which 'tis said the Son very readily accepted, and the Father was afterwards content to lead a private Life in one of his Palaces, situated a small Distance from *Cusco*. 8th Inca.

This *Viracocha* is represented as one of their most victorious Princes, and said to be worshipped as a God. And the *Indians* afterwards, as a Testimony of the Veneration they had for the *Spaniards*, gave them the Title of *Viracocha's* or Gods, which this *Inca* assum'd on Pretence that he had seen a Vision of angelick Form, that commanded him to take that Title.

It is reported also by the *Indians*, that the *Inca Viracocha* pretending to the Spirit of Prophecy, foretold that, after the Succession of a certain Number of Kings, a People should arrive from far distant Countries, never seen in those Regions before, and cloath'd like the Angel in the Vision he had seen, who should subvert their Religion and Empire:

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Which they held to be fulfill'd at the *Spanish* Conquest.

Viracocha is said to have reign'd fifty Years, which *De la Vega* thinks not improbable ; for that he saw his Body, which was preserv'd till his Time, and the Hairs of his Head were as white as Snow : he was also shewn the Bodies of several other *Inca's*, which he observes were more entire than the Mummies of *Egypt*, wanting neither the Hair of the Head or Eye-brows, or even the Eye-lashes, which were still visible. But I do not design to impose these Things on any Readers as Articles of Faith.

De la Vega adds, that the Flesh of these Bodies appeared plump and full, and yet were so light that an *Indian* would easily carry one of them in his Arms ; and that in his Time they used to carry them about to the Houses of the *Spanish* Gentlemen in *Cusco*, who had the Curiosity to see them.

5th *Inca*.

The *Inca Viracocha* dying, was succeeded by his eldest Son *Pachacutec*, who is represented also as a victorious Prince, and said to have subdu'd many Nations by the Conduct of his Brother and General *Capac Yupanqui* ; for this Emperor seldom took the Field in Person, but spent his Time chiefly in erecting magnificent Temples and Palaces, regulating his civil Government, planting Colonies, and making Improvements in several Parts of his Empire ; and having reign'd, as 'tis said, fifty Years with great Glory, left this World to dwell with his Father the Sun.

6th *Inca*.

Yupanqui his eldest Son succeeded him, and is said to have extended his Empire to the Eastward beyond the Mountains of the *Andes* two hundred Leagues and upwards ; but it was more

more by Persuasion than Force that this People were induced to submit to him, and might be look'd upon as Allies and Confederates at last, rather than Subjects ; for as their Situation was upon or beyond those vast Mountains, the *Inca's* found it impracticable to lead numerous Armies thither. This *Inca* was unfortunate in an Expedition against the Nation of the *Chiribwana's*, which inhabited another Branch of the Mountains of *Andes* ; and we are told were so barbarous, that they eat both Friends and Foes, and chose the Flesh of Men rather than that of any other Animal ; but this seems to have been a Calumny fram'd by the *Inca's*, because that People refused to submit to their Dominion ; and were so situated the *Inca* could not conquer them : But however that was, the *Inca Yupanqui* being repuls'd in his Attacks on the *Chiribwana's*, turned his Arms to the Southward, and reduced several Nations in the Country of *Chili* ; insomuch that in his Time the *Peruvian* Empire is said to have been of a thousand Leagues Extent from North to South. This Prince also carried on his Conquests by his Generals, and seldom took the Field in Person. He erected several stately Edifices, and among the rest the celebrated Castle of *Cusco*, already described, and died at length much belov'd and lamented by his Subjects, being succeeded by his eldest Son *Tupac Yupanqui* the eleventh *Inca*. He left also between two and three hundred Children, more legitimate than illegitimate ; and most of the *Inca's* had as many, looking upon it as a Duty incumbent on them to increase the Blood Royal, and render them as numerous as possible : It being for the Honour of their God and Father the Sun to have a numerous Progeny,

Peru. Progeny, as they pretended. But this Privilege of a Plurality of Women was never indulg'd to the Vulgar.

11th *Inca.* As the former *Inca* made Conquests to the South, the present *Inca Tupac Yupanqui* carried his Arms to the North, as far as the Equator, and subdued part of the Kingdom of *Quitto*, one of the richest and most powerful in *South-America*; and having spent two Years in this War, sent for his Son *Huana Capac*, to whom he committed the Care of finishing that Conquest, and return'd to *Cusco*. It is observable, that these People defending their Country very obstinately, and not submitting to the *Inca* till they were subdu'd by pure Force, had the Misfortune also of having the Name of Canibals given them by their Conquerors, and to be represented as the most barbarous of Mankind.

Tupac Yupanqui dying, was succeeded by his eldest Son *Huana Capac*, who spent the first Year of his Reign in mourning and solemnizing his Father's Funeral as their Laws requir'd, and then visited the several Provinces of his Empire. It is related, that at a Festival, when his eldest Son was to receive his Name, he caused a Chain of Gold to be made of two hundred Yards in Length, and of the Thickness of a Man's Wrist, which was carried by those that danc'd at that Solemnity; for the Custom was, for an hundred Men, and sometimes two hundred or more, to take Hands and dance in a Ring together, and instead of joining Hands the *Inca* ordered, that every one of the Company should take a Link of this Chain in his Hands and dance as usual, with Musick of all kinds: The *Spaniards* arriving not many Years after, made strict Enquiry after this invaluable Chain, but it was

was conceal'd from them by the *Mexicans*, which might be one Occasion of the *Spaniards* using them so cruelly. But however that was, the young Prince receiv'd the Name of *Huascar*, or *The Chain*, from this rich Utenfil. *Huana Capac* proceeded like his Predecessors to enlarge his Territories by his Arms, and conquer'd the famous Valleys of *Tumpez* and *Pachacamac*, with the Island of *Puna*, at the Mouth of the River *Guiaquil*: The Inhabitants of which Island, cutting off some of his Troops by Treachery, after they had submitted, he took a severe Revenge of them, putting them to all kinds of Deaths. In the meantime, another Rebellion broke out in the great Province of *Chachapayas*, on the side of the *Andes*, but he was so fortunate as to suppress this also with very little Loss: After which, he turn'd his Arms towards the Country of *Manta*, on the Sea-Coast, in which lies that Port to which the *Spaniards* afterwards gave the Name of *Porto Veio*, or *The Old Harbour*, in 2 Degrees of South Latitude: Here, *De la Vega* says, the Natives ador'd Lions, Tygers and Serpents, and an Emerald that was as big as an Ostrich's Egg; to which the People, at their Festivals, offer'd, among other things, smaller Emeralds of less Value; which was the Occasion of the *Spaniards* finding such a vast Quantity of Emeralds amass'd together when they invaded this Country, and made them imagine Emeralds had been as common almost as ordinary Stones here.

From *Porto Veio*, the *Inca* advanc'd as far as Cape *Passao*, which lies just under the Equator, reducing all the Nations on that Coast to his Obedience; which was not very difficult, the Country being divided into small Tribes

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Tribes or Families, that had no common Chief or any Dependance on each other, and consequently were in no Condition to resist so formidable a Power as that of the *Inca's*. *De la Vega* charges these People with having their Women in common, with Sodomy, and all manner of Vice. In which State he would have us believe all *Peru* remain'd, till reform'd by his Ancestors the *Inca's*: And on this Account justifies all their Invasions and Oppressions of that defenceless People in the same manner as the *Spaniards* afterwards did their Invasions and barbarous Usage of the Inhabitants of the *Inca's* Dominions.

Huana Capac having conquer'd the Province of *Passao*, which lies under the Equator, determin'd to make this the Limits of his Empire towards the North: Having new modell'd the Government therefore, and constituted the same Laws and Customs that were observ'd in other Parts of his Dominions, he left Garrisons behind him to preserve his Conquests, and return'd to his capital City of *Cusco*.

It is reported of this Prince, that being reproved by the High-priest for looking steadfastly on the Sun, which was deem'd a high Profanation by that People, answer'd, *There must be some Being whom our Father the Sun esteems superior to him, and more powerful than himself; by whose Commands he every Day measures the Compass of the Heavens without Intermission, or allowing himself an Hour's Repose. If he were supreme, and at his own Disposal, he would certainly allot himself some Time for Rest, tho' it were but to please his Humour, and for the sake of Variety: But I have observ'd so many Sayings put into the Mouths of the Indians by the Spanish Missionaries,*

naries, and then reported as coming originally from those *Pagans*, that I give the less Attention to this, especially since the same Authors that report this allow that the *Peruvians* acknowledged there was one almighty Being, that sustain'd and govern'd the Universe, whom they call'd *PACHA CAMAC*, and that a Temple was dedicated to this *Pacha Camac*, or *The Unknown God*; tho' he was seldom worshipp'd, because they knew so little of him, or in what manner he ought to be ador'd. These Historians therefore must forget themselves, when they make *Huana Capac*, the 12th *Inca*, the first of the *Mexican* Princes that made this Reflection. But to return to the History.

Huana Capac, after the Completion of the Conquest of *Quitto*, having taken the Daughter of that King to his Bed, had by her a Son, whom he named *Atabnalpa*, or *Atabilipa*; and is said to have been fonder of him than any of his Children: But as none of the Sons or Daughters of the *Inca's* were held legitimate, but those who were born of their Sisters, or some near Relation; and *Huascar* was the eldest legitimate Son of this *Inca*, to whom all his Dominions, by the Laws of the Empire, were to descend on his Death; he appear'd much disquieted that his beloved Son *Atabnalpa*, or *Atabilipa*, should become a Vassal to his eldest Brother, and that he could not leave him the Dominion of any one Province: But his Son *Huascar* being acquainted with the Reason of his Father's Uneasiness, generously consented he should settle what Part of his Territories he pleas'd upon his beloved Son. Whereupon *Huana Capac* constituted *Atabnalpa* King of *Quitto* (the

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Inheritance of his Mother) in his Lifetime.

It was in the Reign of *Huana Capac*, namely, in the Year 1515, that the *Spaniards* first appear'd with their Ships upon the Coast of *Passao* in *Peru*, which is situated under the Equator. They were commanded by the celebrated *Vasco Nunez de Balbao*, who first discover'd the *South-Sea*, and would probably at this Time have fix'd Colonies on that Coast, had he not been recall'd by *Pedrarrias*, then Vice-roy of *Darien* or *Terra-Firma*, who envying his good Fortune, recall'd *Vasco*, and caused him to be put to Death, under Pretence that he was about to set up for himself, and throw off his Dependence on the King of *Spain* his Sovereign: But the true Reason was, that the Crown of *Spain* had made *Vasco* Adelentado, or Vice-roy of all the Lands and Territories he should discover in the *South-Sea*; in pursuance of which Commission, he had, with indefatigable Labour, found out the rich Empire of *Peru*, and was about to reap the Fruits of his Industry. *Pedrarrias*, the Vice-roy of *Terra-Firma*, therefore, envying his good Fortune, recall'd him and put him to Death, as has been related, and afterwards employ'd a great many skilful Sailors and Adventurers to follow *Vasco's* Steps, and got Possession of the Treasures he understood were to be found in those Regions; but as the Winds are always contrary to those who come to the Coasts of *Peru* directly from the Northward, all the Adventurers, *Pedrarrias* sent out upon this Expedition, return'd with an Account that the Voyage was impracticable. Whereupon that Discovery was entirely laid aside, and abandon'd for fifteen or sixteen Years, till

till *Francis Pizarro* and *Almagro*, fir'd with the repeated Advices they receiv'd of the Riches of *Peru*, obtain'd Leave from *Pedrarias* the Vice-roy, to pursue that Discovery *Vasco Nunez* had begun, at their own Expence: Of which Enterprize I shall treat, when I have finish'd the History of the *Inca's*.

And here, whatever Credit is to be given to Things of this Nature, I cannot avoid taking some Notice of the Portents and Omens the *Spanish* Historians, as well as the *Inca De la Vega* entertain us with, which are said to have preceded the Fall of the *Peruvian* Empire.

Three Years before the *Spaniards*, under the Command of *Vasco Nunez de Balboa*, appear'd on the Coast of *Peru*, 'tis said a Prodigy happen'd, which alarm'd and astonish'd the Court and all the Empire: At their grand annual Festival of the Sun, a royal Eagle, call'd in their Language *Anca*, appear'd soaring in the Air, and pursued by Hawks of all Sizes, which attack'd the royal Bird with that Fury, that he fell down among the *Inca's* or Royal Family as they march'd in Procession to the Temple of the Sun, through the great Market-Place of *Cusco*: And that he seem'd to beg their Protection, having lost most of his small Feathers in the Encounter: That they nourish'd this Eagle with all the Tenderness imaginable, but notwithstanding their Care the Bird died in a few Days, which the *Inca*, his Priests and Diviners interpreted to presage the total Ruin of the Empire and of their Religion, especially as it was follow'd by violent Earthquakes, that over-turn'd some of the neighbouring Mountains. Upon the Sea-Coast also, the

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Indians observ'd the Tides, in their Ebbings and Flowings, did not keep their usual Course; and Comets and Apparitions were seen in the Air. The Moon, in the midst of a bright Night, was observ'd to be encompass'd with three large Haloes or Circles, the first of the Colour of Blood, the second black, and the third like a Fog or Smoak; which one of their Adepts in Magick observing, 'tis said, came weeping into the Presence of the Emperor *Huana Capac*, and declar'd, that his Mother the Moon, like a tender Parent, by this *Phænomena* made known to him, that *PACHA CAMAC*, the Creator and Sustainer of all Things, threaten'd his Royal Family and Empire with grievous Judgments: That the first bloody Circle prognosticated, that after he should be gone to rest with his Father the Sun, terrible Wars should arise among those of his own Family, in which there should be such Effusion of Blood, that his whole Race should be extinguish'd in a few Years: That the second black Circle threaten'd his Subjects with total Destruction, and a Subversion of their Religion and Government, occasioned chiefly by the Dissentions in his own Family: That his Empire should be translated to another People, and all his Greatness vanish into Smoak; which was signify'd by the third Circle, that seem'd to be composed of Vapours.

The *Inca*, 'tis said, was astonish'd at these Predictions, but endeavour'd, however, to hide his Fears, and bid the Magician be gone, telling him, these were his last Night's Dreams, which he declar'd to him as Revelations and Advices from his Mother the Moon. Whereupon the Diviner desired him
to

to go out of his Palace and behold the three Circles with his Eyes, which he did, and thereupon assembled all the Magicians and Astrologers of his Court, who confirm'd the Interpretation their Brother had made of these Signs in the Heavens.

Huana Capac, however, that his People might not be discouraged, endeavour'd still to conceal his Fears, and putting the best Face he could upon the Matter, told the Magicians, that unless *PACHA CAMAC* himself reveal'd this to him he would not believe it. *Is it possible*, said he, *my Father the Sun should abhor his own Blood, and deliver them up to total Destruction?* and then dismiss'd them from his Presence.

Reflecting, however, on what had been said, and considering how it agreed with the Predictions of an ancient Oracle; That after the Reign of twelve *Inca's*, the Empire should be dissolv'd; and being inform'd at the same time, that a prodigious Wooden Float, with tall Masts and Sails (*Vasco's Ship*) from whence issued terrible Thunders, Fire and Smoak, was seen upon the Coast; and that the People on Board differ'd in their Persons and Habits from all that had hitherto appear'd in that Part of the World, he was in a manner confounded, expecting that the Dissolution of his Empire was approaching. However, he did not entirely despair, and neglect the Defence of his People, but assembled an Army, and march'd them to the Sea-Coast, making the best Provision he could against the Dangers that threatened him; but the Ship disappearing, and nothing of that kind being seen again in several Years, their Apprehensions began to wear off. Every thing remain'd quiet,

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quiet, and *Huana Capac* died in peace and a good old Age, about seven or eight Years after *Vasco Nunez* appear'd upon the Coast of *Peru*, having reign'd forty Years in great Splendour, and made large Additions to his Empire by many successful Wars.

Their Fears, however, began to revive when the Emperor, upon his Death-bed, put his Subjects in mind of the old Prophecy, already mention'd, That after the Reign of twelve *Inca's*, a new Nation should arrive that had never been known in those Parts and subdue that Empire; which he conjectur'd would happen not many Years after his Death, he being the twelfth *Inca*: And advis'd his Subjects to submit and serve that People, who were in every respect superiour to them; their Laws better; and their Forces and military Skill rendering them invincible. And *De la Vega* observes, that this last Advice of their dying *Inca* was not the least Inducement to the *Peruvians* to submit to the *Spaniards* afterwards: They held, he says, that Heaven had decreed the *Spaniards* the Dominion of those Countries, and that all Resistance would be in vain; but I am apt to think, the Thunder of the *Spanish* Artillery was a much stronger Motive for their Submission.

The Relation of these Omens, Prodigies, and Prophecies, *Garcilasso de la Vega*, the *Inca* or royal Historian, tells us, he receiv'd from two *Mexican* Officers that had serv'd the Emperor *Huana Capac*, and were, at the time he had this from them, fourscore Years of Age, being baptized and initiated in the Christian Religion by the *Spanish* Fathers at *Cusco*: However, as we meet with the like Omens recorded by Historians before, every
considerable

considerable Revolution almost that has happen'd in *Europe*, whether ancient or modern, I am far from requiring my Readers to give entire Credit to such Relations, but leave every one to pass what Judgment he pleases on them.

Huana Capac being dead, his Body was embalm'd, and carried to the Temple of the Sun at *Cusco*; but his Heart, according to his Directions, was buried at *Quitto*, the Residence of his favourite Son *Atahualpa*.

Huascar, the eldest legitimate Son of *Huana Capac*,^{13th Inca.} reign'd in peace at *Cusco* four or five Years after his Father's Death, without giving his Brother, the King of *Quitto*, any Molestation; but then considering the Loss he had sustain'd by dismembring and yielding up one of the richest Provinces of the Empire to *Atahualpa*, by which he was prevented extending his Dominions further Northward; and reflecting also, that his Brother was a Prince remarkable for his ambitious and turbulent Spirit, and might one Day rival him in the rest of his Territories, he determin'd to be before-hand with him, and to resume what he had too easily parted from: He sent an Ambassador therefore, or rather a Herald, to his Brother the King of *Quitto*, to inform him, that by the Laws of the Empire, the Territories of the *Inca's* could not be divided; and tho' he had been oblig'd by his Father to resign *Quitto* to him, this was what his Father could neither legally command nor he perform: However, since it was the Will of his Father, he was ready to confirm the Cession upon two Conditions, 1. That he should not endeavour to make any Addition to his Territories; and 2. That he should hold

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hold them as a Vassal and Feudatary of his Empire, and actually do him Homage for them.

To both which Demands *Atabnalpa* seem'd readily to consent, and promised in a short time to attend on him at *Cusco*, with all the Caraca's, and Lords of his Kingdom, to do him Homage in Person; with which Answer *Huascar* was entirely satisfied, and dismiss'd the Troops he had rais'd to recover *Quitto* by Force; while the subtle *Atabnalpa* increas'd his Forces, under Pretence of doing his Homage with the greater Splendour, and celebrating the Exequies of his deceased Father at *Cusco*.

Huascar being inform'd, when it was too late, that his Brother, instead of summoning his Vassals to attend him, had levied an Army of 30000 regular Troops, which were advanced within forty Leagues of *Cusco*, found he had been deceiv'd, and immediately issued his Orders to the Governors of the several Provinces to rendezvous with their respective Forces at *Cusco*, and form an Army for the Defence of that Capital. But *Atabnalpa* having corrupted several of the Caraca's, who join'd his Forces in their March; and the rest that obey'd the Summons of *Huascar* being new undisciplin'd Troops, were not much to be depended on. However, being attack'd by *Atabnalpa*'s Army, they behav'd in Defence of their *Inca* as bravely as could be expected, and the Battle lasted a whole Day; but in the Evening *Huascar*'s Army was forced to yield to the veteran Troops of *Atabnalpa*, and a very great Slaughter follow'd, particularly among the Emperor's Guards, consisting of a thousand Men, who
 defended

defended their Prince till they were almost all cut in Pieces, and at length *Huascar* was taken Prisoner, and carried in Triumph to his Brother, who did not march with his Army in Person, but continued at a Distance, till he saw what Success his Generals would have, who were old Officers that had serv'd his Father in the Wars of *Quitto*, and much superior to those who commanded *Huascar's* Army.

Huascar being thus unhappily made Prisoner, *Atabualpa* gave out, that he had no Intention to depose his Brother, but to defend his own Dominions, which his Father had confer'd on him, against *Huascar's* Incroachments; and to limit his Prerogative, so as to make the Condition of his Subjects easy and happy: And thereupon summoned all the *Inca's* of the Empire to appear at *Cusco*, that all things might be settled to the mutual Advantage of Prince and People. And having, on such Pretences, got most of them into his Power, he caused a Body of his Forces to surround them and cut them in Pieces, conscious that the People would never willingly obey him, as long as there were any of the legitimate Issue of their *Inca* left.

Nor did his Rage stop here; he murder'd all the Caraca's and Officers that appear'd faithful to *Huascar*; and afterwards the Women and Children of the Family of the *Inca's*, whom he put to death by various Tortures, according to *De la Vega*, who makes this *Atabilpa*, or *Atabualpa*, a Monster of Cruelty.

However, between five and six hundred of the Blood of the *Inca's* did escape, it seems, by one Means or other, and particularly the

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Mother of our Author *De la Vega*, who was, as he tells us, a Daughter of *Huana Capac*'s Brother. Two Sons of *Huana Capac* also fled from the Rage of their Brother, and afterwards married *Spanish* Ladies ; as did several of the Daughters and near Relations of that Prince. The first *Spanish* Adventurers, or Conquerors, as they call'd themselves, seem'd to be ambitious of intermarrying with the royal Blood of *Peru* ; which was not only an Honour to those Gentlemen, but might be thought to give them a better Right to the Country they had invaded, than they could acquire by the Sword.

I should now proceed to the History of the *Spaniards* Conquest of *Peru*, but beg Leave to defer that a little till I have given some further Account of the Religion of the ancient *Peruvians*.

A further
Enquiry
into the
Religion
of the
Peruvians.

It is generally said, that the *Inca's* of *Peru* acknowledg'd no other God but their Father the Sun, whose Offspring they pretended to be : And this possibly may be true of the first *Inca's* ; but some of them afterwards invading that Part of the Country where *Lima* (now the Capital of *Peru*) stands, and meeting with a notable Opposition, they were oblig'd to indulge that People in the Profession of their ancient Religion, and the Worship of the Almighty invisable God, and to promise not to demolish their Temples, before they would submit to their Dominion (however, they oblig'd them afterwards to erect a Temple to the Sun, and adore that Planet also.)

The Tem-
ple of
PACHA
CAMAC.

This Temple stood in a fine Valley, a little Distance from *Lima*, and was dedicated to PACHA CAMAC, the invisable or unknown God, who created and sustains all things,
and

and was standing when the *Spaniards* arriv'd in *Peru*, and here they found an inconceivable Treasure of Gold, Silver, and precious Stones, that had been dedicated to the God **PACHA CAMAC**, whose Name was communicated to the Valley wherein the Temple stood, and is still call'd *The Valley of Pacha Camac*. *Roy. Com. Peru*, p. 234.

The *Inca's* did not only permit this People still to adore their God **PACHA CAMAC**, but seem to have been convinc'd, from the time of this Conquest at least, that there was one Almighty invisable Being that created Heaven and Earth; and that the Sun was his Vice-roy or Lieutenant. Others made two Gods of them; the one visible, and the other invisable. And some of the *Inca's*, particularly *Huana Capac*, (*Roy. Com.* p. 365.) manifestly look'd upon the Sun as a mere Creature, directed and govern'd in all his Motions by the supreme God; for had he (says that *Inca*) any Will of his own, and were not under a Necessity of performing his annual Course, he would sometimes rest or vary, and not always move in one Sphere, if it was but to shew Liberty of Action.

From whence it is natural to infer, that the *Inca's*, notwithstanding the Reformation they pretended to have effected in the Provinces they conquer'd, by abolishing the Worship of Animals and Vegetables, and of Stocks and Stones, and bringing the Natives to adore only the Sun, did in some Parts of their Conquests introduce their own Idolatry in the room of the Worship of the one only God, or at least, obliged the People to worship the Sun as well as God, and consequently adulterated rather than reform'd their Religion.

Pe. u.

And 'tis very possible, that many of the People they subdued might equal, if not surpass them in their Manners, and the Innocence and Regularity of their Lives, as well as in the Purity of their Religion, and might not be those Barbarians the *Inca De la Vega* has represented them; for I cannot help thinking but People were at least as just, as innocent, and human, while they were led and govern'd by the Heads of their respective Tribes, before large Empires or Kingdoms were form'd by Conquest or Compact, as they were afterwards; for however we may have improved in Arts and Sciences, the World does not seem to improve much in its Morals: For my part, I have found much more Innocence and Humanity among the unpolish'd Inhabitants of unfrequented Desarts and Mountains, that seem to have been excluded all Commerce and Intercourse with the rest of Mankind, than in the politest Nations, who usually look upon such People as Barbarians.

Most of the *Spanish* Writers, either out of Prejudice, Ignorance, or Design, have as much misrepresented the Religion and Morals of the *Inca's*, as the *Inca's* did those of the Nations they subdu'd. *Acosta*, tho' in other respects a good Writer, when he comes to treat of the Religion of *Mexico* or *Peru*, is very little to be credited: He charges the *Peruvians* with sacrificing hundreds of their Children at some of their Festivals. *Antonio de Ferera*, and other *Spanish* Writers do the same, while the royal Historian *De la Vega*, who wrote afterwards, and makes it his Business to review and correct the Errors of those Authors that preceded him, assures us, that the *Inca's* never suffer'd any human Sacrifices
while

while they reign'd in *Peru*, but had the greatest Abhorrence of them; and no Man was better acquainted with their Rites than *De la Vega* was.

He also corrects the *Spanish* Writers for giving out, that by *PACHA CAMAC* was meant the Devil: And that the Devil was worshipped in that Temple (and indeed this the *Spaniards* made one Pretence for invading and enslaving that unhappy People.) Whereas, says *De la Vega*, had they understood the *Indian* Language, the very Name of *Pacha Camac* would have taught them otherwise; the two Words of which it is composed signifying, the Almighty God, who created and sustains all things, and animates the Universe.

I proceed, in the next place, to describe the principal Rites and Ceremonies in the Religion of the *Inca's*. The royal Historian informs us, they had four grand Festivals annually, besides those they celebrated every Moon. The first of their great Feasts, call'd *Raymi*, was held in the Month of *June*, immediately after the Summer Solstice, which they did not only keep in Honour of the Sun, that bless'd all Creatures with its Heat and Light, but in Commemoration of their first *Inca*, *Manca Capac*, and *Coya Mama Oclo*, his Wife and Sister, whom the *Inca's* look'd upon as their first Parents, descended immediately from the Sun, and sent by him into the World to reform and polish Mankind.

At this Festival all the Vice-roys, Generals, Governors, *Caraca's*, and Nobility, were assembled at the capital City of *Cusco*: And if any of them were prevented coming thither by Sicknes or the Infirmities of old Age, he sent his Son, his Brother, or some near Relation to supply his Place.

The

Peru.

The Emperor, or *Inca*, officiated at this Festival as High-priest; for tho' there was another High-priest of the Blood-royal, either Uncle or Brother of the *Inca*, to whom it belong'd at other times to officiate, yet this being the chief Feast, the *Inca* himself perform'd that Office.

The Nobility, at this time, were crown'd with Garlands or Coronets of Gold, adorn'd with Flowers and beautiful Feathers, and their Garments were in a manner plated with Gold. Some appear'd in the Skins of Lions, others in Vizards and ridiculous Habits, playing upon their Country Musick; some acted the Buffoons and Madmen, while others shew'd Feats of Activity, and screw'd themselves into all manner of Postures: The Governors of Provinces carried the Ensigns and Colours of their several Countries, and march'd at the Head of their respective People.

They fasted three Days, as a Preparative to this Feast, eating nothing but unbaked Maiz and Herbs, and drinking Water. The Fast being ended, on the Eve of the Feast, the Priests prepar'd the Sheep, Lambs, and Drink-Offerings, which were to be offer'd the next Day to the Sun, while the Virgins or Wives of the Sun were employ'd in kneading Dough, and making Bread of Maiz or *Indian* Corn, for the *Inca's*. They also dress'd the rest of the Provision for the Royal Family at this Solemnity; other Women being employ'd to make Bread, and dress Flesh for the Multitude.

The Ceremony of
adoring
the Rising
Sun.

The Morning being come, the *Inca*, accompany'd by his Brethren and near Relations, drawn up in Order, according to their Seniority, went in Procession at Break of Day

Day to the Market-place bare-foot, where they remain'd looking attentively towards the East in Expectation of the Rising Sun, which no sooner appear'd but they fell down and ador'd the glorious Planet with the most profound Veneration, acknowledging him to be their God and Father.

The Caraca's, vassal Princes, and Nobility, that were not of the Blood-royal, assembled separately in another Square, and perform'd the like Ceremony ; after which, the King rising upon his Feet (while the rest remain'd in a Posture of Devotion) took two great Gold Cups in his Hands, fill'd with their common Beverage made of *Indian* Corn, and invited all the *Inca's* his Relations to partake with him, and pledge him in that Liquor.

Then he pour'd the Drink out of the Bowl in his Right-hand into a small Stone Chancel, which convey'd it to the Temple ; after which, having drank of the Bowl in his Left-hand, he distributed the remainder to his kindred *Inca's*, who waited with little Gold and Silver Cups to receive the Liquor.

The Caraca's and Nobility drank of another Cup of the same kind of Liquor, prepared by the Wives of the Sun ; but this was not esteem'd so sacred as that consecrated by the *Inca*.

This Ceremony being ended, the whole Company advanc'd bare-foot to the Gate of the Temple, being about two hundred Paces distant from the Place where they stood ; and the *Inca* and his Relations entering the Doors, ador'd the Image of the Sun at the East End of the Temple, while the Caraca's, who were not indulg'd that Privilege, worshipp'd in the great Court before the Gate of the Temple.

The

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The *Inca* here offer'd the Vases or Golden Bowls, with which he perform'd the Ceremony of Drinking, and the rest of the Royal Family deliver'd theirs into the Hands of the Priests. Then the Priests went out into the Court, and receiv'd from the Caraca's and Governors of the respective Provinces their Offerings, consisting of Gold and Silver Vessels, and the Figures of all manner of Animals cast of the same Metals.

Sacrifices.

These Offerings being made, great Doves of Sheep and Lambs were brought ; out of which the Priests chose a black Lamb, and having kill'd and open'd it, made their Prognosticks and Divinations thereupon relating to Peace and War, and other Events, from the Intrails of the Beast ; always turning the Head of the Animal towards the East when they kill'd it.

After the first Lamb, the rest of the Cattle provided were sacrificed, and their Hearts offer'd to the Sun ; and their Carcases were flead and burnt, with Fire lighted by the Sun's Rays, contracted by a Piece of Chrystal, or something like a Burning-glass, they never making use of common Fire on these Occasions, unless the Sun was obscur'd. Some of this Fire was carried to the Temple of the Sun, and to the Cloister of the Select Virgins, to be preserv'd the following Year without Extraction.

The Sacrifices being over, they return'd to the Market-place, where the rest of the Cattle and Provisions were dress'd and eaten by the Guests ; the Priests distributing them first to the *Inca's*, and then to the Caraca's and their People in their Order ; and after they had done eating, great Quantities of Liquor were brought in.

Then

Then the Emperor, being seated on a Golden Throne, raised on a Pedestal of the same Metal, order'd his Relations the *Inca's* to drink in his Name with the most celebrated Generals, Governors, and Nobility of the respective Provinces, whose Actions had rendered them famous in the Empire.

The *Inca's* thereupon carry'd Bowls of Liquor from the Emperor to the Persons thus distinguish'd, telling them the *Capa*, or supreme *Inca*, invited them to drink with him, and they were come to drink with them in his Name; whereupon the Generals and Caraca's, each of them taking a Cup from the *Inca's* Hands, lift up their Eyes to the Sun, as returning Thanks for the great Favour done them by his Offspring, and having drank, return'd the Bowls back to the *Inca's*, with the profoundest Adoration.

Bowls of Liquor also were carried by the *Inca's* to the rest of the Lords, Caraca's, and great Officers; but to these they drank in their own Names, and not in the Name of the Emperor.

In return of this Compliment, the principal Lords and Caraca's, filling their own Bowls, approach'd the Throne with the greatest Reverence, and in their Order drank to the Emperor, who received it of them, and having drank what he saw fit, gave the rest to the Servants and Officers that attended him; but it was reckon'd a peculiar Mark of Respect where the Emperor drank deep, and pledg'd any one of them heartily.

The rest of the Caraca's and Noblemen drank to the Royal Family of the *Inca's*, who first drank to them in their own Names, and then retiring to their respective Stations, the

Peru. Musick play'd, and their Dances, Masquerades, and every other Diverſion was practiſed which were in uſe among the ſeveral Nations of *Peru*. There were frequent Pauſes and Intervals however, in which they drank very freely, and then return'd to their Sports again. This Feſtival was continued in the ſame manner nine Days ſucceſſively, only there were no Offerings or Sacrifices after the firſt. The Solemnity being ended, the Governors, Generals, and Caraca's, took their Leave of the Emperor, and return'd with their People to their reſpective Countries.

Second Feſtival. A ſecond Feſtival was kept every Year on the conſerring Military Honours (or Knight-hood, as the *Spaniſh* Writers term it) great Regard being had to thoſe who behav'd well in their Country's Service. The principal Marks or Enſigns thoſe Knights were diſtinguiſhed by were large Ear-Rings, the Emperor himſelf boring their Ears with Golden Nails.

Third Feſtival. Their third Feſtival was in the Spring, when their Corn firſt appear'd, on which Occaſion Sheep and Lambs were ſacrificed, and they pray'd for ſeaſonable Weather to bring the Fruits of the Earth to Perfection, concluding the Feſtival with Drinking, Singing, Dancing, and other Diverſions.

Fourth Feſtival. The fourth was celebrated on the New Moon after the Equinox in *September*, when they ador'd the Sun as it aroſe, as at their grand Feſtival, and pray'd him to avert all Calamities whether of War, Plague, or Famine; and arm'd Men running through the Streets were ſaid to drive away theſe Calamities out of the City: Fires alſo were made in the Streets the ſucceeding Night, in order to purify them from all nocturnal Evils; after which

which they spent the time in Sacrificing, Feasting, and Dancing, every Day during the first Quarter of the Moon.

Peru.

Their monthly Feasts were celebrated by the Priests within the Temple, at which times Sacrifices of Sheep, Lambs, Fowls, and other Animals were made to the Sun, but no publick Processions: And as for human Sacrifices, the royal Historian assures us, there were never any such offer'd in the Dominions of the *Inca's*; tho' *Acosta*, *Herera*, and other *Spanish* Writers have charged them with sacrificing hundreds of Children at their grand Festivals.

Monthly Feasts.

I should have observ'd, that the People fell down on their Knees and Elbows when they ador'd the Sun, covering their Faces with their Hands; and it is remarkable, that the *Peruvians* express'd their Veneration for the Temple, and other holy Places, by putting off their Shoes, as the *Chinese*, the People of the *East-Indies*, and other *Asiaticks* do, tho' at the greatest Distance from them, and not by uncovering their Heads, as the *Europeans* do at Divine Service.

The Posture of Adoration.

I have already mention'd their Convents of Select Virgins, or Nuns, of which there were two kinds, *viz.* those in the Convent of the capital City of *Cusco*, and those belonging to the Convents in the chief Cities of the respective Provinces.

Convents of Nuns.

The Nuns of *Cusco* were all of the whole Blood of the *Inca's*, dedicated to the Sun, and call'd the Wives of the Sun. They were admitted into the Convent at eight Years of Age, and taught by the elder Nuns to work with their Needles, to spin, and weave the Garments offer'd to the Sun, and prepare Meat and Drink for the *Inca*. They also wove all the

Peru.

Garments the Emperor and Empress wore at their solemn Festivals. These Virgins were suffer'd to have no Interview or Intercourse with Man or Woman after they entered this House, and none but the Empress was allow'd to visit them. If they were engaged in a Love Intrigue it was punished with Death; and if any Man violated the Chastity of one of them, he and his whole Family, Father, Mother, Wife, Children, and even his Flocks, Herds, Houses, and Lands, were utterly destroy'd: But these Nuns were never suffer'd to enter the Temple of the Sun, or perform any manner of Devotions to that Planet, or any other God, as I can learn; much less did they assist or serve the Priests in the Temple, as some Writers relate: Their near Relation to the Sun, seems to have exempted them from any Services of this kind.

The Select Virgins, in other Provinces, were either taken out of such Families as the *Inca's* had adopted, and given the Privilege to bear the Name of *Inca's*; or out of the Families of the Caraca's and Nobility residing in the respective Provinces; or such as were eminent for their Beauty and Accomplishments: These were dedicated to the *Inca*, and call'd his Wives, and he took them to his Bed whenever he saw fit; so that these provincial Nunneries were in effect but so many Seraglio's, appropriated to the Use of this grand Monarch, to which no other Man might approach on pain of Death, the Loss of his Relations, and all that was dear to him; the Penalty of violating one of these being the same as was inflicted on those who debauched a Virgin dedicated to the Sun himself.

As

As to the Notions the *Peruvians* had of a future State, it is evident that they believed the Soul surviv'd the Body, by the *Inca's* constantly declaring they should go to rest, or into a State of Happiness, provided for them by their God and Father the Sun, when they left this World. And 'tis probable their Subjects had the like Notion, that their Souls were immortal, and capable of Happiness and Misery after Death: But when the *Spanish* Missionaries add, that they believed a Resurrection of the very same Bodies, I doubt they impose upon us; for I question whether any People ever believed the Resurrection of the Body till it was reveal'd by the Gospel. They might, and did believe there was another State, in which the Soul should exist; but the Resurrection of the same Body is surely a Doctrine peculiar to Christians. I should as soon believe, that the *Peruvians* held the Doctrine of the Trinity, and every other Article of the Catholick Faith; as *Acossta* and some other *Spanish* Writers aver (telling us, that the Devil had taught them to mimic every the minutest Ceremony in the Christian Religion, and even all their Popish Superstitions) as believe they had an Assurance that the same Body their Souls animated in this World should be rais'd again to Life eternal: And what View the *Spanish* Missionaries had in suggesting, that there was not a Doctrine, Rite, or Ceremony held or practis'd by the *Romish* Church, but were found among the *Peruvians*, is not easy to conceive.

I must not dismiss the Head of Religion Oracle, without taking some Notice of the *Peruvian* Oracles, mention'd by *De la Vega*, *Acossta*, and other *Spanish* Writers, and particularly the

Peru.
Their
Notions of
a future
State.

Peru. the Oracle of *Rimac* (now *Lima*, or *King's-Town*.)

Rimac. The Valley of *Rimac*, says *De la Vega*, lies four Leagues to the Northward of *Pacha Camac*, and receiv'd its Name from a certain Idol of the Figure of a Man, that spoke and answer'd Questions like the Oracle of *Apollo* at *Delphos*.

This Idol was seated in a magnificent Temple, to which the great Lords of *Peru* either went in Person, or enquir'd by their Ambassadors, of all the important Affairs relating to their Provinces. And the *Inca's* themselves held this Image in high Veneration, and consulted it after they conquer'd that Part of the Country. *Roy. Com.* p. 234. In the same Chapter, *De la Vega* makes a remarkable Concession in relation to the *Peruvians* worshipping *PACHA CAMAC*, the Almighty invisible God, before the *Inca's* introduc'd the idolatrous Worship of the Sun.

“ The Kings of *Peru*, says that Historian,
 “ did, by the mere Light of natural Reason,
 “ attain the Knowledge of one God, the
 “ Maker of all Things, who sustain'd the
 “ Universe, whom they call'd *PACHA*
 “ *CAMAC*: Which Doctrine was more
 “ ancient than the Time of the *Inca's*, and
 “ dispers'd through all their Kingdoms, both
 “ before and after the Conquest. They
 “ believed that he was invisible, and there-
 “ fore built no Temples to him (except that
 “ one in the Valley of *Pacha Camac*) or
 “ offer'd him Sacrifices as they did to the
 “ Sun; but shew'd however the profound
 “ Veneration they had for him in their Hearts
 “ by bowing their Heads, lifting up their
 “ Eyes, and by other outward Gestures,
 “ whenever

“ whenever his sacred Name was mention’d.”
And as to what he charges them with in other
Places, namely, the worshipping all manner
of Animals, and even inanimate Creatures,
if the Truth of this may be depended on, yet
may we offer the same Excuse for the *Peru-
vians* as has been made for the *Egyptians* and
other ancient Pagans, viz. *That they only
ador’d the infinite Wisdom of God, manifested
in the Works of his Creation.*





C H A P. X.

Of the Invasion and Conquest of Peru by the Spaniards.

Peru.
The
Conquest
of Peru.



It has been related already, that *Vasco Nunez de Balboa* first discover'd the *South-Sea* in 1513, for which he was, by the Court of *Spain*, constituted *Adelantado*, or Lord Lieutenant of all the Lands and Islands he should discover in those Seas; and that having fitted out some Ships, he was so fortunate in the two following Years to pass the Equator, and come upon the Coast of *Passao*, the Northern Limits of *Peru*, where he was fully inform'd of the vast Riches of that Country; but being recall'd and put to death by *Pedrarias*, then Governor of *Terra-Firma*, who had a View towards reaping the Benefit of the Discoveries *Vasco* had made; he afterwards employ'd several Pilots and Adventurers to pursue the same Track *Vasco* had gone, and plant Colonies in *Peru*; but so extremely difficult and hazardous was that coasting Voyage, from the Bay of *Panama* (from whence they set out) to *Peru*, before they were acquainted with the Winds and Currents, that all the People he employ'd were discouraged from prosecuting the Discovery of that Country, reporting that the Voyage was impracticable, or rather impossible, because

because the Winds and Currents sat in the very Teeth of those that sail'd from *North* to *South-America*. Whereupon *Pedrarias* desisted from that Enterprize, despairing to overcome the Difficulties that had been represented to him, and leaving the Town of *Old St. Mary's*, on the Gulph of *Darien*, he built another Town on the Bay of *Panama*, which bears the same Name, and from thence he pursu'd his Conquests to the North and West, in the Provinces of *Veraqua* and *Costa Roca*.

Peru.

Only two Months in the Year the Winds are favourable on this Coast, which the first Adventurers did not know.

Pedrarias having thus entirely abandon'd the Enterprize on *Peru*, three bold Adventurers, (*viz.*) *Pizarro*, *Almagro*, and *De Lugne*, who then resided in his new Town of *Panama*, desir'd his Leave to attempt the further Discovery and Conquest of *Peru* at their own Charges, which he readily granted, being of Opinion it would come to nothing; and all that were acquainted with the former Attempts that had been made, look'd upon these Adventurers to be no better than Fools and Madmen: And tho' some have related that *Pedrarias* stipulated to have a Share in the Profit of this Adventure, if they made any, it does not appear that he ever claim'd any part of their Booty afterwards, or that any part of it was reserv'd for him; only the King's Fifth was laid by, the rest the Adventurers shar'd amongst themselves; but of this hereafter. I now proceed to relate the Beginnings and Progress made by *Pizarro*, *Almagro*, and *De Lugne*, in the Conquest of that vast Empire of *Peru*, which they liv'd to accomplish in a great measure, but never enjoy'd the Fruits of their Labours. *Pizarro*, *Almagro*, and most of the Officers that were employ'd in this Service, perishing by their

The three principal Adventurers in this Conquest.

Peru. own intestine Divisions, each of them being inspir'd with an Ambition of acquiring the sole Dominion of those Countries to the Exclusion of their Fellow-Adventurers.

Some
Account
of Francis
Pizarro.

Francis Pizarro, who makes the greatest Figure in this Triumvirate of Adventurers, was a Native of *Truxillo* in *Spain*, and the *Spaniards* will have him to be of a noble Family; but if he was, he seems to have been pretty much reduc'd, and to have gone to the *West-Indies* to recruit his broken Fortunes. He served first in the Wars in the Islands of *Hispaniola* and *Cuba*, and afterwards accompany'd *Alonzo de Oyeda* to the Gulph of *Uraba*, or *Darien*, in *Terra-Firma Proper*, to settle a *Spanish* Colony there. *Oyeda*, returning to *Hispaniola* for Recruits, left *Francis Pizarro* his Lieutenant in *Darien*; and not coming back within the time he appointed, the Colony suffer'd incredible Hardships; but by the Conduct of *Pizarro*, they were most of them preserv'd till Ships arriv'd to their Relief, which very much rais'd the Reputation of this Captain.

He afterwards attended *Vasco Nunez de Balboa* when he discover'd the *South-Sea*, serv'd under *Pedrarias* when he fix'd a Colony at *Panama*; and was employ'd by that General in the subduing the Province of *Veragua*, in which Expeditions he acquir'd the Reputation of a good Officer, and a Fortune sufficient to have satisfi'd any reasonable Man; but this Increase of Wealth did but increase his Thirst after more: And when he might have spent the remainder of his Days in Peace and Plenty, he chose, in the Decline of Life, being upwards of fifty, to enter upon the Discovery of unknown Regions; the Difficulty
whereof

whereof had baffled the Attempts of several Adventurers, rather than sit down and enjoy what he had already acquir'd.

Diego de Almagro, the second of this Tri-
 umvirate, was born at *Almagro* in *Spain*, a
 Man of a mean and obscure Original, but of
 a Genius equally enterprizing as the former,
 and who, in several Expeditions in the *West-Indies*,
 had amass'd a great deal of Wealth. These two,
 residing at *Panama*, associated themselves with
Ferdinand de Lugne, an Ecclesiastick of that Town,
 richer than either of them, and who was Proprietor
 of the Island of *Tabago*, in that Bay. This Gentleman
 had been acquainted with *Vasco Nunez* as well as
 the other two, and was pretty well assur'd that
 the Voyage would answer their Expectations,
 if they could overcome those Difficulties of
 contrary Winds and Currents, that had discour-
 aged others: And tho' People generally lose
 their enterprizing Genius as they grow into
 Years, yet had Avarice, Ambition, or Curiosity,
 such an Ascendant over these three Gentlemen,
 that, tho' they were all of them between fifty
 and threescore Years of Age, yet did they
 embark their Fortunes, and two of them their
 Persons, in Search of those Mountains of Gold
 they had receiv'd Intelligence of.

They enter'd into Articles, 'tis said, never to
 abandon each other for any Hazards or Disappoint-
 ments they might meet with in the Enterprize,
 till they had made a Conquest of *Peru*:
 And solemnly took their Oaths in publick,
 for the Confirmation of these Articles,
 each of them being assign'd a particular
 Part in conducting and executing the Scheme.

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Francis Pizarro was to command the first Party that went upon the Discovery; *Almagro* was to carry him Recruits, and re-inforce him from time to time, and *Ferdinand de Lugne* was to remain at *Panama*, and lay-in Ammunition and Provisions to support the Enterprize. And whatever Gold, Silver, precious Stones, or other Effects should be acquir'd, after the Charges, and the Emperor's Fifth were paid, were to be divided equally amongst them.

The royal Historian, having proceeded thus far in his Relation, makes some Reflections on the great Advantages that have resulted from this Confederacy of these three *Spanish* Gentlemen; as that the Christian Religion was first introduc'd into that great Empire of *Peru* by their Means: That Arts and Sciences were first introduc'd there by them, in return for which, *Spain*, and the rest of *Europe*, became possess'd of an immense Treasure in Gold, Silver, and precious Stones.

But if the numberless Devastations and Oppressions the miserable *Indians* suffer'd by the Usurpations and Tyrannies of the *Spaniards* are consider'd, how many Millions were cut off and entirely extirpated, and how many more enslav'd; if it be consider'd, that with the Christian Religion they introduc'd the Inquisition, with all its Terrors; and have so adulterated and corrupted the Christian Doctrines, Faith and Practice, and with them the Morals of the *Indians*, that People possibly have lost more than they have gain'd by the Change.

And as to the Benefits we receive by the Importation of Gold and Silver from *Peru*, this, *De la Vega* himself seems to be of Opinion, does not countervail the Mischiefs they bring

bring with them ; as appears from his Commentaries on that Part of the History, p. 425.

Such, says this Historian, as look on the Riches of *Peru* with more than common Eyes, are of Opinion, that they have rather been hurtful than beneficial to Mankind : For Riches have been the Cause of Vice, and not of Virtue, having inclin'd Men to Pride, Ambition, Gluttony and Luxury ; for enjoying an Affluence of Fortune, they have given themselves up to Sloth and Effeminacy, becoming neither useful Members of Society in time of Peace, nor fit for Hardship and Labour in time of War ; but employing their whole Thoughts and Time in contriving new Dishes and Liquors to gratify their Appetites, and fantastical Fashions for their Cloathing. And as the Rents of the Poor have been rais'd to maintain the Lufts and riotous Livings of great Persons, so have the Poor been oppress'd and reduc'd to Rags and Famine, to support the Pride and Luxury of their Landlords. The Truth is, says *De la Vega*, the Poor are become much more poor than formerly ; for the Quantity of Money being increased, which is heap'd up in the Coffers of the Rich, hath enhanc'd the Price of Provisions to that degree, that the Poor starve by the Abundance of the Rich ; and tho' the Rich have Plenty of Money, and might, out of their great Stores, enlarge their Charities and Benevolence to their poorer Neighbours, yet their Alms, and the Wages they allow the labouring Men, do not answer the Price of Provisions, which the Plenty of Money hath rais'd. From whence, it is concluded, that the Riches of the new World not having increased the Provisions necessary for the Support of human Life, but rather

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rather serv'd to make them dear, to make Men effeminate, and to enfeeble their Constitutions and Understandings, and introduce vitious Habits and Customs. The Generality of Mankind is become much worse, and more discontented; and Nations heretofore formidable, and dreaded by all the World, are now rendered mean, despicable, and effeminate, by the Corruption of Riches (*which is more applicable to Spain than any other Country, that People having declined ever since they have been Masters of the Treasures of Mexico and Peru; and no doubt De la Vega had his Eye principally upon the Spaniards when he made this Reflection.*)

Pizarro
embarks
for Peru.

To return to our History. The three Partners having bought a Ship, victual'd and equip'd her (or, as some say, two Ships) Pizarro embark'd about the middle of November, 1525, with fourscore Men and four Horses (*De la Vega* makes them 114 Men) and setting sail from *Panama*, sail'd to the *Pearl-Islands*, in the middle of that Bay, where he took in Wood, Water, and Grass for his Horses, and sail'd to Port *Pinas*, or *Pineapple*, upon the Continent, on the South-East side of the Bay of *Panama*. Here Pizarro went on Shore with his Soldiers, and endeavour'd to penetrate into the Country; but meeting with nothing but Bogs, or Mountains, over-run with Wood and Deluges of Rain, as they approach'd the Equator; and the People having fled from their Habitations, so that no Provisions were to be had. Pizarro ran further down the Coast to the Southward, and then landing again, found the Country no better, and lost a great many of his Men by Sickness, Want of Provisions,

or

or the Hardships they suffer'd in their Marches and Counter-marches. Whereupon he sent the Ship to the Isles of *Pearls* for Provisions, and in the mean time was follow'd by *Almagro* with two other Ships, and a Recruit of sixty Men and upwards. These two Captains meeting upon this wretched, rainy, and unwholesome Coast, and landing their united Forces, had some Skirmishes with the Natives, in which *Almagro* lost an Eye ; but happening, in some of their Excursions, to meet with a Parcel of Gold of the Value of 14 or 15000 Crowns, they resolv'd, notwithstanding all the Difficulties and Hazards they underwent, to persist in the Enterprize ; in which they were the more encourag'd by the Pilot *De Ruyz* who, (while *Pizarro* remain'd with the Soldiers on Shore) ran down as far as Cape *Passao*, under the Equator, and making some Prisoners, was assur'd by them, that the Treasures of *Peru* were much beyond any thing that had hitherto been reported of them. Whereupon he return'd to *Pizarro* with the agreeable News : In the mean time, that General suffer'd incredible Hardships in the Absence of *Almagro*, who was gone to *Panama* with the Gold they had got, to procure another Re-inforcement of Troops and Provisions. *Almagro*, at his Return to *Panama*, found *Pedrias* remov'd from his Government, and succeeded by *Peter de los Rios*, who permitted him to raise what Men he could to re-inforce *Pizarro*. Whereupon he embark'd again with forty Soldiers more, some Horses, and Arms, Cloaths, Shoes, Provisions, and Medicines, and return'd to *Pizarro*, whom he found in a very miserable Condition, great part of his Men being sick or dead. They remov'd

Peru. remov'd therefore from that unhealthful Part
 Comes to of the Continent, and put their Men on Shore
 the Island in the Island of *Gallo*, where they remain'd
 of *Gallo*. fifteen Days, and then return'd towards the
 Continent again, running along the Coast
 further to the Southward; however, they
 Their still met with such a drowned Country, and
 Distress. bad Weather, that it was once propos'd to
 return back to *Panama*: Even *Pizarro's*
 The Com- Heart fail'd him; and the two Commanders,
 manders it seems, were upon the point of drawing
 fall out. their Swords, so hot was the Contest for and
 against proceeding in the Enterprize; but at
 length it was agreed, that they should go to
 the Island of *Gallo* again, where *Pizarro*
 should remain with the Men till *Almagro* went
 to *Panama* for Recruits: And great Care was
 taken, that none of the Men should write
 home, and discover their wretched Condition;
 for most of them had shewn an Inclination to
 desert the Service whenever they had an Op-
 portunity, and threaten'd to apply to the
 Governor of *Panama* to be recall'd from an
 Expedition which had consumed such numbers
 of them; and, if prosecuted, would probably
 destroy the rest. And notwithstanding all
 the Care their Commanders took, one of them
 found means to send a Paper, subscribed by
 most of the Men, desiring to be recall'd,
 which was inclosed in a Bottom of Cotton
 Yarn, and thereby conceal'd from the Notice
 of their Officers. This Paper coming to the
 Hands of the Governor of *Panama*, he was
 so far from suffering *Almagro* to levy any more
 Recruits, that he sent a Ship, with a Com-
 missary on Board, to the Island of *Gallo*, on
 purpose to bring back all the Men that surviv'd.
 The Commissary arriving, *Pizarro* beg'd of
 him

him that he would however suffer as many of the Men to remain with him as were willing to proceed in the Enterprize; which the Commissary consenting to, *Pizarro* drew a Line with the Point of his Sword, and haranguing his Men, told them they were at liberty to return to *Panama*, if they thought fit; but it griev'd him that they should now abandon the Enterprize, when they were upon the point of reaping the Reward of all their Sufferings. As for his part, he would perish in the glorious Undertaking, rather than desert it; and those that voluntarily remain'd with him should share with him the Treasures of which they had so near a Prospect, desiring those that were willing to proceed in the Enterprize to come over the Line he had drawn: But such were the Sufferings of these poor Wretches, that much the greatest part of them forsook him; only thirteen Men and a *Mulatto* came over the Line, the rest embark'd and return'd to *Panama* with the Commissary.

Pizarro deserted by all his Men, but thirteen and a Slave.

Pizarro being thus left on the Island of *Gallo* with only fourteen Men, besides some *Peruvian* Men and Women they had taken Prisoners, remov'd to the neighbouring Island of *Gorgona*, for the benefit of fresh Water, and remain'd there till *Almagro* and *Ruyez* the Pilot came to him with Refreshments and some few Volunteers that were still willing to share their Fortunes; on whose Arrival it was agreed to sail further Southward, and having pass'd the Equator, they came to an Anchor in the Bay of *Guiaquil*, near the Islands of *Puna* and *St. Clara*, which lie in 3 Degrees South Latitude, and going on Shore in the Island of *St. Clara* they found several Vessels

He remains on the Island of *Gorgona*.

Sails to *Guiaquil*.

Finds Plate there

Peru.



Two
Years
spent in
this Voy-
age.

and Utensils of Silver Plate, with Garments made of Cotton and fine Wool, which were Offerings made to some Idols in this Island, where the Natives of *Puna* came at certain Seasons to worship them; but there were no constant Inhabitants on the Island. It was with infinite Labour and Difficulty, that our Adventurers proceeded thus far to the Southward; they were forced to bear up both against Winds and Currents, that continually almost sat against them on these Shores, inso-much that they spent two whole Years in this Voyage from the Island of *Gorgona*, in 3 Degrees of North Latitude, to the Bay of *Guiaquil* in 3 Degrees of Southern Latitude; a Voyage that may be perform'd in less than a Month, now we are acquainted with the Currents, Winds and Seasons upon the Coasts of *Popayan* and *Peru*.

Tumbez
Town and
Province.

While *Pizarro* and *Almagro* lay in the Bay of *Guiaquil*, they took several great Floats, or Barklogs, with arm'd *Indians* on Board, that were going from *Tumbez*, on the neighbouring Continent, to invade the Island of *Puna*, with which they were at War. From these *Indians* they learn'd that there was a great Town and Castle at *Tumbez*, a magnificent Temple, a Convent of Select Virgins, and abundance of Gold and Silver Vessels, and that the Country abounded with Corn and Fruits. Whereupon *Pizarro* treated the *Indians* with great Civility, and gave them their Liberty to return to the Continent with their Floats; and let them know, by his Interpreters, that they came as Friends, and did not design any manner of Hurt or Damage to the Natives. These *Indians* acquainting their Lord, the Cacique of *Tumbez*, with the

the Wonders they had seen, viz. the Ship, the Guns, the Habit and Complexion of those on Board ; and informing him, that the *Spaniards* came to visit that Coast in a friendly manner, the Cacique sent a Nobleman, or Orejon on Board, with several Barklogs loaden with Provision ; and to invite the *Spaniards* to come on Shore, telling them they were welcome to whatever the Country afforded. Whereupon one of the Sailors was sent on Shore with the *Indians*, and brought twenty Butts of Water on Board with their Floats : The Orejon, 'tis said, enquir'd of *Pizarro* in the mean time, what it was he went in search of, and what was the Reason they had for some Years been roving about the Sea near the *Peruvian* Coast ? *Pizarro* answer'd, They came from the most potent King of *Spain*, to require them to submit to his Dominion, and be instructed in the true Religion, by which alone they could attain the Joys of Heaven ; at which Answer, 'tis said, the *Peruvian* appear'd a little astonish'd, as he might well, to find the *Spaniards* making such Demands upon so short an Acquaintance, and when they were in no Condition to compell the *Indians* to submit to them ; and indeed *Pizarro* seems to have been a Man of more Discretion than to have requir'd the *Peruvians* to obey him when he was in such low Circumstances ; this could only inspire them with a Contempt of his Person, and provoke them to use him ill. It is much more probable, that he continued to assure them of his Friendship, since the same Writers inform us, he sent one of his Company and a *Negro* on Shore with the *Peruvian* Nobleman, and a Present of *European* Animals, an

Peru.
They are
hospitably
receiv'd
by the
Peruvians

Feru.


Ax, and some glittering Trifles, with which the Cacique was extremely pleas'd: And as the *Indians* were surpris'd to see so strange a People, and such Animals and Instruments as they brought with them, the *Spaniard*, that went on Shore, was no less surpris'd to find a fine Palace, and a magnificent Temple, and all manner of Vessels and Utensils form'd of Gold or Silver; and when the Man return'd on Board to *Pizarro*, he seem'd unable to declare the vast Treasures he had seen, and the Strength and Beauty of the Castle where the Cacique resided.

Peter de Candia goes on Shore alone, and takes a View of *Tambor*.

Pizarro, desirous to be better acquainted with the Truth of what the Sailor related, *Peter de Candia*, a Man of good Judgment, offer'd to go on Shore and take a particular View of the Place: And as he was of a Stature beyond the common Size, it was thought his Person would be the more admir'd, and give the *Indians* the greater Opinion of the People that were come to visit them: And to add to the Astonishment of the Natives, *Pizarro* made him put on a complete Suit of shining Armour, a Shield on his Left-arm, a broad Sword by his Side, and take a Fuzee in his Hands; and thus equip'd, he was set on Shore with a *Negroe* to attend him.

The *Indians*, as it was expected, were amazed to see a Man so tall and of proportionable Bulk, his Body cover'd with glittering Steel, and a long Beard on his Chin, and immediately fled from the Shore to the Castle on his landing. *Peter*, thereupon, with a grave Countenance, and true *Spanish* Pace, advanc'd towards the Gates, and giving them to understand by Signs that he had no hostile Intentions, was conducted to the Presence of the

the Cacique, and receiv'd with great Civility. The *Spaniards*, indeed, entertain us with an idle Story, endeavouring to make a Miracle of the matter, and tell us, that the *Indians* not daring to engage this gigantick Champion themselves, let out a Lion and a Tyger upon him ; and that these Animals losing their natural Fierceness, fawn'd upon him, which the *Spaniards* ascribe to the Sanctity of the Cross that *Peter* carried in one of his Hands: But they all agree, that the Cacique entertain'd him with great Hospitality, shew'd him the *Inca's* Palace, the Temple of the Sun, and the House of consecrated Virgins ; and afterwards sent him on Board with a handsome Present of *Indian* Corn, Sheep, and Fruits.

Peru.

Peter de Candia, at his Return, related that every thing exceeded what the Sailor had reported ; that he saw Silver-Smiths at work, in forming all manner of Gold and Silver Utensils ; that the Walls of the Temple were wainscotted with Gold, and that the Virgins dedicated to the Sun were extremely beautiful, at which the *Spaniards* were transported with Joy; but not being prepared to make themselves Masters of the Treasures they understood were to be met with on Shore at this time, *Pizarro* set sail again, and run further down the Coast to the Latitude of 7 Degrees South, where *Truxillo* was afterwards founded, and discover'd a pleasant fruitful Country ; but then at the Importunity of his Men he return'd back to *Panama*, being the latter end of the Year 1527, in order to make Preparations for the entire Conquest of *Peru*.

Pizarro fails to 7 Degrees South Latitude, and returns to *Panama* for more Forces.

Pizarro, having spent three Years in search of these happy Countries, and after numberless Hazards and Hardships succeeded at last, and brought from thence Specimens of the Wealth that

Peru.



that abounded there, with some of the Natives, *Peruvian* Cattle, and fine Cloth, the People were over-joy'd to see him, and very ready to list in his Service; but the Governor of *Panama* opposed it. Whereupon the three principal Adventurers, *Pizarro*, *Almagro* and *Lugne*, came to a Resolution, that *Pizarro* should go over to *Spain* and procure an Authority and Recruits equal to so great an Undertaking; particularly, that he should solicit for himself the Title of Governor, for *Almagro* that of Adelantado, or the King's Lieutenant, and for *Lugne* the Protectorship of the *Peruvians*, and the first Bishoprick in that Country. *Pizarro* accordingly set sail, and arriving in *Spain*, resorted to the Court of the Emperor *Charles V.* which was then at *Toledo*: Here he met with a very gracious Reception on his presenting his Imperial Majesty with some *Peruvians* in their proper Habits, two or three *Peruvian* Sheep, and several Gold and Silver Vessels and Utensils of the Fashion of that Country. The Emperor was pleas'd to hear him relate the Hardships and Difficulties he and his Comrades had met with in this three Years Voyage, and in the end recommended the Overtures he made to the Council of the *Indies*, who, having made their Report, *Pizarro* was authoriz'd to proceed in the Conquest of *Peru*, for the space of two hundred Leagues to the Southward of *Tumbez*, which lies at the Bottom of the Bay of *Guiaquil*, in 3 Degrees South Latitude. He procur'd also the Title of Governor and Captain-General to be conferred on him for Life, with the Offices of Adelantado, or Lord-Lieutenant, and of *Alguazil* Major, or Chief-Justice. He was also empower'd to erect four Castles
in

Pizarro
goes to
Spain for
a Com-
mission
and
Recruits.

in *Peru* where he thought proper, and retain the Government and Inheritance of them to him and his Posterity: He obtain'd for *Ferdinando de Lugne*, that he should be recommended to the Pope to be made Bishop of *Tumbez*; and in the mean time, constituted Protector-General of the *Peruvians*. *Almagro* was constituted Governor of *Tumbez*, and a twentieth Part of all the Profits and Revenues of the Country, when conquer'd, were to go to *Pizarro* and *Almagro*, two Thirds thereof to the former, and one Third to the latter; and *Almagro* was made a Gentleman, and his Bastard Son legitimate: The thirteen Men that remain'd with *Pizarro* in his Distress, on the Island of *Gallo*, were made Gentlemen, if they were not so before, and those that were Gentlemen then were order'd to be knighted.

These Commissions and Powers were executed at *Toledo* on the 26th of *July*, 1528; and six *Dominican* Friars were order'd to go over with *Pizarro*, as Missionaries to assist in the Conversion of the *Peruvians*.

Pizarro, repairing to his native Town of *Truxillo*, spent some Months in raising Men, and making Provisions for his Voyage, which having effected, he embark'd at *Seville* with his four Brothers, viz. *Ferdinand*, *John*, *Gonzalo* and *Francis*, in the Month of *January*, 1530, and arriv'd at *Nombre de Dios*, on the Coast of *Terra-Firma*, from whence he march'd with his People to the City of *Panama*; but his ingrossing all the Honours and Commands to himself so disgusted *Almagro*, that he refus'd to assist in the intended Expedition till *Pizarro* promised to relinquish the Title of *Adelantado*, and to give him an equal

Share

Pizarro and *Almagro* fall out about the Commission *Pizarro* had obtain'd.

Peru.

Share in whatever they should acquire ; and upon these Concessions *Almagro* promis'd to assist him as formerly, and smother'd his Resentment for the present, that the Service might not suffer ; but they were never heartily reconcil'd, as will appear hereafter.

Pizarro
embarks
again for
Peru, An-
no 1530.

He lands
North of
the Equa-
tor, and
marches
to *Tumbez*

Loses most
of his
Men, but
robs the
Indians
of a great
deal of
Treasure.

And sends
for Re-
cruits.

At length *Pizarro* embark'd at *Panama* in three Ships, taking with him one hundred and eighty five Soldiers, thirty seven Horses, and such Quantities of Arms, Ammunition and Stores as might enable him to fix Colonies on the *Peruvian* Coast ; but meeting with the like contrary Winds he had done in the first Voyage, and finding it very inconvenient, and indeed impracticable, to keep his Horses longer on Board, he was oblig'd to land above an hundred Leagues to the Northward of *Tumbez* : And now thinking himself strong enough to drive the naked *Indians* before him, he fell upon them, plunder'd their Towns, and made many of them Prisoners, without any manner of Provocation ; whereupon the rest fled from the Sea-Coasts up into the Country ; and *Pizarro* was afterwards so distressed for want of Provisions, and lost so many Men by Sickness, and Hardships, and the fatiguing Marches through Bogs and Thickets of Mangroves in this excessive hot Climate, that his Forces were exceedingly diminished, and he now, too late, perceiv'd his Error, in not courting the Natives, being in no Condition to make a Conquest of *Peru* with the Forces he had left. He took most of the Treasure therefore he had plunder'd the *Indians* of, and sent his Ships back with it to *Panama* to raise more Recruits, inviting at the same time some Adventurers from *Nicaragua*, and other Parts of *North-America*, to come and join him, promising them a Share

Share of the vast Treasures he was now assur'd of finding in *Peru* : And having, with infinite Labour, march'd as far as *Tumbez*, in the Bay of *Guiaquil*, over the Mouths of abundance of rapid Streams, that fall into the *South-Sea*, under the Equator, he very fortunately found the *Peruvians* engag'd in a Civil War, one part of them adhering to their lawful Prince *Huascar*, and the other to *Atabnalpa*, or *Atabilipa*, the Bastard Son of the preceding Emperor *Huana Capac*, who had made *Atabilipa* King of *Quitto* and the Northern Provinces of *Peru* in his Life-time. This young Prince finding himself at the Head of a great Body of veteran Troops and experienc'd Officers, who had been engag'd in that Conquest, was not insensible of his Strength, and in a short time after his Father's Death discover'd Views of usurping the whole Empire ; this occasion'd Misunderstandings between him and his Brother *Huascar*, the present Emperor, which at length ended in an open Rupture, as has been already related. In this War, the Inhabitants of the Vale of *Tumbez* adher'd to their lawful Prince *Huascar* ; and those of the Isle of *Puna*, a large Island in the Bay of *Guiaquil*, consisting of twelve thousand Inhabitants and upwards, took part with the Bastard *Atabilipa*, as their Interest led them, carrying on at all times a very gainful Trade for their Salt and other Productions of that Island with the Kingdom of *Quitto*, from whom they receiv'd Woollen and Cotton, Cloathing, and other Merchandize in return. *Pizarro*, as has been intimated already, finding himself not able, at this time, to attempt the Conquest of the whole Empire, took part with the *Tumbezians*, and joining

Peru.

Finds the
Peruvians
engag'd
in a
Civil
War.

Pizarro
joins the
People of
Tumbez,
and re-
duces the
Island of
Puna.

Peru.

their Forces invaded the Island of *Puna*, which became an easy Conquest; and having taken all the Caciques of the Island Prisoners, he deliver'd them into the Hands of the *Tumbez* Generals, who immediately cut off their Heads. He also releas'd seven or eight hundred *Tumbezene* Prisoners and sent them home, by which he imagin'd he had so oblig'd his new Allies, that they would not fail to assist him in his future Conquests.

In the mean time, *Almagro* having sent *Pizarro* a considerable Re-inforcement from *Panama*, and *Ferdinando de Soto* and other Adventurers arriving with their Troops from *Nicaragua*, he thought himself in a Condition to carry on the War upon the Continent, especially as he had some Reason to expect to be supported by the *Tumbezenes*. Accordingly, having provided a sufficient number of Floats, or Barklogs, he transported his Troops to *Tumbez*, in which he lost some Men in going on Shore by the Surf of the Sea, which runs very high upon that Coast, and some of his People were attack'd and cut off by the Natives, which was a Surprise to him, as he took them to be his Friends. The *Spanish* Writers give various Reasons for this Alteration in the Conduct of the Natives of *Tumbez*, who but a very little before profess'd themselves their good Allies and Confederates. Some relate, that observing the *Spaniards* had enslav'd the Natives of the Island of *Puna*, and perfectly subverted their Religion and Government, demolishing their Temples and every thing they held sacred, they expected to be treated in the same manner by the *Spaniards*, and therefore thought fit to oppose their Landing in their Country.

Others

Others inform us, that while the *Spaniards* were engaged in the Reduction of *Puna*, a very great Alteration happened in the Face of Affairs upon the Continent: *Atabilipa*, the Bastard, had defeated the Forces of his Brother *Huascar* the Emperor; cut in pieces most of the Inhabitants of *Tumbez*, and the neighbouring Provinces, for adhering to him; and the Troops that oppos'd *Pizarro's* landing in *Tumbez*, were those detach'd by *Atabilipa* to that Province, on purpose to oppose the Invasion of the *Spaniards*.

But whatever was the Reason of the *Peruvians* opposing the Descent of the *Spaniards*, it is evident, that they were put in such Confusion by the *Spanish* Horse and Artillery, that they fled as the *Spaniards* advanc'd, and after the Slaughter of some Thousands of them, were forced to abandon the Town and Castle, and even the whole Valley of *Tumbez*, leaving behind them all the Gold and Silver Plate, Emeralds, Pearls, and other rich Spoils, which lay heap'd up in the Temple of the Sun, and the *Inca's* Palace; being so vast a Treasure, that the *Spaniards* could scarce believe their Eyes, when they found themselves so suddenly possess'd of it: And such was the Consternation of *Atabilipa*, and his whole Court, when the Fugitives related what Slaughter the Thunderers Ordinance made amongst them, and how impossible it was to escape the *Spanish* Horses, to which Animals their Fears had added Wings, that they concluded, if the *Spaniards* were not Gods, they at first conjectured they were certainly Devils, and that it was not possible for any human Force to defend their Country against them. Of which *Pizarro* receiving Intelligence, resolv'd to take

Peru.

Pizarro reduces *Tumbez*, and possesses himself of a vast Treasure.

Peru. Advantage of the Terror they were in, and march immediately to find out *Atabilipa*, while he remain'd under that Delusion; but he found it necessary to defer his March, till he had erected a slight Fortrefs on the Sea Coast (to which he gave the Name of *St. Michael's*) for receiving the Recruits that he expected, and to serve him for a Place of Retreat and Security, in case any unforeseen Accident should happen.

St. Michael's, the first Spanish Town and Colony in Peru.

This was the first *Spanish* Colony planted in *Peru*, and here the first *Christian* Church was erected in the Year 1531; and Father *Reginald de Pedraga* was constituted Protector of the *Indians*, *Ferdinand de Luque* being unable to execute that Employment on account of his Indisposition.

Pizarro, whose Business it was to foment the Civil Wars, and prevent the *Peruvians* uniting their Forces against him, gave out that he was come in the Name of the great King of *Spain* (like a true Spanish Knight Errant) to relieve the oppressed, and do justice to those that were injured, which he soon found had the Effect he expected; for the Emperor *Huascar*, having been deposed and imprisoned by the Bastard *Atabilipa*, and all his Friends and faithful Subjects that had adhered to him, cruelly oppressed, they immediately sent an Embassy to *Pizarro*, that he would assist them in delivering their Prince from his Captivity, and restore him to the Throne of his Ancestors; to whom the *Spanish* General returned a favourable Answer. And *Atabilipa*, who was yet scarce settled in the Throne he had usurped, apprehending he should soon be driven from it again, if the *Spaniards* joined with the Loyal Party, endeavoured

devoured by all possible ways to gain the Favour of *Pizarro*, sending a Messenger to excuse the Hostilities his Forces had committed at his landing; and not only promising what Satisfaction he should demand, but assuring him, he was ready to submit to the Commands of that great Prince from whom he came.

The *Spanish* Generals, finding they were like to meet with little Opposition from either side, but that both Parties were ready to make them Arbitrators of their Differences, concluded they should now soon be Masters of those immense Treasures they understood were heaped up in the capital City of *Cusco*, and of the Gold and Silver Mines from whence they were drawn. They began their March therefore to *Caxamalca*, where they understood the *Inca* then was, in the Year 1532, as soon as they had put the Town of *St. Michael* into a Posture of Defence; and carrying with them a Train of Artillery, which was drawn by the *Indians* press'd into their Service (there being no Horses or Oxen, or any other Cattle for draught, either in *Mexico* or *Peru*, when the *Spaniards* first arrived there) advanced by slow Marches, sending out Parties to discover the Country, and get Intelligence as they went along.

Pizarro
marches
to *Caxa-*
malca.

The Consternation increasing among the *Peruvians*, and the *Spaniards* approaching *Caxamalca*, *Atabilipa*, who look'd upon the artificial Thunder of the *Spaniards* as supernatural, and their wing'd Horses, as well as themselves, to be of infernal, if not of heavenly Extraction, apprehended there was no Safety for him but in his Submission; and therefore sent a solemn Embassy to *Pizarro*,
by

by his Brother *Autachy*; together with rich Presents of Gold and Silver Plate, and Emeralds, Corn, Fruits, *Peruvian* Sheep and Goats, strong Liquor, Venison, tame and wild Fowl, fine Cotton and Woollen Garments of various Colours, and whatever his Country afforded.

Autachy being admitted to the Presence of *Pizarro*, told him, he was sent by the *Inca Atabilipa* to welcome him and the rest of the Sons of their common God and Father, the Sun, into that Empire, desiring he would accept the small Present he brought with him for the Refreshment of his Troops in their March; telling him, that *Inca* was impatient to see his Kindred, whom he understood to be of the like heavenly Extraction, and to whom he promis'd all Obedience. After which, the Royal Historian relates, that *Autachy* made the following formal Speech to *Pizarro* (which was put into *Spanish* by *Philip*, a young *Peruvian* he carried with him to *Panama* in the former Voyage, on purpose to be instructed in that Language) viz.

“ *Inca Viracocha*, thou Progeny of the Sun,
 “ since it hath been my Fortune to be put on
 “ this remarkable Embassy, I presume to
 “ entreat, you would be graciously pleas’d
 “ to take my Sovereign, the *Inca Atabnalpa*,
 “ into the Number of your Friends, and contract a perpetual Peace and Alliance with
 “ him; and that you would pardon the Injuries the *Peruvians* may, through Ignorance of your Divine Original, have committed against you, moderating that just
 “ Vengeance, your great God and Father
 “ *Viracocha* might justly have inflict’d on
 “ our People; and having said this, he caus’d
 “ the Present to be brought in and set before
 “ the *Spanish* General.

The

The Substance of *Pizarro's* Answer to that Speech, 'tis said, was, that the *Spaniards* were authoriz'd by their High-Priest, the Pope, to convert the *Peruvians* from their Idolatry to the *Christian* Religion; and that the great Emperor of the *Christians*, *Charles V.* had empower'd them to enter into a League of Friendship and perpetual Peace with the *Inca*, and were order'd to offer no manner of Violence to him, or his Subjects, if these Overtures were accepted.

The *Peruvian* Ambassador being dismissed, *Pizarro*, to return the Compliment, dispatch'd his Brother *Hernando Pizarro*, and *Hernando de Soto*, attended by about thirty Horse, and *Philip* the Interpreter, as Ambassadors to the *Inca Atabilipa*, who was then at one of his Palaces in the Neighbourhood of *Caxamalca*: The *Inca* being inform'd of their Approach, order'd a Detachment of his Army to advance and meet the *Spaniards* on the way, and conduct them to his Presence. This Body of *Peruvians* being come within a little Distance of the Ambassadors, fell down and adored them; and having acquainted them, that the *Inca* waited their Arrival with Impatience, attended the Ambassadors to the Palace; where, upon their alighting, they were conducted to the *Inca*, whom they found sitting on a Chair of Gold, in the Midst of his Officers and Courtiers. The Emperor arose from his Seat to receive them, and said they were welcome to his Dominions, and golden Chairs were brought for the Ambassadors. After they were seated, the *Inca* looking stedfastly on them, said to his Courtiers, behold the very Face, Countenance, and Habit, of our God *Viracocha*, in the same Manner and Form as our Ancestor

Peru.

Ancestor the *Inca Viracóche* describ'd him in his Vision; and immediately two Royal Virgins brought in each of them two golden Cups, filled with the Liquor usually drank by the *Inca*, and bowing, deliver'd one of the Cups into the Hand of *Atabilipa*, and another to *Hernando Pizarro*; and the Interpreter acquainted them, that the *Inca* desir'd to drink with them, which, according to the Custom of their Country, testified the Respect he had for the *Christians*, and did desire to live in perpetual Peace and Friendship with them: Whereupon the *Inca* and *Hernando* drank, and gave away their Cups; then the other Virgin deliver'd one of her Cups into the Hands of the *Inca*, and the other to *Hernando Soto*, who had the Honour also to drink in like manner with the Emperor.

Then six Boys and as many Girls brought in green and dry Fruits; and one of the Virgins, addressing herself to the Ambassadors, said, Ye Sons of *Capac Inca Viracóche*, taste of these Things we offer, and it will extremely oblige us: Whereupon the *Spaniards* tasting of their Fruits, were amaz'd, says the Royal Historian, to find so much Civility and Politeness among a People they had been taught to look upon as barbarous.

The Collation being over, *Hernando de Soto*, according to the same Author, made the following Speech to the Emperor.

Most Serene Inca,

“ You are to understand, that in this World
 “ there are two supreme Princes; one is the
 “ Pope, who is High-Priest, and sits in the
 “ Place and Tribunal of God; the other is the
 “ Emperor of the *Romans*, called *Charles V.*
 “ King

“ King of *Spain*, who having been inform’d
 “ of the blind Ignorance in which the Natives
 “ of these your Kingdoms live, despising the
 “ true God, who is the Maker of Heaven
 “ and Earth, bestowing the Worship due
 “ unto him upon his Creatures, and up-
 “ on the Devil himself, who deceives and
 “ deludes them, have sent their Governour
 “ and Captain-General, *Don Francisco Pi-*
 “ *zarro*, with his Companions, and some
 “ Priests, who are the Ministers of God, to
 “ teach your Highness, and your Subjects,
 “ the divine Truth, and his holy Law; and
 “ for this Reason it is, that they have under-
 “ taken this long Journey to your Country;
 “ where having received Instances of your
 “ Bounty from your liberal Hand, they en-
 “ tered yesterday into *Caxamalca*, and this
 “ Day they have sent us to your Highness,
 “ with Offers of Peace and Concord, which
 “ may endure for ever between us; that so
 “ receiving us under your Protection, we may
 “ have leave to preach our Law, and that
 “ your Subjects may hear and understand the
 “ Gospel, which will be much to your Honour,
 “ and conduce to the Salvation of your Souls.
 To which Speech the *Inca* returned the fol-
 lowing Answer,

“ I am much pleased, divine Lords, that
 “ you and your Companions are in my Days
 “ come into these remote Countries, that so
 “ I might see those Prophecies and Prognos-
 “ tications fulfilled, which our Ancestors have
 “ left us, though in reality my Soul hath
 “ much more Reason to be sad, when I con-
 “ sider, that the End of our Empire ap-
 “ proaches, of which, according to ancient
 “ Predictions, your coming is a Forerunner;
 Vol. XXIX. R r “ and

The *Inca*’s
 Answer to
 the Am-
 bassadors.

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“ and yet I cannot but say, that these Times
 “ are blessed, in which our God *Viracocha*
 “ hath sent such happy Guests, which shall
 “ transform the State of our Government into
 “ a better Condition, of which Change and
 “ Alteration we have certain Assurance, from
 “ the Tradition of our Ancestors, and the
 “ Words of the last Testament of our Father
 “ *Huana Capac*; for which Reason, though
 “ we had certain Intelligence of your En-
 “ trance into our Country, and the Fortifi-
 “ cations you made in it, and of the Slaugh-
 “ ter you committed in *Puna Tumbez*, and
 “ other Parts, yet neither I, nor my Captains,
 “ have entred into any Consultations, how, or
 “ in what manner, we might expel you from
 “ hence, because we hold and believe, that
 “ you are the Sons of our great God *VIRA-*
 “ *COCHA*, and Messengers of the *PACHA-*
 “ *CAMAC*; for which Cause, and in Confir-
 “ mation of what my Father delivered to us,
 “ we have made it a Law, and published it
 “ in *Cusco*, that none shall dare to take up
 “ Arms against you, or offend you; where-
 “ fore you may do with us as you please, it
 “ being Glory sufficient for us to die by your
 “ Hands, whom we esteem the divine Mes-
 “ sengers of God, by whom you must be
 “ sent, considering the Actions you have al-
 “ ready performed: Only I desire to be sa-
 “ tisfied in one doubt, How comes it to pass,
 “ as you say, that you come to treat of
 “ Friendship, and a perpetual Peace, in the
 “ Name of the two before-mentioned Princes,
 “ and yet on the other side, without so much
 “ as any Summons, or sending to treat with
 “ us, or know our Will and Pleasure towards
 “ you, you have committed such Outrages
 “ and

“ and Slaughters in the Countries thro’ which
 “ you have passed? I conceive, that the two
 “ Princes which employed you have given
 “ you such Commission to act with such Se-
 “ verity against us, without any Fault of ours:
 “ And I imagine, that the PACHA CAMAC
 “ hath so commanded them to proceed;
 “ wherefore I say again, do your Pleasure
 “ with us, only I beseech you to have Com-
 “ passion upon my poor Relations, whose
 “ Death and Misfortunes will grieve me more
 “ than my own.

The Ambassadors were afterwards dismiss’d
 with large Presents of Gold and Silver Plate;
 the *Inca* telling them, he would speedily go
 to *Caxamalca*, and visit the Sons of his God
 VIRACocha, and Messengers of the PACHA
 CAMAC. And accordingly, the next Morn-
 ing, the *Inca* began his March towards the
Christians. Of which *Pizarro* having Notice,
 made Preparations to receive him, but far dif-
 ferent from what the *Inca* expected: For he
 chose out a large Square in *Caxamalca* for this
 Interview, surrounded by a Wall, in which
 there were but two Gates, and order’d his
 Horse (being sixty in Number) to divide
 themselves, and draw up in three Squadrons
 behind some ruinous Buildings out of View.
 Then he planted his Artillery, so as it might
 do the greatest Execution: And on an Emi-
 nence in the Middle of the Square he stood,
 at the head of his Infantry, consisting of an
 hundred Musqueteers, Cross-Bows and Pikes,
 where he propos’d to meet the *Inca*, com-
 manding his Men; that as soon as seven or
 eight Thousand of the *Inca*’s Forces were
 entered the Square, they should shut the Gates,
 and suffer no more to come in; and that they

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He marches to meet the *Christians*.

Pizarro’s Preparations to receive him.

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The *Inca*
suspects
Treachery

The *Inca* seem'd to have some Suspicion of the Mischief that was intended him, and halted a League before he came to *Caxamalca*, ordering his Generals to encamp there. Whereupon, *Pizarro* fearing to be deprived of his Prize, sent several Messengers to desire him to hasten his March, pretending he expected him that Day at a great Entertainment he had provided: And the *Inca*, yielding to his pressing Invitations, march'd forward, and entring the Gates of the Square, put himself into the Power of his cruel and treacherous Enemies. As the *Inca* was advancing to the Eminence where the *Spanish* Foot was drawn up, *Pizarro* sent Father

He advances to
Caxamalca.

Father
Vincent's
Speech to
him.

Vincent Valverde to meet him, and summon him to submit himself and his Dominions to the Pope and the Emperor: Whereupon that Father went up to the Chair or Couch on which the *Inca Atahilpa* was carried, with a Cross in one Hand, and a Bible (or Breviary) in the other; and according to the Royal Historian, made the following Speech, viz. "It is necessary for you to know, most famous and powerful King, and also for all your Subjects, who are desirous to learn the Catholick Faith, that you and they both hear and believe the Things which follow.

"First, that God, who is three, and yet one, created Heaven and Earth, and all the Things which are in this World. That he gives the Reward of eternal Life to those that do well, and punishes the Evil with everlasting Torments. That this God, at the beginning of the World, made Man

" of

“ of the Dust of the Earth, and breathed
 “ into him the Breath of Life, which we call
 “ the Soul, which God made after his own
 “ Image and Likeness; by which it appears,
 “ that the whole Man consists of Body and
 “ a rational Soul. From the first Man, whom
 “ God called *Adam*, all Mankind which is
 “ in this World is descended, and from him
 “ we take the Original and Beginning of our
 “ Nature. That this *Adam* sinned, by break-
 “ ing the Commandment of his Creator, and
 “ in him all Men that have been born since
 “ his Time are under Sin, and so shall be to
 “ the End of the World, for neither Man
 “ nor Woman is free from this Original Sin,
 “ nor can be, excepting only our Lord Jesus,
 “ who being the Son of the only true God,
 “ descended from Heaven, and was born
 “ from the Virgin *Mary*, that so he might
 “ free and redeem all Mankind from the
 “ Subjection of Sin; and finally, he died for
 “ our Salvation on the Cross, which was a
 “ Piece of Wood, in Form of this which
 “ I hold in my Hands; for which Reason,
 “ we that are *Christians* do adore and reve-
 “ rence it. This Jesus by his own Power
 “ arose from the Dead, and forty Days after
 “ he ascended into Heaven, where he now
 “ sits at the right of God, the Father Al-
 “ mighty; after which he left his Apostles
 “ upon the Earth, who were his Successors,
 “ who by their Words and Admonition, and
 “ other holy Means, might bring Men to
 “ the Knowledge and Worship of God, and
 “ Observation of his Laws.

“ Of these Apostles St. *Peter* was consti-
 “ tuted the Chief, as are also his Successors
 “ of all other succeeding Apostles, and of all
 “ *Christians*;

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“ *Christians* ; and as *St. Peter* was God’s Vi-
 “ car or Vicegerent, so after him were all
 “ the Popes of *Rome*, who are endued with
 “ that supreme Authority which God hath
 “ given them ; and which they have, and do,
 “ and shall for ever exercise with much San-
 “ ctity and Care, for Propagation of the Gos-
 “ pel, and guiding Men according to the
 “ Word of God.

“ For which Reason the Pope of *Rome*,
 “ who is the High-Priest now living, having
 “ understood, that all the People and Na-
 “ tions of these Kingdoms, leaving the Wor-
 “ ship of the true Maker of all Things, do
 “ brutishly worship Idols, and the Images of
 “ Devils, and being willing to draw them
 “ to the Knowledge of the true God, hath
 “ granted the Conquest of these Parts to
 “ *Charles V.* Emperor of the *Romans*, who
 “ is the most powerful King of *Spain*, and
 “ Monarch of all the Earth ; that so he hav-
 “ ing brought the Kings and Lords, and
 “ People of these Parts, under his Subjection
 “ and Dominion, and having destroyed the
 “ Rebellious and Disobedient, he may govern
 “ and rule these Nations, and reduce them to
 “ the Knowledge of God, and to the Obe-
 “ dience of the Church.

“ And though our most potent King be
 “ employed in the Government of his vast
 “ Kingdoms and Dominions, yet he received
 “ this Grant of the Pope, and refused not the
 “ Trouble for the Good and for the Salva-
 “ tion of these Nations ; and accordingly hath
 “ sent his Captains and Soldiers to execute
 “ his Commands, as he did for the Conquest
 “ of those great Islands and Countries which
 “ are adjoining to *Mexico* ; and having sub-
 “ jected

“ jected them by Force of Arms, hath re-
 “ duced them to the Acknowledgment of the
 “ true Religion of Jesus Christ; for the same
 “ God hath commanded that so it shall be.

“ For which Reason, the Emperor *Charles*
 “ V. hath chosen for his Ambassador and
 “ Lieutenant, *Don Francisco de Pizarro*, who
 “ is here present, that so the Kingdoms of
 “ your Highness may receive all the Bene-
 “ fits of Religion; and that a firm Peace
 “ and Alliance may be concluded and esta-
 “ blished between his Majesty and your High-
 “ ness; on condition, that your Highness,
 “ and all your Kingdoms, become Tributaries
 “ to the Emperor; thou mayst become
 “ his Subject, and delivering up your King-
 “ doms, and all the Administration and Go-
 “ vernment thereof, thou shalt do as other
 “ Kings and Lords have already done, and
 “ have the same Quarter and Conditions with
 “ them. This is the first Point: Now as to
 “ the second, when this Peace and Alliance
 “ is established, and thou hast submitted, ei-
 “ ther voluntarily or by constraint, then thou
 “ art to yield true and faithful Obedience to
 “ the Pope, who is the High-Priest; and
 “ thou art to receive and believe the Faith
 “ of Jesus Christ our God. Thou art also
 “ to reject, and totally to abandon the abo-
 “ minable Superstition of Idols, which being
 “ done, we shall then make known unto you
 “ the Sanctity and Truth of our Law, and
 “ the Falsity of yours; the Invention and
 “ Contrivance of which proceeded from the
 “ Devil. All which, O King, if thou wilt
 “ believe me, thou oughtest to receive with
 “ Readiness and Good-will, being a Matter
 “ of great Importance to thyself, and to thy
 “ People;

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“ People; for if thou shouldst deny and refuse to obey, thou wilt be prosecuted with the Fire and Sword of War, until we have constrained thee by Force of Arms to renounce thy Religion; for willingly or unwillingly thou must receive our Catholick Faith, and with surrender of thy Kingdom pay a Tribute to our Emperor; but in case thou shouldst contend, and make Resistance with an obstinate Mind, be assured, that God will deliver thee up, as he did anciently *Pharaoh*, who, with his whole Army, perished in the *Red-Sea*; and so shalt thou, and all thy *Indians*, perish and be destroyed by our Arms.

The
Speech ill
interpreted

The *Spanish* Writers seem to disapprove this rough Speech of the Friars, as too imperious and assuming, having no Mixture of that Sweetness or real Concern for the temporal or eternal Happiness of the poor *Indians*, as was suitable to a Messenger of the Gospel of Peace: They lament also that it was ill interpreted by *Philip* the *Peruvian*, who did not well understand the Language of that Court, and had no Notion himself of the Doctrines of the *Christian* Religion: Insomuch, that when he came to speak of the Nature of the Trinity, as *that God was three, and yet one*, he said, *God was three and one, that was four*. And when he came to mention the Generation of Mankind, and Original Sin by *Adam's* Fall, instead of saying, *That all the World sinn'd in Adam*, he said, *All the World heap'd their Sins upon Adam*. Speaking of the Divinity of Christ, he said he was a great Person who died for Mankind, nor could he find Words to express the Virginity and Purity of the blessed Virgin.

Speaking

Speaking of the Power of the Emperor, and his sending his Forces to conquer the World, he express'd it so as if he had been superiour to all Powers in Heaven and in Earth.

The Emperor *Atabilipa* apprehending, by the Conclusion of the Friar's Speech, that he was, by fair Means or Force, to renounce his Sovereignty, and become a tributary Prince by the Commands of the Pope and the Emperor, and that the Soldiers seem'd to threaten him by brandishing their Arms, he was extremely dejected, believing that the *Spaniards*, as God's Instruments, were come to take Vengeance on him and his People; and fetching a deep Sigh, repeated the Word *Atar*, which is as much as if he had said, *Most unhappy Man!* However, recollecting himself, he gave at length the following Answer to Father *Vincent's* Speech.

“ Tho' you have deny'd me all the Requests. The Inca's Answer to the Friar's Speech.
 “ I made to your Messengers, yet it would
 “ be a great Satisfaction to me, to grant me
 “ the Favour only to express yourselves by a
 “ more skillful and faithful Interpreter, be-
 “ cause the Manners and Designs of Men are
 “ better understood by Discourse, than by
 “ Signs or Actions; for tho' you may be
 “ Men endued with extraordinary Virtues
 “ and Abilities, yet unless you make them
 “ appear to me by Words and Discourse, I
 “ shall never be capable to understand them
 “ by outward Signs and Gestures: For if
 “ there be a Necessity of a common Language
 “ between Nations who desire Commerce
 “ and Conversation together, much more is
 “ it requisite between People so remote as we
 “ are. For indeed, to treat by Interpreters
 “ ignorant of both Tongues, is like the inar-
 “ tulate

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“ ticulate Sound of domestick Animals ; and
 “ such, O Man of God, seems this Dis-
 “ course thou hast made me by this Interpreter.
 “ And now, so far as I understand, methinks
 “ this Discourse seems very different to what
 “ your Embassadors lately propounded, for
 “ they treated of nothing else but Peace and
 “ Friendship ; but now, all the Words of
 “ this *Indian* are nothing but Menaces of
 “ War, and Death, and Fire, and Sword,
 “ with the Extirpation and Banishment of
 “ the *Inca's* and their Progeny ; and that I
 “ must voluntarily, or by Force, renounce a
 “ Right to my Kingdom, and become tribu-
 “ tary to another. From whence I collect
 “ one of these two things ; That either you
 “ or your Prince are Tyrants, and rove
 “ about to plunder the World, and to dis-
 “ possess others of their Kingdoms, killing
 “ and spoiling those who owe you nothing,
 “ and have never offered you Injury or Vio-
 “ lence ; or otherwise, you are the Ministers
 “ of God, called by us, *PACHA CAMAC*,
 “ whom he hath sent to visit us with Venge-
 “ ance and Destruction. And if it be so,
 “ both I and my Vassals do offer ourselves to
 “ Death, and to what Punishment soever you
 “ will inflict upon us ; not for Fear, nor out
 “ of any Dread we have of your Menaces or
 “ Arms, but in Compliance with the Com-
 “ mands enjoined us by my Father *Huana*
 “ *Capac*, at the time of his Death, which
 “ was, That we should serve and honour a
 “ Nation with Beards like yourselves, which
 “ were to enter into these Parts after his
 “ Days, and of which he prophesied some
 “ Years before your Ships coasted about our
 “ Country, and whom he declared to be Men
 “ of

“ of better Laws, of more refined Customs,
 “ more wise and more valiant than ourselves.
 “ Wherefore, to fulfill the Prophecy and
 “ Testament of my Father, we style you
 “ *Viracocha's*, understanding thereby, that
 “ you are the Messengers of the great God
 “ VIRACOCOA, whose Will and Pleasure;
 “ just Indignation, Arms, and Power, we
 “ are unable to resist; and yet we are assur'd
 “ that he is all Goodness and Mercy; and
 “ for that Reason you, who are his Ministers
 “ and Executioners of his Will, ought to
 “ abstain from such Robberies, Slaughter and
 “ Violence as you have committed in *Tumbez*
 “ and the adjacent Countries.

“ In the next place, your Interpreter ac-
 “ quaints me of five great Personages whom
 “ I am to acknowledge: The first is God,
 “ who is three and one, that is four, whom
 “ you call the Creator of the Universe;
 “ which, perhaps, may be the same whom
 “ we call PACHA CAMAC and VIRACOCOA.
 “ The second is the Father of all Mankind,
 “ on whom all other Men have heaped their
 “ Sins. The third you call Jesus Christ,
 “ who was the only Person excepted who did
 “ not cast his Sins on the first Man, but that
 “ he died. The fourth you name is the Pope.
 “ The fifth is *Charles*, who, in comparison
 “ with others, you call the most powerful
 “ Monarch of the Universe, and the supreme
 “ Lord of all: But then, if *Charles* be the
 “ Prince, and the Lord of the World, what
 “ need was there for the Pope to give a new
 “ Grant and another Commission to make
 “ War upon me, and usurp my Kingdoms?
 “ for consequently the Pope must be a greater
 “ Prince than he, and the most powerful of

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“ any in the World. But I most admire at
 “ what you say, that I am obliged to pay
 “ Tribute to *Charles* only, and not to others,
 “ the which you alledge without giving me
 “ any Reason; and indeed I cannot conceive
 “ on what score I am oblig’d to pay it;
 “ for if I were bound to pay Tribute and
 “ Service to any, methinks it should be to
 “ that God who, you say, created all things,
 “ and to that first Man, who was the Father
 “ of all Mankind, and to that Jesus Christ
 “ who had no Sins to impute unto him:
 “ And in fine, if Tribute were to be given,
 “ it should rather be unto the Pope, who
 “ hath Power and Authority to dispose of my
 “ Kingdoms and my Person; and if you say
 “ that I owe nothing unto any of these, I
 “ should imagine that I owe much less to
 “ *Charles*, who was never Lord of these
 “ Countries, nor ever saw them. And if the
 “ Pope’s Grant and Concession be obligatory
 “ to me, it were just and reasonable to declare
 “ it to me, before you threaten me with War,
 “ and Fire, and Sword, and Death; for I
 “ am not so void of Understanding and Sense,
 “ as not to obey the Pope, in case you can
 “ shew me a Reason, and Justice, and Cause
 “ for it.

“ Moreover, I desire to be informed who
 “ that good Man Jesus Christ was, who,
 “ you say, never laid his Sins on another,
 “ but that he dy’d. I would gladly know,
 “ whether he died of a natural Death, or by
 “ the Hands of his Enemies; and whether
 “ he was numbered amongst the Gods before
 “ his Death, or afterwards.

“ And farther, I desire to be inform’d,
 “ whether these five which you highly honour,
 “ are

“ are adored by you for Gods ; for if it be
 “ so, you hold more for Gods than we, who
 “ acknowledge no other than the PACHA
 “ CAMAC, who is the supreme, and the Sun,
 “ who is inferior to him, and the Moon, who
 “ is his Sister and Wife. In which doubtful
 “ Questions I heartily desire to be truly
 “ resolved by some other more able and
 “ faithful Interpreter, that so I may be made
 “ more capable thereby to know and obey
 “ your Will and Commands.

De la Vega says, he had seen the Speech made by the Friar to the *Inca*, and we may be assur'd of its being genuine ; but it is not possible he should be so well assur'd what the *Inca's* Answer was, there being no-body present, I presume, that could take it *verbatim* ; however, he seems to be of Opinion, that it was much of the tenour we find it in the *Spanish* Writers.

But after all, what are these Speeches and Summons's of the *Spaniards* to the *Indians* to change their Religion but mere Grimace. It is evident *Pizarro's* Eyes were altogether fix'd upon the Plunder, and he was prepar'd to massacre and cut the *Peruvians* in pieces, before he knew what Answer would be given the Missionaries : He drew the unwary *Indians* into an Ambuscade, from whence it was impossible they should escape, or carry off their Prince, on whose Captivity he knew depended the Fate of that Empire ; closely following the Precedent *Cortez* had set him, in seizing *Montezuma*, Emperor of *Mexico*.

Had the *Spaniards* entertain'd Christian or pacifick Views, they could not have expected that ignorant Men, who never heard of the Christian Religion, should immediately comprehend

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prehend its Doctrines, or obey its Precepts, before they could possibly make any Reflection on what was proposed to them; and yet this was the constant Practice of the *Spaniards* in that new World, to give the Natives a short Summons, and if they refus'd to obey it, immediately to plunder and enslave them. But to proceed.

The *Spaniards*, says *De la Vega*, weary of this long Discourse, began to advance and attack the *Indians*, and plunder them of their Gold, Silver and Jewels; for they had put on their richest Ornaments that Day to receive the Embassy sent them (as they believ'd) from the universal Monarch of the World; and some of the *Spaniards* climb'd a Tower to seize one of the *Peruvian* Idols, adorn'd with Gold and precious Stones, which Outrage occasion'd a great Noise and Tumult among the *Indians*; but the Emperor call'd out to his People to be quiet, and make no Resistance whatever Violence the *Spaniards* committed. Some Writers say, that Friar *Vincent* encourag'd the Soldiers to attack the *Indians*, because *Atabilipa* threw the Bible, or Breviary upon the Ground, which that Friar presented him; but *De la Vega* assures us, this was not true; that the Friar indeed, being surpris'd at the sudden Cry of the *Indians*, as he was discoursing with the *Inca*, ran away and drop'd his Book and the Cross upon the Ground; but that he was so far from encouraging the Soldiers to fall upon the *Indians*, that he call'd out to them to do no manner of Violence: However, whether Father *Vincent* encourag'd the Slaughter of the *Indians* or not, or whether *Pizarro* acquainted him with his Intentions or conceal'd them from him, nothing is more evident.

evident than that this General drew the *Indians* within those Walls on purpose to massacre and plunder them, and make the *Inca* his Prisoner; for the Conference between the *Inca* and the Friar was scarce ended, before he made the appointed Signal for the great Guns to fire among the thickest of the *Indians*, and his Horse to attack and trample them under their Feet, and the Dogs to be let loose at them, while he, at the Head of his Infantry, march'd up to the Golden Chair, or Throne, on which *Atabilipa* was carried, and made him Prisoner. The poor *Indians*, 'tis said, when they saw what the Christians chiefly aim'd at, threw themselves between the *Spaniards* and their Prince, to prevent his being taken, but not a Man of them offer'd to lift up a Weapon to defend himself, their Emperor having commanded the contrary: The poor People therefore were slaughter'd like so many Sheep, till *Pizarro* having made his way through, or rather over the Heaps of the Slain, pull'd down the Emperor from his Chair with his own Hands and took him Prisoner, in which Action he receiv'd a slight Wound from one of his own Soldiers that struck at the *Inca*; and the General was the only *Spaniard* that was hurt, tho' five thousand *Peruvians* were kill'd that Day with their Arms in their Hands; which amounts to a Demonstration that the *Peruvians* made no Resistance: And that this brave Action the *Spaniards* boast of so much, may more properly be stil'd a barbarous Butchery than a Victory; and I cannot help thinking, that *Cervantes* had some of these *Spanish* Heroes, that subdued the *West-Indies*, in his Eye, when he introduc'd that inimitable Champion *Don Quixot*, arm'd

The
Indians
massacred,
and their
Inca made
Prisoner.

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arm'd *Cap-a-pee*, charging a Flock of Sheep with his Lance. Let any one consult the *Spanish* Historiographer, *Antonio de Herera*, *Blas Valera*, and the rest of the *Spanish* Authors who write of this Conquest, and they will see I do their Countrymen no Wrong in this Relation.

The
Treachery
and Cruel-
ty of the
Spaniards
confess'd
by their
own
Historians

Herera informs us, that *Pizarro*, before *Atabilipa* and his *Indians* enter'd the Square, commanded his Musketeers to take post upon a Signal given them; that the Captains *Ferdinando Pizarro*, *Ferdinand de Soto*, *Sebastian de Balcazar*, and *Christopher de Mena*, who commanded the Cavalry, should fall upon the *Indians*, and the Foot should do the like; and directed them, before the Execution began, that they should permit a certain Number of the Enemy (as they call'd them) to enter the Gates, which they should afterwards take special Care to shut and secure: That Father *Vincent* having made his Speech to the *Inca*, told *Pizarro* he was treated with Contempt; and that the Tyrant demanded Restitution of the Gold and Silver the *Spaniards* had plunder'd his Subjects of.

Whereupon, says *Herera*, *Pizarro* did not think fit to lose more time; for he had before resolved what to do; being a Man that had served twenty Years in the *West-Indies*, and knowing the Victory depended on seizing the Persons of the Sovereigns. He lifted up the white Cloth, which was the appointed Signal for executing the Orders he had given, and thereupon *Peter de Candia* fir'd the great Guns, and the Musketeers their Pieces, to the Amazement of the *Indians*, and the more so because it was unexpected: Then the Drums beat, the Trumpets sounded, the
Horse

Horse fell in three several ways among the *Indians*, while the Infantry made a Slaughter of them with their Cross-bows, Pikes and Swords: And *Pizarro* in Person, with fifteen chosen Men, march'd up to the Chair on which *Atabilipa* was carried, and killing those that supported it, with many more that crowded to supply their Places, after a very great Slaughter of the *Indians*, seiz'd the *Inca*, and pull'd him down from his Chair; after which, the *Peruvians* fled, and were pursued by the *Spaniards*, who did not leave off killing them till the Fugitives broke down Part of the Wall of the Square, by which means some few of them escap'd.

Blas Valera, whose Father was in this Action also, relates that five thousand *Indians* were kill'd, (*viz.*) three thousand five hundred by the Sword, and the rest, who were for the most part old Men, Women and Children, who came only to gaze, were trampled under Foot by the Horse.

Lopez de Gomara, Chap. 113. says, notwithstanding the *Indians* were arm'd, not a Man lifted up his Hand; probably, says he, the Surprize was so sudden, and their Terror so great, occasion'd by the Sound of Trumpets, the Roaring of the Cannons, Firing of the small Arms, the Rushing of the Horse upon them, and the Clattering of the *Spanish* Armour, Things unknown to that defenceless People, that they were confounded, and lost the Use of their Reason; declaring that great Numbers perish'd with their Arms in their Hands, rather than they would fight and defend themselves.

De la Vega indeed observes, that the *Spanish* Generals pretended the *Indians* were

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treacherous ; that *Atabilipa* had form'd a Design to surprize the *Spaniards*, and put them all to the Sword ; and that Father *Vincent* complain'd to the General they refus'd his Invitation to become Christians, and treated him and the Cross with Contempt, and there-upon incited the General to fall upon them.

But in these Accounts, says *De la Vega*, the General and Captains were not sincere : They endeavour'd to put the best Gloss upon their Actions, leaving out of the Narrative they sent to the Court of *Spain*, all their cruel and unjustifiable Proceedings ; and adding whatever had a fair Appearance. *It being confirm'd*, says that Historian, *by several other Writers, that Atabilipa commanded his Subjects not to resist the Spaniards*: For if the *Inca* had not commanded them not to fight, certainly, says he, they would never have endur'd to see their Prince overthrown and taken, having Weapons in their Hands : They would rather have all died in his Defence, as many of them did in endeavouring to support his Chair, and not have suffer'd an hundred and sixty *Spaniards*, whom they were able to have subdu'd with Stones, to commit such Outrages. Whereas there was not one *Spaniard* either kill'd or wounded, unless *Francis Pizarro* the General, who receiv'd a little Hurt in his Hand by one of his own Men, as he went to seize on *Atabilipa*. The Truth is (says he) the *Indians* did not fight, because they held every Command of the *Inca* to be a Part of their Religion, and of the Divine Law, tho' it were to lose their Lives and Estates : Indeed our Author ascribes it to a miraculous Providence that the *Inca* should give these Orders ; but these, and abundance of Miracles
more

more of the same stamp, which the *Spaniards* relate in their Histories of their Invasions and Usurpations in the *West-Indies*, are but little credited probably by Hereticks, whatever they may be by those of their own Persuasion.

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To proceed to the History. *Pizarro* having seiz'd the *Inca*, and convey'd him to his own Quarters, directed the Spoils of the Field to be collected and brought to him; which were exceeding great, consisting of large Gold and Silver Vessels and Utensils, fine Garments of various Colours, Jewels and Ornaments belonging to the *Inca*, the Royal Family, and great Officers. There were taken also several Ladies, Wives of the Caciques and Orejons, and some of the *Mamacona's*, or consecrated Virgins: And tho' all Mankind must look upon this Action as one of the most treacherous and barbarous Massacres that ever was committed by Christians, yet had *Pizarro* the Confidence to command a solemn Thanksgiving to God to be observ'd that very Day, being the 3d of *May*, 1533, (the Festival of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross) and in that very Field where the Ground was cover'd with the dead Bodies of the miserable *Indians* they had thus murder'd and plunder'd. Next Day he sent out a Detachment of his Forces to plunder the *Inca's* Camp, where he met with another rich Booty; tho' 'tis said the *Peruvian* Generals had carried off three thousand Loads (Porters Burthens) of Gold and Silver before the *Spaniards* arriv'd there; therefore, in order to induce the *Indians* not to carry off or conceal any more of their Treasures, he caus'd it to be proclaim'd that their *Inca* was alive, and that they were at liberty to come and attend him, and perform

The Spoils of the Field.

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their usual Services. Whereupon several of the *Indian* Generals and great Officers return'd to *Caxamalca* to attend their captive Sovereign; he also caus'd the *Inca's* Women to be brought to him, and suffer'd him to be served in the same manner he us'd to be before this Misfortune; tho' he still kept him in Fetters, which made the *Inca* apprehensive they would take away his Life in the end, unless he could find some way to obtain his Liberty: Having observ'd, therefore, the insatiable Thirst of the *Spaniards* after Gold and Silver, he promised to give them as much of those precious Metals as a great Room in the Castle of *Caxamalca* would hold, for his Freedom; and that the *Spaniards* might not doubt the Performance of what he offer'd, he propos'd their sending some *Spanish* Officers with his People to *Cusco*, to the Temple of *PACHA CAMAC*, and other Places, to bring the Treasures reposit'd there to *Caxamalca*, and at the same time issued his Orders, that the *Spaniards* who were dispatch'd to these Places should be hospitably entertain'd in the Countries through which they pass'd, and receive all the Assistance his Subjects could give them.

The
Inca offers
vast Treasures for
his
Liberty.

Almagro
brings a
great Re-
inforce-
ment to
Peru.

In the mean time, *James de Almagro* having list'd an hundred and fifty Men in his Service at *Panama*, embark'd with them for *Peru*, to re-inforce *Pizarro*; but was oblig'd, by contrary Winds, to land at Cape *Francisco*, to the Northward of the Equator, where he was join'd by another Party of *Spaniards* that were going to share *Pizarro's* Fortunes, making together a Body of between two and three hundred Men; but being oblig'd to pass so many Morasses and Mouths of Rivers, and march through continual Rains under the Equator,

Equator, he lost thirty or forty of his Men, and fell sick himself ; however, surmounting all these Distresses and Difficulties, he arriv'd at length at the new *Spanish* Colony of *St. Michael's*, near the Bay of *Guiaquil*, and there he understood that *Pizarro* had made the Emperor *Atabilipa* Prisoner, and possess'd himself of a vast Treasure. Whereupon, 'tis said, *Almagro* consulted with his Officers, whether they should join *Pizarro* or go upon some further Discoveries independent of him, if he refus'd to let them share the Treasure he had got ; and *Almagro's* Secretary, it seems, sent *Pizarro* Intelligence, that his Master had no good Intentions towards him : But *Pizarro*, either believing that he should not be able to keep so large an Empire as *Peru* in Subjection with the few Troops that were with him, or that *Almagro* having more Forces than he commanded, might join a Party of the *Indians* and take his Booty from him, and set up for himself, sent very obliging Messages to *Almagro*, inviting him to advance and join him, and at the same time acquainted him with the Arts that were us'd to set them at variance and thereby ruin their Enterprize on *Peru*, which was not to be carried on but by their united Forces and Endeavours ; and particularly he acquainted *Almagro* with the Treachery of his Secretary, who thereupon order'd him to be hang'd up, and immediately began his March towards *Caxamalca*.

The *Inca Atabilipa* receiving Advice that another Body of *Spaniards* was arriv'd upon the Coast, began to reflect that this would not probably be to his Advantage ; for *Pizarro* would now no longer be under a Necessity of carrying Matters fair with him, being enabled by

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by this Re-inforcement, to maintain his Conquests by pure Force : He hasten'd therefore the bringing in the Treasure he had offer'd for his Ransom, that he might obtain his Liberty before *Pizarro* was join'd by *Almagro* ; but another Accident happen'd about the same time, which he apprehended would be still more fatal to him. The three *Spanish* Officers that were sent with his People to *Cusco* happening to pass through the Town where *Huascar* his Brother, the lawful Emperor, was Prisoner, went to see him, and acquainting *Huascar* with what *Atahilipa* had offer'd for his Ransom, that Prince acquainted them how unjustly he had been depos'd and imprison'd by *Atahilipa*, his Bastard Brother, who had no Right to the Empire or the Treasures he had promis'd : And as he understood one principal Design of this Expedition of the *Spaniards* was to relieve the Distressed, and to do Justice to those that were oppress'd, he did not doubt but they would release him from his Captivity, and restore him to his Throne ; which he should not only gratefully acknowledge, but would furnish them with much more Treasure than the Usurper could possibly do ; for his loyal Subjects had buried most of their Gold and Silver Plate after the Battle wherein he was made Prisoner, to conceal it from the Rebels, but would readily produce it again, and pay it to the *Spaniards* for his Ransom, if he requir'd it.

Pizarro's three Messengers seem'd to listen to these Overtures, and promis'd the *Inca Huascar* that Justice should be done him ; but lest that Prince however in Prison, and continued their Journey to *Cusco* ; and Advice being immediately carried to *Atahilipa* of this Conference

Conference between the *Spanish* Officers and his Brother, he soon saw that he should be undone unless *Huascar* was dispatch'd out of the way, knowing that the greatest part of the Empire were still in his Interest; and as they would infallibly be supported by the *Spaniards*, to whom his Brother had discover'd his Treachery, and promis'd such Mountains of Gold and Silver, they would certainly sacrifice him to their Avarice, if they had no Regard to the Justice of his Brother's Cause.

But then reflecting, if he should order his Brother to be put to death, the *Spaniards* might make this a Pretence for taking away his own Life, he resolv'd in the first place to sound how *Pizarro* stood affected towards *Huascar*, which he did by feigning he had receiv'd Intelligence that the Officers who had his Brother in their Custody had put him to death without his Knowledge, for which the Usurper express'd a very great Concern; but finding *Pizarro* was not mov'd at the Relation, and that he only said, This was the Fortune of War, the Lives of Captives were at the Conqueror's Disposal, *Atahilpa* dispatch'd an Express for putting *Huascar* to death, and his Orders were immediately executed; tho' it remains very uncertain in what manner he died; for some Writers affirm he was burnt, others that he was drowned, and some that his Body was cut in small Pieces, that his Subjects might not pay those Honours to the Corps of their deceased *Inca* as was usual.

However, the *Peruvians* mourned, and made great Lamentations for him as soon as his Death was known, crying to Heaven for Vengeance on his Murderers, and entreated the *Spaniards* to revenge it on the cruel Usurper *Atahilpa*.

In

Peru.



The
Peruvians
lose their
Esteem
for the
Spaniards.

In the mean time, the three Officers that were sent to *Cusco* being arriv'd there, were ador'd by that People as the true Descendants of the Sun; but the *Spaniards* lament that they were Men of mean Parts and Education, who knew not how to preserve that Respect and Veneration the *Peruvians* had conceiv'd of them, which was then so necessary to facilitate their future Attempts. The *Indians*, we are told, soon perceiv'd they must deduce the Original of the *Spaniards* from some baser Fountain than that of the Sun, and the Esteem and Affection they at first entertain'd for the Christians, on the mighty Professions they made of their Justice and Honour, was, on a sudden, converted into Dread and Aversion: They were afflicted to find so vicious and profligate a Race of Men, who trampled on every thing that was sacred, and whose Avarice seem'd to exceed all Bounds, should become Masters of their Country, and from that time meditated how they might throw off that intolerable Yoke which they found the *Spaniards* were about to impose on them; however, they durst not disobey the Commands of their *Inca Atabilipa*, but having amass'd a considerable Quantity of Treasure, they loaded it on the Backs of their *Tamenes*, or Porters, and convey'd it to *Caxamalca*, with a View possibly of asserting their Liberties to greater Advantages, when they should have procur'd the Release of the *Inca*.

But the most valuable Treasure, consisting of Gold, Silver, and Emeralds, being lodg'd in the Temple of *PACHA CAMAC*, the invisible God, as *Pizarro* was inform'd, he dispatch'd his three Brothers thither with the *Peruvian* Officers *Atabilipa* deputed to fetch it

it to *Caxamalca* ; but the Priests of *PACHA CAMAC*, receiving Advice how the Temple of *Cusco* had been rifled by the *Spaniards* that went thither, to prevent the like Misfortune, sent away four hundred Loads of Gold, Silver and Jewels, before the *Pizarro's* arriv'd, which were buried in the Earth, or carried to such a Distance that the *Spaniards* could never discover what became of them : However, *Ferdinand Pizarro* found as much Plate in this Temple as amounted to 90000 Crowns, besides what the Soldiers embezzel'd, and return'd with it to *Caxamalca*.

The Marshal *Almagro* being advanc'd by this time into the Neighbourhood of *Caxamalca*, *Pizarro* the General went out to meet him and congratulate his Arrival, receiv'd him with all the Marks of Affection and Esteem imaginable, and offer'd him such a Share of the Spoils as made him perfectly easy : But his Soldiers, who expected to divide the Booty with those that serv'd under *Pizarro* were told, they were entitl'd to no Part of it, as not having been present in the Action when the *Inca Atabilipa* was made Prisoner, which was near creating a Mutiny amongst them ; but they were pretty well appeas'd when *Pizarro* agreed to distribute an hundred thousand Ducats among the Men which came with *Almagro* ; the rest of the Plunder, after the Emperor's Fifth was deducted, was divided by *Pizarro* among his Officers and Soldiers in such Proportion as he saw fit, in which he pretended to have a great Regard to the Merit of the respective Adventurers : And 'tis said, he at this time, after he had reserv'd the *Inca's* Golden Chair to himself, distributed as much Gold and Silver Plate amongst the Soldiers

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as amounted to 1500000 Crowns and upwards, which, considering the Value of Gold and Silver at that time, was more than fifteen Millions at this Day.

The Soldiers being possess'd of this prodigious Wealth, fell into all manner of Excesses, raising the Price of Things to a very great Rate, by offering any Sums to gratify their Appetites or Fancies, and never was Gaming at a higher pitch; which, 'tis said, their Officers conniv'd at, or rather encourag'd; that the Soldiers, having lost their Money, and becoming dependant on them again, might be more under command. And now *Pizarro* thought it a proper time to send over the fifth Part of the Treasure to the Emperor, as he had stipulated, and with it his Brother *Ferdinando Pizarro*, to solicit for such Reinforcements as might establish the Dominion of the *Spaniards* in *Peru*; and to petition that his Government might be extended still further to the Southward; (the General having probably heard by this time, that the chief Silver Mines lay further South than two hundred Leagues, beyond which his Patent did not extend.) The Marshal *Almagro* also employ'd his Agents to represent to the Court of *Spain* with what Expence and Application he had sent and carried Re-inforcements, and supplied the General with Ammunition and Provisions from time to time, to enable him to make his Conquest, and to desire that all that Part of *South-America* which lay to the Southward of the Lands granted to *Pizarro*, might be put under his Government: And with these Agents, sent by the General and the Marshal, return'd several Adventurers to the number of fifty or threescore, who having obtain'd thirty
or

or forty thousand Ducats a-piece for their respective Shares of the Spoils, were perfectly satisfied with it, and chose to enjoy what they had got the remainder of their Lives in their own Country, rather than undergo more Hazards and Difficulties to increase their Fortunes. These Men knew how to set some Bounds to their Desires; but as for the Generals and many more of those that remain'd in *Peru* (who were about four hundred Men) it appears nothing was capable of satisfying their Avarice and Ambition; most of them perish'd in the pursuit of Wealth and unbounded Power, after they were possess'd of more than would have made most Men happy, or at least easy in their Circumstances. But to proceed.

De la Vega and the rest of the *Spanish* ^{Miracles pretended to.} Historians relate abundance of Miracles that were wrought in their Favour on their introducing Christianity into *Peru*; and that their Conversion of the *Peruvians* might resemble the planting of the Christian Religion by the Apostles in this Part of the World, they tell us, that all the Idols and Oracles of those Pagans became dumb on the Consecration of the Host, as perform'd in the Mass; but surely Heaven could never countenance such Cruelty, Injustice and Oppression as was exercis'd by the *Spaniards* on that unhappy People. They compar'd the *Indians* indeed to the *Egyptians*; but who gave them Authority to plunder and murder the *Indians*, and take their Country from them? Can it be imagin'd that God would by Miracles set his Seal, as it were, to such flagrant Enormities, and countenance Facts that none but infernal Powers could approve? Was it thus the Apostles and primitive Christians propagated Christianity?

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Or did these Reformers copy after *Mahomet*, and plant their Superstition in this new World by the Sword, the Halter, and the Bow-string, and such unparallel'd Villanies as *Mahomet* would have blush'd to commit; of which their Treatment of *Atabilipa* will ever remain a tragical Instance.

A formal
Process
drawn up
against
Atabilipa.

Atabilipa, the royal Prisoner, having offer'd *Pizarro* a prodigious Treasure for his Liberty, and actually paid great Part of it if not all (as some of their Historians admit) *Pizarro*, notwithstanding, determin'd to take away his Life, pretending that he encourag'd the *Indians* to attempt his Rescue and cut off the *Spaniards*: And that he might justify his Conduct in this Proceeding, he caus'd a formal Process to be drawn up against him, consisting of the following Articles, (*viz.*)

The
Articles.

I. That *Huascar Inca* being his eldest Brother and lawful Sovereign, and himself a Bastard, he had caus'd *Huascar* to be depos'd and imprison'd, and afterwards usurp'd his Throne.

II. That he had caus'd his said Brother to be murder'd, since he became a Prisoner to the *Spaniards*.

III. That *Atabilipa* was an Idolater.

IV. That he caus'd his Subjects to sacrifice Men and Children.

V. That he had rais'd unjust Wars, and been guilty of the Blood of many People.

VI. That he kept a great many Concubines.

VII. That he exacted Taxes and Tribute of the *Peruvians* since the *Spaniards* possess'd his Country, and consum'd and embezzel'd the publick Treasure.

VIII.

VIII. That he had incited the *Indians* to rebell and make war against the *Spaniards*. since he had been their Prisoner. Peru.

The last Article being chiefly insisted on, the *Inca* absolutely deny'd that Part of the Charge, and complain'd of the Treachery of *Pizarro*, who, after he had extorted such a Ransom from him, now broke his Faith, and would put him to death under a colour of Law; and desir'd he might be sent over to *Spain*, and try'd before the Emperor: He urg'd that he had never offended the *Spaniards*, but greatly enrich'd them; and that they could not without great Injustice take away his Life: However, the *Spaniards* proceeded to examine Witnesses against him on these Articles, whose Testimony being interpreted by *Philip* the *Peruvian*, whom the *Spaniards* admit was an Enemy to the *Inca*, and *Pizarro* and *Almagro* sitting as his Judges, they made no Difficulty to condemn him to be burnt; and Friar *Vincent Valverde*, 'tis said, approv'd the Sentence under his Hand, that it might give the greater Satisfaction to the Court of *Spain*: The Friar also took great Pains to induce the *Inca* to turn Christian and receive Baptism before he died, which he consented to, 'tis said, upon condition that the Execution might be changed from burning to strangling; and he was accordingly strangled, the Friar having first given him Absolution, and assign'd him a Seat in Heaven, notwithstanding the many Crimes they had charg'd him with. Anchilipa is condemn'd to be burnt.

Many of the *Spaniards*, it seems, protested against these Proceedings, and the putting the *Inca* to death had almost occasion'd a Mutiny; but those who were for saving him, finding He is baptiz'd. And afterwards strangled.

Peru.

finding themselves the smaller Number, and it being represented that their Quarrels at this time would not only be fatal to themselves, but be the Loss of *Peru* probably, they thought fit to acquiesce in the Determination of the greater Number.

Pizarro's
Apology
for this
Proceed-
ing.

But notwithstanding I have no great Opinion of *Pizarro's* Justice or Humanity, it would not be fair to conceal what his Friends say in his Favour, who tell us, that the *Indians* themselves were really the Occasion of this Prince's Death; that the Party of *Huascar* were perpetually suggesting, that the *Spaniards* could never expect to possess *Peru* quietly as long as he lived, and produc'd several Witnesses at the Trial, who positively testified that *Atabilipa* was conspiring to raise an Army to destroy the *Spaniards*; and that the *Peruvian* Generals had actually assembled their Troops in several Parts of the Empire, and particularly in *Quitto*, the Province the *Spaniards* were now in, and which was most devoted to this *Inca*; and that if *Pizarro* had not cut him off he would have hazarded the Loss of all his Conquests. They relate also, that an Amour between *Philip* the Interpreter, and one of the *Inca's* Women, did not a little contribute to *Atabilipa's* Ruin: For *Philip* despairing of enjoying his Mistress while the *Inca* liv'd, was perpetually bringing Stories to *Pizarro* of the Disaffection of the *Indians*, and their Conspiracies to cut off the *Spaniards*, and rescue their Prince out of Prison. They relate also, that *Philip* gave the worst Turn to the Evidence he could, when he was call'd to interpret it, representing things much worse than they were, which induced the General to believe he was really in Danger, and that he

he could not be safe while *Atabilipa* liv'd; and under such a Persuasion, he could not be blam'd for putting the *Inca* to death, who had forfeited the Protection that was promis'd him, by his Plots.

Peru.

On the other hand it is answered, that admitting the Charge had been true, the *Inca* might have been as well secur'd against his doing the *Spaniards* any Mischief by sending him over to the Emperor (who would have been a much more proper judge of his Actions than *Pizarro*) as by putting him to death: And, as to *Atabilipa's* being a Usurper, and having dethron'd and murdered his Brother and Sovereign, it is demanded, who gave *Pizarro* Authority to judge and condemn a sovereign Prince for these Offences: Had *Pizarro* acted up to the Character he assumed of a Protector and Deliverer of the Distressed, and rescued and protected *Huascar* the lawful Emperor against the Usurper; or after the Death of *Huascar*, had caus'd his lawful Successor to be proclaim'd and establish'd on his Throne; either of them might have called *Atabilipa* to account for his Usurpation and Tyranny, and done Justice upon him; but *Pizarro* could have no better Authority to judge and condemn this Prince, or even his Subjects, than Pirates and *Banditti* have to take away the Lives of the unhappy Captives they make: And his doing it under Colour of Law was but an Aggravation of the Offence. Had he put him to death as an Enemy taken in War, without a formal Trial, his Insolence had been more pardonable; but a Man of *Pizarro's* Rank to erect a Tribunal for the Trial of a King, was alone a most audacious Usurpation of sovereign Power, over a Prince that

The Answer to *Pizarro's* Apology.

could

Peru.

could have no Dependance on him. There are some *Spanish* Writers also that suggest, there was a great deal of Pique and Relentment in the Affair: That *Atabilipa*, who in a manner ador'd *Pizarro* at first as the General and Commander of these Sons of the Gods, observing his Rapine and Avarice, and other mean and fordid Actions, and that many of the private Men that served under him seem'd to excell him in many Respects, he began to lose his Esteem for *Pizarro*, and not treat him with that profound Reverence he did at first; particularly they relate, that *Atabilipa*, admiring nothing more than that Faculty of Writing and Reading which he apprehended was natural to the *Spaniards*, and born with them, propos'd it to a Soldier to write the Word *God* (they so often repeated to him) upon his Thumb Nail; and then calling another Soldier to him, he demand'd what those Characters signified; to which he answer'd *God*. Then he call'd a third, who gave him the same Answer; but afterwards, demand-ing of *Pizarro* if he knew what it meant, he answer'd he could not tell, for it seems *Pizarro* could neither write nor read; at which Answer the *Inca* was amaz'd. He thought it impossible their Commander could be ignorant of what most of his Soldiers were well versed in. This being directly the Reverse of what he had observed among his own People, where the Qualifications of their Magistrates and Officers were usually superior to those of the common People; nor did he reckon much amiss when he applied this Rule to the *Christians*, who usually make choice of Men that are best qualified to supply the greatest Posts: And this Instance would incline Men

Men to believe, that *Pizarro* made but a mean Figure in *Europe*, and was not of that Quality the *Spanish* Writers pretend he was; there being but few Posts a Man could be qualified for, even in *Spain*, who could neither write nor read.

But whatever was the real Occasion of the *Inca's* Death, some of the Articles preferred against him were exceeding ridiculous, as that he was an Idolater, and kept Concubines, which was the Case of most of the Heathen World, and could be no Crime in him till he was better inform'd: They also charg'd him with presuming to receive the Revenues of his Empire, and meddling with the public Money, after they had set up their Claim to his Dominions; but whatever Title *Atabilipa* might have to the Empire, or the public Money, it is very certain the *Spaniards* could have no Title to either; and if he deserv'd Death for possessing himself of them, much more the *Spaniards*, who could have no Right to them, either by Inheritance or the Consent of the Subject.

Pizarro, however, did not carry his Resentment so far, but after he had kill'd and taken Possession, he thought fit to treat the Corpse of the *Inca* with the Respect due to a Sovereign Prince: He celebrated the *Inca's* Funeral with great Solemnity, and went into Mourning for him; but he soon discover'd how detestable this Murder render'd him among the Natives. The two Factions immediately united against him, under *Huana Capac*, the Brother and Heir of *Huascar*, whom they proclaim'd Emperor of *Cusco*: Whereupon *Pizarro* proclaim'd *Toparpa* (a Son of *Atabilipa*) Emperor, caus'd him to wear the

The Article preferred against the *Inca* ridiculous.

Pizarro proclaims another *Inca*.

Peru. Imperial Coronet, and to he treated with the same Honours his Father had been; issuing such Orders in his Name, as might best serve the Interest of the *Spaniards*; but this *Inca* died soon after: And now *Pizarro*, conjecturing that nothing could tend to establish the *Spanish Dominion* in *Peru*, more than his possessing himself of the capital City of *Cusco*, he began his March thither with all his Forces, consisting of near four hundred Men, besides confederate *Indians*.

Marches
towards
Cusco.

In the mean time *Ataucbi*, Brother to the late Emperor *Atabilipa*, having collected a great Quantity of Treasure to purchase his Brother's Ransom, brought it to *Caxamalca*; but finding *Atabilipa* murder'd, and the *Spaniards* march'd from thence, determin'd to be reveng'd of them; and joining his Forces with some other *Peruvian* Generals, surpris'd the *Spaniards* upon their March to *Cusco*, kill'd some of them, and made several Prisoners, and amongst the rest *Sancho de Cuelar*, who had drawn up the Process against the late *Inca Atabilipa*, and attended his Execution. With these Prisoners the *Indian* Generals retired again to *Caxamalca*, where they strangled *Sancho* the *Spaniard*, at the very same Post where their Emperor was put to death; but understanding that *Francis de Chaves*, *Ferdinando de Haro*, and some of the rest of their Prisoners, had protested against the *Inca's* Death, they resolved to give them their Lives and Liberties, entring into the following Articles of Peace and Friendship with the captive *Spaniards*, before they dismiss'd them, *viz.* That neither Party should for the future offer any Violence to the other; and particularly, that the *Spaniards* should not attempt

Some of
his Men
cut off, and
made Pri-
soners,

Sancho
strangled.

A Treaty
between
the *Spaniards*
and
Indians.

tempt to depose *Manco Capac*, who had been proclaim'd at *Cusco*, and was the lawful Heir of the *Inca Huana Capac*: That both Sides should release their Prisoners, and that the *Spaniards* should not treat the *Indians* as Slaves, but Freemen: That the Laws of their Country should be observed inviolably, when they were not repugnant to those of Christianity; and that this Treaty should be ratified by the *Spanish* General, and his Sovereign the Emperor of the *Romans*.

The *Spaniards* insisted, on their Parts, that the *Indians* should profess the *Christian* Religion; that a Part of the Country should be assigned them for their Subsistence, and that they might retain the *Indians* as hir'd Servants, tho' not as Slaves: Which the *Indians* agreed to, and dismiss'd their Prisoners with rich Presents: But *Pizarro* and *Almagro* at first positively refus'd to ratify the Articles, and would hear of nothing but an absolute Submission, and an entire Surrender of their Country and their Persons to the Will of the *Christians*, which occasioned long and bloody Wars afterwards: Whereas the *Spanish* Historians admit, they might have established Christianity in *Peru* without spilling a Drop of Blood, if the Ambition and Avarice of the Adventurers had not prevented it. The People were as well disposed, they observe, to receive the *Christian* Faith, as could be wish'd, and ready to have acknowledg'd the King of *Spain* their Sovereign; and that their *Inca* should hold his Dominions of him, if they might have been treated as Subjects and Freemen ought to be; and the *Inca* would have assign'd Lands and Revenues to the *Spaniards*, provided his Subjects might have been allow'd to have had any

Peru.

Property in the Residue; but this would not satisfy the Views of the rapacious *Spaniards*, they could not have plunder'd their Temples and Palaces, usurp'd whole Provinces, enslav'd the Natives, and arriv'd at Sovereign Power, if they had cultivated a Friendship, and enter'd into an Alliance with the Natives: What Zeal soever therefore the *Spaniards* might pretend for propagating the *Christian* Religion, it is evident Wealth and Power were the only Deities these Adventurers ador'd, as has been already observ'd in the Conduct of their Brethren in *Mexico*. But to return to the History of *Peru*.

Cusco abandon'd
by the *Indians*.

The General *Pizarro*, continuing his March towards *Cusco*, was again attack'd by several Parties of the *Indians*, at some difficult Passes in the Mountains; but finding themselves unable to resist the Fire-Arms and Horses of the *Christians*, they fled, after a faint Resistance, to the capital City; declaring, that it was in vain for any human Force to oppose the *Spaniards*, who were arm'd with Thunder and Lightning, and could kill their Enemies at so many hundred Yards distance. Whereupon the People of *Cusco*, without offering to defend their Walls, or that impregnable Castle already describ'd, fled with their Wives and Children, and what was most valuable to them, to the Woods and Mountains; and *Pizarro* enter'd the City without Opposition in the Month of *October* 1532, where he met with a prodigious Booty, notwithstanding the Citizens had so much Time to carry off their best Goods and Treasure.

The *Spaniards* enter
Cusco.

Gomara, a *Spanish* Writer, relates, “ That
“ the next Day after the *Spaniards* enter'd
“ *Cusco*, they fell to work, some to unrip the
“ Gold

“ Gold and Silver from the Walls of the
 “ Temple, others to dig up the Jewels and
 “ Vessels of Plate, which were buried with
 “ the Dead ; others pillaged and rifled the
 “ Idols, and sacked the Houses, and the
 “ Fortrefs, where still great Quantities of
 “ Gold and Silver were preserv’d, which had
 “ been there amafs’d and laid up by *Huana*
 “ *Capac*. In short, there was more Gold
 “ and Silver found in this City, and in the
 “ Parts about it, than was produc’d at *Caxa-*
 “ *malca* by the Ransom of *Atabilipa*. How-
 “ ever, the particular Share belonging to
 “ every individual Person did not amount to
 “ so much as the former Dividend, by reason
 “ that the Number was greater which was to
 “ partake thereof ; nor was the Fame of this
 “ Action so loud as the first, which publish’d
 “ the Triumph of Riches, with the Imprison-
 “ ment of a King. A certain *Spaniard* enter-
 “ ing into a Vault, found there an entire
 “ Tomb of Silver, so thick and massy that
 “ it was worth 50000 Pieces of Eight, or
 “ Crowns ; others had the Fortune to find
 “ such as were of less Value ; for it was the
 “ Custom of rich Men of those Countries to
 “ be bury’d in this manner up and down the
 “ Fields, and there to be laid in State, like
 “ Idols. Nor were the *Spaniards* contented
 “ with this Prize, but still thirsting after
 “ greater Riches, were hot in the pursuit of
 “ the Treasures of *Huana Capac*, and of others
 “ hidden by the ancient Kings of *Cusco* ; but
 “ neither then, nor afterwards, were all those
 “ Treasures discover’d, tho’ they tortured the
 “ poor *Indians* to make them discover the
 “ Places where their great Men were interr’d.

Pern.

“ It is certain, says *Gomara*, that for the space of seven or eight Years after the *Spaniards* had remained in quiet Possession of that Empire, several Treasures were discovered both within and without the City ; and particularly within the Precincts of that Palace call’d *Amuruchancha*, which, upon the Division made, fell to the Lot of *Antonio Altamirano* ; where it happened that a Horse, galloping round a Courtyard of that Palace, struck one of his Feet into a Hole, which they supposed at first to be some old Sink, or Drain for Water from the House ; but looking more narrowly, they found the Hole opening to a Jar of Gold, weighing above two hundred Pounds weight ; for the *Indians* make greater or less of these as their Occasions require, using them to boil their Drink and Liquor in. With this great Jar they found others of Gold and Silver ; and tho’ they were not so large, yet they were valued at about 80000 Ducats. Moreover, in the Convent of the *Select Virgins*, and particularly in that Part which fell to the Share of *Pedro del Barco*, and afterwards came to the Possession of *Hernando de Segovia*, who was an Apothecary, and with whom I had an Acquaintance ; this *Hernando* altering his House, and removing some Part of the Foundation, found a Treasure of 72000 Ducats, with which, and with above 20000 Ducats more, which he had gained by his Practice, he returned into *Spain*, where I saw him at *Seville* ; where in a few Days after his Arrival he died for mere Grief and Sorrow that he had left *Cusco*, as several others had done, whom I knew in the same Condition. *Pi-*

A Ducat
is about
a Noble.

Pizarro having thus possess'd himself of the capital City of *Peru*, from whence the *Inca Manco Capac* and the greatest Part of the Inhabitants were fled, thought fit to invite them to return to their Dwellings; apprehending, if they were made desperate, that the whole Power of *Peru* would assemble against him, and might reduce him to great Straits by cutting off his Provisions, tho' they durst not meet him fairly in the Field. The *Indians* accepting *Pizarro's* Invitation, return'd to their Houses in *Cusco*, and even the *Inca* made some Overtures to him, intimating that he should be content to embrace the *Christian* Religion, and hold his Dominions of the Emperor of the *Romans*, provided that neither he nor his Subjects should be molested for the future in their Persons or Estates: And being encourag'd by *Pizarro* to believe he should have the Terms he demanded, the *Inca* came in Person to *Cusco*, and had an Interview with the *Spanish* General, who caused him to be crown'd and invested in the Empire, by binding the royal Wreath, or Coronet, about his Head, and proclaiming him *Inca* in the same manner his Successors used to be inaugurated into that Dignity, and assur'd the *Inca* he would strictly observe the Capitulation made by *Francis de Cheves*, and the rest of the *Spanish* Prisoners with his People.

A Peace
between
Pizarro
and the
Inca
Manco
Capac.

These pacific Measures the *Spaniards* found themselves under a necessity of taking at this Time, not only because they saw all the Southern Provinces of *Peru* assembling against them under the *Inca Manco Capac*, but because *Rumminavi*, *Quisquiz*, and other *Peruvian* Generals had assembled a very great Army in the Northern Provinces, and possess'd themselves

Peru.

themselves of *Quitto*, which oblig'd him to send a considerable Detachment of his Forces under the Command of *Sebastian Belalcazar*, to re-inforce the new Colony at *St. Michael's*, and to make head against the *Peruvian* Generals in *Quitto*.

Don Pedro de Alvarado lands in *Peru*.

Belalcazar thereupon marching into *Quitto*, made himself Master of the capital City, and was in a fair way of reducing the rest, when Advice was brought, that *Don Pedro de Alvarado* was come upon the Coast of *Peru* with a considerable Fleet, and had landed seven or eight hundred Men, intending to take the Government of *Peru* upon him, and expell *Pizarro* and *Almagro* from thence ; at which News these two Adventurers were Thunder-struck, apprehending they should be dispossest'd of all the Spoils they had taken, and perhaps sent Prisoners to *Spain*, to give an Account of their Conduct in murdering the late *Inca Atahilpa*, and massacring his People ; they continued therefore to cultivate a good Understanding with the *Indians* of the Southern Provinces, and treated the *Inca* and his Subjects as their Friends and Allies, promising to perform punctually whatever they had promis'd, knowing how great an Advantage it must be to have the Country in their Interest, if they were oblig'd to contend with *Alvarado* for the Possession of it.

A Detachment under *Almagro* sent against him

The next Precaution *Pizarro* took was, to detach an hundred *Spaniards* under the Command of his Confederate *Almagro* towards the Sea-Coast, to join with *Belalcazar* and observe the Motions of *Alvarado* ; for they were determin'd not to resign easily what they had obtain'd with so much Labour and Hazard : And here it will be necessary to enquire wh

who this *Alvarado* was, and what Title he had to assume the Government of *Peru*. If the Reader pleases to turn to the first Volume of *America*, he will observe, that *Don Pedro de Alvarado* was one of the principal Generals that accompany'd *Cortez* in the Conquest of *Mexico*, and obtain'd the Government of *Guatemala*, one of the most considerable Provinces of that Empire. This Gentleman was become vastly rich by the Spoils of the *Mexicans*, and his Government in Extent was little inferior to that of *Spain*; here he exercis'd an unlimited Command, treating the Natives rather like Slaves than Subjects; but understanding that there was greater Plenty of Gold and Silver in *Peru* than was to be found in *North-America*, and his Ambition and Avarice increasing with his Acquisitions, some say he obtain'd a Commission from the Emperor *Charles V.* to be Governor of so much of *Peru* as was not actually conquer'd by *Pizarro* and *Almagro*. Others relate, that *Don Alvarado* undertook this Expedition by his sole Authority, without the Consent of the Emperor, believing that as he was an elder General, and one of the first that was employ'd in the Conquest of *America*, *Pizarro* and *Almagro* would have submitted to him on his allowing them to share that Country with him; or if they should refuse, he determin'd to carry such a Force with him as should compell them to share it with him: But however that was, it is agreed, *Alvarado* equip'd a good Fleet in the Harbours of *Guatemala* on the *South-Sea*, where he embark'd seven or eight hundred Men, most of them Cavalry (and among them several Persons of Quality and old Officers, that had served in the Con-

Peru.

Alvarado,
one of the
Conquerors of
Mexico.

Peru. quest of *Mexico*, who were induc'd to engage in this Enterprize, by the Fame of the Commander, and the vast Wealth they expected to find in *Peru*) and with these he set sail from *Guatimala* for the Coast of *Peru*, in the Year 1535; in which Voyage he endur'd very great Hardships for Want of Provisions, having been kept at Sea longer than they expected by contrary Winds; and he was at last forced to land at *Cape St. Francis*, one Degree North of the Equator, and march over almost impassible Bogs and Mountains, where he lost a great many of his Men and Horses: However, he arriv'd at length near the *Spanish* Colony of *St. Michael's*, having got a much greater Body of Troops left than were under the Command of *Pizarro* and *Almagro*.

His Hardships at Sea, and his fatiguing March afterwards
 An Enquiry into the Truth of some of the Particulars related here.
Gomarra and *Carate*, two *Spanish* Writers, relate some Occurrences that happened in this March of *Alvarado's* that are scarce credible; and *De la Vega* seems to attest the Truth of them: As first, That *Alvarado* and his Men pass'd over a Mountain cover'd with Snow under the Equator, where Sixty of their Number were frozen to death; of which I must suspend my Belief, because I have no where seen or heard of Snow, much less Mountains cover'd with Snow under the Equator. I have indeed been as cold near the Equator as in the frozen Regions of *Europe*; but this has proceeded from the Rains, and not from Frost or Snow; when we have been forced to lie in the Fields in the Night-time during the rainy Season, with our wet Cloaths on, our People have shook with extreme Cold; perhaps we were more sensible of the Coldness of the depending Rains in that hot Climate than in a cold Country, as a Man who goes into a River

River in the Middle of the Day in Summer, is more sensible of the Coldness of the Water, than he that bathes in the Evening: And some Writers, possibly hearing *Alvarado's* Soldiers complaining of the Cold they endur'd on the Mountains near the Equator, concluded that could only proceed from the Frost and Snow, and thought fit to give us their own Conjectures, rather than the Facts, as they heard them: Had they laid the Scene near either of the Tropics, instead of the Equator, I should have made no Scruple to believe them. We know that there are Mountains cover'd with Snow in the Latitude of 22 and 23, when the Sun is in the opposite Tropic; but none of our Travellers of late Years pretend to have seen Snow under the Equator.

Secondly, Another Particular mention'd by the *Spanish* Authors, who give an Account of *Alvarado's* March is, that passing over a sandy Desert, several Days Journey, where there was no Water, they should infallibly have perished, if they had not met with large Groves of *Bambou* Canes bigger than a Man's Leg, which between the Joints were filled with good Water, of which they had enough both for their Horses and themselves: To which it is objected, that though we find *Bambou* Canes of this Bigness in several hot Countries, we see none of them replenish'd with Water, as it is reported these *Peruvian* Canes were; I am apt to believe therefore, that this also is a Mistake.

If it had been said, that *Alvarado's* Men had met with Groves of *Coco-nut* Trees, which are very common near the Equinoctial, and had quench'd their Thirst with the Milk or Water that is lodg'd in the Inside of the young

Peru.

Coco-nuts (of which each Nut holds near a Pint) the Story would have had nothing very improbable in it; but the changing the *Coco-nut* into a Cane, is that which shocks my Belief; and I am very well satisfied, many such Mistakes are made by the Writers of Voyages and Travels, especially where they have their Accounts at second hand, which they must have in many Instances; it being impossible for any Man to see with his own Eyes every thing the Country affords which he travels through.

But to return to *Alvarado*, whatever were the Hardships and Losses he suffered in his March, *Almagro* was in a terrible Consternation upon the Advices he received of his Approach, especially when he understood he had surpris'd a Party of Horse *Almagro* had sent out to get Intelligence of his Motions, and made them Prisoners; but the Men returning to his Camp soon after, and telling him that *Alvarado* treated them handsomly, and set them at Liberty, he began to entertain Hopes that their respective Pretensions would be adjusted by a Treaty, without coming to an open Rupture with them: And this he was confirm'd in, when *Alvarado* was pleas'd to invite him to a Conference; which *Almagro* accepting, the following Articles were agreed on between them, viz. That *Pizarro* and *Almagro* should pay *Alvarado* an hundred thousand Peso's (or Nobles) that such of the Officers and Soldiers who came with *Alvarado* as desir'd it, should serve under *Pizarro* in *Peru*, and be provided for as their own Troops were: And that thereupon *Alvarado* should return to his Government of *Guatimala* in *Mexico*; but being oblig'd to wait some time
to

Articles
between
Alvarado
and *Alma-
gro*.

to receive the Treasure promis'd him, *Alvarado* propos'd to visit *Pizarro* at *Cusco*, and take a View of that famous Capital, of which he had heard such surprizing Accounts; all which *Almagro* took care to advise *Pizarro* of; who apprehending that *Alvarado* might alter his Mind upon seeing the rich City of *Cusco*, sent him a Compliment, that he would not give him the Trouble of taking so long a Journey, but would meet him in the Valley of *Pacha Camac*, and bring the Sum with him *Almagro* had promis'd; and accordingly, leaving *Cusco* to the Care of the *Inca* and his Brothers, he set out with a Party of Horse, and a Detachment of *Indians*, and arriv'd at the Valley of *Pacha Camac*, where he met with *Alvarado* and *Almagro*; and to ingratiate himself with the former, gave him the Command of all the Troops while he remain'd there, commanding all the Officers to obey *Don Alvarado's* Orders, and acknowledge no other General while he continued in *Peru*; and was so much better than his Word, that he paid *Alvarado* twenty thousand *Peso's* more than he had stipulated for the Expences of his Journey, besides a great Number of *Turquoises*, *Emeralds*, and Vessels of Gold for that General's particular Use: Whereupon *Alvarado* return'd to *Mexico*, entirely satisfied with his Reception, and the Treasure he had acquir'd; especially when he saw all the Gentlemen that had accompanied him in this Enterprize well provided for: However, it is conjectur'd that he found *Pizarro* and *Almagro* better established in *Peru* than he expected, or he would not have quitted that Country so easily, which he had undergone such Hazards and Expences to visit.

Alvarado
returns to
Mexico.

Certain

Peru.

Certain it is, *Pizarro* and *Almagro* reap'd great Advantages by the Troops *Alvarado* brought with him. The *Indians* seeing so considerable a Reinforcement arrive and join *Pizarro*, and expecting more every Day, despair'd of ever throwing off a foreign Yoke, and generally submitted to the *Spaniards*; so that *Alvarado* richly deserv'd all the Money they had paid him. And possibly they would have advanc'd as much more, rather than he should not return to *Mexico*; for though the Troops he brought with him, as it happen'd, establish'd their Conquest of *Peru*, the same Troops were in a Condition to have driven them from thence when *Alvarado* arriv'd; or at least, both Sides would probably have perish'd in contending for the Possession of that Country, and by that Means the *Peruvians* would have recovered their Liberties: But since so much has been said of *Don Pedro de Alvarado*, I shall take the Liberty of relating what happened to him, after his Return to his Government of *Guatemala*: And it seems, he was a Cavalier of such an enterprising or ambitious Spirit, that he knew not how to live out of Action. Tho' he was now grown old in War, and enjoy'd as much Wealth and Power as most Princes of his Time; it having been propos'd by the Viceroy of *Mexico*, to make some Conquests to the Northward; our Hero, *Don Pedro de Alvarado*, took upon him to command the Army; and pursuing some *Indians* that were retired to a Precipice with a Party of Horse, when he was advanced about half Way up, it proved so steep, that one of his Trooper Horses (or as others say, Part of the Rock) fell upon him, and carried him to the Bottom,

by

by which he was so bruised, that he died a Day or two after. But to return to *Peru*.

Peru.



Soon after the signing the Treaty between *Pizarro* and *Don Alvarado*, *Almagro* was detach'd with Part of the Troops that arrived with *Alvarado* to *Cusco*, whilst *Pizarro* applied himself to the building of Towns, and settling Colonies upon the Coast: Particularly he founded the capital City of *Lima*, in 12 Degrees and a half South Latitude, on the Bank of a River, about six Miles from the *South-Sea*, and as much from the Island and Harbour of *Callao*: This City, *De la Vega* observes, was built in the Year 1534, and not in the Year 1530, as some Writers relate. For, says *de la Vega*, all Authors agree, that it was in the Year 1525, when *Pizarro*, *Almagro*, and *De Luque*, did first enter into Articles. Three Years afterwards were spent in the Discovery before they arriv'd at *Tumpez* (in 3 Degrees South Latitude) the first Time. Two Years more passed in *Pizarro*'s Return to *Panama*, and his Voyage to and from *Spain*. In the Year 1531, the Adventurers invaded the Island of *Puna* and *Tumpez* on the Continent. And in *December*, the same Year, they took the *Inca Atabilipa* Prisoner. And in *March* following, *Anno* 1532, the *Inca* was put to death. In *October*, the same Year, *Pizarro* and *Almagro* took Possession of the capital City of *Cusco*, where they resided till *April* 1533, when Advice came of the Arrival of *Alvarado* upon the Coast, and *Almagro* was detach'd with an hundred Men to observe his Motions. And in *September*, the same Year, was the Interview between *Pizarro* and *Alvarado*, when *Pizarro* paid that General the Money he had promis'd him: And in the Beginning

Lima founded.

A Piece of Chronology.

of

Peru.

of the Year 1534, viz. the 6th of *January* 1533, being *Twelfth-Day* in the Catholic Account, but the 28th of *December* 1533, according to our Account, the City of *Lima* was built. To which *Pizarro* gave the Name of *Ciudad de les Reyes*: or, *the City of Kings*; because on that Day, the Kings or Princes of the East made their Presents to our Saviour; but this Name is now difus'd, and the City is called by the Name of *Lima*, from the Valley wherein it stands; the *Indians* calling the Valley *Rimac*, which the *Spaniards* corruptly call *Lima*. However, to commemorate the Day, *Pizarro* order'd the Arms of the City to be Three Crowns, with a Star shining over them. It was built, as has been already observed after the *Spanish* Model, a large Square in the Middle, and wide strait Streets centring in the Square, so that from every Corner of the Streets the whole Town and neighbouring Fields may be seen. On the North lay the River, from whence Canals were cut for watering their Lands, and supplying the Houses with Water. The City being laid out, *Pizarro* divided the Country about it among his Officers and Soldiers, and other *Spanish* Adventurers that came to reside in it, with the Native *Indians* upon those Lands, who held what the *Spaniards* were pleas'd to allow them by the basest Tenures of Villainage, viz. To cultivate, dung and manure their Lands, Grounds, carry Burthens, and perform other vile Offices in their Fields or Houses. And when any *Spaniard* purchas'd any of these Lands of another, the *Indians* upon such Lands were transferred with them, as Trees, Deer and Fish are with us, upon the conveying away an Estate, so that all the Natives became absolute

absolute Slaves to the *Spaniards*, and were used accordingly, many of them perishing in the insupportable Drudgery they impos'd on them: Indeed, Part of the *Peruvians* were in a manner Slaves to their Emperors and Caraca's (Lords of the Soil) before, being oblig'd to carry Burthens and draw Carriages like Horses, when they were commanded; but then that Service was far from being so grievous as the Service the *Spaniards* exacted from them. For first they served their native Lords by turns certain Days in the Year, and were never obliged to work more than five or six Hours in a Day. They had also Food and Raiment delivered to them by their Lords, and were always taken care off by them when they were sick, old and infirm; whereas the *Spaniards* had no Compassion on them, but made them work in the Mines, fish for Pearls, build Houses and Ships, carry Burthens, and manure their Fields, exacting their Labour with such Rigour, and allowing them so little Food, that they perished by Hundreds and Thousands, and the Country in a few Years was almost depopulated: Neither did the *Spaniards* make much Distinction between those that were Freemen, and those that were Slaves and Villains, but put them all to the like Drudgeries; and if the Nobility and Gentry were distinguished by any thing, it was by Tortures, to make them discover where their Treasures were hid; and when they could not produce what was expected from them, they frequently expired in Torments. But to return to *Pizarro*: This General having built the City of *Lima*, and divided the Country about it among Part of his Followers, he advanc'd further Northward along the Sea Coasts, and

The cruel
Usage of
the *Indians*

Peru.
Truxillo
 founded.

founded another City on a good Harbour, in 8 Degrees odd Minutes South Latitude, which he named *Truxillo*, from the City of that Name in *Spain*, of which it is said he was a Native; and here also he made a Division of the Lands and *Indians* upon them, in the Country about it, among his fellow Adventurers, or first Conquerors, as they were called, to whom he assigned that City and its District; and thus the *Spaniards* proceeded in every Part of *Peru*, where they planted Colonies of *Europeans*.

Govern-
 ments con-
 ferred on
Pizarro
 and *Alma-*
gro.

While *Pizarro* remain'd at his new City of *Truxillo*, Advice came from *Spain*, that his Brother *Ferdinando* had in a great measure succeeded in his Negotiations at that Court; for whereas *Don Francis Pizarro* had petitioned his Imperial Majesty to extend his Government 200 Leagues further Southward, to grant him the Province of *Atabillios* in *Peru*, with the Revenues thereof; the perpetual Vassalage of twenty Thousand *Indians*, and the Title of Marquis: His Brother wrote word, that the Emperor had conferred on him the Title of Marquis of that Province, and enlarg'd his Government considerably to the Southward; but as to the Command he desired over the *Indians*, he would inform himself of the Customs of that Country, and what Damage or Prejudice such a Concession might prove, and then he would shew him all the Grace and Favour in that Particular, as was consistent with Justice: And as to *Almagro*, the Title of Marshal of *Peru* was confirmed to him, and a Government of two hundred Leagues Extent of Country conferred on him, to the Southward of the Country assigned to the Marquis *Pizarro*.

Almagro

Almagro residing at the City of *Cusco* at this time, and receiving Advice that the Government of the Country which lay South of the Marquis's Government was conferr'd on him; and observing that *Cusco* was not within the Limits assign'd to *Don Francis Pizarro*, he immediately took upon him the Title of Governor of *Cusco*, and the District belonging to it, in his own Name, and no more acted in subordination to the Marquis.

Peru.

Almagro takes upon him the Government of *Cusco*.

On the other hand, *John* and *Gonzalo Pizarro*, Brothers to the Marquis, oppos'd this Usurpation of *Almagro*, as they call'd it; and their Differences arose to that height, that they enter'd into a formal War with *Almagro* at *Cusco*, and several were kill'd on both Sides; of which the Marquis receiving Intelligence, caus'd himself to be carried in a Hammock on the Shoulders of the *Indians* to *Cusco*, who relieving one another, at proper Stages, carried him thither with such Expedition, that he arriv'd at *Cusco* before he was expected by either Side: And representing to both Parties that these Feuds would probably end in the Destruction of themselves and their Enterprize, if they were not speedily accommodated, he entred into a Treaty with *Almagro* for adjusting all their Differences; and first he observ'd, that *Almagro* was mistaken in his Opinion that *Cusco* was without the Limits of his (the Marquis's) Government, for the Emperor had made him a new Grant of the Country, which lay South of that conferr'd on him by the first Grant: The Marquis also suggested to *Almagro*, that the Country which lay to the Southward of the District of *Cusco* was richer in Gold and Silver than any that had been yet discover'd, of which he was contented *Don*

Which occasions a War with the *Pizarros*.

Their Differences accommodated.

Peru.
 The Mar-
 quis per-
 suades *Al-*
magro to
 march to
Chili.

Almagro should take the Government upon him; and that he should march at the Head of best Part of their united Forces, and possess himself of it; and in the mean time he would apply to the Emperor to get him confirm'd in that Government, to which they gave the Name of *Toledo*, extending it from the District of *Cusco* to the Country of *Chili*, which lies South of *Peru*: The Marquis also stipulated, that if the Emperor did not think fit to confer that Government on *Almagro*, he would divide that of *Peru* with him; with which Overture *Don Almagro* and his Party were then pretty well satisfied, and immediately made Preparations for an Expedition to the Southward. About the same time another Detachment of *Spaniards* and *Indians* were sent to reinforce *Don Belalcazar* in *Quitto*, to enable him to finish the Conquest of that Province; and a third Body march'd to the North-east, to reduce some Provinces bordering on the Mountains of the *Andes*.

Almagro began his March for *Chili* in the Year 1535, at the Head of five Hundred *Spaniards* and fifteen Thousand *Indians*, Part of them arm'd and serving for his Vanguard, and the rest to carry his Baggage and bring him in Provisions. The *Inca*, *Manco Capac*, also sent with him his Brother the *Inca Paulla*, and the High-priest *Villa Oma*, that he might meet with no Impediments in his March, but receive all possible Assistance from the *Indians* subject to the *Inca* in the Provinces through which he passed. The *Spaniards* also took a great many Negro Slaves along with them; and that all the Officers and Soldiers might be well-equip'd and provided for this long March, *Almagro* lent them the Value of two Hundred

Hundred Thousand Crowns, taking only a Note from the Soldiers he lent any Money to, for Re-payment of it out of the Spoils they expected in this Expedition.

Almagro advanced as far as the Province of *Charcas*, two Hundred Leagues to the Southward of *Cusco*, without meeting with any thing to obstruct his Designs, the Country being all under the Dominion of the *Inca*, and supplying him with Provisions as he went; but finding the *Charcas* a wretched barren Country, and being ignorant of the rich Mines it contain'd, he resolv'd to proceed forward to the Kingdom of *Chili*; tho' had he known the invaluable Mines of *Potosi* were situated in this barren Country, he would certainly have set up his Rest here; for in this Mountain was afterwards found more Silver than any, or perhaps all the Countries in the old World produc'd at that time.

The *Indians* informed *Almagro* that there were two Ways to approach the Kingdom of *Chili*, both extremely difficult and hazardous: The first was over a Branch of the Mountains of the *Andes* or *Cordelera's*, that at this time (being Winter) were cover'd deep in Snow, and so cold that no *Indian* could live on the Tops of them (tho' this was much the shortest Passage, if it could be performed); the other Way was over a sandy Desert by the Sea-side, in which they should be in danger of perishing by the excessive Heat and the Scarcity of Water; intimating, they were averse to the Journey either Way, but most dreaded that over the Mountains of the *Andes*: However, *Almagro* resolv'g to move forward, took the Way of the Mountains, as being the shortest, and more agreeable to the Constitutions of his

Europeans

Europeans than the parching Sands; and having gathered what Provisions the Country afforded, and laid it on the Shoulders of the *Indian* Porters, he began to ascend the Hills; but had not advanced far before he found the Snows so deep that they were forced to dig their Way through them, the *Indians* dying by Hundreds with the intense Cold; the *Spaniards* also were almost starved, and many of them perish'd with their Horses on those Mountains either by Cold or Want; and some of the Men lost their Fingers and Toes who escaped with their Lives. However, *Almagro* himself, with between three and four Hundred *Spaniards*, the *Inca Paulla*, the High-priest, and about five Thousand *Indians*, reached the other side of the Mountain, and came into a fine, temperate and plentiful Country; and at the Command of the *Inca Paulla*, the Natives immediately brought all manner of Provisions and Refreshments into the Camp: The People of *Chili* being informed that the *Spaniards* were *Viracocha's* descended from their God the Sun, and that their *Inca Manco Capac* order'd they should bring them all those Tributes they had laid up during the late Civil Wars between *Huascar* and *Atabilipa*, they presented the *Spaniards* with Gold and Silver Vessels to the Value of two Hundred Thousand Ducats or Nobles; and not many Days after, collected the Value of three Hundred Thousand more, and presented to *Almagro*; whereupon the Marshal did not only give up and cancel all the Bonds and Notes his Soldiers had given him, but distributed Part of the Treasure amongst them.

Almagro having rested and refreshed his weary Troops, propos'd to the *Inca Paulla* the advancing

advancing farther into *Chili*, and subduing those Parts that were not subject to the *Inca*: To which he consented; and assembling several Thousand *Indians* to reinforce the Marshal, they march'd with their united Forces against the Natives of the more Southern Parts of *Chili*, with whom they had several smart Encounters; but at length had the good Fortune to reduce those Provinces under their Subjection: And being joined about this time by *Ruis Diaz* and *John de Harada*, with upwards of an Hundred *Spaniards* more, would have extended their Conquests much farther, if *Almagro* had not taken a Resolution of returning to *Peru*, to take possession of his Government of *Cusco*, which he was now assured belonged to him by virtue of the Emperor's Commission, which *John de Hereda* brought him when he joined the Marshal with the Recruits abovementioned.

This Commission, it seems, conferred on *Almagro* the Government of such Provinces in *Peru* as lay South of those granted to *Pizarro*, for the Space of two hundred Leagues; and as *Cusco* was above three hundred Leagues South of the Equator, which was the utmost Extent of *Pizarro's* Government, *Almagro's* Friends were of Opinion that *Cusco* belonged to him; and that it ought not to be tamely parted with, being the capital City of the Empire, and so well situated to command the Southern Provinces. His Officers therefore were unanimous in their Opinion, that they should march back and possess themselves of *Cusco*; after which all the Countries in the South would fall under their Dominion of course.

Peru.

Almagro
resolves to
return to
Cusco.

The Resolution therefore being taken of returning to *Peru*, the next thing to be considered was, which Way they should march; and both *Spaniards* and *Indians* had suffered so much in their Passage over the Mountains, that it was unanimously determined to take the Way of the Plain by the Sea-side; and to provide as well as possible against the Want of Water, *Indians* were sent before to open and cleanse the Wells in the great Desert, that had been choak'd up with Sand during the Civil Wars, and to draw Water for the *Spaniards*, which might stand some time in Calabash Bowls and Goat Skins to settle and purify; for these Waters, it seems, were thick and unwholesome, and scarce drinkable, when first drawn.

And as there was no Enemy to be expected in this Country, it was resolved to march in small Parties over this Desert, that they might be more easily supply'd with Water and Provisions in their March: However, with all these Precautions, says my Author, the Hardships the *Spaniards* suffered in this scorching Desert, being upwards of two hundred Miles Extent, was little inferior to what they sustained on the frozen Mountains, of which the *Spaniards* give us many surprizing Relations; particularly they tell us, that *Gerommo de Alderette* being Governor of *Chili* many Years afterwards, and observing that those Mountains at certain Seasons of the Year were clear of Snow, made a Journey over them in search of the Plate and rich Baggage that had been lost there when *Almagro* pass'd it; and that they found there a Negro leaning against a Rock, holding a Horse by the Reins, both of them having been frozen to death, and that they stood upon their Feet dry'd

dry'd and stiff, as if their Skins had been stuff'd with Straw. But I must leave *Almagro* on his March over the great Desert, which lies between *Cbili* and *Peru*, and observe what happened in the mean time at *Cusco*.

The *Inca Manco Capac* observing that the Marquis *Pizarro* only gave him the Title of *Manco Inca* or Emperor, and that in reality he had very little Command even in the capital City of *Cusco* where he resided, put the Marquis in mind of his Promise of restoring him to his Empire, and performing the Capitulations that had been agreed on between them; but *Pizarro* put him off from time to time, telling him he must wait with patience till he heard that those Capitulations were ratified by his Sovereign the Emperor of the *Romans*, which he expected to receive every Day by his Brother *Ferdinando*, and was going to *Lima* in hopes of meeting him there; desiring that the *Inca*, during his Absence, would reside in the Castle, and not stir from thence. The *Inca* finding they would make him Prisoner by Force, if he did not voluntarily submit to this Confinement, disguised his Resentment, and immediately went to the Castle, declaring that he should chearfully submit to any thing the *Spaniards* apprehended to be for their Advantage, since they were pleased to acknowledge his Title to the Empire.

But the *Indians* were far from taking this Imprisonment of their *Inca* patiently, they only waited for a favourable Conjunction to obtain his liberty and revenge themselves on the *Spaniards*, which was offered them not long after; for *Ferdinando Pizarro* returning from *Spain* with his Brother's new Commission and the Patent for the Title of Marquis,

Peru. brought some Orders with him that were not acceptable to the Marquis or his People; particularly he informed them, that the Emperor expected they should be accountable to him for all the Treasure they had received as the Ransom of *Atabilipa*, his Imperial Majesty alone being entitled to it; or at least that they should raise him a good round Sum, and send over to *Spain* in lieu of it; but the Marquis and his Officers reply'd, This was neither reasonable nor possible: As they had hazarded their Lives and made a Conquest of the Country at their own Expence, without any Charge to his Imperial Majesty, they ought to reap the Fruits of their Labour; and besides, that Money had been long since spent in supporting the Conquest, building Towns, and planting Colonies, to preserve what they had gained, which would all redound to the Honour and Profit of his Majesty, who by that Means was confirmed and established in the Sovereignty of that rich Country: And *Ferdinando Pizarro* representing that his Imperial Majesty was in great Distress for Money, having exhausted his Treasury in his Wars against the *Turks*, his Expedition to *Tunis*, &c. and that he had promised him a Supply from *Peru*, which the Court of *Spain* were appriz'd abounded with Gold and Silver; the Marquis reply'd, It was not to be expected a Country so lately conquer'd, and not yet settled, should do more than maintain itself, and therefore he must not insist on the Soldiers refunding their Spoils, but find out some other way to perform his Promises to his Imperial Majesty. Whereupon *Ferdinando* desired his Brother would confer on him the Government of the capital City of *Cusco*, and he did not doubt but he should soon have it in his

his Power to raise a Sum of Money to gratify the Court of *Spain*; which the Marquis consenting to, his Brother *Ferdinando* immediately repair'd to his Government of *Cusco*; where observing that several Officers had been greatly enrich'd by Presents *Manco Inca* had made them, in order to be kindly used, he apply'd himself also to the *Inca*, giving him to understand that he would be restored to his Dominions, and all his Demands granted, if he could procure a considerable Sum for the Court of *Spain*; and suffer'd the *Inca* to come out of the Castle to his Palace in the City again, and to be treated with the Honours of a Sovereign Prince: Whereupon the *Inca* sent Expresses to several Parts of his Dominions, directing them to bring him their usual Tribute of Gold and Silver Plate, as the most probable Means of delivering him out of the Hands of the *Spaniards*. Accordingly a great deal of Treasure was brought in, which the *Inca* presented to *Ferdinando Pizarro*, who still entertain'd him with Promises of restoring him to his Empire, in hopes of drawing more Treasure from him: But the *Inca* finding he was still in a manner a Prisoner, and not suffer'd to stir out without a Guard of *Spaniards*, concluded they intend'd him no Good; but that as soon as they had squeezed what they could out of him, would put him to death, as they had done the *Inca Atahilpa*: He was perpetually meditating therefore how he might deceive the Deceivers, and get out of the Hands of his treacherous Keepers; and at last hit upon the following Stratagem. He inform'd *Ferdinando Pizarro*, that in the Valley of *Yuca*, two or three Leagues distant from *Cusco*, where the *Inca's* Bowels used to be interr'd when their Bodies

Ferdinando Pizarro obtains a great deal of Treasure from the *Inca*.

Peru.

were embalmed, there were several rich Tombs, and in one of them a Statue of solid Gold of one of his Ancestors, as big as the Life, which he believ'd he could find if he might be permitted to go thither with his usual Guard of *Spaniards*, for he could not direct any one to it without going in Person. This being a Prize which the Governor *Ferdinando* had set his Heart upon, he consented that the *Inca* should go thither with a *Spanish* Guard, having no Suspicion of a general Conspiracy to rescue their Prince out of his Hands; for neither the *Inca* or any of his Subjects had yet discover'd the least Uneasiness at the Tyranny of the *Spaniards*, how insupportable soever: But *Manco Inca* having order'd several thousand *Indians* to rendezvous on the adjacent Mountains on a Day prefix'd, and having obtained Leave of the Governor to resort to the Valley of *Yuca*, and remain there till the Evening, he found means to escape from his Guard, and get to his Forces in the Mountains; and the Night coming on, before Morning he was conducted beyond the Reach of the *Spaniards*, who, instead of getting the golden Statue they expected, lost a much more valuable Prize, and were within an Ace of losing all their Conquests.

The *Inca*
escapes
from the
Spaniards.

The *Inca* being now at liberty, and having summon'd a Council of his Nobility and Generals, represented the Treachery and Perfidiousness of the *Spaniards*, who perform'd none of their Articles or Capitulations, but had on the contrary imprisoned and laid him in Irons in the Castle of *Cusco*. He said, he had been long apprized of their Falseness and Treachery, observing how they divided the Lands of *Peru* among themselves, both in the Territories

ries of *Cusco* and *Lima*, from whence it was evident they had no Intentions to restore his Empire; and if he had dissembled a Compliance with their Measures, it was only for the Security of his Person, and that he might one Day be in a Condition to assert his own and his Country's Rights: And as he was now determin'd to vindicate their Liberties by Force of Arms, he desir'd they would assist him with their Advice at this great and important Crisis, that the War with these cruel and ungrateful Strangers might be carried on to advantage, without whose Expulsion they were now convinced they could never expect to enjoy any thing they had in quiet: If they suffer'd him or his Subjects to live, they must be Slaves to these Usurpers; a State more to be dreaded than Death itself. To which, it is said, a leading Man of the Council answer'd;

" It was never, Sir, the Advice of your
 " Council that your Majesty should put your
 " royal Person into the Hands of Strangers,
 " or trust to them for the Restitution of your
 " Empire: However, they were willing to
 " comply and concur with your Majesty's Sentiments, whom they found inclin'd to maintain that Peace which was concerted with them by your Brother *Titu Atauchi*, from which we can now expect little Benefit, if we take our Measures from the Treatment of your Brother *Atabalipa*; who having contracted for, and paid his Ransom, was afterwards put to death. And we must attribute it to the Mercy and Providence of the *PACHA CAMAC*, that they treated not your royal Person (when in their Power) in the same manner as they had done your Brother. As to your Restoration to the
 " Empire,

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“ Empire, there is little to be expected from
 “ a Nation so entirely given over to Avarice;
 “ for it is not to be imagin’d that those that
 “ are greedy of the Fruit should restore the
 “ Tree unto the true Proprietor; but it is
 “ more probable they should destroy, and put
 “ him and his out of the way, lest they
 “ should aspire to that Empire which they re-
 “ solve to enjoy. Wherefore, since the *Span-*
 “ *iards* themselves have given just Cause to
 “ suspect and doubt the Performance of their
 “ Promises, your Majesty ought immediate-
 “ ly, without delay, to raise as many Sol-
 “ diers as possible, and make such other Pro-
 “ visions as are necessary for War, wherein no
 “ time is to be lost; for that they now being
 “ divided into several Parties, may be more
 “ easily defeated than when united in one
 “ Body: In the Management of which De-
 “ sign, we must agree to attack them all at
 “ the same time in several Places, so that
 “ they may not be able to assist or succour
 “ each other. We must also secure the Passes,
 “ stop and hinder all Intercourse and Corre-
 “ spondence between them: And in regard
 “ your Soldiers are so numerous, that their
 “ Multitudes may easily overwhelm such a
 “ Handful as the *Spaniards*, and are able to
 “ throw the very Mountains upon them, if
 “ your Majesty so commands; nay, if they
 “ refuse to grant them Succours only and Pro-
 “ visions, they must necessarily perish with
 “ Famine, being as it were besieg’d by your
 “ Subjects, who encompass them on all Sides:
 “ But this Resolution is to be speedily exe-
 “ cuted, for the Success of the whole Design
 “ depends thereupon; of which we need not
 “ doubt, if we consider the Justice of our
 “ Cause.”

An

An Insurrection being thus resolved on, Expresses were dispatched to every Province of the Empire, requiring the respective Governors and Officers to raise what Forces they could, and in one Day endeavour to surprize the *Spaniards* in their Quarters; and three great Armies were accordingly assembled in an Instant, one whereof was intended to cut off *Almagro* and his Forces in *Chili*; a second invested the City of *Lima*; and the third, consisting of two hundred thousand Men commanded by *Manco Inca* in Person, attack'd the City of *Cusco*, took the Castle, and drove the *Spaniards* into the grand Square in the Middle of the Town; but here the Artillery, being pointed to the several Streets, mowed them down by Hundreds and Thousands, and the Horse charging them while they were in this Confusion, the *Indians* were forced to retire to the Castle, having first set fire to the greatest Part of the City and burnt it, except the Temple of the *Sun*, the Convent of *Select Virgins*, and some other publick Buildings the *Spaniards* remained possess'd of: But notwithstanding the *Spanish* Horse and Artillery were always too hard for the *Indians*, yet as the latter were Masters of the open Country, and could cut off their Provisions from time to time, the *Spaniards* must have been reduced in a short time, if they had not been joined by great Numbers of the common People of *Peru*, who being Slaves to the rest adhered to the *Spaniards* in these Wars; whereby they did not only obtain their Freedom, and gain their Superiority of their Masters, but shared the Plunder of their Estates and Fortunes with the Christians; and without the Assistance of these *Indian* Slaves, the *Spaniards* could never have made a Conquest

Peru.

A general
Insurrection
on of the
Indians.

Cusco be-
sieged.

The *Indi-
ans* Slaves
join the
Spaniards.

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quest of *Peru*, without employing a much greater Force. But now Liberty being proclaimed to all the Vassal *Indians* that would join the *Spaniards*, they resorted to the Assistance of the Besieged in such Numbers that the *Inca's* Troops were entirely driven out of *Cusco* again, and even out of the Castle; in the storming of which, however, *John Pizarro*, Brother to the Marquis, lost his Life.

Cusco Castle retaken by the *Spaniards*.

The Siege, or rather Blockade, of *Cusco* continu'd nine or ten Months, in which the *Indians* were so remiss, or so unable to resist the *Spaniards* united with their Vassals, that the Christians made Excursions to a very great Distance, and brought in several thousand Head of Cattle, with all Manner of Provisions; nor did the *Inca* ever think fit to make any further Attempts upon the City, but contented himself with surprizing some small Parties of the *Spaniards* now and then, from whom having taken their Horses and Armour, and being instructed by some of their Prisoners how to make use of them, the *Peruvians* were seen sometimes charging the Christians with their own Weapons. *De la Vega* gives us an Account of one brave *Indian* that fought three celebrated *Spanish* Officers, armed *Cap-a-pee*, successively, and was too hard for every one of them singly: An *Indian* Captain (says the Royal Historian) posting himself in the Middle of the Road which leads from *Cusco* to *Callao*, attending the Coming of a certain Cavalier (whom I knew) as he was making up to him on Horseback with a Lance in his Hand, the *Indian* with a fierce Countenance, like an undaunted Soldier, stood ready with his Bow drawn to receive him; and at the same time that the *Spaniard* made a Thrust at him with his Lance,

The Bravery of an *Indian*.



Lance, he struck the Point of it down to the Ground, and catching hold of it, forced it from his Hands. Another Gentleman of my Acquaintance standing by, and observing a single Combat between a *Spaniard* and an *Indian*, did not concern himself, because they were one to one, until he saw that the *Indian* had wrested the Lance out of the Hand of the *Spaniard*; and then he thought it time to take part with his Companion, and so made at him with his Lance; but the *Indian* bearing off the Blow with what he had in his Hands, wrested also the Spear from this *Spaniard*, and defended himself from both of them at the same time; their Names I shall conceal out of Respect to their Posterity; one of which was a Scholar with me at the Grammar School. *Gonzalo Pizarro*, who was engaged in another Place, and had put his Enemy to Flight, happened to come in at the same time and be a Spectator of this Action; and seeing how Matters passed, he cried out with a loud Voice, Out for Shame, what two to one. The *Spaniards* knowing the Voice of *Gonzalo Pizarro* made a Stop, until he himself came up to make trial whether he could deal better with him than they had done: The *Indian* seeing another Horse-man come upon him, setting a Foot on the first Lance he had gained, with the other he encountred the third Cavalier, and almost threw his Horse back upon his Haunches; but the *Indian* finding himself hardly beset, quitted his Lance, and caught hold of that in the Hand of *Pizarro*, intending to wrest it from him, as he had done from the others; but *Pizarro* keeping fast hold thereof with his Left-hand, drew his Sword with his Right to cut off the Hands of the *Indian*;

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whereupon he let go the Lance, and catched up the other which was under his Feet. And now the two Cavaliers, which were Spectators, thought it Time to dally no longer, but to come in, and without compliment to kill the *Indian*; but *Gonzalo Pizarro* cried out against it, saying, It was Pity so brave a Man should die; and that he deserved rather Honour and Reward than Death. The *Indian* observing, that the two other Cavaliers were restrained by the Words of *Pizarro*, and that he had saved his Life, he immediately threw away his Lance, and in Token of Submission went to him and kissed his right Leg, saying, Henceforth thou shalt be my *Inca*, and I will be thy Servant; and for ever afterwards he served him with great Fidelity.

And it is certain, both in the *East* and *West-Indies*, we meet with some brave Fellows so dextrous at their Weapons, that they will singly engage any of our Men; and yet it is as certain, that a Body of five hundred *Europeans* will drive ten thousand *Indians* before them, only by observing a little Order.

The *Spaniards* pretended Miracles.

The *Spaniards* usually ascribe their Success in raising the Siege of *Cusco* to Miracles. They tell us, that in some Sallies their Champion *St. Jago*, or *St. James*, appeared on a white Horse fighting for them; and that at other times the Blessed Virgin, with our Saviour in her Arms, appeared over the *Spanish* Quarters, and protected them from the Flames; the fiery Arrows were shot into the Roofs of their Houses, that were composed of Thatch and other combustible Matter: But it is evident, that the *Spanish* Horse and Artillery, with the Revolt of the *Indian* Slaves at this critical

critical Juncture, were abundantly sufficient to defend that City against *Manco Inca* and his naked Subjects, without the Help of Miracles. Indeed, we ever find the bigotted *Spaniards* ascribing his Success both in *Peru* and *Mexico* to such pretended Miracles as these; insinuating that Heaven fought for them, and gave them Possession of the Countries, as formerly God gave the Land of *Canaan* to the *Israelites*. They would have us believe, that all their Usurpations, Oppressions and Tyranny, those innumerable Murders and Robberies they committed in these Countries, were approved and countenanced by Heaven. But surely Heaven never wrought Miracles in so vile a Cause; however, for wise Reasons, Providence might permit the cruel rapacious *Spaniards* to insult and trample on the poor naked *Indians*, who never offended them. But to give some Account of the Success of this Insurrection of the *Indians* in other Places: The Marquis *Pizarro*, who was at his new City of *Lima* at this time, finding all Communication and Intercourse on a sudden cut off with the City of *Cusco*, suspected there was some Mischief intended, and was soon after informed by the *Tanacuna's*, or *Indian* Slaves, in the *Spanish* Interest, that *Cusco* was actually invested, and that the *Indian* Generals were marching with another Army to besiege *Lima*. Whereupon he immediately dispatch'd Expresses to *Panama*, *Mexico*, *Nicaragua* and *Hispaniola*, for Reinforcement of Troops to prevent the Loss of *Peru*: He commanded also all the Detachments he had sent out to extend his Conquests, to return and join him for the Defence of *Lima*; and at the same time ordered a Body of an hundred Horse,

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and Foot, under the Command of his Cousin *Diego Pizarro*, to march towards *Cusco*, and get Intelligence in what Condition his Brothers, and the Garrison he had left in that Capital, were.

Several Parties of *Spaniards* cut off in the Mountains.

The *Indians* permitted this Detachment to march unmolested, till they had advanced sixty or seventy Leagues in their way to *Cusco*; but having drawn them at length into a narrow Passage between the Rocks and Mountains, they rolled down great Stones upon them, which so disorder'd the *Spaniards*, that they were all killed or made Prisoners by the *Indians*. Two or three Parties more, that were sent out successively to get Intelligence, met with the like Misfortune; insomuch that it is said, between three and four hundred *Spaniards* were cut off in this Manner, besides as many more who were dispersed, at the Mines, or at their Plantations, about the Country; imagining that the *Indians* would have timely submitted to their Usurpation, and never have made an Attempt to recover their Liberties, notwithstanding the Oppressions they suffered.

Lima besieged.

Nor did the *Indians* only defend the Passes in the Mountains, but being flush'd with this Success, advanc'd to the very Walls of *Lima*; which they block'd up for a considerable Time, though they could not take it. The *Spanish* Horse were always too hard for them, when they sallied out into the Plains about that City, and the Artillery upon the Walls obliged them in a short Time to remove to a great Distance: However, they still continued the Blockade of *Lima*, where I shall leave them at present, and enquire after *Almagro*, whom we left in the sandy Desert of *Atacama*, in his Return from *Chili*. *Manco*

Manco Inca, it seems, had dispatch'd Expresses as far as *Chili*, to acquaint his Subjects with his Design of throwing off the Spanish Yoke, requiring them to rise, and fall upon those Foreigners, and endeavour to expell them. He acquainted also his Brother *Paulla*, the High-Priest, and the rest of the *Indians*, who march'd with *Almagro* into *Chili*, with his Intentions; whereupon the High-Priest left *Almagro's* Camp privately, and returned to the *Inca Manco Capac*, who was then encamp'd before *Cusco*. The High-Priest was assisted in his Escape by *Philip* the Interpreter, who being about to follow him was apprehended by *Almagro*, and put to death, and confessed at his Execution, that his Testimony against the *Inca Atabilipa* was false, and that he had given Evidence against him, that he might enjoy one of that *Inca's* Wives, with whom he had an Intrigue.

Peru.

Almagro
on his Re-
turn from
Chili.

As to *Paulla*, he always remain'd faithful to *Almagro*, in which possibly he had a View to his own Interest; for *Almagro* no sooner heard of the Revolt of *Manco Inca*, but he proclaim'd *Paulla Inca*, or Emperor of *Peru*, and caus'd his Head to be bound with the Imperial Wreath or Coronet: Whereupon *Paulla* and the Confederate *Indians* continued to espouse *Almagro's* Cause, and return'd with him into *Peru*.

When *Manco Inca* heard of the Approach of *Almagro*, he thought fit to quit the Siege of *Cusco*, and retire with a small Part of his Troops to the Mountains of the *Andes*, ordering the rest of his Forces to disperse, and return to their Dwellings; for as he was not able to drive the Spaniards out of *Cusco*, when they were not two hundred Men, he despair'd of doing it

The Siege
of *Cusco*
rais'd on
the Re-
turn of
Almagro.

Peru.

it after they shou'd be join'd by the five hundred *Spaniards* which *Almagro* had under his Command: Nay he determin'd, 'tis said, at this Time, to abandon the Government, and lead a private Life; for he heard his Army before *Lima* also was repuls'd; that fresh Supplies of *Spaniards* arriv'd there every Day from *Mexico* and *Panama*; and that the Marquis *Pizarro* was about to send another Body of *Spaniards* to join with those already in *Cusco*: But had he known what Feuds and Divisions there were among the *Spanish* Generals, he wou'd surely have suspended that Resolution a little longer; And some of his Officers, 'tis said, advis'd that Prince to wait with Patience, and foment those Divisions among the *Spaniards*, for the weakest Side wou'd probably invite the *Indians* to their Assistance, and give them an Opportunity of re-establishing their *Inca* upon his Throne. To whom, 'tis said, the *Inca* reply'd, he was not ignorant of the Misunderstandings among the *Spanish* Generals, but as long as they saw such Armies of *Indians* on Foot, he was confident they would lay aside their private Quarrels, and all unite to maintain their Footing in his Dominions: And that the disbanding his Forces was the readiest Way to divide these rapacious Foreigners, who would fall out about their Plunder and the Division of the Lands they had usurp'd, when they imagin'd themselves secure, and saw no Enemy in the Field; and when they had weaken'd their Forces by civil Dissentions and Encounters with each other, then the *Indians* might assemble again, and attack them with more Success than they cou'd hope for at present; but upon whatever Motives *Manco Inca* proceeded, certain it is, he

he commanded all his Subjects about this time to quit the Sieges of *Cusco* and *Lima*, and return to their respective Dwellings.

And now *Almagro* being arriv'd before the Walls of *Cusco*, and finding the *Indians* drawn off, sent a Summons to *Don Ferdinando Pizarro*, the *Spanish* Governor, to deliver up that Capital to him, as being included in that Grant the Emperor *Charles V.* had made him : But *Ferdinando* answer'd, he held that City by virtue of a Commission from his Brother the Marquis, and shou'd not deliver it up to any Man without his Orders, especially as he knew it to be within the Limits of his Brother's Government ; and immediately proceeded to put the Place in a Posture of Defence, in order to prevent a Surprise ; but Part of the Garrison being Friends to *Almagro*, and holding a Correspondence with him, introduc'd his Forces into the Town at Midnight ; *Almagro* and *Ferdinando* and *Gonzalo Pizarro* were surpriz'd in their Beds, and made Prisoners ; whereby *Almagro* became possess'd of *Cusco* with little or no Bloodshed, and most of the Troops which had served the *Pizarro's* enter'd into his Pay.

In the mean time the Marquis *Pizarro* hearing no News from his Brothers at *Cusco*, and concluding all the Parties he had hitherto sent to reinforce them had been cut off by the *Indians*, determin'd to send such a Body of Troops thither, as shou'd be able to force their Way thither against all the Opposition the *Indians* cou'd make ; and having assembled five hundred *Spanish* Horse and Foot, gave the Command of them to *Don Alonzo de Alvarado*, with Orders to march with all Expedition to *Cusco*. *Peter de Lerma* was order'd also to

March

Peru.

march with this Detachment as a private Captain of a Troop of Horse, tho' he was an older Officer than *Alvarado*, and had done great Service in those Wars, which so disgusted *De Lerma*, that he from this time meditated the Ruin of the Enterprize, as is suppos'd by the *Spanish* Writers.

Alonso de Alvarado continuing his March with the utmost Diligence, most of the *Indians* that were press'd to carry his Baggage, amounting to upwards of five thousand, perish'd in the first Part of the Journey, either by the intolerable Fatigue, being loaded and driven beyond their Strength, or starv'd for want of Food, of which their Lords the *Spaniards* took but little care to provide them; insomuch that *Alvarado* was forced to halt, till he could press some thousands more of the *Indians* to supply the Places of those he had lost.

Almagro receiving Intelligence at *Cusco*, that *Don Alonso de Alvarado* was advancing towards that City, sent some *Spaniards* of Quality to him to represent, that *Cusco* belong'd to his Government, according to the Division the Emperor had made of *Peru* between him and the Marquis *Pizarro*, and therefore advised him to retire to *Lima* again, till he and the Marquis should adjust the Limits of their respective Governments: But *Alvarado* was so far from entertaining any pacifick Thoughts, that he made all the Gentlemen Prisoners that were sent to treat with him. Whereupon *Alvarado* took the Field, constituting *Don Orgonnes* his Lieutenant-General; and having made a Party of *Alvarado's* Horse Prisoners, understood by them that great Part of his Troops were better affected to him than they were to the *Pizarro's*, particularly he understood that

that *Peter de Lerma*, with a great many of his Friends, would desert *Alvarado* the first Opportunity.

He advanc'd, therefore, as far as the Bridge of *Abancay*, on the other Side whereof *Alvarado* lay encamp'd ; so that there was nothing but a small River that parted their Forces : They remain'd quiet however, without attempting to attack each other all Day ; but in the Night-time *Orgonnez* fording the River at the Head of *Almagro's* Horse, put *Alvarado's* Forces into great Confusion, and giving *Peter de Lerma* and the rest of their Friends by this means an Opportunity to join them, *Almagro* gain'd an easy Victory with very little Bloodshed, making *Don Alonzo de Alvarado* his Prisoner, with whom he return'd in Triumph to *Cusco*. This Battle was fought on the 12th of July, 1537.

Almagro defeats *Alonzo de Alvarado*, and makes him Prisoner.

Almagro holding a Council of War on his Arrival at *Cusco*, was advised by his General *Orgonnez* to improve his Victory by marching immediately to *Lima*, and taking Possession of that City before the Marquis *de Pizarro* was re-inforc'd ; for he had but a slender Garrison after the Detachment he had made under the Command of *Don Alonzo de Alvarado* to *Cusco*. He also advised him to take off the Heads of *Ferdinando Pizarro* and his Brother *Gonzalo*, Men who had always express'd the utmost Malice and Prejudice against him, and done him all manner of ill Offices both in the Court of *Spain* and in *Peru* ; and who would, he suggested, infallibly take his Life if ever they had him in their Power. He represented also, that as the Marquis *Pizarro* was Master of *Lima* and all the Ports and Shipping upon the Coast, he would daily

THE PRESENT STATE

receive fresh Forces and Supplies from *Mexico*, *Panama*, and other Places; whereas *Almagro* not being Master of one Port or Ship could receive no Recruits, or indeed have any Communication either with *Europe* or *North-America*, and consequently must soon become much inferior to his Rival the Marquis, if he did not lay hold of the present happy Conjunction, and open himself a Way to the Sea.

These Overtures appear'd so reasonable, that *Almagro* at first resolv'd to follow the Advice of *Orgonez*; but *James de Almagro*, another of his Generals, on whose Advice he usually rely'd, having contracted a Friendship with *Ferdinando Pizarro* during his Imprisonment at *Cusco*, dissuaded *Almagro* from putting the two *Pizarro's* to death that were his Prisoners; and *Almagro* being himself, 'tis said, averse to the shedding of Blood, and still retaining some Friendship for the Marquis their Brother, refused to listen to the Advice *Orgonez* had given him in that Particular: Nor did he approve of attacking *Lima*, because that undoubtedly belong'd to the Marquis by the Emperor's Grant, and he must be deem'd a Rebel to his Prince if he encroach'd on the Territories his Imperial Majesty had confer'd on another.

Almagro
marches
to the
Sea-Coast.

However, it was generally agreed, that it was absolutely necessary to open a Communication with the Sea, that they might have some Harbours where the Recruits that were sent them from *North-America* might land and join them, and from whence they might have a Correspondence both with *Mexico* and *Old Spain*: And accordingly *Almagro* having assembled a Body of five hundred *Spanish*
Horse

Horse and Foot, and being join'd by some thousand confederate *Indians*, began his March towards the Valley of *Chinca* on the Sea-Coast, taking with him his Prisoner *Ferdinando Pizarro*, but he left *Alonzo Pizarro* and *Alonzo de Alvarado* Prisoners in the City of *Cusco*.

In the mean time, the Marquis de *Pizarro* hearing no News from *Alonzo de Alvarado*, and imagining the *Indians* might have possess'd themselves of the Passes in the Mountains, and thereby cut off his Communication with that General, march'd in Person at the Head of three or four hundred *Spaniards* towards the Mountains to gain Intelligence: And after some Days March, receiv'd Advice that the *Indians* had rais'd the Siege of *Cusco*; that *Almagro* was return'd from *Chili*, had possess'd himself of that Capital, and made his Brothers *Ferdinando* and *Alonzo* Prisoners; and that his other Brother *John Pizarro* was kill'd during the Siege of *Cusco*; and a Day or two after, had News brought him of the Defeat of *Don Alonzo de Alvarado*. Whereupon he thought fit to retire again to *Lima*, and fortify himself there, till he should receive a Re-inforcement of Troops, which he expected every Day from *North-America*; and to divert *Almagro* from taking Advantage of his present Weakness, and putting his Brothers to death, he dispatch'd several *Spaniards* of Quality to attend him, and offer him any Terms he should insist upon to procure his Brothers Liberty; but according to some Historians he had no Intention to observe any Treaties with *Almagro* any longer than he should be in a Condition to break them with Advantage. These Commissioners ar-

The Marquis makes Overtures of Accommodation to *Almagro*

Peru.

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Almagro
plants a
Colony
near the
Sea-Coast.

The
Treachery
of the
Pizarro's.

riving in *Almagro's* Camp, he refused at first to be amus'd by any fallacious Treaties ; told them, he would order Commissioners to treat with those of the Marquis on the Frontiers of their respective Governments ; and continued his March as far as *Nasca*, within forty Leagues of *Lima*, where he heard that *Alonso de Pizarro*, *Alonso de Alvarado*, and a hundred *Spanish* Prisoners more he left behind him had made their Escape from *Cusco*. Whereupon *Orgonez* again press'd him to put *Ferdinando Pizarro* to death, but he still refused it ; and having planted a Colony near the Coast of the *South-Sea*, in the Vale of *Chinca*, he sent Commissioners to treat with the Marquis ; but, either by the Orders of the Marquis or without, these Commissioners were seiz'd and made Prisoners by one of his Generals, and their Dispatches broke open ; which being represented to the Marquis as a very great Outrage, he denied his having any Knowledge of it, order'd the Commissioners to be set at Liberty, and their Effects restor'd them, proposing an Interview with *Almagro* in the Field, with only twelve Horsemen to attend each of them ; which *Almagro* agreeing to, contrary to the Advice of his Generals, was very near falling into an Ambuscade that *Alonso Pizarro* had laid for him ; of which receiving some Notice while he was at the Conference with the Marquis, he made his Escape with some Difficulty.

The Marquis, however, pretended that he had no Intention to surpris *Almagro*, and that he had been misinform'd, and Commissioners were agreed on to adjust their Differences,

It seems, the Bishop of *Panama* (or *Terra-Firma Proper*) had been appointed in the Year

1536, by the Emperor, to go to *Lima* and settle the Limits between *Pizarro's* and *Almagro's* Governments, being directed to assign *Pizarro* all that Part of *Peru* extending from the Equator to the Southward two hundred and seventy Leagues; and to *Almagro* two hundred Leagues more to commence where *Pizarro's* Government ended; but *Pizarro* apprehending then that *Cusco* belong'd to the Division which was allotted to *Almagro*, kept him ignorant of the Emperor's Grant, and persuaded *Almagro* to undertake the Expedition to *Chili* abovemention'd; and when the Bishop arriv'd at *Lima*, dissuaded him from taking that tedious Journey to *Cusco* to execute his Commission: Whereupon the Bishop return'd to *Panama* without doing any thing; but *Almagro*, on his Return from *Chili*, finding how he had been abused by the *Pizarro's*, who had usurp'd Part of his Government, surpris'd the City and Castle of *Cusco*, and made *Ferdinando* and *Gonzalo Pizarro* Prisoners, as has been related already.

Arbitrators being again chosen to settle the Limits between the two Generals, and not being able to come to any Agreement, Father *Bovadilla* was made Umpire of their Differences, who thought fit to allot the capital City of *Cusco* to the Marquis *Pizarro*; against which Award *Almagro* appeal'd to the Council of the *Indies*, and resolv'd to maintain by Force what he was possess'd of, till he should receive the Determination of that Council.

Whereupon the Marquis, in order to procure his Brother *Ferdinando's* Liberty, pretended he was content that both Parties should keep what they were possess'd of till the Court of *Spain* should determine otherwise; and that

The
Marquis
and *Alma-
gro* agree
upon
Terms,

Peru.

that he would furnish *Almagro* with a Ship, by which he might send over his Commissioners to *Spain* to manage his Cause there: And upon these Terms *Almagro* consented to set *Ferdinando Pizarro* at Liberty.

The
Marquis
breaks the
Agree-
ment.

The Marquis having obtain'd what he wanted, *viz.* his Brother's Liberty, and a great Supply of Troops from *North-America*, sent a Herald to *Almagro*, requiring him to deliver up *Cusco* to him and all his Conquests in *Peru*, insisting that his (*Pizarro's*) Government extended from the Equator to the Straits of *Magellan*: And upon *Almagro's* refusing to resign his Government, immediately declar'd War against him, sending his Brothers *Ferdinando* and *Gonzalo* at the Head of seven hundred *Spanish* Horse and Foot to surprize the City of *Cusco* in the Absence of *Almagro*; of which that General receiving Intelligence, march'd with the utmost Diligence to reach that City before them; tho' 'tis said, his General *Orgonnez* again advis'd him to turn back and attack the City of *Lima* now the Garrison was so much diminish'd; observing, that if he once possess'd himself of that City, the Recruits which came from *North-America* would all join his Troops, and soon make him superior to his Competitor, of which *Almagro* was sufficiently convinc'd, but absolutely refus'd to encroach upon that Government which had been granted to the Marquis by his Sovereign. He continued therefore his March towards *Cusco*, and being better acquainted with the Country than the *Pizarro's*, and his Troops more used to that Climate, got between the Enemy and *Cusco*, when Advice was brought him that most of the *Spaniards* under the Command of the *Pizarro's*, being lately come from

from *Spain*, were fallen sick in the Mountains, and that if he would return back and fall upon them they would very easily be defeated; and of this Opinion was *Orgonnez*, and several other Officers; but whether *Almagro* did not credit this Advice, or imagin'd he should have a greater Advantage of the Enemy if they laid Siege to *Cusco* with so small an Army, he continued his March thither: And 'tis highly probable, that the *Pizarro's* would never have been able to have taken *Cusco*, if *Almagro* had remain'd within those Walls upon the Defensive, especially as the *Pizarro's* had no Cannon with them, and the Garrison would have been almost as numerous as the Besiegers: But the Officers under *Almagro* confiding in the Bravery and Experience of their Forces, wav'd all the Advantages they had in their Walls, and no sooner heard the Enemy approach'd, but they prevail'd on their old General *Almagro*, contrary to his own Opinion, to suffer them to march out and give the *Pizarro's* Battle; and *Almagro*, being very old and infirm, was carried on a Couch into the Field, rather to see the Battle than to command in it, having constituted *Orgonnez* his General.

The first Oversight the *Almagrians* committed, 'tis said, was in attacking the *Pizarro's* when they were drawn up among the *Salina's*, or Salt-pits, where their Horse, in which they had the Superiority, could be of little or no use to them: They were much deceiv'd also it seems in the Forces they were to engage, and in their Arms; for they imagin'd they were most of them new-raisd undisciplin'd Men, and no better arm'd than themselves. Whereas they had been bred up

Peru.



Almagro
defeated
and made
Prisoner,
and *Cusco*
taken by
the *Pizar-*
rists.

Almagro
try'd for
his Life.

in *Flanders*, the best School of War in that Age, and consisted chiefly of Musketeers, of which there were but very few in *Almagro's* Army. But the greatest Misfortune was, their General *Orgonnez* being wounded by a Musket shot in the beginning of the Battle, when he was engag'd with *Ferdinando Pizarro* the Enemy's General, and had unhors'd him, the personal Courage of *Orgonnez* contributed much to the Loss of the Day, for he was engag'd in this single Combat when he should have been giving his Orders, and commanding the Army; and the *Almagrians* imagining he was dead, thought of nothing but a Retreat: *Almagro* himself fled to the Castle of *Cusco*, and the *Pizarrists* entering the City pell mell with the Fugitives, the Slaughter was very great; *Orgonnez* and *Pedro de Lerma* being cover'd with Wounds, were kill'd after Quarter given them, and a great many Officers more upon private Pique and Resentment, no Wars being so cruel as those between Countrymen and exasperated Friends; but poor old *Almagro* was taken Prisoner, and reserv'd to be murder'd by the Forms of Law.

After he had remain'd Prisoner some Months in *Cusco*, the Lawyers were employ'd to draw up Articles against the old General, the principal whereof were, That he had seiz'd on *Cusco* by Force; that he had enter'd into a secret Treaty with the *Inca*; that he had encroach'd on the Government granted to the Marquis by the Emperor; that he had broken his Articles with the Marquis, and fought two Battles with the Emperor's Forces under the Command of the Marquis, the one at the Bridge of *Abancay*, and the other at the *Salina's*; and his Enemies sitting in Judgment on him, he

he was capitally convicted and condemn'd to die, tho' he appeal'd to the Emperor, and apply'd in very moving Terms to *Ferdinando Pizarro* to save his Life: He bid him remember that he had spar'd his Life, and ever refused to put to death any of his Relations, on account of the Friendship between him and the Marquis; that he would do well also to remember how instrumental he had been in enabling his Brother to make those Conquests, and raising him to the Honours he possess'd; desired the *Pizarro's* would consider he was an old gouty Man, who could not live many Years, and suffer him therefore, after the innumerable Hardships and Hazards he had sustain'd, to die a natural Death; but the *Pizarrists* looking upon their old Companion and Fellow-Soldier as the only Obstacle to their Glory and Ambition, and believing by his Death they should obtain the sole Dominion of *Peru* without a Rival, they were deaf to his Entreaties, and having order'd him to be strangled privately in Prison, they afterwards caused his Head to be cut off on a Scaffold in the great Square of *Cusco*. His Body lay all Day expos'd almost naked on the Scaffold, his Friends not daring to bury him, lest they should incur the Displeasure of the merciless *Ferdinando Pizarro*, and his Enemies not thinking it worth while to give themselves any Trouble about his Funeral; but towards the Evening, a poor *Negro*, who had been Slave to the Deceas'd, brought a coarse Sheet, and with the Help of some *Indians*, who had been Servants likewise to that General, wrap'd up the Corpse, and carried it to the Church of the *Mercedes*, where the Friars buried him under the High-Altar.

And put
to death.

Peru.



A Character of
Almagro.

This Act of Cruelty rais'd the *Pizarro's* a great many Enemies even amongst their own People: They did not forbear to call them Tyrants, and threaten Revenge. The *Indians* wept, and lamented the Loss of him, declaring they had never been abused by this Commander. The Mourning for him, 'tis said, was almost universal both among *Spaniards* and *Indians*. He was sixty-three (some say seventy-five) Years of Age, of a low Stature, his Countenance not very agreeable, especially after he lost his Eye. He was brave and enterprising, the most patient of Fatigue of any Man living, of a sweet Disposition, discreet, generous, and a Friend to all good Men; but as to his Family, it is generally agreed, that he was a Foundling, and ignorant who his Parents were; neither was his Education extraordinary, for he could neither write or read. He may justly therefore be stild the Forger of his own Fortunes, when under these Disadvantages he possess'd himself of more Wealth and Power than any private Man ever did before him. He had one Son by an *Indian* Woman, when he dwelt at *Panama*, to whom he gave his own Name, and made him joint Heir of his Fortunes with the Emperor his Sovereign *Charles V.*, constituting *James de Alvarado* Guardian to his Son: But notwithstanding all these Precautions to secure Part of his Wealth for his Son, the Marquis detain'd the young *Almagro* Prisoner at *Lima*, and seiz'd the Father's Treasure, together with his Government.

But the *Pizarro's* observing that this unjust and tyrannical Conduct created them many Enemies, and render'd them generally detested among the *Soldiery*; in order to get rid of those
that

that seem'd least affected to them, they made several detachments of their Forces to enlarge their Conquests ; *Pedro de Valdivia* was commanded to invade *Chili* ; *Pedro de Candia* was sent to the Westward to subdue the Countries beyond the Mountains of the *Andes* ; *Pera de Vergara* was sent against the *Bracamores*, and other Commanders to other distant Parts : And to support their Interest at the Court of *Spain*, it was resolv'd that *Ferdinando Pizarro* should resort thither, and carry a vast Treasure with him, to be apply'd as he should judge most to their Advantage ; for *James de Alvarado*, who was appointed Guardian to young *Almagro*, was already gone over to *Spain*, to petition the Emperor to do justice to his Ward.

Peru.

The *Pizarro's* detach Forces every way to enlarge their Conquests.

And notwithstanding *Ferdinando Pizarro* brib'd almost every Grandee in the Court of *Spain* with the Gold and Silver of *Peru*, yet so notorious were the Outrages, Murders, and Devastations that he and his Brothers had committed, that his Friends could not save him from being condemn'd and imprison'd : And had not his Prosecutor *James de Alvarado* died suddenly, suppos'd to be poison'd by *Pizarro's* Agents, *Ferdinando* had probably lost his Head : As it was, he remain'd three and twenty Years a Prisoner in the City of *Medina del Campo* before he obtain'd his Liberty.

Ferdinando Pizarro imprison'd in *Spain*.

But to return to *Peru*. The *Indians* observing the Divisions among the *Spanish* Generals, had recourse to Arms again : And tho' the *Spaniards* in *Peru* now amounted to two thousand Men and upwards, they found it more difficult to maintain their Ground at this time, than they did at first, when their Forces did not amount to four hundred Men ;

The *Indians* rise in Arms again.

Peru.




for the Terror the *Indians* were under at first from the Fire-Arms and Horses, which they had never seen before, was in a great measure worn off; and they had learn'd of the *Spaniards* to ride and handle their Arms pretty dextrously; and having taken some Horses, were not afraid to fight the *Spaniards* at their own Weapons: Nor did there want Instances of some Parties of *Spaniards* being defeated by them: And had not the *Indian* Slaves and Vassals stuck close to the *Spaniards*, discover'd the Passes and Places of Strength, and from time to time brought them both Provisions and Intelligence, probably *Pizarro* would have been oblig'd to abandon his Conquests at last.

Los Charcas and the Mines of *Potosi* reduc'd.

The most considerable Acquisition the *Pizarro's* made after the Death of *Almagro* was the Conquest of the *Charcas*, in which lay the invaluable Mines of *Potosi*, whose Treasures drew such Multitudes of Adventurers thither, that the *Indians* of that Province were at length compell'd to submit, and become Slaves to the *Spaniards*: But they were not so successful in *Chili*, that brave People disputed the Ground with the *Spaniards* by Inches; nor could they ever make themselves entirely Masters of it, as will be observ'd in the future History of that Country; and even in the Province of *Los Charcas*, *Gonzalo Pizarro* and his Forces were so surrounded and distress'd by the *Indians*, that the Marquis was forced to march in Person with the Garrison of *Cusco* to his Relief; and the *Spaniards* ascrib'd the Victory they obtain'd at that Time to a Miracle that was wrought in their Favour.

The Conquest of *Los Charcas* being finish'd, the Marquis founded the Town of *La Plata* (so named from the Neighbourhood of the Mountain

Mountain *Perro*, and other Silver Mines) and divided the City and Country about it, with the *Indians* that inhabited it, among the Conquerors. To his Brother *Ferdinando Pizarro*, who was then in *Spain*, he allotted a very large Share; and to his Brother *Gonzalo*, another Part of the Country, in which some time after the Silver Mines of *Potosi* were discover'd: *Ferdinando Pizarro* also had a Share in these Mines, as a Citizen of the City of *La Plata*; and a particular Part of it being assign'd to his Officers, they discover'd so rich a Vein that they digged from it the finest Silver without any Alloy, 'tis said.

Peru.

La Plata
 founded,
 and the
 Lands and
Indians
 divided
 among the
Spaniards.

This Division of the Country was made in the Year 1538 and 1539. And now the Marquis found himself possess'd of a Territory seven or eight hundred Leagues in Length, viz. from the Equinoctial to the South Part of *Los Charcas*, in which were more rich Mines than in all the World besides; and yet was not his Ambition or Avarice satisfy'd, but in an extreme old Age he employ'd his Brother *Gonzalo* in the Conquest of other Nations. *Gonzalo*, who was now Governor of *Quitto* and all the Northern Provinces of *Peru*, was commanded to undertake an Expedition to the Eastward, the Marquis being inform'd that those Countries not only afforded Plenty of Gold, but yielded Spice very much resembling Cinnamon, and for that Reason the Country to the Eastward of *Quitto* obtain'd the Name of *Canela*, or the *Cinnamon Province*.

Gonzalo Pizarro had not march'd many Miles before he arriv'd at this Country of *Canela*; he also met with some Gold in the Rivulets, but this Province lying under (or near) the Equinoctial, he found it so wet and full

Peru.



full of Marshes, Woods and Bogs, that he lost most of his *Spaniards*, and four thousand *Indians* he had press'd to carry his Baggage, and reap'd very little Benefit from this Expedition, unless the Discovery of the great River *Amazon*; on which having built a Sloop and put all his Treasure and Baggage on Board, he sent one of his Officers, named *Orellana*, with sixty Men down the River, to make further Discoveries and then return to him; but *Orellana*, having sail'd two hundred Leagues farther down this River, and finding it very difficult to return against the Stream, which was very rapid, sail'd to the Mouth of it, and then coasting along to the Northward, came to the *Spanish* Island of the *Trinity*, from whence he embark'd for *Spain*; of whose Voyage I shall give a more particular Account when I come to describe the Country of the *Amazons*.

Orellana's
Voyage
down the
River
Amazon.

As to *Gonzalo Pizarro* their General, he having been compel'd by Famine to eat up his Horses, lost most of his Men, and endur'd incredible Hardships for two Years and upwards; he return'd at length to *Quitto*, where he receiv'd Advice of the Misfortunes of his Brother the Marquis, which I come in the next place to relate.

The
Marquis
oppresses
the *Almagros*.

The Marquis, in the Absence of his Brothers, seem'd more intent on suppressing the Party of *Almagro* than any thing else. He made large Remittances to the Court of *Spain* for that End, and would not suffer any of the Officers or Soldiers, that shew'd any Affection to the Family of *Almagro*, to enjoy either Lands or Offices in *Peru* (these were usually call'd *Chili-men*, because they had attended the deceas'd *Almagro* in the Conquest of that Country)

Country) and as to young *Almagro*, he remain'd a Prisoner at large in the City of *Lima*, but was never suffer'd to stir from thence. Thus the *Almagrians* being neither permitted to return to *Spain*, lest they should carry fresh Complaints thither against the Marquis, nor to enjoy any thing in the *Indies*, they were dispers'd all over the Country to get a poor Subsistence, or liv'd on the Benevolence of their Countrymen, till the cruel *Pizarro* published an Edict that no body should relieve them; which soon reduc'd the *Chili-men* to a starving Condition, and inspir'd them with Thoughts of Revenge, or rather put them upon desperate Measures to preserve themselves from starving; which they could think of no better way to prevent, than by cutting off the Tyrant; and he conscious how much he was hated, not only by the *Chili-men*, but also by his own People, for his Oppression and Cruelty, seldom stir'd out of the City, or even of his Palace, without a strong Guard to protect him.

The *Almagrians* therefore, singly, or two or three at a time, resorted privately to the capital City of *Lima*, where they did not want Friends who conceal'd them in their Houses, till they found they amounted to two or three hundred Men, all brave veteran Soldiers, and several experienc'd Officers amongst them, who resolv'd to attack the Marquis as he came to the great Church on *Midsummer-day*, 1541; but he having some Intelligence of the Design, did not go out of his Palace that Day; and the Conspirators, upon this Disappointment, had resolv'd to wait for the Arrival of *Vaca de Castro*, whom they understood the Emperor had sent over to adjust all Differences between the *Pizarrists* and *Almagrians*: for Advice came

The *Almagrians* form a Conspiracy against the Marquis.

Peru. came about this time, that *Vaca de Castro* was actually arriv'd upon the Coast of *Peru*.

But the *Almagrians* being inform'd afterwards that their Plot was discover'd, and they would suddenly be sacrificed to the Fury of the Marquis, if they did not prevent it by some bold Attempt, twelve of them (or as some say nineteen) met at the House of young *Almagro*, which stood on one side of the great Square in *Lima*, on Sunday the 26th of June, at Noon-day, and with their Swords drawn march'd cross the Market-place to the Palace of the Marquis *Pizarro*, crying out, *Long live the King, but let the Tyrant die*: Nor were they oppos'd by any Man, tho' there were not less than a thousand People assembled in the Square; nay, not a Man stir'd to give the Marquis Intelligence of it, insomuch that the Conspirators found the Gates of the Palace and all the Doors open, and the first Notice the Marquis had of their Approach was by one of his Pages, after the *Almagrians* had enter'd the House. Whereupon he ordered some Doors to be shut, imagining he should be able to defend himself till Assistance came in; but Lieutenant General *Francis de Chaves*, who was then with the Marquis, neglecting to fasten the Door, and believing it had been some ordinary Tumult that would have been easily suppress'd by his Presence, went out, and meeting the Conspirators upon the great Stair-Case, demanded the Reason of that Insolence, which they answer'd only by several mortal Wounds they gave him; and rushing forward, the Servants and all the Company that were with the Marquis fled, except his Brother-in-law *Don Francis de Alcantara*, and two of his Pages who defended the Door-way of the Drawing-

Drawing-room, whither the Marquis was retired for some time ; but at length the Conspirators broke through, and kill'd the Marquis, his Brother, and the two Pages, who behav'd themselves however very bravely, and desperately wounded four of the *Almagrians* before they fell.

Peru.
The Marquis is assassinated.

Then the Conspirators went out into the Market-place again, declar'd the Tyrant was dead, and proclaim'd the young *Almagro* Governor of *Peru* ; for all the *Almagrians* immediately assembled, when the Twelve attack'd the Marquis in his Palace, securing his Guards and preventing any Assistance coming to him. They also secur'd all the Horses and Arms in the City, and commanded all the Inhabitants that refused to join them, not to stir out of their Houses without Leave. They also plunder'd the Houses of the Marquis, of his Brother *Francis de Alcantara*, of his Secretary *Pizado*, and some others of the principal *Pizarrists*, wherein they found an immense Treasure. In the Marquis's Palace alone, 'tis said, they found to the Value of a Million of Crowns in Gold and Silver ; but did not meddle with the rest of the Furniture, leaving it standing for the Use of the young *Almagro*, whom they carried thither after they had proclaim'd him their Governor.

Young *Almagro* proclaim'd

Thus fell *Dôn Francis Pizarro* in the capital City of *Lima*, which he had founded ten or eleven Years before, and was privately buried by his Servants, by the young *Almagro*'s Permission, no Person of any Figure daring to attend his Funeral, lest it should give Offence to the prevailing Party : And here the *Spanish* Writers take an Opportunity of drawing a Parallel between those two celebrated Adventurers

Peru.

turers *Don Francis Pizarro* and *Don Diego de Almagro* the Elder, who resembled each other in many Particulars.

A Parallel
between
Pizarro
and *Alma-
gro*.

And first they observe, that they were both basely born, and had very mean Education, neither of them being able to write or read. *Gomara* relates, that *Francis Pizarro* was the Son of *Gonzalo Pizarro*, a Captain in the Province of *Navarre*; that his Mother laid him in a Church-Porch, and he suck'd a Sow several Days, till another Nurse was provided for him; that when he grew up, he was employ'd in keeping Swine, and having lost some of them one Day, was afraid to return home; whereupon he went in the Company of some Strollers to *Seville*, where he embark'd for the *Indies*; and here, it seems, he was instrumental in fixing a *Spanish* Colony at *Darien*, attended *Vasco Nunez de Balboa* in the Discovery of the *South-Sea*, and afterwards went with *Pedrarias* from *St. Mary's* of *Darien* to *Panama*; and in these Expeditions having enrich'd himself, he took up his Residence at the Town of *Panama*, where *Almagro*, who had rais'd his Fortune in the same manner, likewise resided; and here they entered into that memorable Partnership with *De Lugne* the Priest, which ended in the Reduction of that vast Empire of *Peru*, wherein they met with those inexhaustible Mines of Gold and Silver that have been already describ'd, and became the most powerful Men, if not Monarchs, that ever appear'd in that Part of the World, and superior in Wealth to the richest Princes of *Europe*.

They carry the Parallel farther, and observe, that both *Almagro* and *Pizarro* were well advanc'd in Years before they undertook
this

this Enterprize ; that neither of them ever married, but had Children by their *Indian* Concubines: Particularly they relate, that one of the Marquis's Concubines was the Daughter of the Emperor *Huana Capac*, and another the Sister or Daughter of the Emperor *Atablipa* ; the last of which was baptiz'd, and call'd *Donna Beatrice*.

They observe also, that tho' both these Adventurers were in their Lives so immensely rich, they left nothing behind them ; and that they were both obscurely buried by their Servants. Give me leave to observe farther, that notwithstanding all their Failings and Imperfections, they must be allow'd to be possess'd of some very great Virtues ; such as Courage, Fortitude, Patience and Temperance, to a very great Degree, or they had never made themselves Masters of the Treasures of *Peru*. What Men would have struggled so many Years against Winds and Seas, endur'd the Extremities of Heat and Cold, travers'd Countries almost impassable and impenetrable, and that when they were in a manner totally deserted by their People, if they had not been endur'd with more than ordinary Patience ? Tho' it must be confess'd, that this Virtue seems in a manner common to the Natives of *Spain* ; and I am apt to think, scarce any other *European* Nation would have persisted with that indefatigable Industry, in prosecuting these Discoveries, and brought the *Americans* under their Power, if the *Spaniards* had not done it. It is true, they had some Advantage of the rest of *Europe*, in their Situation ; not only as they lay the farthest Westward of any Country in the Old World, but that their Climate had a nearer Resemblance to

Peru.

that of *Peru*, than the Countries of their Northern Neighbours. They were also at that Time the greatest Maritime Powers in *Europe*; but still I ascribe their Success more to their natural Patience and Perseverance, and their abstemious Way of Life, than to all their other Advantages.

There was one Thing these two Conquerors, as the *Spaniards* stile them, too well agreed in, and that was their ill Usage of the hospitable and defenceless *Indians*; who offering to submit to them, and to become subject to the Crown of *Spain*, were nevertheless treated as Enemies and Slaves, their Country taken from them, and their Persons worn out and destroy'd by cruel Bondage; they were compell'd to carry Burthens, to draw their Carriages, dig the Mines, and put upon other rigorous and intolerable Hardships; insomuch, that they perish'd by Thousands and ten Thousands, and whole Countries became in a manner depopulated; but *Almagro* appearing the most compassionate of the two, obtain'd the Character of a merciful Prince amongst the *Indians*, tho' it seems no less than ten thousand *Indians*, who carried his Baggage, lost their Lives in his Expedition to *Cbili*: However it came to pass, the Life of a Dog, or any brute Animal, appears to have been more valued than that of an *Indian*; but this does not seem to be a Fault peculiar to these two Adventurers, or even to the *Spanish* Nation; for the whole Popish World at that time were taught, that Heathens and Hereticks deserv'd no Mercy, and indeed were not entitled to enjoy any thing in this World, but both their Persons and Estates were the Property of the first Christian that could seize them, especially if

if they were authoriz'd to do it by the Pope, whose Bull the *Spaniards* had in their Favour: Insomuch that the Christian Religion, which should have inspir'd these Adventurers with Tenderneſs and Compaſſion, or at least have taught them Juſtice in their Commerce with the World, was made a Pretence for their turning Barbarians, and for all the Outrages, Cruelty and Injuſtice that Men could commit. Thus Men firſt divest themselves of their Humanity, under Pretence of Zeal for Religion, and then make that an Excuse for becoming Wolves and Tygers, or, even worſe, *Devourers of their own Species.*

As for their Generoſity, *Almagro* is ſaid to be moſt eminent for this Virtue; but what ſort of Generoſity is that where a Man only diſtributes the Plunder of thoſe he has robb'd and murder'd, among the Villains his Accomplices?

But to give the Devil his Due, before I conclude the Character of theſe two Adventurers, it muſt be acknowledg'd, that they were diligent in building Towns, planting Colonies, and introducing the Fruits, the Huſbandry, the Manufactures of *Europe* in *Peru*; we find the moſt conſiderable Towns in *South-America* were founded, or at leaſt rebuilt by them, after the *Spaniſh* manner; ſuch as *Lima*, *Quitto*, *Arequippa*, *Cuſco*, *La Plata*, &c. But *Pizarro* was much the more conſiderable Planter, having aſſumed the Government of *Peru* to himſelf, while he ſent *Almagro* upon that hazardous Enterprize againſt *Chili*, in which he was in great Danger of perishing: Probably *Almagro* was over-reach'd by *Pizarro*, when he undertook that War. The *Pizarriſts* imagin'd they had then happily got

Towns
founded
by *Pizarro*.

Peru.


got rid of him, and should never have seen him more: And tho' he had the good Fortune to survive, and get back to *Cusco*, they never ceas'd plotting against him till he fell a Sacrifice to their Malice and Ambition; which Piece of Barbarity was now retaliated upon them in kind, and the Marquis lost his Life by a Conspiracy of the *Almagrians*, as old *Almagro* was destroy'd by the Cabals of the *Pizarrists*, which brings me to resume the Thread of the *Peruvian* History.

The Marquis was no sooner dead, but *Lima*, *Cusco*, and most of the principal Towns, declar'd for *Don Diego de Almagro*, the natural Son of old *Almagro*. Some Places however refus'd to acknowledge *Almagro's* Authority, but expected the coming of *Vaca de Castro* with the Emperor's Commission; in which they were encourag'd by *Pedro Alvarez Holguin*, and other Generals and Officers, Friends to the *Pizarrists*, who assembled a good Body of Troops, and took Possession of *Cusco* again, which they gave out they would hold for the Emperor; and declar'd War against *Almagro*. *Alonso de Alvarado* assembled another Body of Troops between *Lima* and *Quitto*, and declar'd also for the Emperor; and these two Generals preparing to unite their Forces, *Almagro* march'd out of *Lima* at the Head of six hundred Horse and Foot towards *Cusco*, with an Intent to retake *Cusco*, or give Battle to *Pedro de Holguin*, before he should be join'd by *Alonso de Alvarado*.

The *Pizarrists* assemble their Forces, and declare War against young *Almagro*.

Vaca de Castro the Governor arrives in *Peru*.

In the mean time, *Vaca de Castro* arriving in *Quitto*, and finding the Marquis was dead, declar'd himself Governor of *Peru*, by virtue of the Emperor's Commission, requiring the Sub-


Submission of all the *Spanish* Towns, and constituting such Governors and Officers as he saw fit; particularly he authoriz'd *Francis de Barionovo* and *Geromino de Aliaga*, to take upon them the Government of the City of *Lima*, to whom the *Mepthates* immediately submitted, in the Absence of *Almagro*, who was marched towards *Cusco*, as hath been related; and *Vaca de Castro* soon after arriv'd in Person at *Lima*, and was proclaimed Governor of *Peru*, having been joined in his March from *Quitto* by *Alonzo de Alvarado* and *Holguin*, with their Forces.

In the mean time, *Almagro* continuing his March to *Cusco*, took Possession of that City, and new modelled the Magistracy there: His next Business was to furnish himself with a Train of Artillery, which he cast in the Foundries there, Copper being plentiful in that Province: He also made great Quantities of excellent Gunpowder; and the famous *Manco Inca*, who always hated the *Pizarro's* for having imprison'd him and treated him with Indignity, also join'd the *Almagrians* with several thousands of his *Indians*.

Almagro
possesses
himself
of *Cusco*.

But *Almagro* was unfortunate in the Loss of his General *John de Rada*, who died on the March to *Cusco*; for the Command of the Army being afterwards divided between *Christopher de Sotela* and *Garcia de Alvarado*, they quarrell'd to such a degree that *Garcia* killed *Sotela* in the Market-place of *Cusco*, and had laid a Design to assassinate *Almagro* himself, but was kill'd in the Attempt.

Almagro afterwards constituted *John Balsa* the General of his Forces, and *Peter de Onate* his Lieutenant-General; and receiving Advice that the Governor *Vaca de Castro* was advancing

 Peru. vancing towards *Cusco*, he march'd out of the Capital at the Head of seven hundred *Spaniards* and several thousand *Indians*, with a good Train of Artillery, in order to give the Governor Battle, if he cou'd not obtain equitable Conditions for himself and his Friends; and receiving Advice, that the Governor was not many Leagues distant from him, he dispatch'd *Lopez de Ydiaquez* and *James Nunez* to represent to him how eminently and successfully his Father had serv'd the Crown of *Spain*, and how unjustly and treacherously the *Pizarro's* had dealt with him in usurping the Government of *Cusco* and *New Toledo*, which his Majesty had conferr'd on him; that he was determin'd to serve the King with the same Fidelity his Father had done, and hop'd the Governor would not espouse the Party of *Pizarro's*, whose Oppressions and Disloyalty were so notorious.

The Commanding-Officers also sent Letters to *Vaca de Castro*, complaining of his Partiality in rejecting their Services, as if they oppos'd their Sovereign, affirming that the King had not more loyal Subjects in *Peru* than they were; and desiring that all Misunderstandings might be amicably adjusted, that they might unite their Forces in the Service of their King and Country: And, lastly, it was propos'd that *Almagro* might continue to command in *Cusco*, the Capital of *Peru*, *Toledo* being his Father's Government; and the Governor should command in *Lima*, the Capital of *New Castile*, till the King's Pleasure was known.

But *Vaca de Castro*, instead of treating above Board with *Almagro*, endeavour'd privately to corrupt his Officers, and induce them to desert him; which *Almagro* discovering, both Parties prepar'd for Battle, and drew up their
Troops

Troops in the Vale of *Chupas*: These little Armies were both compos'd of Veteran Officers and Soldiers: The Governor had the Advantage in point of Numbers, his Troops consisting of seven hundred *Spaniards* besides *Indians*, and *Almagro's* of five hundred *Spaniards*; but then the latter had the Advantage of a Train of Artillery and of the Ground, and would probably have gained the Victory, if all his Officers had been true to him; for his Artillery was so pointed, that the Enemy could not approach his Camp on any Side without considerable Loss: However, to his Amazement, when the great Guns were fired they did no manner of Execution, and the Enemy advanced as if they had nothing to fear from the Artillery; whereupon *Almagro* rode up to *Pedro de Candia*, who commanded the great Guns, and suspecting Treachery killed him with his own Hands; and levelling one of the Cannon himself cut off a whole Rank of the Governor's Troops, putting them in some disorder. But the Enemy were now advanced too near his Train of Artillery to suffer from them, and his Men had quitted the Ground, where they were so advantageously drawn up to meet the Enemy, which occasion'd the Loss of the Battle, tho' it was fought with great Obstinacy till two Hours within Night; when *Almagro* finding his Troops over-power'd retir'd out of the Field with *Manco Inca*, and three or four *Spanish* Officers, intending to have taken Refuge in the Mountains with the *Inca* and his *Indians*, till he should meet with a favourable Opportunity of recovering his Government; but taking *Cusco* in his Way, with a Design to carry off his Treasure, and such of his Effects as would have been most useful

Almagro
defeated
at *Chupas*.

Peru.



Taken
and
beheaded.

to him in his Exile, the very Men in whose Hands *Almagro* had put the Government of that City, hearing he had lost the Battle, apprehended him, and delivered him up to the victorious Governor, to make their own Peace with him; and young *Almagro*, who was not much above twenty Years of Age, was formally try'd, condemn'd, and executed in the same Place, and much in the same Manner his Father had been; and was afterwards buried by the Friars of the Convent of *Merced*, in the same Grave with his Father, having obtained a much greater Character for his Humanity, Parts and Education, tho' his Conduct and Experience in War could not be suppos'd equal to his Father's; and, indeed, it was unfortunate he was so young and unexperienced, and consequently had so little Influence and Command of his Troops, every Officer almost imagining he merited the chief Command in the Army, and that *Almagro* was infinitely obliged to him for taking his Part; while others were contriving to purchase their own Peace by betraying their General: This is frequently the Case of Malecontents, they all aspire to be Commanders, and none think themselves obliged to obey their superior Officers any further than they see fit, especially where they find them young and unexperienced; and this being the Case of *Almagro*, tho' he is allow'd to have been a gallant Man, we cannot much wonder at his ill Success: Nor had the Governor more Compassion on the Officers and Soldiers than on their Commander, giving scarce any Quarter in the Field, and hanging up those few that were made Prisoners; so that the Party of *Almagro* was now totally extirpated, and never heard

heard of more. Whereupon the Governor dismiss'd most of his Forces, and apply'd himself with all imaginable Diligence to the regulating the Civil Government; and particularly he order'd the *Tambo's*, or Magazines upon the great Roads to be stor'd with Provisions for the Conveniency of Travellers, prohibiting the *Spaniards* to quarter upon the *Indians*, as they had hitherto done in their Journies and Expeditions, to the Ruin of the Natives where they came. He also endeavour'd the Conversion of the *Indians* to the Christian Faith, and prevail'd with the *Inca Paulla* to be baptized, giving him the Name of *Christopher*: He also erected Schools in several Towns, ordering the Sons of the Caciques and Caraca's to be educated there, and instructed in the Principles of the Christian Religion: He commanded the *Spaniards* also to use their *Indian* Servants with Humanity, and not to oppress or abuse any *Indian* whatever. Whereupon the *Indians*, who had fled to the Mountains many of them, return'd and dwelt in *Cusco*, *Lima*, and other *Spanish* Towns, under the Protection of the Government, He also regulated the Distribution of the Lands and *Indians* which had been made very extravagantly, and restor'd many of the *Indian* Lords their Lands and Vassals, checking the Licentiousness of the Soldiery, and advising them to marry, and apply themselves to Traffick, or some honest Employments, and not spend their whole Time in Gaming and Excesses, and oppressing the poor *Indians* to maintain their Extravagances, as was frequently the Practice of the first Conquerors; by which he engag'd the Affections of the *Indians*, but made himself a great many Enemies among

Vaca de Castro
regulates
the Civil
Government.

Peru.



the Adventurers and military Men, who came into *Peru* with no other View but to advance their Fortunes, and live at Discretion among the Natives, whom they look'd upon as made only to be subservient to their Pleasures. He also enquir'd into the Conduct of the King's Officers, whom he observ'd had amass'd together monstrous Estates, by oppressing the *Indians*, and defrauding the Crown.

Gonzalo Pizarro becomes a Malecontent.

Gonzalo Pizarro arriving at *Cusco* while these Regulations were making, found abundance of Malecontents there, who being us'd to live at large, and treat the Natives as their Slaves, were not easily restrain'd from their former Practices; and looking upon himself as very much wrong'd, by *Vaca de Castro's* assuming the Government, which he apprehended belong'd to him as his Brother's Successor, he associated with the Malecontents there, and, 'tis said, had form'd a Design of deposing, if not assassinating the Governor at that time; of which *Vaca de Castro* having some Intimation, order'd *Pizarro* immediately to resort to the Province of *Los Charcas*, where his Estate lay, and not stir from thence: And *Pizarro* not being then in a Condition to dispute his Commands, obey'd them, and the more readily as he understood there were several rich Silver Mines lately discover'd in those Lands, in the working and improving whereof *Gonzalo* employ'd himself, till he found a better Opportunity of putting his ambitious Projects in Execution, which happen'd not long after.

Thus *Vaca de Castro* made some Attempts towards relieving the poor *Indians* from the Oppressions of his Countrymen the *Spaniards*; but still grievous Complaints daily came over
to

to *Spain* of their being destroy'd in the Mines, and other rigorous Services ; and particularly by their being remov'd out of their native Air and Climate, which occasion'd the Death of multitudes, while the Women and Children in those Countries from whence their Husbands and Fathers were taken and carried to the Mines, perish'd by thousands, having no care taken for their Subsistence, insomuch that it was truly represented to the Court of *Spain*, that the *West-Indies* would in a short time be depopulated, if a Stop was not put to these Outrages : And thereupon the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth caus'd certain Orders to be drawn up, which he requir'd should be strictly observed in *America* under severe Penalties : Some of the principal whereof were, “ That
 “ the *Indians* should not be compel'd to carry
 “ Burthens, or dig in the Mines, or be employ'd in Buildings, or carried out of their
 “ respective Countries, tho' they were really
 “ Slaves : And that none should wrongfully
 “ be made Slaves, the Master was oblig'd to
 “ carry his Servants before a Magistrate, to
 “ be examin'd, before he should use them as
 “ such (for it seems, part of the *Indians* were
 “ Slaves to the great Lords, or Caciques,
 “ before the *Spanish* Conquest ; and where
 “ an Estate was allotted to a *Spaniard*, he
 “ became the Proprietor of all the Slaves
 “ upon it, as well as of the Lands.) It was
 “ also provided, that the *Indians* might be
 “ Proprietors of Gold and Silver Mines as
 “ well as the *Spaniards*, and be allow'd to sell
 “ their Goods in the Markets for the best
 “ Price they could get ; and that every *Spaniard*, who had an Estate, should take care
 “ the *Indians* upon it were instructed in the
 “ Christian

Peru.

Com-
 plaints
 still of the
 Oppres-
 sions of the
Indians.

Orders to
 redress
 their
 Griev-
 ances.

Peru.



A new
Vice-roy
sent to
Peru.

He en-
deavours
to put the
new Re-
gulations
in Execu-
tion.

“ Christian Religion. It was also ordain’d, that the Visitors who were deputed to redress the Grievances of the *Indians*, should repair in Person to their respective Towns, and not send Commissioners thither, with a great many other Regulations in Favour of the *Indians*.” The Emperor also resolv’d to send over a Governor to *Peru*, who should see these Orders duely executed, and accordingly he made choice of *Blasco Nunez Vela*, who arriv’d at *Panama* in the Year 1544 ; and meeting with several *Spaniards* there, who had rais’d great Sums by the Sale of *Indians* to the Mines in *Peru*, he order’d them to be prosecuted, and the Money they had made by this kind of Traffick to be seiz’d. He also releas’d all such *Indians* as had been brought thither out of *Peru*, and oblig’d the Commanders of Ships to carry them back again : And to set a good Example when he arriv’d in *Peru*, he would not suffer his Baggage to be carried by *Indians*, but on Mules ; and when he was inform’d there were not Mules sufficient, he order’d that such *Indians* as were employ’d should carry but moderate Burthens, and be paid for their Labour, with which the *Indians* were extremely pleas’d ; but the *Spaniards* immediately took a Prejudice against the Vice-roy for insisting on these Regulations, and began to grow very mutinous, pretending their *Indians* were their Property as much as any other Part of their Estates, and they might use them as they pleas’d ; nor was it possible to work their Mines, or to build and improve their Plantations but by their Labour, which they represented to the new Vice-roy, and desired he would suspend the Execution of these Ordinances ; but the Vice-roy answer’d, they

they must petition the Court of *Spain* if they expected any Alteration in them; and in the mean time, as he had promised his Majesty, he was resolv'd to see them put in Execution; And when some of the Caciques, or *Indian* Lords, complain'd that their Vassals had been taken away by the *Spaniards*, he order'd them to be set at Liberty, telling the Caciques, that it was the King's Pleasure they should be treated as Subjects, and not as Slaves.

This Conduct so enrag'd the *Spaniards*, that most of the great Towns appear'd ripe for an Insurrection; even the capital City of *Lima* made some Difficulty to permit the Vice-roy to enter within their Walls, and when they did think fit to receive him, were guilty of very rude and threatening Language, and he found an Inscription in the Room where he was about to sit down to Dinner, of the following Tenor; *I will take the Life of him who comes to take away my Estate*; however, the Person being discover'd who wrote it, he forgave him: But the Disaffection appear'd almost universal; the *Spaniards* being determin'd not to submit to the new Regulations, sent Deputies from all the great Towns to *Gonzalo Pizarro* at *La Plata*, desiring he would be their Protector, and deliver them from the Oppressions of the Vice-roy, as they call'd them; and that they might have a Pretence to assemble in Arms, they declar'd War against *Manco Inca*, who was assembling an Army of *Indians*, as they gave out, to besiege *Cusco* again.

Pizarro, pleas'd to find the *Spaniards* so well inclin'd to him, amass'd all the Treasure he could get at the Mines of *Potosi*, which were then newly open'd, and came to *Cusco*; where having consulted his Friends, he beat

A Con-
spiracy
against the
Vice-roy.

*Gonzalo
Pizarro*
appears at
the Head
of the
Malecon-
tents.
his

Peru.

his Drums, and lifted two or three hundred *Spaniards* in his Service; and having constituted *Francis de Caraval* his Major-General, resolved to march to *Lima*, under Pretence of petitioning the Vice-roy in Behalf of the principal Towns, to suspend the putting in Execution the new Regulations; and prevail'd on the Magistrates of *Cusco* to constitute him Chief-Justice of *Peru*, by colour of which Office he assum'd the Civil Government of the Province, as well as the Command of the Militia.

In the mean time, *Manco Inca*, who was always an Enemy to the *Pizarro's*, on account of their insolent Treatment of him when they had him in their Power, sent one of the *Spaniards*, who had fled to him for Refuge after the Defeat of *Almagro*, to acquaint the Vice-roy that he was ready to take the Field against *Gonzalo Pizarro*, and would serve the Court of *Spain* to the utmost of his Power; with which Message the Vice-roy was extremely pleas'd, looking upon it as a great Point gain'd to have the Natives in his Interest: But there happening a Quarrel about this time between one of those refugee *Spaniards* in the Mountains and the *Inca* as they were playing at Bowls, the *Spaniard* beat out the *Inca's* Brains with a Bowl; whereupon the *Indians* fell upon the remaining five *Spaniards*, and kill'd them every Man. And now *Manco Inca* being dead, the Vice-roy was depriv'd of that Assistance he might have expected from those *Indians* in the Mountains, who had hitherto preserv'd their Liberties.

*Manco
Inca
kill'd.*

The Vice-roy was still more unfortunate in having a Misunderstanding with the four Judges of the royal Court that came over from *Spain* with him to administer the Civil Government.

vernment. These Gentlemen carry'd their
 Resentment so far, that they actually favour'd
 the Cause of *Gonzalo Pizarro*; and when the
 Vice-roy would have rais'd Forces against
Pizarro, they oppos'd it, and proceeded so
 far as to make the Vice-roy Prisoner, who
 escap'd from them however to the City of
Quitto, where he was join'd by some hun-
 dreds of loyal *Spaniards*: *Pizarro* receiving
 Advice that the Vice-roy had been forc'd to
 fly from *Lima*, immediately advanc'd thither
 with his Army, where he put to death or
 imprison'd all who were not in his Interest,
 and prevail'd on the Judges to sign a Com-
 mission, constituting him Governor of *Peru*.
 After which he dispatch'd *Tejada*, the Judge
 most devoted to his Cause, into *Spain*, to
 give a favourable Account of his Conduct,
 and represent that he was in a manner com-
 pel'd to take the chief Command upon him,
 and had accepted it with no other View than
 to serve his Majesty, and prevent a general
 Revolt, which he suggested was very near
 effected by the Vice-roy's rigorous Admini-
 stration.

Peru.

The Vice-roy
 imprison'd, but
 escapes.

Pizarro
 usurps the
 Govern-
 ment of
Peru.

Pizarro also proceeded to seize all the Ships
 upon the Coast, whereby he became Master
 of the *South-Sea*, and put in new Governors
 and Magistrates in the chief Towns, discard-
 ing some and hanging up others who had ap-
 pear'd for the Vice-roy, making the Civil
 Powers submit to the Military, or acting
 without their Concurrence whenever he saw
 fit: To maintain his Forces, he exacted of
 the *Spaniards* a third Part of all the Rents
 or Tributes they receiv'd from the vassal *In-
 dians*; seiz'd the Gold and Silver belonging
 to the Crown, and apply'd it to the same Uses;

Peru. and by his Cruelty in murdering and destroying those who appear'd to have any Remains of Loyalty left, it was evident he design'd to cast off all Dependance on the Crown of *Spain*, and become the sole Sovereign of the Empire of *Peru*.

Pizarro's Having constituted *Machiaco* his Admiral, Admiral he commanded him to attack the City of *Panama*, and take all the Shipping he found in that Bay; which Orders were punctually executed, and *Machiaco* now commanded a Fleet of twenty-six Sail. He had also a good Number of Land-men on Board, and with these Soldiers committed great Outrages in the Town of *Panama*, tho' the Governor had assembled six or seven hundred Soldiers to defend that Place.

In the mean time, *Pizarro* having divided his Land Forces, detach'd Part of them under his General *Carvajal*, to the City of *Plata*, and the Southern Provinces, where he understood *Centeno* and some other loyal Gentlemen had declar'd for the King, and cut off several of his Adherents; and with the other Part of his Forces he pursued the Viceroy to *Quitto*, who being join'd by *Bebalcazar*, had collected a Body of three or four hundred Men, with whom he defended himself bravely against all the Stratagems of *Pizarro* for some time; but his Officers proving treacherous, he was at length defeated and kill'd in an Engagement on the 19th of *January* 1546, near the Walls of *Quitto*. *Pizarro's* General, *Carvajal*, was no less successful in the Southern Provinces, dispersing the Loyalists there, and forcing *Centeno* their General to fly the Country; after which he plunder'd the City of *La Plata*, and put to death

He defeats and kills the Viceroy.
His General defeats the Royalists near *La Plata*.

death many of those that had appear'd for the King. And now *Pizarro* finding there were no Enemies left in *Peru* that durst oppose him, dismiss'd Part of his Forces, and return'd to *Lima* in Triumph, looking upon himself as sole Monarch of *South-America*, and was flatter'd as such by his Party; whereupon he made *Hinojosa* Admiral of the *South-Sea*, and commanded his Fleet to sail again to the Bay of *Panama*, where the Admiral landed his Men, and sent a Detachment cross the *Isthmus*, under the Command of *Ferdinando Mexia*, and surpris'd *Nombre de Dios*, so that *Hinojosa* was in a manner Master of the *North* and *South-Sea*, or at least was in a Condition to prevent any Supplies being sent to the Assistance of the Royalists either from *Old* or *New Spain*.

Peru.



His Admiral possesses himself of *Panama* and *Nombre de Dios*.

Pizarro, however, apprehensive that the Times might turn, thought it expedient to keep fair with the Court of *Spain*, and pretend at least that he had no Thoughts of throwing off his Allegiance, and acting independently of his Sovereign: He dispatch'd *Laurence de Aldana* therefore to *Old Spain*, as commission'd from all the Cities and Towns of *Peru*, to petition that he (*Pizarro*) might be continu'd their Governor, and that his Majesty would send them a Pardon for all that was past; on which Conditions they promis'd to make good whatever had been expended of the King's Treasure, and to advance a considerable Sum as a free Gift to his Majesty.

Pizarro applies to the Court of *Spain*.

The *Spanish* Ministry having been already acquainted with *Gonzalo Pizarro's* Usurpation, gave all *Peru* for lost, till the Arrival of *Aldana*; for tho' it was propos'd in the Council

Peru.

The
President
Gasca sent
to *Peru*.

of *Spain* to subdue that Usurper by Force, yet the Difficulty of sending an Army into that remote Part of the World sufficient for such an Enterprize, made that Advice look'd upon as impracticable. But laying hold of these Overtures made them by *Pizarro* and the chief Towns of *Peru*, it was resolv'd to send over *Gasca*, a subtil Lawyer, with the Title only of *President of the Royal Court*; but with full Powers to act as he should judge most for the Advantage of the Government when he arriv'd there. This Gentleman was authoriz'd to grant a general Pardon to all Delinquents, or to as many as he saw fit; to promise to repeal those Ordinances which prohibited their enslaving the *Indians*, or levying Money upon them; to confirm all Men in their Possessions, however wrongfully obtained; and to constitute *Pizarro* himself Vice-roy of *Peru*, if that rich Province could not be recover'd to the Crown of *Spain* by any other Means; for as some observ'd in the Council of *Spain*, *It were better to let the Devil be Vice-roy than the Crown should lose so invaluable a Prize* as *Peru* appear'd to be about this Time, when the inexhaustible Mines of *Potosi* were discover'd: And such a Confidence had the Court of *Spain* in the Loyalty and Dexterity of *Gasca*, that they did not only confer on him an unlimited Authority in *Peru*, but all Vice-roys, Governors, Magistrates, Generals and Officers in *America* were commanded to support him and obey his Orders. He carried also Letters of various kinds from his Majesty to *Pizarro*, to be sent or suppress'd as the President should judge proper on his Arrival in *America*; in one of which the Emperor tells that Usurper, that he still

The Court
of *Spain*
wincled
Pizarro.

confided

confided in his Loyalty, and was not offend-
ed at any of the Measures he had taken.

The President *Gasca* arriving at *Cartagena*,
in *Terra-Firma*, receiv'd Advice there that
Nombre de Dios was possess'd by a Garrison
commanded by *Ferdinando Mexia*, whom
Hinojosa, *Pizarro's* Admiral, had sent thither.
However, the President proceeded in his
Voyage to *Nombre de Dios*, and so cunningly
insinuated himself into the good Opinion of
Mexia, that he agreed to desert *Pizarro's*
Service, and hold that Place for his Sovereign
the Emperor ; and coming afterwards to
Panama on the 13th of *August* 1546, he

Pizarro's
Admiral
and Fleet
revolt to
Gasca.

prevail'd on *Hinojosa* the Admiral and the
whole Fleet to revolt from *Pizarro* and de-
clare for his Majesty.

Affairs succeeding thus far to the Presi-
dent's Wish, he dispatch'd *Paniagua*, a
Gentleman of great Penetration and Address,
to *Lima* with a Letter from the Emperor and
another from himself to *Pizarro*.

The Emperor in his Letter tells *Pizarro*,
that having been inform'd of the Commotions
that had happen'd in *Peru* by the late Vice-
roy's putting the Ordinances too rigorously in
Execution, and believing that whatever had
been done by *Pizarro* and his Adherents was
intended for his Majesty's Service, he had
dispatch'd the Lieutenant *Gasca*, in Quality
of President, with full Power and Instructions
to put an End to the Divisions that had hap-
pened there, and to do whatever might con-
tribute to the Improvement of those Provinces
and the Welfare of his Subjects, whether
Planters or Natives, requiring *Pizarro* to
assist him in whatever the President should
judge proper for his Majesty's Service, con-
cluding,

The
Emperor's
Letter to
Pizarro.

Peru.

cluding, that his Majesty would ever remember the Services that he and his Brother the Marquis had done to the Advantage of their Children and Families.

Gasca's
Letter to
Pizarro.

The President, in his Letter to *Pizarro* also, seems to lay the Blame of the late Insurrections on the Vice-roy, and says, his Majesty believ'd that their Opposition to the Vice-roy did not proceed from any Motive to Disobedience or Disservice to his Majesty, but merely from a Principle of Self-preservation, which induc'd them to oppose that Severity the Vice-roy used in the Execution of the new Laws: That the King had therefore sent him to quiet the Minds of the People by a Revocation of those Laws, and to publish a general Pardon for all Offences of what kind soever: And lastly, to take the Opinion and Direction of the People of the Country concerning the Methods that were most likely to conduce to the Advancement of Religion, and the common Good and Welfare of the Inhabitants. Wherefore he entreated *Pizarro* that he would consider these Things, and like a Gentleman and loyal Subject, and with that Affection and Good-will which he had shew'd for the Welfare of his Country, sincerely yield Obedience to his Majesty, and comply with his Commands, who had so favourably interpreted his Actions, acquitting him of Rebellion and Disloyalty.

Then he advises *Pizarro* not to flatter himself with an Opinion that he was so well established as to be able to resist the Forces of so great a Prince as his Sovereign the Emperor was, who compell'd the Grand Signior to retire from *Vienna* when he was at the Head of three hundred thousand Men, and had obtain'd

obtain'd so many memorable Victories over the Infidels and the rest of his Enemies.

Peru.

When these Letters were read in the Usurper's Council, some were for receiving the President and accepting the Terms that were offer'd immediately, observing that the Court of *Spain* had granted every thing they demanded, as a Revocation of the Ordinances, a general Pardon, and a Confirmation of their Estates and Possessions. But others, inspir'd with Ambition, or dreading the Vengeance they knew was due to their Crimes, represented, that if the President was once admitted, he would soon insinuate himself into the Affections of the People, and dispose of them and their Fortunes at Pleasure, and therefore urg'd that it was neither politick nor safe to admit the President amongst them. In the mean time *Paniagua*, *Gasca's* Agent, found means to feel the Pulse of the principal Citizens of *Lima*, who seem'd ready to desert the Usurper as soon as they had an Opportunity. They were weary of his Oppressions and arbitrary Dominion, who had of late given the Reins to his Passions, putting several considerable Men to death, seiz'd their Possessions, and made free with their Wives and Daughters. Understanding therefore from *Paniagua*, that a Pardon was offer'd them, and whatever else they had demanded, they found means to assure this Agent that they were ready to return to their Duty, notwithstanding *Pizarro* had threatened that Agent to put him to death as soon as he arriv'd, if he tamper'd with any of the Citizens: Nor was the Revolt of the Fleet, which *Paniagua* inform'd them of, one of the least Motives that induc'd them to make their Submission to his Majesty.

Gasca's
Agent pre-
pares the
Citizens
of *Lima*
for a
Revolt.

Pizarro,

Peru.



Pizarro, still ignorant of this general Disaffection, tho' it was a Secret to very few besides, resolv'd not to admit the President; but imagining his Fleet at *Panama* to be still faithful to him, order'd the Admiral to provide a Ship and send the President back to *Spain*; however; he gave *Paniagua* a Letter for him, when he return'd, of the following Tenour.

Pizarro's
Answer to
the President
Guzman

He desir'd the President to consider him as a Person naturally devoted to his Majesty's Service, and to remember how he and his Brothers had been these sixteen Years employ'd in augmenting the Territories and Revenues of the Crown of *Spain*: That they had reduced Countries of a vast Extent, and abounding with more Gold and Silver than all the Kingdoms of the World produc'd besides, and this at their own Charges, without putting his Majesty to the Expence of a single Crown, and without gaining any thing for themselves but the Reputation of serving their Prince and Country; for whatever Treasure they had obtain'd was laid out in settling Colonies, and supporting these Conquests: They had not the Inheritance of an Acre of Land assign'd them (*the Court of Spain granting only Estates for Lives to the Adventurers.*) And notwithstanding these Neglects, they remain'd immoveable in their Loyalty, and had no need to be put in mind of their Duty to their Sovereign by Arguments drawn from his Power and Success against his Enemies.

He proceeds to shew, that it was the rigorous and impolitick Administration of the late Vice-roy that had been the Occasion of all the Mischiefs and Disturbances that had happen'd, and justifies his own Usurpation by



by observing, that he was chosen Agent-General by all the Cities and Communities of that Empire, and impower'd by the Judges of the royal Court to drive the Vice-roy from thence, having transacted nothing but by their Warrant and Concurrence.

Pizarro also sent several Agents of considerable Quality to the Court of *Spain* to justify his Conduct, and get his Command confirm'd to him ; but these all deserted him, making their Peace with the President when they came to *Panama*, and accepting Employments from him. Whereupon the President commanded the Governors of the *Mexican* Provinces, those of *St. Martha*, *Cartagena*, *New Granada* and *Popayan*, to levy Forces with all Expedition, and send to his Assistance. He also order'd *Laurence de Aldana* to sail with four stout Ships to the Coast of *Peru*, who landing small Parties in several Places, was join'd by great Numbers of Deserters: And at the same time *James de Mora* assembled four or five hundred Men in the inland Parts of *Peru*, and declar'd for the King, appointing the general Rendezvous of his Majesty's Forces to be at *Caxamalca*.

Pizarro deserted by great Numbers.

And now *Pizarro* receiving Advice of the Revolt of his Fleet and the Approach of his Enemies, apply'd himself with great Diligence to raise Forces in order to defend his Usurpation, and in a short time muster'd upwards of nine hundred Men in the City of *Lima* only, all veteran Troops well arm'd, and the Horse well mounted ; nor was there a Foot-Soldier but had his Pad to ride on and Slaves to attend him, so that his Infantry might be look'd upon as Horse or Dragoons at least, engaging either on Foot or Horseback, as there was

He prepares to defend his Usurpation.

Peru.

Occasion, and had a great Advantage in marching with Expedition from one Part of the Country to the other without much Fatigue : Besides the Forces *Pizarro* had in *Lima*, he sent strong Detachments to *Cusco*, *La Plata*, and other Places, causing it to be publish'd every-where, that the President *Gasca* had exceeded his Commission in levying Forces against him ; that the King had not empower'd the President to take the Government from him, but only to endeavour to establish Peace, and preside in the royal Court ; and that the People were no less concern'd than himself to oppose his Encroachments ; for if the President prevail'd, they must expect to be plunder'd, and dispossest of all they had gain'd with so much Labour and Hazard, and perhaps meet with a Halter instead of a Reward.

He also order'd Process to be begun in the Courts of Law against the President, and against *Hinojosa* the Admiral of the Fleet, and all the Officers who had deserted him, procuring them to be condemn'd to Death and declar'd Traitors by the Judges at *Lima* : But still the Desertion continued, the People were well satisfy'd that the President *Gasca* was sufficiently authoris'd to make War upon *Pizarro*, and grant them such Conditions as he saw fit on their Submission ; and were not only weary of the Usurper's tyrannical Administration, but evidently foresaw he would not be able to support himself against the Power of *Spain*, and that great Disaffection that was observ'd amongst all Sorts of People in *Peru*.

Laurence de Aldana being now arriv'd with his Ships at the Port of *Gallao*, two Leagues from

from *Lima*, *Pizarro's* Soldiers took frequent Opportunities of deserting to him; which induc'd the Usurper to abandon that City, and march to the Southward as far as *Arequippa*; of which *Aldana* receiving Advice, landed his Men, and took Possession of the City of *Lima* for the King; soon after which the President arriv'd upon the Coast of *Peru* with the Remainder of the Fleet, and a good Body of Land Forces, and constituted the Admiral *Hinojosa* General as well by Land as Sea: But he did not think fit to take the Field till he had assembled an Army abundantly superior to that of the Enemy, and sufficient to secure the Reduction of that Empire to the Crown of *Spain*. This Minister appears to have proceeded with abundance of Caution and Deliberation, and to have effected more by sly Insinuation and Artifice, than could possibly have been effected by open Force, and at the same time kept at a distance from Danger, never undertaking any thing, or advancing a single Step, till he was morally sure of Success.

Peru.

Pizarro abandons *Lima*.

Aldana takes Possession of it for the President.

In the mean time *Gonzalo Pizarro* receiving Advice that *Centeno* had rais'd 800 or 1000 Men in the *Charcas* for the Crown, possess'd himself of the Cities of *La Plata* and *Cusco*, and kept in Awe all the Southern Part of *Peru* with his Forces; he march'd towards *Cusco*, with a Design to give that General Battle; and *Centeno* being no less forward to engage, a Battle was fought in the Valley of *Guarina*, in *October 1547*, and *Pizarro* obtaining a complete Victory, most of *Centeno's* Soldiers, that were taken Prisoners, list'd themselves in the Service of the Rebels; and some few Days after, *Pizarro* enter'd the

Pizarro marches towards *Cusco*.

Defeats *Centeno*.

Peru.

Seizes the
King's
Treasure
at the
Mines.

City of *Cusco* in Triumph. From *Cusco* *Pizarro* sent a Detachment of his Forces to take Possession of the City of *La Plata*, where they seiz'd six hundred thousand Crowns, and hang'd up several that were well affected to the royal Cause; and at the same time his General *Carvajal* plunder'd the Town of *Arequippa* and other Places on the Sea-Coast, whereby they amass'd a prodigious Treasure.

The President *Gasca*, receiving repeated Advices of *Pizarro's* Success, at length began his March towards *Cusco* at the Head of sixteen hundred veteran *Spaniards*, and several thousand *Indians*, attended by a fine Train of Artillery, and arrived in the Valley of *Sacsabnana*, within four Leagues of *Cusco*, in the Beginning of *April* 1548. Upon the Approach of the Royalists, it was debated in *Pizarro's* Council, whether he should advance and fight the President, or retreat? His General *Carvajal*, it seems, advised him to retire to certain inaccessible Mountains, a little to the Southward of *Cusco*, where it would have been very difficult to attack him, and he would have had a rich Country in his Rear, that would have furnish'd him with Plenty of Provisions: But *Pizarro* insisted it was dishonourable to retreat, and confiding in the Goodness of his Troops, march'd out of *Cusco* at the Head of nine hundred Men, to the Valley of *Sacsabnana*, where he resolv'd to give the Enemy Battle, but was deserted by almost all his Men on the Day of Battle, who laid hold on the Pardon the President *Gasca* had order'd to be proclaim'd. They saw the Royalists so much superior to them, and so advantageously posted, that there was very little Prospect of Success, and could not
suppose

Pizarro
deserted
by all his
Forces.

suppose they should ever meet with such another Opportunity of securing their Lives and Estates. Peru.

Pizarro stood amaz'd for some time at this general Desertion, but at length thought fit to surrender to the first Officer he met with. His Lieutenant-General *Carvajal* fled, and was made Prisoner soon after; and both of them were carried in Triumph by the President into the City of *Cusco*, which open'd her Gates to the Conqueror. Surrenders himself a Prisoner.

Two or three Days after, *Pizarro*, *Carvajal*, and several other Rebels were formally try'd and convicted of their Treason and Rebellion against their Sovereign. *Pizarro* was condemned to be beheaded, his Houses demolish'd, and the Ground sow'd with Salt, and a Pillar was order'd to be erected with this Inscription, *These were the Dwellings of that Traitor Gonzalo Pizarro*. In pursuance of his Sentence, he was set upon a Mule, and led to the Place of Execution, carrying in his Hands the Image of the blessed Virgin, to whom he pray'd with great Devotion, but in the way exchange'd this Image for a Crucifix, which a Priest gave him that attended him; on this he fix'd his Eyes till he came to the Scaffold, where he made the following Speech to the Soldiers and Spanish Inhabitants. Pizarro condemned.

GENTLEMEN,

“ Ye know that our Family, my Brothers
 “ and myself, have subdued this Empire.
 “ Many of you are possess'd of Baronies and
 “ Lands, which my Brother the Marquis
 “ conferred on you, and many of you here
 “ present have receiv'd the like Estates from
 “ me.

His Speech
 at his Execution

Peru. " me. There are also many of you owe me
 " Money, which I have freely lent you, and
 " others have receiv'd considerable Gifts and
 " Gratuities from me.
 " I, for my part, die poor and destitute
 " of every thing ; not so much as the Cloaths
 " on my Back are my own, but the Fees of
 " the Executioner, for the Service he doth
 " in cutting off my Head ; so that I have
 " nothing to give for the Good of my Soul.
 " Wherefore I beseech you, Gentlemen, as
 " many of you as owe me Money, bestow
 " the same on Masses for my Soul ; for I
 " have full Assurance in God, that through
 " the meritorious Death and Passion of our
 " Lord Jesus Christ, and with the Assistance
 " of your Charity, all my Sins shall be
 " pardoned, and I shall be received to
 " Mercy."

Then kneeling down before the Crucifix,
 which was placed on a Table on the Scaffold,
 the Executioner came to bind a Handkerchief
 about his Eyes, but he said that was unneces-
 sary, he had often look'd Death in the Face,
 and seeing the Hangman draw his Sword to
 cut off his Head, he said, *Honest Jack, do
 thy Office handsomly* : The Fellow promising
 it should be done according to his Wish, took
 the Prisoner by his Beard with his Left-hand,
 and with a back Stroke, cut off his Head at
 one Blow, with the same Ease (says my Au-
 thor) as he would have sic'd off the Leaf of
 a Lettice. *Diego Centeno* paying the Execu-
 tioner for his Cloaths, he was buried in them,
 in the Cloister of the *Mercenarian* Friars in
Cusco, in the same Grave where *Diego de
 Almagro* the Elder, and *Almagro* the Younger
 his Son, had both been buried upon Charity,
 after

He is
 beheaded.

after they were executed in the same Place. After the Fury of the War was over, the *Spanish* Cities of *Peru* caused Masses to be said for the Soul of *Gonzalo Pizarro*, whose Faults seem'd all to have been buried in his Grave, and only his Conquests and heroick Actions remembred by the next Generation. The *Spaniards*, who possess'd those Mountains of Treasure, and that extensive Country which the *Pizarro's* conquer'd, could do no less than applaud their Actions, and set them in the fairest Light; for if those Countries were unjustly obtain'd, they were as unjustly possess'd and enjoy'd by those who succeeded the *Pizarro's*. What Title could the King of *Spain* give any of his Subjects to the Estates and Persons of the *Indians*? Their King, therefore, was the great Usurper and Oppressor. The *Pizarro's* truly observ'd, if Conquest gave a Right, they had the best Title to *Peru*, who conquer'd it at their own Expences, without putting the Crown of *Spain* to any Charge. But in Truth, neither the Kings of *Spain*, or the Adventurers, could have a better Right to that Country than what Pirates or Highwaymen have to their Acquisitions; however, nothing is more common in this World than to see one Usurper and Oppressor sit in Judgment upon another, and take upon him to dispose of Men's Lives and Fortunes, to which neither the Judge, or the Person he condemns for seizing them, have any Right.

Pizarro was condemn'd for usurping the Government of *Peru*: But was not the King of *Spain* the greatest Usurper, who unjustly countenanc'd the invading of that Country, made Advantage of all the Wrongs and Outrages the *Pizarro's* had committed, and possess'd

Some
Remarks
of the U-
surpations
of the
Spaniards
in *Peru*.

Peru.

possess'd himself of those very Spoils and Territories which were ravish'd from the *Inca's* and their Subjects; and continue their unjust Possession by Force and Violence to this very Day? But to proceed in the History.

The
Spanish
Soldiers
dissent.

The President *Gasca* having made large Promises to the Officers and Soldiers that assist'd him to reduce *Pizarro*, was perpetually sollicit'd to make them good after that War was at an End. His People expected that all the Lands possess'd by the Adherents of *Pizarro* should have been divided among them; and this, no doubt, the President intended to have done, if *Pizarro's* Troops had not desert'd him; but the President had made equal Promises, it seems, to those who should forsake *Pizarro* and come over to him; and these, by abandoning their General, had finish'd the Destruction of that Usurper without his running the Hazard of a Battle, so that the President had scarce any Lands to divide among the numerous Claimants; however, he made a Distribution of such Lands as were confiscated, and left the Instrument, allotting to every Man his Share, seal'd up, when he return'd to *Lima*, ordering the Archbishop of that Province to repair to *Cusco* and publish it; and the Clergy were commanded to exhort the Officers and Soldiers in their Sermons to submit to this Partition, which was all that could possibly be done at this Time. But the Petitioners were so far from acquiescing in this Division, that they began to grow very mutinous, till some of them were apprehended and made Examples of, and others made easy by Promises of a further Partition in their Favour. The most dangerous of all the Pretenders was *Hernandez Giron*,

Giron, whom the President could find no means to satisfy, but by granting him a Commission to resort to *Cusco* and raise Forces, in order to attempt new Conquests; and this was thought to be a very desperate Remedy, to put Arms into the Hands of a Man whose Disaffection and Ambition was but too manifest: Nor was he long at *Cusco*, before he gave the Government very great Disturbance, tho' he did not break out into actual Rebellion till some time afterwards.

Peru.
Several
Command-
ers sent
upon new
Conquests.

Another Detachment of Troops was sent under the Command of the celebrated *Peter de Valdivia*, to finish the Conquest of *Chili*; under whom a great many of the disaffected *Spaniards* lifted themselves, in hopes of making their Fortunes there, which they now despair'd of doing in *Peru*: And this seems to have been the Conduct of most of the Governors of *Peru*, when they could not satisfy the Pretensions of the *Spanish* Officers and Soldiers (every one of which imagin'd he merited a Province by his Services) to give them Commissions to enter upon new Conquests, which they assur'd them should be shar'd among the Adventurers. The President *Gasca*, however, found there were still a great many that remain'd unsatisfy'd; even those to whom he had assign'd Lands and *Indians* that produced upwards of an hundred thousand Crowns a Year were not contented, and he was compel'd to promise them a further Division to increase their Shares, which he took care however should not be publish'd till he was gone to *Europe*, for fear of a Tumult; and an Order coming from *Spain* at the same time to release the *Indians* from their personal Services, or rather Slavery, he sup-

P. ru.


Gasca
 returns to
Panama
 with a vast
 'Treasure.

press'd that also for the same Reason, till he left the Country. And having fleec'd and plunder'd both *Spaniards* and *Indians*, till he had amass'd together two or three Millions of Crowns for his Master the Emperor, he set sail with it for the Bay of *Panama*, well knowing that so vast a Treasure would cover all Faults, and render his Administration approv'd by the Court of *Spain*, tho' he suppress'd and oppos'd the repeated Orders that were sent over for giving the *Indians* their Liberty.

The President arriving in the Bay of *Panama*, did not think fit to make any Stay in the City which gives Name to that Bay, but immediately cross'd the *Isthmus*, and arriv'd at *Nombre de Dios* (which stood near *Porto Bello*) on the *North-Sea*, leaving most of the Treasure to be brought after him, and was very near losing it; for *Ferdinand* and *Peter de Contreras*, the two Sons of *Pedrarias*, who reduc'd the Province of *Veragua*, being turn'd out of their Father's Government, and dispossest of all his Lands, had a little before broke out into open Rebellion: And having seiz'd several Ships in the *South-Sea* at this time, attack'd *Panama*, where great part of the royal Treasure was lodg'd, and made themselves Masters of it as well as of the Town, and might with Ease have carried it all off, but could not be satisfy'd without making the President their Prisoner. They sent part of their Forces therefore cross the *Isthmus* in pursuit of the President *Gasca*, who was now at *Nombre de Dios* on the *North-Sea*, of which the Citizens of *Panama* taking the Advantage, fell upon the Remainder of the Rebels Forces that were left behind, cut most of them in pieces, and recovered the

Treasure

The Treas-
 ure seiz'd
 by the
 Rebels at
Panama.

Treasure again. Upon Advice whereof, the Party that was sent after the President dispers'd themselves, very few of them making their Escape back to *Veragua*; and the two Brothers, *Ferdinand* and *Peter de Contreras*, were both of them kill'd; which put an End to this Rebellion, that would otherwise probably have been fatal to *Spain*: For the Rebels propos'd, after they had made themselves Masters of both sides the *Isthmus* of *Darven*, so that no Relief could come over from *Old Spain*, to have assembled a Fleet, and join'd the Malecontents of *Peru*, whereby they might have reduc'd that Province under their Power, and perhaps laid the Foundation of another Empire; but their dividing their Forces defeated all the hopeful Projects they had form'd, and ended in the Destruction of the two Brothers and their Followers; and the President *Gasca* could not but bless himself, when he understood how narrowly he had escap'd with his Treasure, which he had the good Fortune to recover and carry over safe to *Spain*, to the infinite Joy of that Court, which was in the utmost Distress for Money to support the various Enterprizes the Emperor *Charles V.* was engaged in at that time.

Gasca recovers the Treasure again, and arrives with it in *Spain*.

I return now to *Peru*, where the Judges of the royal Court, in whom the Administration was lodg'd, publish'd the second Partition the late President had made of the Lands, which gave as little Satisfaction as the former. These Judges also put in Execution the Decree of the Court of *Spain* for releasing the *Indians* from personal Service, and would not suffer the poor Natives to be press'd to dig in the Mines, to carry Burthens, or to do any other laborious Work, but what they willingly

Peru.
 Another
 Insurrec-
 tion in
Cusco sup-
 press'd.

agreed to do, and were paid for; which occasion'd an Insurrection in *Cusco*, and the Disaffected made choice of *Hernandez*, or *Hernando Giron*, for their Chief, who was still in that City, where he had rais'd two hundred Men for the making of new Conquests. This Tumult was suppress'd with great difficulty, and *Giron* sent Prisoner to *Lima*; but so general was the Disaffection, that the Judges did not think fit to punish this notorious Officer, and in a short time gave him his Liberty again; even the General *Hinojosa* was supposed to foment these Disorders, for he had an Estate in the *Cbarcas*, where *Potosi* and the best Silver Mines lie, of the Value of two hundred thousand Crowns *per ann.* and these Mines could not be work'd without *Indians*, for they had no Negroes, or but very few, in *America*, at that time.

The Royal Court therefore, to bring over the General *Hinojosa* to their Party, made him Governor of the *Cbarcas*; and this for a time kept that Part of the Country quiet.

Mendoza
 made
 Viceroy.

In the mean time, *Don Antonio de Mendoza* arrived in *Peru*, in quality of Viceroy; whose Administration was generally lik'd; but being of a weakly Constitution, he did not live two Years. What was most remarkable in his Government was his sending his Son through all the Provinces, to take a particular Account of them; who brought back with him Draughts of every Place that was worth the taking, and especially of the Mountain of *Potosi*, with all its Silver Veins delineated, and an Estimate of the Treasure that might annually be drawn from thence; with which Draughts the Viceroy sent his Son into *Spain* in the Year 1552, and died soon after.

The

The Royal Court, after the Death of the Viceroy, taking the Administration of the Government into their Hands, and reviving the Decree for releasing the *Indians* from their personal Service, occasion'd great Disturbances again; but no-where more than in the *Charcas*, where *Indians* were so much wanted to work their Mines: And here also were great Numbers of disaffected People and disbanded Soldiers assembled, upon a Supposition that *Hinojosa* would have set up for himself, having given out many dark and dubious Speeches (which were interpreted that way) while he remained at *Lima*. But this Gentleman, being now made Governor of the Country, and possess'd of one of the greatest Estates in it, had alter'd his Mind, it seems, if ever he had any Thoughts of disturbing the Government formerly. He endeavour'd therefore, by fair Words, to divert the Soldiers from their Design; telling them, he expected a Commission every-day to extend their Conquests farther Eastward, and then they would infallibly be provided for: But finding themselves disappointed from Time to Time, and that the General (being perfectly easy in his own Fortunes) had now no Intention of engaging with them, to bring about another Revolution, they made choice of *Don Sebastian Castilla* for their Chief, and determin'd to assassinate *Hinojosa*; and tho' he had frequent Intimations of the Conspiracy, and was entreated by his Friends to take Measures for the Security of his Person, he too much slighted their Advice: He could not believe that the Soldiers, among whom he had been so popular, and who had hitherto appeared devoted to him, could ever enter into a Conspiracy to destroy him. He was also fearless
in

An Insurrection at the Silver Mines.

Peru.



The Re-
bels affas-
sinate Hi-
eronymo, the
Governor
of the
Cuzco.

They
make Don
Sebastian
their Ge-
neral.

in his Temper, a plain open-hearted Man, not apt to suspect the worst (or perhaps was so far of *Cæsar's* Mind, that it was better to die once, than to be always terrify'd with the Fears of Death; or that it was time to die when his Friends wish'd him dead.) But however that was, he neither provided Guards to defend his Palace, or to attend him when he went abroad; and ten or twelve of the Conspirators entering his House one Morning, soon after the Gates were open, went directly to his Apartment, where they found him in his Morning-Gown, and stabbed him with their Swords and Daggers, without giving him Time to send for his Confessor, which was all he ask'd of them when he found they were resolv'd to imbrue their Hands in his Blood.

The Assassins afterwards went out into the Market-place, where they found the rest of their Accomplices, and cry'd out, *The Tyrant is dead, long live the King.* They also murder'd several of the principal Citizens, and plunder'd their Houses; then, beating their Drums, required all the Inhabitants to rendezvous in the Market-place, and take up Arms in their Service; declaring *Don Sebastian* their General, and Chief Justice of the Province. They also took upon them to appoint other Officers and Magistrates, both Civil and Military; but still pretended all was done with an Intent to serve the King.

The Conspirators, within a Day or two, made themselves Masters of the Town of *Potosi*, where they seiz'd a Million and a half of Silver, which belong'd to the King or private Persons. They also sent a Detachment to surprise the City of *Vera Paz*, and murder the Marshal *Alvarado*, who commanded there:
But

But before this could be effected, a sudden Turn happen'd ; part of the Soldiers who had murder'd their General *Hinojosa*, believing they should merit of the Government, and obtain not only their Pardon but a Reward, if they should murder their new General *Don Sebastian*, and declare for the King, assassinated the unhappy Wretch, and declared *Vasco Godinez* their General. Like the *Romans*, they frequently murder'd the very Men they set up, and the Reign of the Man they elected sometimes was not of a Week's Duration.

Peru.

And afterwards murder him.

Vasco Godinez compelled the Magistrates and Citizens of *La Plata* to constitute him Lord Chief Justice as well as General of the *Cbarcas* (the Silver Country;) under colour of which Office he imprison'd and put to death whom he pleas'd, and among the rest caused many of those to be murder'd who had assisted him in assassinating the Governor *Hinojosa*; pretending now an extraordinary Zeal for the King's Service, and that he had himself been forced into that Rebellion: Nor did he spare his most intimate Friends and Accomplices, being induced to take off many of them, least they should discover his complicated Treasons, and defeat him of those Rewards he expected for murdering *Don Sebastian*; for he had seiz'd on the great Estate of the General *Hinojosa*, and expected the Government should have confirm'd it to him, in consideration of his Merit, in declaring for the King against *Don Sebastian*.

The Rebels elect *Vasco Godinez* their Chief.

Who murders a great many People

The Royal Court, being well appriz'd of the Treachery and Double-dealing of this Wretch *Godinez*, in order to put a speedy End to the Insurrection, dealt with the Traitor in his own way: They pretended they were convinced of

the

Peru. the Services he had done the Government in taking off that Usurper and Rebel *Don Sebastian*, and declaring for his Majesty; and caused it to be intimated to him, that they design'd to constitute him General of their Forces, and assign him a very great Estate in the *Charcas*; advising him to unite his Forces with *Don Alonzo de Alvarado* (Governor of the City of *La Paz*) against the Rebels. At the same time they privately made *Don Alvarado* Generalissimo and Governor of the *Charcas*, and commanded all that were well-affected to the King to obey his Orders: Whereupon the General assembled a good Body of Troops, and began his March towards the City of *La Plata*, where *Godinez* expected him, flattering himself that *Don Alvarado* was coming to put him into Possession of those Estates and Offices that were in a manner promised him by the Government: But the General no sooner got him into his Power, than he made *Godinez* and his Accomplices Prisoners, and proceeded to try and condemn them; and when *Godinez* was, to his great Surprise, condemn'd and led to Execution, the following Proclamation was made before him, viz. *This Man, having been a Traitor to God, his King, and his Friends, is sentenced to be hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd*: And so many were involved in the same Crimes, that, 'tis said, many of the Rebels were executed every-day the succeeding Month; when another Insurrection happening at *Cusco* (which I am next to give an Account of) a Stop was put to these Executions, and a Pardon publish'd, in order to prevent a general Revolt of those Countries, which the Government began to be apprehensive of.

General
Alvarado
surprises
Godinez,
and puts
him to
death,
with many
more of
the Disaf-
fected.

The

The former Rebellion of *Sebastian Castilla* and *Vasco Godinez* was fomented and encourag'd by some of the principal Citizens of *Cusco*, the Mines of *Potosi*, in which they had a large Share, remaining unwrought while the *Indians* were freed from their personal Service ; but the most active among the disaffected Citizens was *Hernandez Giron*, already mention'd, who only waited to see what Success the Insurrections in the *Charcas* would have before he declared himself ; and being inform'd, that General *Alvarado* kept a Correspondence with *Giles Ramirez*, Governor of *Cusco*, and that they were concerting Measures how to surprisè him and his Friends, he resolv'd to be beforehand with them, and put it out of their Power to hurt him.

Giron therefore, summoning his Friends together, let them know the Danger they were all in ; that General *Alvarado* threaten'd, as soon as he had lop'd off the Branches in the *Charcas*, he would strike at the Root of all these Disturbances, by extirpating the Citizens of *Cusco*, who incited and supported them : He exhorted them therefore, for their own Preservation, to come to some speedy Resolution, and not tamely suffer themselves to be massacred, under a colour of Law, as their Friends in the *Charcas* had been ; especially since it was the common Cause of all the *Spanish* Planters, who could make no Advantage of their Mines, or the rest of their Estates, if their *Indians* were taken from them ; and consequently they should find them all ready to join with them, as soon as it was known they had taken up Arms for a Redress of these Grievances.

Peru.
Another
Rebellion
by *Hernandez
Giron*.

The PRESENT STATE

As this Assembly consisted either of Citizens who were Proprietors of the Mines, or Soldiers who were in Expectation of making their Fortunes by fresh Commotions, there was very little Persuasion necessary to induce them to join in the Insurrection: They agreed therefore to take the Opportunity of a great Wedding, which was to be solemniz'd at *Cusco* on the 13th of *November 1553*, to seize on the Governor and some of the principal Magistrates, who were invited to it; and accordingly *Hernandez Giron*, with ten or twelve of his Accomplices, in Armour, rush'd into the Bridegroom's House on the Evening of the Wedding-day, where the Governor and threescore of the principal Citizens were at Supper; and some of the Company thereupon rising from the Table in a great Fright, *Giron* bid them not stir or be afraid, for they were all engaged in the same Conspiracy; which Speech terrifying the Governor still more, he ran away and hid himself in a remote Part of the House among the Women: Two or three other Magistrates were killed by the Conspirators on the spot; but the rest of the Company, whether in the Plot or not, were suffer'd to return unmolested to their Houses.

The Conspirators, having continued their Search two or three Hours, at length found the Governor hidden in the Womens Apartment; and carrying him to Prison afterwards, resorted to their Friends in the Market-place, where they made Proclamation for all Men to assemble, and take up Arms in defence of their Liberties: Then they seiz'd upon the King's Treasure, and all the Horses and Arms they could find; and having muster'd about an hundred and fifty Soldiers, they appointed
Officers

Officers to command them and list more into their Service ; the Rebels declaring, that what they had undertaken was for the public Good, and in order to inform his Majesty of their Grievances, the Royal Court rejecting all Petitions of this kind.

And such was the Influence *Giron* had over the Magistrates of the City, that (either for Fear or Favour) they constituted him Chief Justice and Captain-General ; and several other great Towns, such as *Guamanga* and *Arequipa*, congratulated him on his Exaltation, and promised to support him with their Forces.

The Royal Court, receiving Advice of this formidable Rebellion, immediately suspended the Execution of the Decree for freeing the *Indians* from their personal Service, which they were sensible was the principal Occasion of these Commotions, and constituted the Marshal *Alvarado* Captain-General of their Forces against *Hernandez Giron* in the southern Parts of *Peru* ; and the Archbishop of *Lima*, and *San Millan* (one of the Judges of the Royal Court) took upon them to command the Forces that were assembled in the Neighbourhood of *Lima*, from whence they prepared to march and attack the Rebels at *Cusco* : They also issued a Proclamation, pardoning all those who were engaged in the Rebellions of *Pizarro* and *Don Sebastian*, to prevent their joining with *Hernandez Giron*, who was by this time become so strong, that he march'd out of *Cusco* towards *Lima* with an Intent to give the Royalists Battle.

Giron, being advanced as far as the Valley of *Pachacamac*, received Intelligence that the Enemy were not far from him, and prepared to engage them ; but finding his Men desert in great Numbers, he thought it prudent to re-

Peru.

tire farther off: Whereupon *Paul de Meneses*, one of the Generals of the Royalists, was detach'd, with an hundred and fifty Horse, to insult his Rear, and keep the Rebels in play till the rest of the Army could come up; but *Meneses* was unfortunately defeated before the Army could come to his Assistance; and there afterwards happen'd such Divisions among the Generals of the Royalists, that *Giron* had leisure to augment his Forces, and form a Regiment of Negroes.

In the mean time, Marshal *Alvarado*, having assembled an Army consisting of a thousand *Spaniards*, and ten thousand *Indians*, began his March from the *Charcas*; and advancing as far as *Cusco*, took Possession of that Capital for the King, in the Absence of *Hernandez Giron*, who was at this time in the Plains of *Nasca*, on the Sea-coast, about fifty or threescore Leagues to the Northward of *Lima*.

The Marshal did not make any long Stay in *Lima*; but having augmented his *European* Forces to twelve hundred Men, by the several Parties of Royalists that came to join him in *Cusco*, he march'd towards the Sea-coast, in search of the Rebels, who seeming to contemn and lessen the Number of the Royalists, their General *Hernandez Giron* bid them not flatter or deceive themselves, but stand upon their guard, and behave themselves like Men whose Fortunes depended on the Points of their Swords; for he assured them there were a thousand veteran well-arm'd *Spaniards*, besides *Indians*, advancing towards them from *Lima*, and a more numerous Body under the Command of Marshal *Alvarado*, approaching their Camp from *Cusco*: However, if he had but four hundred Men, on whose Valour and Fidelity he could rely, he told them, he did not
doubt

doubt but to come off victorious ; and immediately began his March to possess himself of an advantageous Camp near *Chuquinca*, on the Road in which the Enemy was marching ; and such was the Situation of the Post he had chosen among Woods, Rocks, and Precipices, that he wish'd for nothing more than that the Royalists would attack him here : But their Generals, having view'd the Ground (tho' their Forces were treble the Number of *Giron's*) thought it was not practicable to engage him in this Place ; they determined therefore to surround the Rock with their *Indians*, and cut off his Provisions on every side ; by which means the Rebels must have been obliged to surrender in a very short time, or have been starved. But an Officer deserting over from the Rebels to the Royalists, and informing them that *Giron* intended to retire in the Night, and that his Men were in a miserable Condition, and by no means able to defend that Post, if they were briskly attack'd, the Marshal alter'd his Resolution, and commanded his Officers to prepare to give the Enemy Battle ; and the Attack was begun early the next Morning, at the only two Places it was possible to approach the Rebels ; at one of which the Royalists were obliged to pass a rapid River almost up to their Necks ; and the other Pass was so narrow, and encumber'd with Rocks and Bushes, that forty Men might defend it against ten thousand. *Giron*, the General of the Rebels, had so judiciously drawn up his Men to defend both these Avenues, that the Royalists were cut off as fast as they advanced by the Fire of the small Arms ; and tho' they renew'd their Attacks several times, and were led on by the Marshal in Person, they were at length totally defeated,

Peru.
Giron de-
 feats Ge-
 neral *Al-*
varado.

defeated, and put into the utmost Confusion, Two-thirds of the Royalists being kill'd, or taken Prisoners; and the rest, with their General at the Head of them, escaping with great Difficulty out of the Battle, left the Plunder of their Camp to the Enemy, which was the richest that had been known, even in that rich Country; the wealthiest Merchants and Planters from the Silver Mines of the *Charcas* and *Cusco* having taken the Field with the Marshal in most splendid Equipages, and with numerous Retinues of Servants, all their Arms, Furniture and Accoutrements being adorn'd with Gold, Silver, and precious Stones, with which this Part of *Peru* abounds.


He con-
 verts the
 Bells of
Cusco into
 great
 Cannons.

Hernandez Giron, having obtained this important Victory, remained five or six Weeks in his impregnable Camp, from whence he sent out strong Parties to *Cusco*, *Arequippa*, the City of Peace (or *La Paz*) and other great Towns, which they plunder'd of an immense Treasure. He also listed great Numbers of the Prisoners he had taken, and by other means augmented his Forces to upwards of a thousand *Spaniards*, besides *Indians* and Negroes; and being sensible he still wanted a Train of Artillery, to be upon the level with the Royalists, he took several of the Bells out of the Churches of *Cusco*, and with them he cast six Field-pieces, on which he engraved the Word LIBERTY, the Rebels Motto; and then began his March towards that Capital.

Miserable was the Condition both of *Spaniards* and *Indians* at this time; it was but a very little before that the Royalists had done Justice, as they call it; that is, plunder'd and murder'd the Adherents of *Hernandez Giron*, and now that Rebel retaliated the Injury he conceived

conceived was done him, both upon *Spaniards* and *Indians* that had declared for the Royal Cause, and especially on such as had betray'd or deserted him; and, as he was conscious he had by these Outrages exasperated the Citizens of *Cusco*, he did not think fit to trust himself amongst them. The Clergy were no less provok'd (by taking the Bells out of their Churches) than the Citizens were by giving up the Town to the Plunder of his Soldiers. Having therefore sent for his Wife and Family, and all that he valued, out of *Cusco*, he advanced to the delightful Vale of *Yuca*, about two or three Leagues from that City; where he refresh'd his Troops, and spent his Time in rural Sports, till he received Advice that the Royalists (having increased their Forces to two thousand Men, besides *Indians*, and a fine Train of Artillery) were marching towards *Cusco*; and then he thought fit to retire to a Pass about forty Leagues to the Southward of that City, where he so posted his Army, that it was impossible to force his Camp; and at the same time had a plentiful Country in his Rear, which supply'd him with Plenty of Provisions. By taking this Pass he also cover'd the Province of *Charcas*, in which were the principal Silver Mines; so that he could never want Treasure to pay his Troops while he remain'd there.

In this happy Situation he waited for the Enemy, expecting that their Superiority in Numbers would have encouraged them to attack him, as they had done at *Chuquina*; but they were grown wiser by their Mistortunes, and chose to intrench themselves in a Plain not far from him, where their Cavalry might be of use to them; for they had more Horse than the Rebels. Thus the two Armies lay
looking

Peru.  looking upon one another for a considerable time, only some Skirmishes happen'd between small Parties, in which it was observed the Rebels had generally the Advantage; and this encouraged *Hernandez Giron* to think of attacking the Royalists, since there appear'd little Likelihood of their advancing nearer him: He might reasonably expect also, that the Royal Army would be daily increased by the Arrival of fresh Forces from *Old or New Spain*; and was under some Apprehensions probably, that his People might desert him, and make their Peace with the Government, if he remained unactive much longer: He laid a Design therefore to surprize the Royalists in their Camp, which seems to have been admirably well concerted; nor did his Officers and Soldiers want Resolution to have put it in Execution, if the Project had not been betray'd to the Enemy by two Deferters the very Evening before the Attempt was made.

Giron attacks the Camp of the Royalists, but is forced to retire. The Moon going down about Two o'Clock, *Hernandez Giron* had order'd his Regiment of Negroes, with fourscore or an hundred *Spaniards*, to conduct and animate them to attack the Enemy's Camp in Front, as soon as the Moon was set, while he, with the rest of his Army, should fall upon the Rear; and he order'd his Men to be cloath'd in White, that they might be able to distinguish each other in the dark: But the Enemy (being acquainted with the Scheme by the Deferters above-mention'd) march'd their Army out of their Trenches, and drew up upon a Spot of Ground, from whence they intended to have attack'd them in their Retreat, or when they were busy in plundering their Camp.

The

The *Blacks* very bravely attack'd the Enemies Trenches, and to their Surprise enter'd them with little Opposition, there being very few left to defend them; and these were order'd to retire on the Approach of the Enemy: Whereupon the Negroes fell to plundering the Camp (as was expected) while the Royalists attack'd *Giron*, and the main Body of his Forces, before they came near the Trenches. However, the Rebels defended themselves so well, that they made their Retreat in pretty good Order, and with very little Loss from the Fire of the Enemy; but suffer'd extremely by the Defertion of two hundred of their Company at the time the Retreat was made. 'Tis probable, the Deserters apprehended their Army was totally defeated, and that their General would never be able to make head against the Royalists again; and therefore thought it prudent to save their Lives by a timely Surrender.

Hernandez Giron however (having muster'd his Men, and observed there were scarce any missing besides the two hundred that had deserted) still thought himself in a Condition to maintain his Post against all the Power of the Royalists; but two or three Days afterwards, *Thomas Vasquez*, who had been one of the forwardest in promoting this Rebellion, and one of the most popular Men amongst the Malecontents, deserting over to the Enemy, with ten or twelve Officers more, on whom *Giron* principally relied, he was confounded, expecting every Hour to be betray'd, and deliver'd up to his Enemies: Therefore (without communicating his Suspicions to his Wife, or any Mortal) he fled by himself to the Mountains in the Night-time, leaving his Forces to shift for themselves. His Departure was no

Giron deserted.

Flies to the Mountains.

Peru.



sooner known, but his Lieutenant-General, with an hundred more that were devoted to his Service, went in search of him; but taking a different Way, were all surpris'd by *Meneses*, one of the Generals of the Royalists, who hang'd up most of the Officers upon the spot: But another of the Rebel Generals, with great Part of his Forces, had the good Fortune to go over in time to the Royal Camp, before the Escape of *Giron* was known, and were allow'd the Benefit of the Pardon that had been publish'd for the present; but many of these also were hang'd up afterwards for this very Rebellion by a succeeding Viceroy.

Giron taken and executed. The Rebellion entirely suppress'd.

As to *Giron* himself, he wander'd about the Mountains some Weeks, with fourscore or an hundred of his Friends, who had found the Way after him; but was at length taken Prisoner and carried to *Lima*, wher: he was condemn'd and executed as a Traitor; which put an end to the Rebellion: And from this Time (*viz.* from the Month of *November* 1554, in the Reign of *Philip* II.) the *Spaniards* may be said to have been in the peaceable Possession of *Peru*; the subduing the first Adventurers, who endeavour'd to render themselves independent of the Crown of *Spain*, having proved a much more difficult Task than the Conquest of the defenceless *Indians*. And tho' the *Spaniards* are by no means to be justified in their Invasions of this Country, yet their last Wars, which were carried on by them for restoring the Natives to their Liberty, and rescuing them from the Oppressions of the first Planters, must be approved by all the World: Had they gone one Step farther, and restored the *Inca's* (the Sovereigns of that Country) to their Dominion, they had perform'd the most just,

just, and consequently the most glorious Act that ever was recorded in History ; but this was too great a piece of Self-denial to be expected, that they should part with a Country replenish'd with Mountains of Gold and Silver, after they were once in Possession of it.

The *Spaniards* have also this to say for themselves, that the Prince they found upon the Throne (namely, *Atahualpa*) had no more Right to that Kingdom than themselves ; nay, that none of the *Inca's* could pretend any other Right to any Part of *Peru*, but what they had gain'd by unjust Invasions and Usurpations ; and since it was next to an Impossibility to discover who was the lawful Sovereign of any Part of it, they who had gain'd the Possession of this Country by the same forcible means the *Peruvian* Princes had done, did no-body any wrong by maintaining their Possession. Some of the future Viceroys, however, seem to have been of Opinion, that the *Inca's* had a better Right than the Kings of *Spain*, by their putting to death, or banishing to remote Countries, all the Blood of the *Inca's*, and even the Issue of the *Spanish* Officers who had match'd with any of the Princesses of that Family ; tho' I must do that Justice to King *Philip II.* that he reprov'd and punish'd the Viceroy that was guilty of that piece of Barbarity, telling him, *He did not send him over to extirpate those Princes, but to protect them.*



C H A P. XI.

*Of their Women, Marriages, Children,
Slaves and Funerals; and of the Na-
vigation and Shipping of the Peruvians.*

Peru.
Of the
Marriages
of the
Peruvians,
&c.



However it comes to pass, we find great Part of the World entertain a very high Opinion of a single Life. This Whimsey prevails in the new World as well as the old. *Mexico* and *Peru* have their Cloister'd Virgins, to whom they pay uncommon Honours; and there are others who devote themselves to a single Life without confining their Persons to a Convent; and these also, both Sexes have in great Veneration. I have already mention'd the Nunnery in the capital City of *Cusco*, where there were five hundred Ladies of the royal Blood, who neither went abroad or were visited by any of their Relations, except the Queen: These were call'd the Wives of the Sun, and it was Sacrilege to touch them; but if any Man was so prophane as to attempt their Chastity, he drew upon himself and his whole Family the severest Punishments that could be inflicted; and even his Houses, Lands, Flocks and Herds, and all that he had in the World were destroy'd with him.

In every Province also there was a Convent of Nuns, consisting of the Daughters of Noblemen, and those of the first Quality, and these

these were not to be approach'd by any but the *Inca* ; and as the former were call'd the Wives of the Sun, these were stil'd the Wives of the *Inca*, tho' he never saw them, or had any Commerce with them ; however, they had all a Possibility of being his Wives in a literal Sense, for he sent for them to Court whenever he pleas'd, and took them to his Bed ; so that they seem to have been Nurseries for the royal Seraglio ; and the violating the Chastity of one of these was as penal as an Intrigue with one of the former. As to the Marriages of the *Peruvians*, it appears that their Princes and Nobility were allow'd a Plurality of Wives and Concubines ; tho' their first King and Law-giver decreed, that no private Man should have more than one ; their Kings thought it incumbent upon them to increase their Families by all possible ways. In this they apprehended they fulfill'd the Commands of their Father the Sun, and were Benefactors to the World ; but this does not consist with the Honours they paid to a State of Celibacy ; for, by the same Rule, those that kept their Virgin Vows, and did what lay in them to put a Stop to the Propagation of their Species, were to be honour'd, those who endeavour'd to people the World should have been despis'd, so inconsistent were they with themselves ; and full as inconsistent are we with ourselves in this Part of the World. We rejoice when a Man is born, and we admire the Virgin that vows there shall be no more born if she can help it ; but how these unnatural and impious Vows came to be encourag'd and approv'd either there or here, is not easy to conceive. To proceed in the Account of their Marriages.

The

Peru.

The Laws of *Peru* did not only permit, but command the Emperor to marry his eldest Sister of the whole Blood ; tho' it prohibited all other Brothers and Sisters to marry ; however, they were all oblig'd to marry in their respective Tribes or Families like the *Jews*, and their Marriages were solemnized by the chief Magistrate of the Province. Those of the Tribe or Family of their *Inca's* or Kings were married by the King himself. Once a Year, or once in two Years at most, the King's Officers were commanded to make a List of all the young Men of his Family above twenty Years of Age, and of all the Virgins above eighteen, and bring them before him, when he match'd them as he saw fit, the Ceremony being no more than this : The *Inca*, standing between the Couple that were to be married, call'd each of them by their Names, and then joining their Hands, sent them home to the Bridegroom's Father's, where the Wedding was kept for several Days, with Feasting, Musick, Dancing and Drinking, as in this Part of the World. I don't find there were any previous Addresses, or that the Parties had any Knowledge of each other till they came before the Prince, or that he made any Judgment how suitable the Match was like to be, in any other Respects than as to their Persons, their respective Ages, and their Quality. Here was no such thing as Courtship ; no Consent demanded, either of the Parties or their Parents ; but the *Inca* disposed of both as he saw fit : And in the Provinces of the Empire at a Distance from *Cusco*, the Vassal Princes perform'd the Ceremony, as the *Inca* did in the capital City ; but as to the King himself, and the Princes of the several

several Provinces, they took what Women they pleas'd for their Wives and Concubines, without any manner of Ceremony.

Peru.

And if the common People were not allow'd more Wives than one, they had a Liberty however to entertain a Commerce with other Women (besides their Wives) who lived in poor Huts in the Fields, or in the Suburbs of great Towns, but were never suffer'd to dwell or appear among honest People, and were generally esteem'd infamous. These Stews, according to *De la Vega*, were conniv'd at by the Government, to prevent greater Inconveniences, such as Adultery and Sodomy; and this it is that induces the Pope, 'tis said, to indulge his Subjects in the like Liberties, whose Constitutions are as warm as the *Peruvians*.

Common Women.

When any of the royal Family of the *Inca's* married, the Vassal *Indians* of that Province immediately built Houses for the new-married People, which were furnish'd by the Fathers of the Bride and Bridegroom, and every one of their Relations brought some Present for the new-married Couple, and came and rejoiced with them on the Occasion: And when any of the common People married, their Neighbours were oblig'd to assist in the building their Houses, and raising a little Plantation of Fruits, Roots and Herbs; and every married Man had a Portion of Food and Cloathing assign'd him every Year out of the Royal Magazines and Store-houses, in proportion to the Bigness of his Family. None were suffer'd to starve for want of Necessaries, as they are in some Christian Countries; neither were any People suffer'd to live idly, but all were busied in Husbandry,

or

Pera.

or some mechanick Employment; and the Wives of their Nobility and Gentry carried their Work with them, even upon Visits; for the Women spun and wove all their Cloathing, tho' they had Slaves and Vassals who were oblig'd by their Tenures to do every thing of that kind for them.

The Laws
of Descent
and Inhe-
ritance.

As the Emperor or *Inca* was oblig'd to marry his eldest Sister, and if he had no Issue by her, the next, and so on; and if he had Issue by none of his Sisters, to marry his next nearest Relation; so none but the eldest Son of such Marriages could inherit the Throne; and thus the Crown descended to twelve *Inca's* successively, till the last *Inca*, *Atabilipa* the Bastard, or rather the Son of a foreign Princess, (*viz.* the Princess of *Quitto*) usurp'd the Throne and deposed his Brother *Huascar*.

If the *Inca* or Emperor had no Son, he was succeeded by his eldest Brother, or his next Male Relation; but *De la Vega* observes, that the *Spanish* Historians were mistaken, who related that the Brother succeeded before the Son of the deceas'd Emperor.

The Laws of Inheritance were not the same in every Province. In some, the eldest Son did not inherit unless he was the most deserving; for the Vassals had the Choice of the Succession, provided they elected him out of the Family of the *Caraca's*, or Lords of the District; and they were at liberty to take the youngest, or any other Son they apprehended would make the best Governor, without any Regard to their Seniority: But in others the eldest Son inherited, as with us; and if there were no Sons, the Estate went to the eldest Uncle. I don't find the Daughters ever possess'd their Lands or real Estates.

The

The *Peruvians*, however, seem to have had a particular Regard for Widows and Orphans: Their Lands were plough'd and cultivated at the Charge of the Publick, and were prefer'd to the Lands belonging to the Temple of the Sun and those of the *Inca*; but it was look'd upon as infamous for a Widow to marry a second Husband, especially if she had Children, and as infamous for a Man to marry such a Widow; so that such Matches were very rare, and the Widows liv'd in great Esteem as long as they kept single.

Peru.
Widows
and Or-
phans
provided
for.

Their Children were weaned at two Years of Age, when they shav'd their Heads and gave them their Names, at which there was great Feasting and Rejoicing, and the Relations all made Presents to the Infant; some brought Cloathing, others Cattle; some presented him with Arms, and others with Cups and Vessels of Gold or Silver Plate, according to their Quality: This was the Custom at the weaning of the eldest Son, but no great Notice was taken of the weaning the rest of the Children, whether Sons or Daughters.

The
Manage-
ment of
their
Children.

All their Children were bred up very hardily, wash'd with cold Water as soon as born, and the Mother bath'd in some cool Stream as soon as she was brought to bed, if we may credit the concurrent Testimony of all the *Spanish* Historians; and they continued to wash their Children every-day with cold Water, till they were grown up and able to bathe themselves, which may be one Reason that the plunging a lying-in Woman into cold Water was attended with no ill Consequences; for if a *European* Lady, who never used to bathe in cold Water, was to make the Experiment

Peru. in that Condition, she would not come off so well as the *Americans*, it is presum'd.

De la Vega relates also, that they never took their Children into their Laps or Arms, unless it were to dress them, but stoop'd down to the Cradle where the Infant lay to give it the Breast, and this only three times a Day, keeping them to their set Meals, from the time they were born, saying, They would cry in Expectation of it all Day long, if they were humour'd in it every time they cry'd ; and that the gorging them with Milk was the way to make Gluttons and Drunkards of them when they grew up.

The Ladies of the first Quality always suckled their own Children, and never put them out to Wet-Nurses ; and tho' the ordinary Time of their sucking was two Years, the Women never came near their Husbands Beds till that Time was expir'd, nor had the Child any other Food till it was wean'd, if the Mother's Milk did not fail. When the Child could stand alone it was taken out of its wooden Cradle, to which it used to be bound down hard with Filleting, and set in a little Pit, made in the middle of the Floor, which reach'd to the Breast of the Child, and was lin'd or hung with Linnen or Woollen, and the Play-things set about the Verge of the Pit or Balcon ; so that they were never troubled to carry their Children about or sit with them in their Laps, as our Nurses and good Women are. *De la Vega* adds, that the *Peruvian* Women had never any Occasion for Midwives, but there was usually an old Hag of a Witch, or Enchantress, that attended the Labour, who muttering over some Charms, was supposed to facilitate the Birth, and contribute

tribute to the good Fortune of the Infant by the superstitious Ceremonies she perform'd. Peru.

As to their Funerals, the Bodies of their *Inca's* or Emperors (it has been observ'd) were embalm'd and placed in the Temple of the Sun, where divine Honours were paid them, but their Hearts and Bowels were solemnly interr'd at a Country Palace of the *Inca's*, about two or three Leagues from *Cusco*, where magnificent Tombs were erected, and great Quantities of Gold and Silver Plate and other Treasures buried with them: And at the Death of the *Inca's* and *Caraca's*, or great Lords, their principal Wives, Favourites and Servants, either kill'd themselves or made Interest to be buried alive with them in the same Tomb, that they might accompany them to the other World, says *De la Vega*, and renew their immortal Services in the other Life, which as their Religion taught them, was a corporeal and not a spiritual State. And here he corrects the Errors of those Historians who relate, that these People were kill'd or sacrificed by the Successors of the deceased Prince, which he seems to abhor as a most detested Piece of Tyranny and Cruelty; and observes further, that there was no manner of Occasion for any Law or Force to compel them to follow their Benefactors or Masters to the other World; for when they were dead, they crouded after them so fast that the Magistrates were forced sometimes to interpose, and by Persuasion, or their Authority, to put a Stop to these Self-murders, representing, that the Deceas'd had no need of more Attendants, or that it might be time enough to offer him their Service when Death should take them out of the World in a natural way.

Peru.

Their
Belief of
another
State.

However, it is evident from hence, that the *Peruvians* believ'd another State after this, where they were to live and enjoy their Friends to all Eternity, and that they were to be cloath'd with Flesh and Blood there as well as here; tho' they must imagine the Bodies they were to assume would be of a more heavenly Constitution, to render them immortal and free from Infirmities. Nor could they believe they would be the same Bodies rais'd again and refin'd, because these were embalm'd or remain'd in their Tombs, while they expected to be translated to those Regions of Pleasure immediately, and to be cloath'd with Bodies on their Arrival there: And in that case it could be of no Service to them to receive their former Bodies again after some thousand Years were elaps'd. But to proceed in their Funerals.

Mourning

The first Month after the Death of the Prince, the whole City of *Cusco* bewail'd their Loss with loud Cries and Lamentations, and every Ward or Division of the City assembled and march'd out into the Fields in Procession, carrying the Trophies of their late Sovereign with them; namely, his Shield, his offensive Arms, his Cloaths, and the Treasures that were to be buried with his Bowels; and in Songs repeated his heroick Actions in the Wars, the most remarkable Instances of his Justice, and other Virtues. After the first Month they commemorated the Death of the *Inca* at every new and full Moon till the End of the Year, the last Day whereof was observ'd with more Solemnity than any of the former. Nor was this done only in the capital City of the Empire, but in the chief Town of every Province, how far distant soever.
They

They went out in Proceſſion to all Places, where they remembered their *Inca* had ever been in a Journey, or upon any other Occaſion, and there in mournful Songs recited his great Actions and bewail'd their Loſs: And the Vaſſal Princes, or Noblemen had much the ſame Honours paid them on their Deceaſe in their reſpective Provinces and Lordſhips by their Vaſſals; and this bids me to ſay ſomething of the Condition of the *Peruvians* in relation to their Liberties and Properties when the *Spaniards* arriv'd there. The *Inca's* were abſolute Sovereigns, refrain'd by no Laws or Compacts, but valued themſelves moſt it ſeems in being the Proteſtors and Fathers of their People.

Peru.

The State of the *Peruvians*, when the *Spaniards* arrived there.

Every Province had its Caracas or Prince, as absolute in his Territories as the *Inca* in the Empire, and only accountable to him ; and in every Province were a great many Caciques or Lords, who had the Command of their Vassals, as the Caraca's had of them ; and as for the common People, they were all Tenants, or rather Slaves to their Lords, both their Persons and Estates being in their Power to do whatever they would with them ; for these Tenants cultivated and manur'd their Lords Lands, built and repair'd their Houses, carried them on their Shoulders when they went abroad, and serv'd them both at home and abroad, without any other Wages than the Produce of their little Tenements and Plantations, and were sold and transfer'd from one Lord to another whenever the Lands they lived upon were sold or alienated.

Whenever the *Inca*, or Emperor, had any particular Service to do, he commanded the Vassal Prince of the Province to see it done, and

Peru. and he again issued his Orders to the Nobility under his Government, who sent their Tenants or Slaves to perform what was requir'd, or march'd at the Head of them in Person if they were commanded to the Wars ; so that the whole Country, like *Britain* anciently, was divided between the Lords of the Soil and their Slaves, or the Barons and their Bondmen or Villains. The Generality of the People were in a State of Slavery before the *Spaniards* arriv'd ; all the Difference was, that during the Government of the *Inca's* and their native Lords, their Service was extremely easy and gentle ; they requir'd their Service but at certain times, and by turns, and never overloaded or over-drove them, or commanded them into Services or Countries destructive to their Healths. Whereas the *Spaniards* had no Regard to any of these Particulars, but destroy'd thousands of them by exacting a too rigorous Service, compelling some to work in the Mines, others to dive for Pearls, others to carry monstrous Burthens, and travel into unhealthful Climates, without making a suitable Provision for them, and by these Means perfectly depopulated several *American* Islands and Countries. 'Tis true, the common People were Vassals and Slaves to their superior Lords before the *Spaniards* conquer'd *Peru*, as has been intimated already, but then their own Princes used them as Children, and the *Spaniards* treated them worse than Brutes.

Some of the poorer *Indians* however were Gainers by this Change, or at least thought themselves so at first ; for the *Spaniards*, in order to gain them over to their Party, gave many of them their Freedom, and made use of them in subduing their Countrymen : But
when

when the Conquest was finish'd, these were not used much better than the rest, till the Kings of *Spain* by their repeated Edicts in a manner by Force compel'd the Adventurers and Planters to treat the *Indians* as Subjects and not as Slaves ; since which time the *Spaniards* have introduc'd vast Numbers of Negroes to work in the Mines, and perform other laborious Services ; and the Horses, Oxen and Mules that have been carried to *Peru*, have made it less necessary to exact those hard and laborious Services from the *Indians* they did formerly, such as carrying their Baggage and drawing their Carriages, by which Multitudes perish'd.

Peru.

Peru is now possess'd by a very different Set of People than it was at the Time of the *Spanish* Conquest two hundred Years ago. Besides the native *Indians*, there have been transported vast Multitudes of *Europeans* and *African Negroes* of both Sexes, from whose mix'd Embraces have sprung another Race, being a Compound of all three, which have different Features and different Complexions from the People of any of the three Parts of the World from whence they are deriv'd ; only those that were born in *Spain* are call'd *Spaniards*. If any Person is born of a *Spanish* Father and Mother in *America*, he is call'd a *Criolli*, and so are the Children of the *Negroes* born in *Peru* ; and 'tis said, this Term *Criolli* came first from the *Negroes*, who call'd their Children so that were born there, to distinguish them from native *Africans*.

The Children born between a *Spaniard* and an *Indian* are call'd *Mestizo's*, and so are the Children of a *Spaniard* and a *Negro*. Those born of a *Negro* and an *Indian* are call'd *Mulata's*, or *Molata's* ; and to the Children

tern.

of these *Mulata's* the *Spaniards* give the Name of *Cholo*, which signifies a Dog of a mongrel Breed; and they esteem them little better. The Children of a *Spaniard* and a *Mestizo* they call *Quartravos*, by which they would signify they are three Parts *Spanish* and one *Indian*; but the Children of a *Mestizo* with an *Indian* Woman, they call *Tresalas*, or three Parts *Indian*. The Descendants of all these have different Names and different Privileges, and when any of them come to resemble the *Spaniards* so much in their Features and Complexions that they cannot be distinguish'd from them, they chuse to remove to some distant Town, where their Pedigree is not known; and there they enjoy the Honours and Privileges of the native *Spaniards*, especially if they are People of Substance.

But, as was intimated in the History of *Mexico*, there are always great Divisions and Heart-burnings between the *Spaniards* born in *Spain*, and the *Criolli*, or those that are born of *Spanish* Parents in *Peru*.

The *Criolli* are by far the most numerous (perhaps a hundred to one) and possess'd of the greatest Part of the Lands; but the Power is always lodg'd in the Hands of the native *Spaniards*: The Vice-roys and principal Civil and Military Officers and Bishops are always *Spanish*, which makes the native *Spaniards* look down with great Contempt on the *Criolli*, tho' born of *Spanish* Parents, and they are perpetually doing each other ill Offices; even among the Ecclesiasticks there are everlasting Feuds, and the People are taught by the *Criolli* Priests to hate the *Spanish* Friars; tho' the Religion of all *Peru* is now the same, from what Nation or what Mixture of Nations
soever

soever the present Inhabitants are descended. The Inquisition (that reigns here with greater Terror than in any other Part of the World) has compelled both *Indians* and Negroes to profess themselves Catholics; and their way of instructing them in the Doctrines of Christianity is the same here as it is in *Spain*; namely, by Pictures, Images, and Theatrical Entertainments: Every Part of the History of the Gospel almost is thrown into a Play, and the *Indians* are the Actors; one acts our Saviour, another *St. Peter*, a third *Pontius Pilate*, a fourth *Judas*, and so on. This they look upon as the readiest way of instructing the Vulgar in the Christian Religion, and to fix the History of it in their Memories.

Peru.



I shall conclude this Chapter with a Word or two concerning the Navigation of the *Peruvians*, who seem to have been provided with most improper Vessels and Vehicles for Transportation or Fishing of any Nation in the World. I don't find that they had either Ship, Boat, or Canoe upon their Coast when the *Spaniards* arrived there; they cross'd over their Rivers on Floats of Reeds or Rushes, and at Sea had no other way of fishing or transporting their Goods along the Coast but on Bark-logs, of which Mr. *Dampier* gives us the following Description.

The Navigation of the *Peruvians*.


Bark-logs are made of many round Logs of Wood, in manner of a Raft, and very different according to the Use that they are design'd for, or the Humour of the People that make them, or the Matter they are made of. If they are made for fishing, then they are only three or four Logs of light Wood, of seven or eight Foot long, placed by the side

Bark-logs.

Peru.

of each other, pinned fast together with wooden Pins, and bound hard with Withes. The Logs are so placed, that the middlemost are longer than those of the sides, especially at the Head or Fore-part, which grows narrower gradually into an Angle or Point, the better to cut through the Water. Others are made to carry Goods; the Bottom of these is made of twenty or thirty great Trees, of about twenty, thirty, or forty Foot long, fasten'd like the other side to side, and so shaped: On the Top of these they place another shorter Row of Trees across them, pinned fast to each other, and then pinned to the undermost Row; this double Row of Planks makes the Bottom of the Float of a considerable Breadth: From this Bottom the Raft is raised to about ten Foot higher, with Rows of Posts, sometimes set upright, and supporting a Floor or two; but those I observed were raised by thick Trees laid across each other, as in Wood-piles; only not close together, as in the Bottom of the Float, but at the Ends and Sides only, so as to leave the Middle all hollow like a Chamber, except that here and there a Beam goes across it to keep the Float more compact. In this Hollow, at about four Foot high from the Beams, at the Bottom, they lay small Poles along, and close together, to make a Floor for another Room, on the Top of which also they lay another such Floor made of Poles; and the Entrances into both these Rooms is only by creeping between the great Traverse-trees, which make the Walls of this Sea-house. The lowest of these Stories serves as a Cellar; there they lay great Stones for Ballast, and their Jars of fresh Water closed up, and whatever may bear

bear being wet ; for by the Weight of the Ballast
 and Cargo the Bottom of this Room, and of
 the whole Vessel, is sunk so deep as to lie two
 or three Foot within the Surface of the Water.
 The second Story is for the Seamen and their
 Necessaries: Above this second Story the Goods
 are stow'd to what Height they please, usually
 about eight or ten Foot, and kept close by
 Poles set upright quite round ; only there is a
 little Space abaft for the Steers-man (for they
 have a large Rudder) and a Fire-hearth before
 to dress their Victuals, especially when they
 make long Voyages, as from *Lima* to *Truxillo*,
 or *Guiaquil*, or *Panama*, which last Voyage
 is five or six hundred Leagues. In the midst
 of all, among the Goods, rises a Mast, to
 which is fasten'd a large Sail, as in our West-
 Country Barges in the *Thames*: They always
 go before the Wind, being unable to ply
 against it ; and therefore are fit only for these
 Seas, where the Wind is always in a manner
 the same, not varying above a Point or two
 all the Way from *Lima*, till such time as they
 come into the Bay of *Panama*, and even there
 they meet with no great Sea, but sometimes
 northerly Winds, and then they lower their
 Sails, and drive before it, waiting for a Change.
 All their Care then is only to keep off from
 Shore ; for they are so made, that they cannot
 sink at Sea. These Rafts carry sixty or seventy
 Tons of Goods, and upwards ; their Cargo is
 chiefly Wine, Oil, Flower, Sugar, *Quitto*
 Cloth, Soap, Goat-skins dress'd, &c. The
 Float is manag'd usually by three or four Men,
 who (being unable to return with it against the
 Trade-wind) when they come to *Panama*, dis-
 pose of the Goods and Bottom together, get-

Peru.  ting a Passage back again for themselves in some Ship or Boat bound to the Port they came from, and there they take a new Bark-log for their next Cargo.

The smaller sort of Bark-logs lie flat on the Water, and are used for fishing or carrying Water to Ships, or the like (half a Ton or a Ton at a time) and are more governable than the other, tho' they have Masts and Sails too. With these they go out at Night, by the Help of the Land-wind (which is seldom wanting on this Coast) and return back in the Day-time with the Sea-wind.

The present Shipping of *Peru.*

As to the present State of their Navigation, the *Spaniards* have scarce any Ships on this Sea but Coasting-vessels and the King's Ships of War, which may be ten or twelve in Number, and serve to protect the Trade against the Buccaneers and Privateers, who are however very often too hard for them; and should any *European* Power send a small Squadron of Men of War into the *South-Sea*, the whole Royal Navy of *Spain* on this Coast would not be a Match for them: But of the Forces of the *Spaniards* (by Sea and Land) on the western Coast of *South-America*, I shall give a more particular Account when I have survey'd the Province of *Chili*.

The *Peruvian* or *Spanish* Inhabitants have yet no other foreign Commerce but with the rest of the *Spanish* Colonies, either in *Chili* to the Southward, or with those of *Mexico* to the Northward: They sail every Year from *Peru* (at the proper Seasons) to the Fairs of *Acapulco* and *Panama*, carrying the Product and Manufactures of *Peru* thither, but chiefly Gold and Silver, to a very great Value; and at those
Fairs

Fairs they furnish themselves with the Product and Manufactures of *China* and the *East-Indies* from the West, and those of *Europe* from the East; and in this rich Traffick there are not more than seven or eight Ships employ'd within the space of a Year, tho' they export and import the Value of many Millions.

Peru.



T H E



THE
T A B L E
OF THE
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