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Foundations of the Jesuits in the Viceroyalty of Peru (1568-1605)

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FOUNDATIONS OF THE JESUITS IN THE
VICEROYALTY OF PERU
(1568-1605)

By
Beatrice Blum Roemer

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR
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VITA

Beatrice Blum Roemer was born in Chicago, Illinois, December 17, 1918. She was graduated from St. Xavier Academy, Chicago Illinois, June, 1935, and received a teacher's certificate from Chicago Normal College, June, 1938.

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"Luis de Valdivia, Defender of the Araucanians,"
Mid-America, (1942), XXIV, 109-137.

INTRODUCTION

In recent years many historians such as Bolton, Rippy, Kenny, Chapman, Bandelier, to name a few, have recognized the contribution of the padres to colonial development in Spanish North America. The work of the Society of Jesus in the various republics of South America has been the theme of several South American historians, including Vargas Ugarte, Restrepo, Furlong, Navarro and Leite. The attention of these authors has been focused largely upon the educational and missionary developments during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

It is the purpose of this study to present a clear account of the organization and the expansion of the work of the Society of Jesus in the viceroyalty of Peru during the sixteenth century, to the time of the division of the vast province. The traditional approach to Jesuit history in Spanish America has stressed the Florida episode as a stepping stone to the foundations of New Spain and of Peru. In deviating from this interpretation, the writer has devoted two chapters to place the episode of Florida in its proper alignment, and to indicate the influence of the Brazilian and Portuguese provinces upon the expansion of Jesuit activities into Spanish America. This study has noted the work of many individuals, such as Barcena, Martínez and Samaniego, whose biographies would afford worthwhile contributions to the field of colonial history.

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CHAPTER I

BRAZILIAN BACKGROUNDS

Many writers have assumed or have stated that the widespread activities of the Society of Jesus in the Americas began to all practical purposes in Florida in 1566, in Peru in 1568, and in New Spain in 1572. The vanguard of the Jesuits, according to this same approach, was the group of missionaries sent to Florida in two sections, one led by Father Pedro Martínez in 1566, and the other led by Father Juan Bautista de Segura a year later. It is also assumed and stated that the Spanish fathers were the inaugurators of these entrances into the New World. These notions, however, stand in need of considerable revision, for the story of the worldwide evangelization projects of the Jesuits begins in Portugal, and their missionary and educational beginnings in this hemisphere were made not in the Spanish possessions but in Brazil. Seventeen years before Martínez set foot on Florida the first Jesuits arrived at Bahia, now Salvador, Brazil. Actually twenty five years of missionary experience in India and seventeen years in Brazil lay behind the Jesuits before their Florida enterprise was begun. The story of all this may be briefly surveyed and certain facts hitherto unrelated may thus be brought into a better perspective and alignment.

The Society of Jesus was given official papal approval as a new religious order on September 27, 1540. Already Ignatius Loyola, the founder, had adopted the plan of dispatching members of his Company to foreign fields. The main objects of the missionaries' endeavors were to be con-

1 Jerome V. Jacobsen, "Jesuit Foundations in Portugal and Brazil," Mid-America, (July, 1942), XLIV, 23.

versions of the Mohammedans to the Catholic Faith. King John III of Portugal was instrumental in altering these plans. On August 23, 1539, he had asked, through his ambassador to Rome, both Pope Paul III and Ignatius for members of this new Order who might be sent to his overseas possessions in India. What influence this request had upon the Pope's decision to approve the new Order is not immediately clear, but the weight of the word of John III at Rome was not small. Actually, before the Order was approved by the Pope, Simon Rodrigues and Francis Xavier had been sent by Ignatius to Lisbon in answer to the king's request. Father Simon Rodrigues arrived there in March, 1540, and Father Francis Xavier reported at the Portuguese court in April.

For a year the two Jesuits preached in Portugal with zeal and force. Then John, changing his original plan, sent Xavier to India, April 7, 1541, and kept the younger Rodrigues in Lisbon. By his labors and miracles in the orient, Xavier became St. Francis Xavier. Rodrigues, disappointed at not going to India, began a very notable career. On January 5, 1542, he had opened the first Jesuit house in Portugal. By May there were seventeen young men studying to become Jesuits. On June 13, Rodrigues with twelve of these beginners arrived at Coimbra and there established the Colegio de Jesus of the University of Coimbra. This became the most important training center for Jesuits who later went to the Americas. Of the seventeen students housed here in June of 1542, two were from Castile, two from France, three from Italy, three Portuguese, and the remainder from other nations. By 1544 there were seventy. Rodrigues was the spiritual, literary and scientific guide of these young men, since he had been named superior of

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all Jesuits in Portugal. When this college became the official Arts College of the University of Coimbra in 1553, there were 318 members in the Province of Portugal, many of whom were in the mission fields of India, China, Japan, and Brazil.

Most significant of a number of activities of Rodrigues and the Portuguese Jesuits had been the spread of trainees of Coimbra to Spain. Simon Rodrigues actually appears responsible for the beginnings of the Province of Castile and that of Aragon. He suggested the step to Ignatius. In 1544 he sent seven Jesuits trained by himself from Coimbra to open the College of Valencia, which was the beginning of the Jesuit Province of Aragon. If these had been imbued with the spirit of Simon Rodrigues they assuredly felt the mission urge. Philip II of Spain at first was opposed and indifferent to Jesuit beginnings in Spain. Rodrigues asked John III of Portugal to recommend them. John did so, to the effect that in 1547 Prince Philip permitted the erection of the Province of Castile and the subsequent activities of the Jesuits in Spain. Clearly the new Spanish provinces of the Society, which were soon to send men to the Americas, owed much to Portugal.

These facts, deriving from the writings of the Portuguese historians, have not as yet become familiar to readers of the history of the Company, probably because they have been published chiefly in the Portuguese language. Nor has the influence of Coimbra, well known among historians, been sufficiently brought to the attention of English readers, either as regards the constitutional formation of the Jesuit Order or as regards its missionary and educational influences. One may read a long time in the Spanish accounts without coming across any indication of the inspiration received from Portugal. One reason for this may be a certain nationalistic tendency on the

part of the later Spanish writers. A more logical reason may well lie in the fact that, as far as the Jesuits were concerned, no national lines had been drawn between Spain and Portugal in the early years of the Society. This latter reason gains force in view of the warnings against and condemnation of any particular love of one's own country. To Ignatius there were no Spaniards, French, Portuguese or Italian - all were bound by the common rules of the Society, all were in a universal brotherhood which transcended and even obliterated national boundaries.

Both Spanish and Portuguese Jesuits had been going out of Lisbon to follow the footsteps of the great Xavier. Requests were coming from various places, so much so that Father Antonio Araoz, writing to Ignatius from Madrid, April 24, 1549, says that there was a request for men from Mexico and then adds, "... if we were to go to all the places to which we are asked we would have more houses than scholastics." The Portuguese possessions seemed to have first call, and of these the great lure for the zealous Jesuits was India and the Moluccas in the orient. King John III witnessed the fulfillment of his desire to have the gospel spread in his overseas possessions. He was finally forced to turn his attention to his bedraggled colony of Brazil. Simon Rodrigues had been urging the court to send missionaries to the newest

3 "All must beware of that feeling through which those of one nation are wont to think or speak unfavorably of another; rather they must both think well of and bear in our Lord peculiar love for those of other countries." Regulae Societatis Jesu, Common Rules, 28, and Summary of Constitutions, no. 43.

4 Monumenta Historia Societatis Jesu, Epistolae Mixtae, Madrid, 1908, I, 357-358.

Portuguese colony, and, in fact, had himself received permission to embark with twelve companions for that land in 1548. The correspondence containing the many invitations to the Jesuits to come to the Americas is interesting but it has been utilized in English only as far as the Spanish Jesuits are concerned, without mention of the direct and indirect pressure which the Portuguese fathers and nobles brought to bear upon Ignatius to send men to the foreign missions.

The story of the mission of the Jesuits to Brazil need be studied only for purposes of getting the chronological order of the missionary and educational advance into the Americas and how their work in Brazil induced the Spanish provinces to send men. In general, the kings of Portugal made every effort to facilitate the evangelization of the Brazilian lands and backed the Company of Jesus wholeheartedly, which was rather in contrast to the attitudes of the kings of Spain.

Thomé de Sousa arrived at Bahia on March 29, 1549. With him was Father ⁵ Manuel da Nóbrega and five companions, the first Jesuits on American soil. Almost immediately this famed superior began to write letters back to Portugal asking for aid and new helpers and describing the field in America as wonderful for those imbued with missionary zeal. These letters and those of the other Jesuits are the first of the Jesuit "Relations" of the Americas, the forerunners of this type of appeal brought into such prominence by Ruben G. Thwaites. Like other letters from Xavier in the orient, they were read by the fathers and brothers in Portugal and, as has been stated, many of those then in residence in Portugal were of Spanish origin, who later

returned to their own country and provinces after having imbibed the missionary spirit at Coimbra. In fact, the first Spanish Jesuit, father to arrive in America came with Nobrega's original band. This was Juan de Aspilueta Navarro. Navarro, born into the noble house of Aspilueta in Navarre, was related to both Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier, and was a nephew of the noted Dr. Martin Aspilueta who held chairs of Theology at Coimbra and at Salamanca. Certainly with this family prestige and with these relationships Father Navarro would have been known in both Spain and Portugal, and his departure for Brazil would have been an event. He was constantly mentioned in the various letters sent from the fathers in Brazil to the Jesuits in Portugal and Rome. His own letters advertized the needs of Brazil and its possibilities, and there are evidences to show that they were translated from Castilian into other languages. They were addressed to the brothers in general. ⁶ Still, those that went to Coimbra were in Castilian, where there were studying some Spanish Jesuits. In the traditions of the Society, letters from far lands and letters of general interest are passed from hand to hand or at times are posted for general reading or even read in the refectories, and this fact which cannot be pinned down by documentation has much to do with the spread of knowledge from member to member and house to house and province to province in the history of the Jesuits.

⁶ Cartas Jesuíticas, II, Cartas Avulsas, Rio de Janeiro, 1931, 54, for an account of Navarro, and 164 for his obituary. In this volume of documents there are three letters of Navarro, pages 49, 69, 146; these are in Portuguese translated from a printed edition in Italian, which in turn were translated into Italian from the original Castilian Spanish. Another letter of his is found in Serafim Leite, Novas Cartas Jesuíticas, Rio de Janeiro, 1940, 154.

It had much to do with developing an esprit de corps and breaking down national barriers, since interests, in this case missionary and Brazil, became common to all members. Famed José de Anchieta, a Canary Islander, was then in training at Coimbra, as was Antonio Blasques, a Castilian. Both of these went to Brazil with the Jesuit expedition of 1553. Two other Spaniards went with the 1563 expedition. In other words, five of the first thirty Jesuits going to the New World before the Florida expedition were of Spanish origin. Clearly, knowledge of America as a likely outlet for missionary zeal radiated from Brazilian Jesuit missionaries to Portugal, Spain and Rome. It will be interesting to see how knowledge of Peru arrived at Jesuit headquarters by the same route.

The Jesuits aided in the foundation of the new capital of Brazil at Bahia in 1549. Once this city was founded their missionary spread began. Nóbrega was director of the activities, missionary, appraiser of Brazil's possibilities and pioneer explorer. His letters back to Portugal, begging for men, for clothing, and for a bishop, who arrived in 1553, were at first, enthusiastic. His later letters are realistic. They had a cumulative effect on the zeal of the Portuguese and they inspired the Spanish Jesuits to enter the mission fields, and the progress toward holding and developing Brazil may have had its influence upon Philip II.

The general tenor of his letters to Simon Rodrigues and to his brethren in Portugal present a very significant contrast. On the one hand Nóbrega describes the ignorance, superstition, idolatry, concubinage and cannibalism prevalent among the natives of the coast, but offers a more enticing though vague picture of peoples beyond the coasts in the vast unknown

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~~cross~~ Thus he writes of Brazil and its "... thousand leagues of coast, all populated by people who go about nude, both men and women, except in some places very distant from where we are, where the women are clothed in the manner of Gypsies, in cotton cloth, as the land is colder..." Without⁸ definite information about the hinterland, the ever alluring sertão, Nóbrega was presenting the challenge which the unexplored areas offered to him, and in an indefinite manner, had reference to the tribes of Peru and Paraguay.

The names of these places were just becoming familiar in 1549. Straight west of Bahia lay the land originally granted to Francisco Pizarro under the name of Nueva Castilla.⁹ Straight west of southern Brazil beyond the Line of Demarcation lay the grants originally made to Diego de Almagro and Pedro de Mendoza. The former of these was called Nuevo Toledo, and the latter Río de la Plata, and the dividing line between these two was 25°31'36", which fell at the confluence of the Paraguay and Pilcomayo Rivers. Twenty miles below this confluence the city of Asunción had been founded in 1536, at the very top of the Río de la Plata grant. The original grants of Pizarro and Almagro had been merged after the deaths of the two conquerors and by 1549

7 Nóbrega to Ignatius, São Vicente, March 25, 1555, Serafim Leite, ed., Novas Cartas Jesuíticas, São Paulo, 1940, 58; Nóbrega to Miguel de Torres, September 2, 1557, Bahia, Ibid., 68-69. Grã told Ignatius that Nóbrega intended to ask the governor's permission to go to Paraguay. Grã to Ignatius, Piratinga, April 7, 1557, Ibid., 183.

8 Valle Cabral, ed., Cartas do Brasil, Cartas Jesuíticas, Rio de Janeiro, 1931, I, 97.

9 Chart in A. C. Wilgus, The Development of Hispanic America, New York, 1941, 105.

the Kingdom of Peru was divided into two parts, each under its own governor, Lower Peru with Lima as the capital, and Upper Peru with Cusco the seat of government. These were temporary arrangements until 1551 when the Viceroyalty of Peru was established. Paraguay had its own governors, though it was joined with the Viceroyalty of Peru in an indefinite way. Hence Nóbrega, in referring to far away peoples, had in mind the undefined Paraguay and Peru lands and their clothed inhabitants.

A more immediate means of learning about the peoples of the south and west was at hand. There were in the vicinity of Bahia some Indians who had been Christianized. They quickly aroused the curiosity of the Jesuits. The Indians said that they had been brought to the north from a land far to the south, as captives. Their story and their knowledge of Christian things and their docility aroused Nóbrega to action. These Indians were Carijós, or Guaraní, and their land was Paraguay. Nóbrega wrote of them:

The tribes are of different castes, some being called Goyanzes and others Carijós. This is a tribe better than any on this coast. Not many years ago two Castilian friars were among them teaching, and they took so well to the doctrine that they now have houses of recollection for the women as well as friaries and other [houses] for men. And this continued for a long time, until the devil led a boat of robbers there, and they captured many of these [Carijós]. We are working to restore the captives, and we have some ready to be taken to their own land, with whom will go one of our fathers. 10

This was written in late 1549 or early 1550, some fourteen years after the foundation of Asunción. Apparently, the early friars had instructed

well in the center of the Guaraní lands. But the question of the "boat of robbers" needs some investigation. It is difficult to see how the boat could have made its way up the Plata-Paraná waterway on any raid. No Spanish boat would have attempted such an act against a Spanish town. Nor would a Portuguese band of raiders come that far by the rivers. The other possibility is that the boat of robbers set out with their prey from the southern coast of Brazil and they were in all probability Portuguese or French. Still there remains the question: How did they get the Guaraní who lived so far inland? The answer is that they either went inland by some road, or, the Guaraní came to the coast and were there captured.

Now, the Guaraní knew and used a jungle road which wound its way from Asunción to the coast, and this road has considerable import as an approach to Peru from the east. The road with its various branches was a pre-Colombian, transcontinental route used by the Indians of various tribes,¹¹ and by it a traveler could make his way from southern Brazil to Lima. There were apparently two termini of this road on the Atlantic side, one at São Vicente and one at the Isle of Santa Catherina. From São Vicente the road led through Piratininga, now São Paulo, to Sorocaba, to Botucatu, then crossed the series of rivers to Tibagi, then to Ivaí and Piquiri. Between these latter two places and midway between the rivers bearing their names the road branched, one way leading south to the Iguazu River and the other

11 Serafim Leite, História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil, Lisbon, 1938, I, 333-334; Alfredo R. Martins, "Caminhos Historicos do Paraná," Cincoentenario da Estrada de Ferro do Paraná, Curitiba, 1935, 25.

continuing westward to the confluence of the Iguaçu and the Paraná. Just south of this confluence the way was west to Asunción. The road from Santa Catharina led inland in a northwesterly direction until it came to Iguaçu, whose direction it followed to junctions with the other road.

Nóbrega set to work to undo the injustice to the Guaraní. When Thomé de Sousa had it pointed out to him that it was against the law to hold natives in slavery and when it became clear to him that these Guaraní had been taken captive in Spanish lands or from Spanish lands and were now actually in the possession of Portuguese, he ordered them released and returned to their homes. This command quite suited the purposes of Nóbrega, which was to investigate completely the possibilities of missions to the south. Twelve Guaraní were therefore put aboard a boat going to São Vicente, and these were under the care of Father Leonardo Nunes. This missionary pioneer arrived in São Vicente in 1550, and has become known as the earliest "Apostle of the State of São Paulo," and the "flying father" because of his many journeys and labors. He it was who pointed the way to Paraguay, and indicated the better possibilities for evangelization in the south of Brazil. He may be said to have been the first Jesuit on the "transcontinental highway" toward Peru. There is no telling how far westward these Portuguese might have carried their missions if the road had not suddenly been blocked to them.

By 1551 Father Nunes had completed his chapel at São Vicente and was ready to sally forth into the hinterland. He made the journey with four interpreters. Nunes wrote a report of this journey and his findings to

12 Serafim Leite, "Jesuitas do Brasil na Fundação da Missão do Paraguay," Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesus, Jan-June, 1937, 1-2, which article later was published as a chapter in História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil, I, 333-334.

Nóbrega after his six or seven months of travel.¹³ The letter reveals several important findings about Paraguay and Peru and leads to other important conclusions.

There were Castilians in São Vicente, the Portuguese coastal town. These had come by land from Peru and Paraguay. They complained of Spaniards oppressing the natives, and Nunes observed that the Spaniards in Paraguay were a source of scandal to the natives. They needed help. There were ten priests in the land, nine of whom were of no account, since they had practically given up their calling. There was a dire need for priests for the Spaniards and missionaries for the Indians, who longed to become Christians. The Christian Indians were very fervent and edifying, and the others were of the highest promise. The Castilians wanted the fathers to come with them, lest everybody go to perdition. Nunes offered plans for going to Paraguay.

From the letter it is clear that nobody seemed to bother much about the laws separating Spanish and Portuguese dominions and the roads between the two colonies were open and good. Nor was there much knowledge about the extent of the Guaraní and Paraguay lands, nor any definite boundaries set. It was not even clear where Paraguay ended and Peru began or where Brazil ended and Paraguay began. The frontiers seemed open to missionaries of either Spain or Portugal, and they seemed the only remedy for the ills of both colonies.

Nóbrega arrived in São Vicente from Bahia in 1553 full of a resolve to

¹³ According to Leite, História, I, 333, Nunes began his trip in 1551. The letter of Nunes to Nóbrega is dated June 29, 1552. For a discussion of the problem of this date and for the letter itself see Leite, Novas Cartas Jesuíticas, São Paulo, 1940, 133.

go to Paraguay. Invitations were added to those already given. In late May, 1553, one of the founders of Asunción, Antonio Rodrigues, appeared in São Vicente, wishing to take back with him some of the Jesuits. On June 13, 1553, the German soldier, Ulrich Schmidel and the Spanish Captain Rui Díaz Melgarejo, came into the town with the request that the Jesuits return with them to their cities in Guairá. Under these circumstances the Jesuits were willing and anxious to spread their missions inland.

But reasons of state intervened to keep the Portuguese Jesuits from going to Paraguay or beyond to the Peruvian territory. Thomé de Sousa had brought the fathers to care for the spiritual needs of Brazil, where there was plenty of work for them and plenty of room. Asunción was over the line in Spanish territory, and hence not to be intruded upon. If the Jesuits left the coastal settlements, the people might follow with sad results for the Brazil colony. Under these conditions he prohibited the Jesuits from going beyond the Line of Demarcation.

This in no wise stopped the Spanish settlers from advertising their need of Jesuit fathers and advertising the land of Paraguay and Peru in Europe. Captain Juan de Salazar sent letters from Paraguay asking for Jesuits. These got to Philip II in 1554. Rumors began to spread in both the Spanish and Portuguese courts that their respective subjects in the Brazil-Paraguay area were not only fraternizing but were infiltrating into forbidden lands. Nóbrega wrote to Ignatius about going west to Paraguay,

14 Leite, História, I, 335.

15 Ibid., I, 335-336.

16 Ibid., I, 335.

17 Ibid., I, 337.

but Ignatius then nearing the end of his life, simply said that if he were to go he would have to ask permission from the Spanish court. King John III of Portugal ordered Duarte da Costa, the new governor-general of Brazil, to forbid Jesuits going to Paraguay, July 23, 1554.¹⁸ These letters and prohibitions certainly aroused interest in Spain and Portugal for in both places armadas were gotten up filled with settlers to go to the region. The King of Spain was favorable to the idea of Jesuits, though not from Portugal going to his lands.

The foregoing account seems sufficient for the purpose of showing that interest in the south and western parts of South America as a suitable missionary field for the Jesuits was aroused and stimulated by the Portuguese fathers and was conveyed to the Spanish members of the Society in both Portugal and Spain. The Paraguay story does not end here. Father Leite in the chapter we have been citing, continues that story and presents all the evidence to show that Nóbrega and his successors continuously maintained their interest in the west and aided in the establishment of the famed Paraguay reductions.

It is interesting to note that the first rector of the Jesuit College of Coimbra was a native of Valencia, Diego Mirón, who became Provincial of Portugal in 1552 and was the Assistant to the General from 1565 to 1572. The first Visitador to the Province of Portugal was also a Spaniard, Dr. Miguel de Torres, who had been trained at Coimbra; he conducted his visitation of the Jesuit houses in Portugal in 1552 and 1553. And the famed

¹⁸ Ibid., I, 337-342.

Commissarius, St. Francis Borgia, was in Portugal from 1554 to 1561. Hence much of the direction of mission work during the early years of the Society was from Portugal.

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While the Jesuits in Brazil did not initiate the activities of the Society in Peru, it was through their efforts that the question of expansion into the New World, in Spanish America, was first taken into consideration.

19 Francisco Rodrigues, A Companhia de Jesus em Portugal e nas Missões, 2nd ed., Porto, 1935, 14, 19. This is a compendium of facts and tables concerning the Portuguese provinces and missions.

20 The dates of the arrival of Jesuits in foreign fields from Portugal are as follows:

| | | | |
|------|----------|------|-----------------|
| 1542 | India | 1560 | Monomatapa |
| 1546 | Moluccas | 1565 | Macao |
| 1549 | Japan | 1579 | Mongolia |
| 1549 | Brazil | 1583 | China |
| 1557 | Ethiopia | 1598 | Pegu and Bengal |

Ibid., 8.

CHAPTER II

THE FLORIDA APPROACH

The purpose of this chapter will be to put the episode of the Florida missionary work of the Jesuits in its proper perspective in relation to the general field of the Americas and in relation to the particular provinces of New Spain and Peru. It will be seen that Florida was no stepping stone to the great developments of education and missions in the latter two areas but was rather an event which retarded their beginnings.

The writers on the coming of the Jesuits to Florida state openly or leave readers under the impression that Florida was the beginning of missionary work in the Americas, that the Jesuits failed there, and that as a result they sought better fields in the more civilized parts of Spanish America. The efforts of the Jesuits in the barren Florida and the martyrdoms, in this interpretation, were supposed to have proved a decided stimulus to the fathers in Spain to get to the Americas. No part of this interpretation can be substantiated by the facts, and there is sufficient documentation to upset the whole tradition.

As to stimulus for the Jesuits of Europe to go to missionary fields abroad, we see that Spanish Jesuits were quite well stimulated by Spanish comrades going to India, Japan and Brazil under the sponsorship of Portugal. Long before Florida was thought of as a field, invitations had come from many parts of the Americas. What actually diverted the Jesuits to Florida was the glib tongue and business ambition of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, as will be shown later. The Jesuits did not fail in Florida, but rather

returned to their early plan and went elsewhere.

The reason for this interpretation lies in the volume of Father Francisco de Florentia, published in 1692.¹ The reason for deserting this interpretation can be found in the volumes of Father Andrés Pérez de Rivas. Pérez de Rivas had completed his long work in manuscript in Mexico before 1650. He does not mention Florida either as a stepping stone for the Jesuits to New Spain or as an incident in the history of the Province of New Spain. In his biographical sketch of Father Juan Rogel,² who had been in Florida, he mentions the Florida affair but only as part of the life of Rogel. His remark at the end of this description is significant: "Then Father Rogel went by order of the Father Vice-Provincial to Havana and from there passed to this our province where he lived...."³ The distinctions are quite clear. Pérez de Rivas did not consider Florida or the Vice-Province as part of the history of New Spain. Father Florentia, using Rivas, glamorized the episode.

Father Francisco Javier Alegre, writing his Historia de la Provincia de Nueva España at the time of the suppression of the Society, begins his three volumes with the Florida episode, using it as an approach to the North American scene of Jesuit activities. He is the first to hint at the scheme of Menéndez in bringing the fathers to Florida, although his treatment of the character of the Adelantado is altogether too uncritical.

1 Francisco de Florentia, Historia de la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesús de Nueva España, Mexico, 1692.

2 Andrés Pérez de Rivas, Corónica y Historia Religiosa de la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesús de Mexico en Nueva España, Mexico, 1692, II, 212-213.

3 Ibid., II, 213.

Bearing these points in mind it will be well now to proceed with a chronological account of the advance of the fathers of the Spanish provinces into the Americas. The invitations from the Americas to the Jesuits are recorded in Florentia and in Alegre. The noted Bishop of Michoacán, Vasco de Quiroga, the Augustinian, Father Francisco del Torral, Bishop of Yucatan, Father Diego de Chave, second Bishop of Michoacán, Friar Agustín de la Coruña, Bishop of Popayán, The Dominican Alonso de Montúfar, and such prominent laymen as the Visitador Valderrama and the Marqués del Valle, Martín Cortés, sought the padres for their lands. Lack of manpower prevented a response to these requests. Moreover, other religious orders, Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinians were already in New Spain. Peru however, was a newly opened land.

St. Francis Borgia discussed plans for establishing the Society in Peru with the recently appointed Viceroy, D. Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza, in 1555. Borgia instructed Miguel Torres, the Provincial in Andalucia, to appoint men for this undertaking. He wrote to Loyola: "In Córdoba I gave Father Provincial Torres directions concerning an expedition to Peru.... Those who should be sent to Peru, in my opinion, are Fontova, who is

4 Pérez de Rivas, I, 10-14; Florentia, ch. 1; Felix Zubillaga, La Florida: La Mision Jesuitica (1566-1672) y la Colonización Española, Rome, 1941, I, 208-209; Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu, Sanctus Franciscus Borgia, quartus gaudiae dux et Societatis Jesus Praepositus Generalis Tertius, Madrid, 1908, (Hereafter cited as Borgia Letters), III, 785-786.

5 Pablo Pastells, Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la provincia del Paraguay (Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay, Peru, Bolivia, y Brasil), según los documentos originales del Archivo General de Indias, Madrid, 1912, I, 85; Borgia to Michaeli Turriano, Córdoba, February 21-27, 1555, Borgia Letters, III, 192-197.

stationed at Valencia, and Suarez, who is in Salamanca." According to these directions given Torres, the expedition to Peru had been agreed upon definitely, for Borgia stated: "The mission ... that has been granted to the viceroy of Peru [Mendoza] should be under your jurisdiction. Among Suarez, Fontova and Mingajon, the two who seem most devout in the service of God should be selected." Fathers Gaspar de Azevedo and Marcos Antonio Fontova met Mendoza in August, 1555, at Seville, prepared to accompany him to Peru. Borgia appeared pleased with this new venture. "Those who have been disappointed patched to Peru are already professed," he reported, "and they go at a very opportune time; for this land is now subdued and there are afflicted ones who may be relieved. Those at Seville, my father, are exceptionally temperate for which reason I have selected them for Granada and for Peru." ⁷ A technical error on the part of Mendoza, however, prevented this departure. Borgia explained the change of plans to Loyola, writing:

I appointed three who prepared to depart [for Peru] and they went to Seville last August, and at the time of his embarkation, spoke with the viceroy who said he was prepared to provide for the religious who were ready to accompany him, and that he had sent to Valladolid for a license in order that they could sail with him, and would in all probability obtain permission; they sent word to me immediately asking me to secure a license from the Council, etc. I replied that since the viceroy did not have the license already, I did not wish to procure it...and that they could simply leave the viceroy and return to those places where I previously assigned them. One Father Gaspar [Gaspar de Azevedo] returned to Burgos and is rector there;

6 Borgia Letters, III, 192.

7 Borgia to Loyola, Septimances, August 23, 1555, Borgia Letters, III, 238.

and the second, Mtro. [Marco Antonio] Fontova went to Murcia; and thus the departure was prevented for our hour has not yet come.

8

Again in 1559 it seemed probable that Borgia would dispatch a few members of the Society to Peru. According to his letter to Laines, the Conde de Nieva had requested both the king and himself for Jesuits to work in Peru. Borgia favored sending four priests and two lay brothers, and suggested for provincial Father Rodrigues "who has acted until now as rector in the college Valladolid, a man learned in theology, and an exemplary religious, who has given a fine example in all matters of obedience and who is exceptionally competent in administrating." At the same time he suggested "Father Portillo, rector of the house of probation at Simancas, who ... is no less qualified than Dr. Rodrigues and who has a remarkable talent for preaching," and Father Maestro Martínez "who preaches well and works with fervor and spirit." He recommended that the fourth member of the expedition be either Father Gaspar de Fuente or Father Bautista de Segura. This expedition too, failed to materialize, although we do not know exactly why.

Petitions for members of the Society continued. Augustín de Coruña who was consecrated Bishop of Popayán in October, 1564, urged Borgia to send men to his diocese, and at the same time the Bishop spoke of the dire need of Jesuits in New Spain and in Peru. With optimistic anticipation, Coruña had secured a royal license permitting him to take twenty four Jesuits to

8 Borgia to Loyola, Ascalone, February 25, 1556, Borgia Letters, III, 255.

9 Borgia to Laines, Caeliscoleto, June 9-16, 1559, Borgia Letters, III, 494-503.

10 Ibid., III, 785-786.

Popayán, provided that Borgia would approve the plan. Borgia replied that he appreciated Coruña's efforts but all plans for the establishment of new provinces or missions would have to be postponed until the election of a General which was to be held that year.

At this point negotiations for Jesuit expansion into the areas of New Spain and Peru were complicated by the Florida project promoted by Pedro Menéndez de Avilés. The story of the French expeditions to Florida and of Spain's counterattack has been told. The need for protection of the silver fleets passing from the Americas to Spain by way of the Florida coasts was critical. Jean Ribaut of Dieppe left Havre February 16, 1562, and, after two and a half months, established his colony at Charlesfort. Elizabeth of England was interested also in this French expedition.

Already, in September, 1561, Philip II discouraged by this same Menéndez, had announced his intentions of abandoning attempts at defensive expansion in Florida. Menéndez, an experienced navigator and corsair hunter had accumulated a considerable fortune in his ventures. In 1549, after he defeated Jean Alfonse and his son, Charles V granted Menéndez and his descendants a commission to fight corsairs and allowed him the spoils that he might capture. In 1554 he was appointed Captain General of the fleet

11 Borgia to Coruña, Rome, May 12, 1565, Ibid., III, 796.

12 Ibid., III, 796. In 1565 when Borgia was elected General there were eight Jesuit provinces, 130 establishments, and 3,500 members in the Society. L.Schmitt, Synopsis Historiae Societatis Jesu, Ratisbone, 1914, Column 57.

13 Woodbury Lowery, The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States: Florida, 1562-1574, New York, 1905.

14 In the years 1564, 1567, and 1568 about \$30,500,000 was shipped to Spain. Ibid., 6. See "Registered Gold and Silver Imported into Spain from the West Indies, 1560-1569," Ibid., 387-389.

15 Ibid., 30, 37, 49.

16 Ibid., 122.

by the king, contrary to the wish of the Casa de Contratación which had nominated Tello de Guzmán for the post.¹⁷ Upon his return from the Americas in 1556 both he and his brother were accused of nefarious dealings by the Casa,¹⁸ but they were declared innocent by the Council of Indies.¹⁸ From 1557 to 1560 he was engaged primarily in pursuing pirates on the coast of Spain and Flanders. In January, 1560, Menéndez commanded an armada to New Spain. Although he had been instructed to remain in New Spain no more than fifty days he failed to return to Seville before July, 1561, after remaining in New Spain for ten months. Apparently he saw no prospects for Florida and so informed the king. This expedition was followed by two more trips to New Spain. In 1563 he was imprisoned upon order of the Casa for dubious dealings¹⁹ although the precise charges against him are somewhat confused. Menéndez was released after serving twenty months time, and paying a fine of 1,000 ducats, half of which was remitted by the king.²⁰ Meanwhile Philip II had reversed his policy with regard to Florida, and had decided upon active measures to expell the French intruders. He issued orders to this effect, and placed a Don Hernando de Manrique de Rojas in command of an expedition in May, 1564. Manrique returned to Havana the following June, having discovered only the remains of a deserted French colony.²¹

The second French expedition led by Rivé de Laudonnière and equipped by Coligny, sailed April 22, 1564, and landed at St. Johns June 12th.²² Laudonnière erected Fort Caroline and here established his colony of 200

17 Ibid., 123.

18 Ibid., 127.

19 Ibid., 134-135, 137.

20 Ibid., 138.

21 Ibid., 45-48.

22 Ibid., 78-87, 89-92.

including 150 soldiers and four women. Since no pastor accompanied this colony it can scarcely seem that this was primarily intended as a haven for the Huguenots. Laudonnière's lot was unhappy, for he was beset with mutinous soldiers who made piratical raids upon the Spanish fleet, and with the difficulties encountered with the fickle Florida natives. The third French expedition with 300 colonists under Jean Ribaut arrived at Florida during the latter part of August, 1565, shortly after John Hawking, the notorious English pirate, had visited Laudonnière. It was clear that these French intrusions were part of Coligny's scheme to prey upon the Spanish wealth in the Americas.

These facts are significant for indicating motives for the occupation of Florida. On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that attempts had been made to evangelize by the Dominican fathers led by Fray Luis Cancer de Barbastro. Furthermore, the Luna expedition, like all previous attempts to occupy the land, had failed by 1561. To all appearances Florida and its Indians was of no use to anybody. Menéndez advised the king to this effect in 1561. But for reasons best known to himself he suddenly changed his mind. From his past record we might guess that the reason for the change was the presence of pirates in and around the Florida waters, and for years past the Adelantado had been accumulating a fortune by capturing pirates. When it is known why Menéndez had been sentenced to jail, much light will be thrown on his character.

Philip II granted Menéndez a contract March 20, 1565, which placed him in complete control of the Florida enterprise. The Adelantado's purpose in

23 Ibid., 95.

24 Herbert E. Bolton, The Spanish Borderlands, New Haven, 1921, 14; Text of contract, 140-141; Lowery, 142-146.

seeking this grant may be gleaned from a glance at his contract. Briefly, Menéndez was to bring 500 colonists, including 100 soldiers, 100 sailors, and 100 laborers and farmers to establish at least two settlements in Florida. His group was to include four Jesuits and ten to twelve religious of any order he should choose. He was to explore the gulf coast of Florida and the coast from the Keys to Newfoundland. The primary and most immediate obligation was the expulsion of the French. He assumed the financial responsibility for the expedition investing the equivalent of almost \$2,000,000. This included his own funds and money which he had borrowed. In return, Menéndez was granted exclusive control of the commerce between Florida and the closest sections of the West Indies, and an exemption from import and export duties for a limited period. This indicates the business aspect of the venture. He was appointed captain-general of his fleet for six years, and given the title of Adelantado of Florida, a title to be held by his descendants in perpetuity. All spoils captured from pirates by his men for a period of five years were to be his. In addition to this, he was allowed a grant of land twenty-five leagues square, as well as a fish and pearl fishery which he could establish wherever he saw fit. His annual salary of 2,000 ducats was to be collected from the rents and produce of the colonists. As Adelantado he could assign repartimientos to his settlers.

In analyzing this contract several points are significant. First of all, Menéndez invested all of his own funds and borrowed heavily to finance the undertaking. Consequently the enterprise must be regarded as a business venture, and as such must be made to pay dividends. The most plausible and immediate hope for remuneration lay in the possibility of lucrative raids upon the French pirates and others who might lurk around the Florida coast.

He could in his position call anyone who came near the shores a pirate. Once doing so, he was free to take whatever the intruder owned. "It was to the Adelantado's advantage to exploit the Florida soil, and in this he could receive valuable assistance from the missionaries who might convert the Indians, pacifying them sufficiently that they might prove capable of producing profits for Menéndez through their labor. He had exclusive authority in Florida, with both settlers and clergy under his control.

It seems very probable that Menéndez was aware of the progress in Brazil when he undertook this Florida venture. The successful beginnings of Thome de Sousa and the governors of Brazil, who acted not as entrepreneurs but as employees of the government of Portugal, may have stimulated the Adelantado's ambitions. For there too, the French in the 1560s attempted to establish a foothold, and it might be added they were expelled in 1567 with the aid of Indians trained by the Jesuits. The progress of the padres among the Brazilian Indians gave a stability to the colony which fostered its economic as well as its educational and spiritual progress. It is possible that Menéndez's insistent requests for Jesuits were prompted by his business sense primarily, rather than an interest in the spiritual welfare of the inhabitants of Florida. Certainly his subsequent failure to afford sufficient protection and assistance for the missionaries indicates little zeal on his part for the conversion of the natives.

Having obtained royal permission to bring Jesuits to Florida, Menéndez
25
required the consent of Borgia, whom he knew. In his efforts to obtain

25 Some of the members of the Council of Indies were opposed to the sending of Jesuits to Florida even though Philip II approved. Alegre, I, 5.

Borgia's cooperation, Menéndez painted an attractive and equally inaccurate picture of Florida as a mission field, describing the territory as:

in the vicinity of New Spain and the northwest part is very close to Tartaria, China, and Maluco; and this land of Florida may be part of the land adjoining Tartaria and China These lands and provinces are vast and the people here are groping blindly for the faith. This is a land of comfortable temperature and altitude.

26

He added that his license to take the fathers with him would be official in three months although he hoped to obtain a special privilege in this regard and have the Jesuits accompany him sooner.

Borgia was interested in the statement regarding the proximity of Florida to the Far East where the Society had already commenced notable missions.

27

As Vicar-General he agreed to send three men to Florida. Father Jerónimo Portillo was to be superior of the group which would include either Father Juan Bautista de Segura, Father Pedro Martínez and Father Juan Rogel or Father Peña de Salamanca.

28

Meanwhile, in September of 1565, Menéndez directed the notorious massacre of the Frenchmen whom Ribaut left in Florida. This slaughter was not merely a battle between Catholic and Huguenot, for, as Lowery puts it, "...when seventeen years later, measures were under way in England for the founding of a Roman Catholic colony to Florida, Philip's ambassador, Mendoza, informed the leaders that in the event of such an undertaking 'they would at once have their heads cut off as was done to the French who went with Jean

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26 Menéndez to Borgia, March, 1565, Borgia Letters, III, 162.

27 Ibid., III, 782.

28 Borgia to Rector at Madrid, May 12, 1565, Ibid., III, 798.

29 Lowery, 172-184.

Ribaut.¹" ³⁰ The massacre was, moreover, part of the task of Menéndez and one from which he might derive some financial return. Menéndez continued his hunt for Frenchmen and any other intruders he might discover in the vicinity. At the same time he hoped to align the fickle natives to assist him in his pursuit. In the latter respect he thought it wise and expedient to "marry" a sister of the cacique Carlos, although he had a wife in Spain (whom, by the way, he had not seen for ten years). ³¹ Presumably the bigamy was part of Menéndez' plan to make a go of his business venture. The Jesuit writers keep a strange silence concerning this affair, in fact too much silence to leave us unsuspecting. But from what follows it is clear that they had finally appraised Menéndez and the nature of his undertaking.

Menéndez repeated his requests for Jesuits. Philip II issued a royal cédula to Borgia, March 3, 1566, to the effect that twenty four members of the Society should be selected for missionary work in America, although he did not stipulate that all of these be directed to Florida. ³² It seems evident that Borgia was not deluded by the Adelantado's professions of zeal on behalf of the infidel natives. Indeed he was apprehensive of the entire setup. He expressed his doubts in a letter to Father Araoz writing that it was his hope that missionary pursuits be primarily for the service of God and not for the aggrandizement of the king or of any individual. ³³

With his requests reenforced by royal orders, Menéndez succeeded in having Fathers Pedro Martínez, Juan Rogel and brother Francisco Villarreal sail for Florida in April, 1566. ³⁴ The story of the arrival of the Jesuits

30 Ibid., 206-207.

31 Ibid., 237-238.

32 Borgia Letters, IV, 192; Diego Carillo to Borgia, May 16, 1566, IV, 237.

33 Borgia to Antonio Araoz, Rome, April 8 & 30, 1566, Ibid., IV, 226-227.

34 Zubillaga, 217-234.

has been told in various ways and especially without much critical analysis of the events. The point about which we are chiefly concerned is that Menéndez gave their boat no pilot. They set out from Havana looking for San Agustín. It is not certain where they landed nor has there been any explanation of the mutiny aboard the boat. Menéndez cannot be excused for not having a guide for these fathers to whom he had promised so much and for whom he yearned so piously. Martínez and three members of the crew were slain by the natives on the shore of Florida in September, 1566. Rogel and Villarreal were blown by a storm back to the northern coast of Española and remained at Montecristo until November when they went to Havana. They were given a small house in a swampy section, where Menéndez hoped they would train men for work in Florida.

Borgia, who had not been satisfied with the Florida situation, was even more disinclined towards pursuing this field upon hearing of Martínez' fate. Nevertheless he agreed, in March, 1567, to send more men to Florida, but at the same time he appointed Portillo Provincial of Peru. Portillo protested strongly against dispatching any members of the Society to Florida. In June of 1567 he wrote to Borgia complaining that Menéndez had misrepresented the nature of the Florida land and of its people:

The Florida project is not designed as pictured and as Pedro Menéndez has described and directed. I have been informed by many people and have seen in the histories that the people of Florida are all treacherous and how hostile they are in wars against the Christians; so much so that we cannot enter their land unless, in accordance with the

35 Ibid., 243; Rubén Vargas Ugarte, Los Mártires de la Florida, Lima, 1940, 82-83.

36 Zubillaga, 249.

37 Monumenta Historica Bobadillae Monumentae, Madrid, 1913, 475; Borgia to Bustamante, Rome, March 11, 1567, Borgia Letters, IV, 426-427.

instructions of Your Paternity, accompanied by many people, for otherwise it would be nothing less than slaughter as has been the case with many of those who have occupied this region. And now Pedro Menéndez writes here that even with 800 soldiers they did not venture to go out from their forts, for each hour the Indians come to the forts to kill.

38

He continued saying that Rogel, in Havana, was also opposed to pursuing the Florida missions. "And so," he wrote, "ten of us will go to Peru: five priests and five brothers." Peru was preferable to Florida for the fathers "come not to conquer but to evangelize."

Segura was appointed vice-provincial of Florida in August, 1567, five months after Portillo had been named Provincial of Peru. The expedition was not primarily concerned with Florida as we know it today but with the lands to the north which according to Menéndez were adjacent to the China of Jesuit dreams or were close to an imaginary strait that led to China. Segura and nine companions upon the insistence of the Adelantado, accompanied the Indian Don Luis to Azacán. Rogel's report to Borgia stresses the explicit demand of Menéndez that the Jesuits undertake this dangerous mission. The Jesuits were slain between February 4 and February 9, 1571. This blow crystalized Borgia's decision to abandon Florida and to seek fields with more prospects for spiritual conquest.

This was not a sudden decision. Borgia had been dissatisfied with the Florida project from the beginning. He certainly favored expansion from Peruvian centers in preference to Florida. He wrote to Portillo in August,

38 Portillo to Borgia, Hispali, June 14, 1567, Ibid., IV, 495-498.

39 Ibid., IV, 533, 537, 539, 697.

40 Juan Rogel to Borgia, Baya de la Madre de Dios de la Florida, August 28, 1572, Astrain, II, 640-644.

1567, that when he had appointed Segura to this expedition, "... it was my intention that he act as superior of one of the missions of the Indies, though you were to be provincial of all these parts." ⁴¹ The Florida missions as part of the Adelantado's scheme, were not to claim the services of all the padres sent to the New World. Borgia stipulated that "It seems best that they be directed to go to the City of the Kings."

Portillo had had only harsh criticism for Menéndez, while he constantly urged that the Society be established in Peru. He wrote to Borgia June 26, 1567:

On two or three occasions I have warned Your Paternity as well as the Father Provincial of this province and the Father Rector of this college that it is my opinion until a more satisfactory explanation is given me than I expect can be presented, that this Florida mission should not be pursued.

The information we have here concerning these people is that there are no organized nations and consequently there is no political unity, but merely many individuals; they thrive on killing, like wild beasts, and are not united but indeed go as savages encountering other savages; and afterwards they return to their caves. They go naked, and are extremely treacherous, for which reason there can be scant hope of our Company's attaining much towards the conversion of these infidels. The Father and brother who were there with Father Martínez who is in glory are still on the island of Havana, and they, reluctant to return to this land, have not gone there, and so it is with the soldiers of Pedro Menéndez, etc. And thus, perceiving how different is the information given me here from that which has been presented by Pedro Menéndez, namely that this is a densely populated land with an organized nation, etc., I would not send priests to that land without receiving your decision or rather considering whether it would be best and whether this would be the most fruitful field in harvesting souls for the glory of God at the present time. Already I

have written to the same effect to Father Bustamante and to Father Araoz. You should determine whether it is wisest to postpone this mission, in order that I may be more thoroughly informed regarding the situation and whether our going there would be most fruitful in the service of God. There is a licence from the king here, permitting four Jesuits to go with the governor of Honduras, a copy of which is transcribed in this letter. It appears to me that this would be a more fruitful mission than Florida. 42

Portillo suggested Honduras as a port of embarkation for Japan or China. He reported also that those persons whose opinions he respected, were agreed that Peru offered more opportunity for achievements and he added that Peru was the land "... where the king originally hoped to send the Society." He reasoned that in Florida the Jesuits were merely aides to Menéndez in the exploitation of the natives. 43

Menéndez was singularly unsuccessful in recruiting competent clergy other than the Jesuits according to the report of Chaplain Mendoza. Solís de Meras said that of the seven priests who sailed with the Adelantado from Cádiz in July, 1568, three deserted with thirty of the crew at Havana. Evidently the Jesuits were not alone in their reluctance to undertake the evangelizing of Florida under the circumstances. 44

In summary, it seems clear that the Florida venture of the Jesuits was not a stepping stone to Peru much less than to New Spain. It was simply an episode which retarded Jesuit beginnings at Mexico and at Lima. 45

42 Portillo to Borgia, Hispali, June 26, 1567, Borgia Letters, IV, 486-487.

43 Portillo to Borgia, Hispali, July 14, 1567, Ibid., IV, 495; Portillo to Borgia, August 13, 1567, IV, 514.

44 Lowery, 265.

45 Ibid., 152; Zubillaga, I, 85. Originally Menéndez had insisted that only Jesuits be permitted to go to Florida. Borgia to Segura, Rome, October 30, 1567, Borgia Letters, IV, 533, 537, 539.

CHAPTER III

THE LAND OF PERU 1531-1568

The land of Peru was only on the threshold of political and religious organization by 1568. The era of the conquistadores followed by the period of civil disorder rendered the task of organizing the province difficult, and this task was all the greater in view of the vastness of the viceroyalty. A great portion of the land was unexplored, and indeed, much of this territory remains unknown to the white man to this day. However, key bases for future expansion had been laid. There was a serious shortage of clergy in the viceroyalty for educational and missionary work. The field for spiritual conquest was large, and the need for religious orders imperative.

The preliminary steps of the Jesuits toward Peru have already been recounted. While Pedro Menéndez was still asking for more men for his Florida venture, petitions were arriving for members of the Society of Jesus, or Company of Jesus as it was then known, who would aid in the evangelization of Peru. From the viewpoint of the King Philip II, there could be little choice. The religious orders established in Spain had each contributed a quota of men to both the Kingdoms of the Indies, New Spain and Peru. Dominicans, Franciscans, Mercedarians and Augustinians were already ~~in New Spain~~ ^{in New Spain} and some of each of these orders were working in Peru. There were no others in Spain to call upon but the Jesuits, since Benedictines were given to the strictly conventual life. And Philip II, if he were to fulfill his contractual portion of the royal patronage, had to see to the spiritual care of his Indies. Already the fear of the French gaining a

foothold in Florida was waning in Spain. Pirates, partly because they feared Menéndez, partly because there were less stormy waters and more profitable spoils in the mainland towns, were not so interested in waiting around Florida for months for ships bound for Spain. The Council of the Indies was opposed to the sending of more Jesuits to Florida, where there was no gold or silver. In the pious expressions of the King it is of course difficult to trace sordid motives, but we know that the King and Council and the House of Trade were interested in getting profits. Apparently their respective interests in the business project of Menendez was on the wane, and Menéndez himself was losing prestige along with his fortune. Disasters began to stalk Menéndez and his Florida enterprise by 1568. So it was that the powers of Spain became more interested in the development of Peru which held far greater potentialities from a business aspect.

The viceroyalty of Peru, in 1568, included the area from Panama to the Straits and from the Pacific to Venezuela and Brazil, comprising the present republics of Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Peru, Ecuador, Panamá, Paraguay, Uruguay and part of Brazil. The magnificent Andes ranges extending two hundred miles in width, except in Bolivia where they widen out to four hundred miles, cut the region between the coast and the hinterland, impeding travel even as they do to the present day.

Several distinct native cultures occupied this territory. The Chibcha,

1 Bolton, 154-156.

2 Preston E. James, Latin America, New York, 1942, offers the most scholarly physical description of the land and its people.

3 Miles Poindexter, The Ayar Incas, New York, 1930, I, 248-266; Erland Nordenskiöld, Origin of the Indian Civilization in South America, Goteborg, 1931; Clements R. Markham, Narratives of the Rites and Laws of the Incas, London, 1878; Philip A. Means, The Rise and Fall of the Inca Empire, New York, 1929; Means, Ancient Civilizations of the Andes, New York, 1931.

dwelling in the Cundimarca plateau with their center near Bogota, were not encountered until the conquest of Jiménez de Quesada in 1536-1538. Political rivalries between the Zipa at Bogotá and the Zaque at Tunja impeded much of the progress the natives might have achieved. Archeologists find they were comparatively skilled in agriculture and clothmaking, although their tools were made chiefly of wood or stone. Their annual sacrifice of a man powdered with gold dust at Lake Guatavita gave rise to the legend of "El Dorado" which lured the Spaniards and others on countless expeditions.

The sun-worshipping Incas whose "empire" extended from the equatorial regions down to the Atacama desert of Chile, from Quito to the Maule, dominated the scene at the time of the Spanish conquest. Their center during the sixteenth century was at Cuzco, while in centuries past earlier civilized groups had erected splendid stone structures at Tiahuanaco, 15,000 feet above sea level. Quechua and Aymara were the most common languages in their empire. The people had developed an elaborate system of terracing the land for irrigation, were skillful in the arts of weaving and dying cloth, and in metal work, constructed suspension bridges, built plain but massive fortresses, and practiced a method of skull surgery, trepaning, which has baffled modern medicine. They had no system of writing, but they used the quipu as a counting device. Their government was despotic with emphasis upon militarism. At the time of the Spanish conquest, two brothers had divided the empire in a fratricidal struggle. From the ensuing disension emerged Atahualpa as Inca. The Spanish conquerors overthrew his rule by 1533.

Civilization seemed to have sloped away from the highlands, and the farther one went from the Inca stronghold the more savage were the tribes.

The southern portion of Chile was inhabited by fierce, semi-nomadic Aracnians. Over the mountains, in the Paraguayan region, were the more docile Guaraní and Tupi. The natives of the Argentine area, generally grouped as the Guanaco, were very like the natives of the North American plains, nomadic, frequently fierce, usually fickle. As indicated in Chapter I, the tribes in the Plata area were a lure to the Jesuits in Brazil.

The advance of the Spanish conquerors into South America is a very frequently told tale. It need be summarized here only for the sake of continuity and in the summary there will be sufficient data to indicate the political and religious difficulties prior to the advent of the Jesuits.

Pearls lured the conquerors of the West Indies southward from Española to the northern coast of South America. The terrible condition of the land, the poisoned arrows of the savages of northern Venezuela and Colombia propelled the early expeditionaries westward to the Isthmus of Panamá. Missionary expeditions found the natives as inhospitable and treacherous as those of Florida.

The north coast of the Isthmus of Panamá was equally inhospitable. Balboa went over the ridge to view for the first time the Sea of the South, or the Pacific, but his execution by his father-in-law, Pedrarius Dévila, prevented him from exploring the South Sea. Then Pedrarius founded Panamá in 1519. This important foundation gave the Spaniards an outlook to the mysterious south. From this base minor expeditions sallied forth in quest of rich peoples until 1531. Then Francisco Pizarro, Diego Almagro, and Father Valverde headed the expedition of conquest. Within two years, the

4 A. Curtis Wilgus, The Development of Hispanic America, New York, 1941, 101.
5 William H. Prescott, Conquest of Peru, New York, 1901, II, 486-490;
Bernard Moses, Spanish Rule in America, New York, 1929, 110-139.

handful of Spanish troops occupied Cuzco, November, 1533. Cuzco was established as a capital in the mountains on March 31, 1534, and in the following January, Lima, the City of the Kings, was founded near the coast. ⁶ This was the year in which St. Ignatius and his early followers were organized in Paris.

From the new centers at Cuzco and Lima the conquest and exploration radiated in various directions. Quarrels and strife arose between the Spanish leaders. These resulted ultimately in the violent deaths of nearly every one of the leaders. Diego de Almagro was executed by the Pizarro faction in 1538. His son then led a revolt in which Francisco Pizarro was assassinated at Lima in 1541. Young Almagro in attempting to overthrow the Spanish governor met defeat and execution in 1542. Spain, awakening to the danger of rampant individualism, named Blasco Núñez de Vela the governor and Captain-General in 1544. Then came the biggest threat to Spanish authority. Gonzalo Pizarro revolted, defeated and killed the governor January 8, 1546, and set about dominating the whole area. The concern of the crown was the greater because of the discovery of great amounts of silver in the Upper Peru or Bolivian territory.

Emperor Charles V appointed a priest, Pedro de la Gasca, to be president of the Audiencia, with complete authority over Peru, in order that he might terminate this threat and end the chaotic conditions. After almost two years from his departure from Spain De la Gasca arrived near Cuzco where he captured and beheaded Gonzalo Pizarro April 10, 1548. Gasca then remained, pacifying the country, until January, 1550, when he left affairs in the care

of the Audiencia.

Peace revealed much disorder and disorganization. The famous silver mines had been operating for four years. There was always the lure of the mines for settlers in the new centers at Santiago in Chile and Asunción in Paraguay. Mining society was lawless Indians were being enslaved for labor. Gambling and strife, riches and poverty, exorbitant prices for ordinary food and water, lack of foodstuffs - all added to the distress of what should have been a very prosperous land.

Under these circumstances and with the memory of what had been done in New Spain fresh in his mind, the Emperor decided to send the capable Viceroy of New Spain, Antonio de Mendoza to straighten out affairs. Mendoza arrived in Lima on September 12, 1551. He departed this life on July 21, 1552. Again disorder cropped out. With the Audiencia in charge until a new appointee arrived, one Giron led the last significant rebellion against the royal authorities. Earlier the Audiencia had banned "personal service" of the natives, and lands of those thus enforcing the Indians to work had been confiscated. Mendoza had enforced the law against this enslavement, as the first act of his government. Now that he was gone, Girón inaugurated three years of civil conflict until he was apprehended and executed in early 1555. There were at this time approximately 8,000 Spaniards in all Peru, 489 of whom held land grants, and 1,000 of whom were officials or owned estates.

Next of the viceroys was Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza, who arrived on June 29, 1556, and died in 1560. His method of solving the problems was to forbid

7 Rubén Vargas Ugarte, História del Peru Virreinato (1551-1581), Lima, 1935, 3-4; Arthur S. Aiton, Antonio de Mendoza, First Viceroy of New Spain, New York, 1927.

8 Moses, Spanish Rule in America, 134.

further immigration from Spain and to forbid any settler to depart from the viceroyalty. Disgruntled colonists were urged to found new towns, and disturbers were sent on exploratory trips. Regulation after regulation was enforced. Settlers of Peru moved south to the present Argentina to begin new cities. Estate owners were encouraged to plant grape and olive vineyards.

The fourth viceroy, Conde de Nieva Zuñiga, ruled from his arrival in 1561 to his death in 1564. With three out of the first four viceroys dying in Peru and the other escaping by a hair's breath from the vengeance of the rebels, the office had little attraction for the nobles of Spain. It was five years before the next arrived, and during this time Peru was governed by García de Castro, President of the Audiencia. Then came Viceroy Francisco de Toledo y Figueroa, November 30, 1569, for a long regime lasting until September 23, 1581.

Contemporary to these events key bases for future occupation were established. Pedro de Valdivia founded Santiago de Chile in 1541 and within ten years the fertile region in Chile north of the Bío-Bío river were under Spanish control. New Granada was invaded from three directions. Expeditions were sent from Santa Marta, established in 1525, to the basis of the cordillera oriental; the Spaniards pushed south from Cartagena, founded in 1533, into the Cauca valley and settled in small mining towns. Others from Lima, going north towards Quito, founded Pasto and Popayán and were joined by expeditions from Cartagena in the latitude of Cali. After its beginning in 1538 Bogota had become a center from which colonists radiated to various sections of New Granada. Asunción was the first permanent Spanish settle-

9 Arthur Franklin Zimmerman, Francisco de Toledo, Fifth Viceroy of Peru: 1569-1581, Caldwell, Idaho, 1938, 1-11.

ment in the southern portion of the viceroyalty, for it was established in 1537. Audiencias were established at Panamá in 1536, at Lima in 1542, at Bogotá in 1549, at Los Charcas in 1559, at Quito in 1563, and at Santiago de Chile in 1609.

Religious affairs had made some progress, although, as we have stated earlier, the religious organization was only beginning by 1568. The King of Spain, according to the patronato español, possessed extraordinary authority over the administration of the Church in Spain and in Spanish dominions while he was also personally obligated to provide for the spiritual welfare of his subjects. The conquistadores, according to the agreement, were generally accompanied by chaplains.

The mere fact that bishops were appointed and dioceses carved out gives no cause to say that the ecclesiastical organization was complete. Bishops in these earlier times had very few clergymen as subjects. But they were necessary in lands so far removed from Rome and Spain, to consecrate oils, to confirm, to administer and to admonish. They were part and parcel of the Spanish Church and State program. They lent a dignity and solemnity to even poverty stricken areas. They were a force for moral uplift and a warning to wrong-doers of the presence of the Church. Frequently there is a discrepancy in the dates given for the establishment of dioceses in Spanish America. This variance can be accounted for in many instances by the fact that some of the authors cite the date of the papal Bull erecting the diocese as the beginning; others make the beginning date that of the appointment of the bishop; and still others use the time of the arrival of the bishop at his

10 Pastells, I, 3-4; Vargas Ugarte, História del Peru Virreinato, 8.

11 Angel Gabriel Pérez, El Patronato Español en el Virreyno del Peru durante el Siglo XVI, Tournai, 1937, 52-65.

post as the date of the diocesan establishment. Sixteen papal Bulls pronounced the erection of dioceses in Peru by 1570. These included:

- Darién (1513) Juan de Quesada was appointed to the see which was moved to Panamá six years later.
- Panamá (1519)
- Tumbes (1529) Fernando de Luque was appointed bishop although he died before assuming this post.
- Core
(Venezuela) (1530) The first bishop, Roderigo de Bastidas, was named in 1532.
- Cartagena (1534) Fray Thomás del Toro was appointed in 1535, but died before he was consecrated. Loaysa was consecrated for this see in 1538, and went to Lima in 1543.
- Santa Marta (1535) Alfonso de Tobes was appointed bishop at this time.
- Cuzco (1535) Vicente Valverde was appointed for this see in 1536.
- Lima (1541) Loaysa was named the first bishop in 1543. Lima became an archdiocese of the whole area from Peru to Nicaragua in 1546.
- Quito (1545) Garacidia appointed at this time.
- Paraguay (1546) Pedro de la Torre was selected for this see in 1547. However he was not consecrated. The first bishop of Paraguay, consecrated in 1555, died that year. Eight years elapsed.
- Popayan (1547) Don Juan del Valle was consecrated in this year.
- La Plata (1561) This diocese is also called Charcas, Chuquisaca, and Sucre.
- Santiago de Chile (1561)
- Bogotá (1562) This became an archdiocese with Popayán as suffragan in 1564.
- Concepción (1563) This was later moved to Imperial, Chile.

12 For example, the diocese of Trujillo was erected by Gregory XIII in 1577, but was not executed until the pontificate of Paul V, in 1616. F.X. Hernández, Documentos Relativos a la Iglesia de America, Brussels, 1879, II, 1. Clemente R. Markham, History of Peru, Chicago, 1892, 169, gives this date as 1611 with no clue as to his source.

13 Hernández, II, 124-125; 127, 145, 156, 165, 169, 178, 184, 256, 299-306, 321.

Santiago del Estero (1570) Eight years elapsed between the creation of the see and the naming of a bishop. This see was transferred to Córdoba.

Arequipa (1577) Thirty two years elapsed from the time of the erection of the see until the consecration of a bishop.

A further source of confusion confronting students who attempt to determine the dates for the erection of sees in Spanish America is the fact that the appointment of bishops and the creation of sees involved both regal approval and papal confirmation, in accordance with the patronato español.¹⁴

The Dominicans were the first of the religious Orders established in Peru.¹⁵ Fray Pedraza accompanied Pizarro on his exploratory trip along the coast in 1524. Eight years later Fray Valverde erected a church at Piura. The Dominicans built their house, San Rosario, at Lima in 1535. Valverde nominated by Gonzalo Pizarro for Bishop of Cuzco in 1534, was consecrated in Spain in 1536, and returned two years later with twelve members of his Order to assist in the diocese. From Lima and Cuzco the Dominicans accompanied or followed the Spaniards as they colonized. The Franciscans and Mercedarians arrived shortly after the Dominicans, while the Augustinians began their work in Peru in 1551.¹⁶

While the work was chiefly parochial there are immediate evidences that scholastic studies were carried to the colony by the incoming clergymen. By

14 Ibid., II, 165-165.

15 Fernando Montesinos, Anales del Peru, Madrid, 1906, I, 201; José Gabriel Navarro, "Fundación de Conventos en la America Española," Boletín de la Academia Nacional de Historia, Quito, (1943), XXIII, 22-23; Federico Gonzalez Suarez, Historia Eclesiástica del Ecuador desde los Tiempos de la Conquista hasta nuestros Dias, Quito, 1881; Vargas Ugarte, Historia del Peru Virreinato, 8. A study of the Dominican origins in Peru has been begun by one of the graduate students of Loyola.

16 Navarro, XXIII, 13-14; Montesinos, I, 81. They were given the Temple of the Sun and the palace of Inca Uira-cchocha. Channing, 520.

17 Montesinos, I, 201; Navarro, XXIII, 22-23.

1548 the Dominicans lectured in the Estudio General at San Rosario. Because of this, Lima claims priority of establishment over the old university of Mexico. On January 23, 1550, the cabildo of Lima instructed Jerónimo de Alcaza and Fray Tomás de San Martín, the provincial, to make a personal plea in Spain for authority to erect a university at Lima. Charles V granted the request in a cédula September 21, 1553, which authorized the establishment of a university both at Lima and at Mexico. However, funds for the foundation were not so easily obtained as was the necessary license. The meager sum of 350 pesos was allotted to the foundation in Lima in 1553. Four years later the Marqués de Cañete granted an additional 400 pesos. Handicapped by the lack of adequate financial assistance and by the prevailing civil disorder, the Dominicans were able to achieve little progress. Their rectorship was suspended in 1571 by Viceroy Toledo who added secular teachers to the faculty and appointed a layman, Gaspar Meneses, rector. Papal approbation of the university was conceded in 1571. The Real Universidad de San Marcos, as it was called, had chairs in sacred scripture, theology, canon and civil law, mathematics, arts, medicine, and philosophy. Viceroy Toledo granted an

18 Manuel Vicente Villarán, La Universidad de Lima, Los Orígenes: 1548-1577, Lima, 1938, 10-11; Manuel de Mendiburu, Diccionario histórico-biografía del Perú, Lima, 1874-1890, VII, 125; John Tate Lanning, Academic Culture in the Spanish Colonies, New York, 1940, 19; Vargas Ugarte, Historia del Perú Virreinato, 14.

19 Recopilación de las Leyes de las Indias, Madrid, 1775, Book I, Title 2, 110-121.

20 David Rubio, La Universidad de San Marcos de Lima durante la Colonización Española, Madrid, 1933, 21, 43-44.

21 Lanning, 19; Villaron, 10-11.

22 Jose Boquiano y Carillo, "Historia de la fundación, progresos, y actual estado de la Real Universidad de San Marcos de Lima," El Mercurio Peruano, (1861-1864), III, 224-228.

23 Hernández, II, 439.

24 Pastells, I, 21; Rubio, 22.

endowment in encomienda of 20,312 pesos in 1571.

During the first few decades of Spanish colonization in Peru the religious concentrated primarily upon parochial work among the Spaniards. As far as evangelizing and instructing the natives there appeared the very difficult barrier of the language of the natives. Thus far there is little to indicate that the fathers embarked on any great missionary program. This fact indicates no lack of zeal among these early religious, but rather a scarcity of religious in Peru and the continuous civil disorder which impeded spiritual progress as well as political organization.

Under such circumstances then it is not surprising to find the king formally asking for more help, specifically for Jesuits for the Americas. The requests from the North American scene have already been noted, as have the persistent requests of the Bishop of Popayán. In a letter of October 17, 1564, Father Antonio Araoz, Provincial of the Spanish Province, wrote to Father General Laínez saying: "A Bishop of the Indies of Spain [Popayán] insistently asks for some of the Company; and so also does the President and the Council." The King on his part issued two royal cédulas. The first of these, directed to the Casa, was dated March 3, 1566. It provided that the Society should send twenty four members to America, with the stipulation that some were to work in Florida at least until the land was pacified. A similar demand was made March 24, 1566. Again May 3, 1566, a royal cédula commanded

25 Boquiano y Carillo, 225.

26 M.H.S.J., Laínez Letters, VIII, 245; Borgia Letters, III, 785, 796.

27 Laínez Letters, VIII, 245.

28 Astrain, II, 286; Borgia Letters, IV, 192; Diego Carillo to Borgia, May 16, 1566, Ibid., IV, 237-238.

29 Cédula in Michael Kenny, The Romance of the Floridas, New York, 1934, 160, and in Historical Records and Studies, XXV, 68.

that Jesuits be dispatched to Florida. The Society was required to send fourteen men to Peru in still another cédula, dated June 11, 1560.³¹ The cost of transporting the Jesuits and their supplies was to be provided from the king's treasury, but the fathers were to be dependent upon assistance from officials in Peru and from individual donations in order to establish their houses.

In reply Borgia appointed Father Jerónimo Ruiz del Portillo Provincial of Peru, March 22, 1567.³² Portillo had been urging Borgia to abandon the Florida venture and to commence work in Peru or some other field which held promise for achievement.³³ A native of Logrono in Castile, he had been received into the Society at Salamanca where he was ordained in 1554, at the age of 34. He had served as rector at Simancas and master of novices. In 1560 he had been appointed rector at Valladolid. Five years later he became vice-provincial of Castile where he served until his departure for Peru.

Portillo was an efficient administrator and an orator of exceptional ability.³⁴

Portillo arranged to sail for Peru with eleven men in August, 1567.³⁵ However, he did not leave San Lucar until the following November 2, 1567. He was accompanied by seven Jesuits recruited from four provinces: Father Antonio Álvarez and brother Luis de Medina from Toledo, Father Diego de Bracamonte and brother Juan García from Andalucía, Father Miguel de Fuentes

30 William E. Shiels, Gonzalez de Tapia, New York, 1933, 17.

31 Bernabe Cobo, "Historia de la Fundación de Lima," Monografías Historicas sobre la Ciudad de Lima, Lima, 1935, I, 245-246; Astrain, II, 305.

32 Borgia Letters, IV, 533, 537, 419-421. Peru included the vice-province of Florida. Epist. Nadal, III, 407.

33 Enrique Torres Saldamando, "El Primero y el último provincial de la Compañía de Jesús en el Peru," Revista Historico: Organo del Instituto Historico del Peru, (1906), I, 446-449.

34 Portillo to Borgia, Seville, Borgia Letters, IV, 495.

35 Astrain, IV, 307.

and brother Pedro Lobet from Aragon, and Father Luis López from Castile.³⁶

After a rather short journey of fifty-two days the ships anchored at Cartagena. Disembarking, the fathers found shelter in a "hospital" for the poor. They spent their Christmas day visiting the sick, Spaniards, natives and negro slaves, and for the remaining ten days of their stay they went about hearing confessions, preaching and instructing.

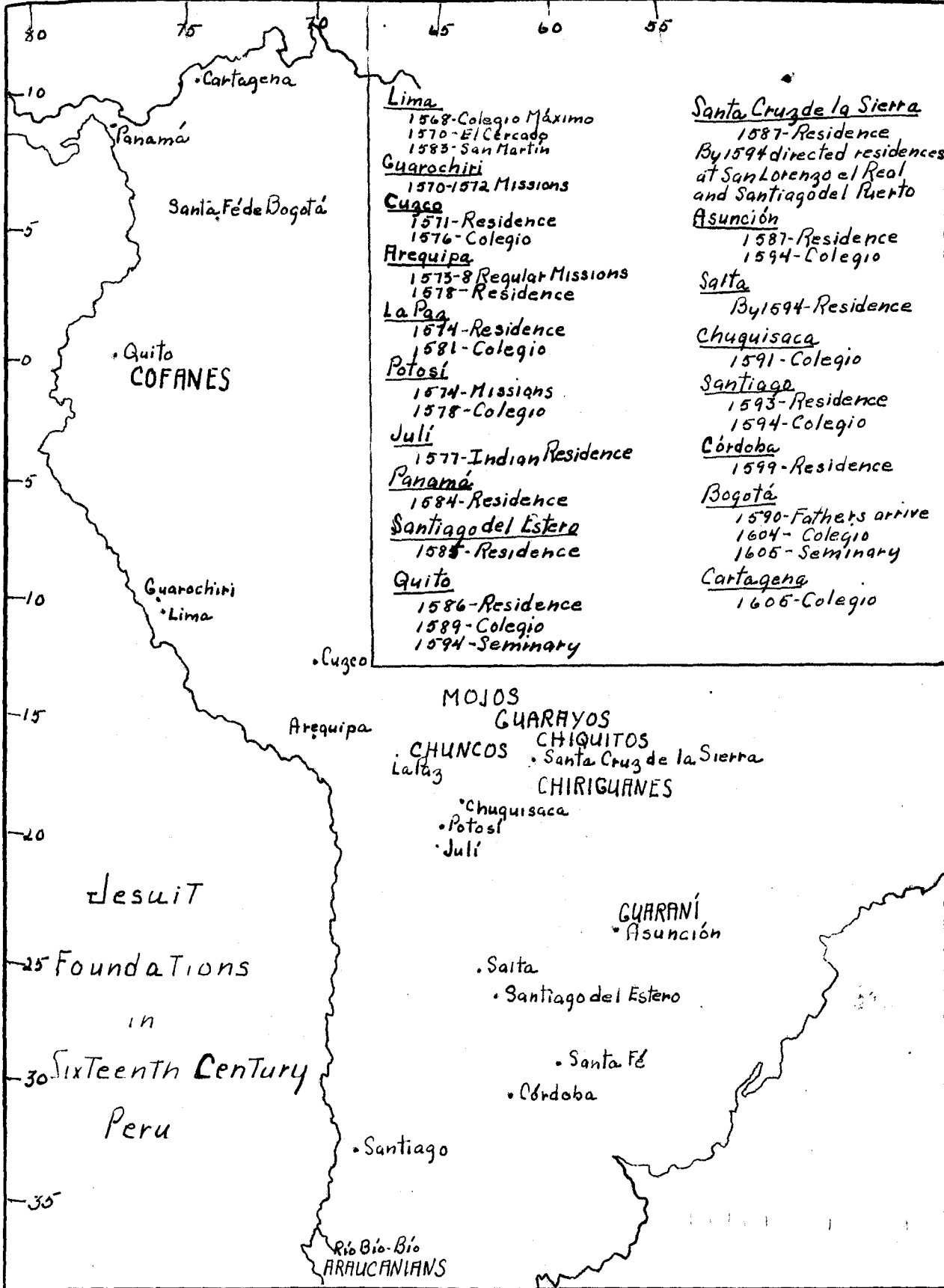
They sailed for Nombre de Dios on January 3, 1568. The exact time of their arrival is not known, but as soon as they disembarked they made their way to the church to give thanks to God for their safe journey. The townsfolk lodged them in their various homes since there was no hospice in the town. In his preaching Portillo emphasized the need of such an institution to such effect that the people contributed 3,000 pesos to start the work.

Within a few days the Black Robes packed up their meagre belongings and wended their way over the eighteen leagues of jungle road toward Panamá. It is doubtful if they rode burros or had any to carry their goods. To avoid a welcoming reception they delayed their entry into Panamá until an unseasonable hour, and then made their way to the convent of the Franciscans, where they were hospitably received and given every consideration. Here they would have to wait until a boat was going south to Lima. During their stay Portillo and the others went about their usual preaching and administrations. One of the sermons of the Provincial was aimed at the avarice which led men to violate contracts and to cheat. The spirit of Panamá was apparently too commercial and injustice too common. Despite his censures the Panamanians

36 Cobo, I, 245; Fernando Montesinos, Anales del Peru, Madrid, 1906, II, 23. Anello Oliva, Historia del reino y provincias del Peru de sus Incas reyes descubrimiento y conquista por los españoles de la corona de Castilla con otros singularidades concernientes a la historia, Lima, 1895, 194-195.

contributed 14,000 ducats to the Society for continuing its work, and this, it might be added, was more than the King had contributed. How³⁷ sore a spot Portillo had touched is revealed by the fact that many came to repent and to make resolutions to amend their ways. The principal merchants gathered in conference and set up regulations which would eliminate cheating and injustice.

Thus affairs continued until February 22, 1568, the embarkation day. The cabildo begged Portillo to remain in Panamá or to assign some of the fathers to their city, which could not be done in view of their orders to go to Lima. Two Jesuits, however, did remain. With sanitary conditions such as they were in Panamá at the time and continued to be it is little wonder that the fever should attack one of their number. Father Álvarez was so seriously ill that he could not go aboard. Portillo left him under the care of a pious Portuguese carpenter named Juan Ruiz and Father Francisco de Medina. Alvarez passed away shortly afterward, and Juan Ruiz sailed with Medina for Lima where he joined the Company as a lay brother, or temporal coadjutor.



CHAPTER IV

HEADQUARTERS - THE CENTER AT LIMA

Portillo and his five companions sailed the coast from Panamá to Paíta¹ and from Paíta to Callao in the record time of thirty-six days. Ordinarily the voyage of some 1,300 statute miles against the winds required five or six months, what with delays of several stopovers. They arrived at Paíta on March 18 and landed five hundred miles beyond at Callao on Sunday, March 28, 1568. In the little seaport they stayed until April 1 preaching and hearing confessions.

Meanwhile some of the fellow passengers and the seamen of the voyage who had not remained long in Callao had brought the word of the coming of the Black Robes to Lima. There the officials and inhabitants prepared a welcome, and a deputation arrived from the capital to offer the respects of Peru. Portillo planned to avoid the reception, as he had done at Panamá, by making a delayed entrance. This proved inadvisable, since aboard the ship which had brought them they had had as companions the Vicar General and the Provincial of the Dominican fathers who had offered them the hospitality of the Dominican convent of Lima.

The religious all went together from Callao to Lima, a distance of eight miles. They were received with joy and no little curiosity on the part of the people. The prominent citizens, the Church dignitaries led by Archbishop Jerónimo de Loaysa and García de Castro, President of the

¹ Astrain, IV, 308; Montesinos, II, 23-24; Cobo, I, 245-247.

Audiencia and acting governor of Peru made official visits to them once they had found shelter at the Dominican convent of San Rosario. In view of the curiosity of the people and as a reply to the official welcome, Father Portillo took the pulpit on the following Sunday, April 4, with the intention of expressing his gratitude and explaining the purpose of the new Society. He no sooner had made the sign of the Cross at the beginning of his discourse than a sharp tremor rocked the church. The congregation rushed out, leaving the preacher alone in the church. Shortly afterwards when the fear of further shocks had vanished the people returned to hear the sermon. The Provincial's explanation of the origin, the constitutions and the work of the Jesuits satisfied his hearers.

The first worry was renting a house for the group. Where to obtain the house was one question and where to get the rent was a companion question. Portillo's fears about finances were dispelled when the inhabitants began to contribute alms both for support and for the building of a residence and college. By June they had purchased the house. To satisfy people who wished to hear Mass an outdoor chapel was improvised by knocking down a wall of the patio opposite the dwelling, and thus allowing the people ample room to congregate in the open. The pulpit and altar were placed with their backs to the side of the house, probably in the shelter of the balcony. This temporary chapel was used for six years while the new church was being built.

Each of the fathers was assigned a specific task. Father Miguel de Fuentes had to hear confessions and organize a class of Latin grammar.

² Oliva, 161-163.

³ Ibid., 164.

⁴ Pastells, I, 85.

Father Luis Lopez visited the sick and dying and had charge of the negro slaves. Portillo himself preached in churches and in the public square and visited prisons and hospitals. The only class neglected was the Indian. To instruct these who did not know Castilian the fathers had first to learn their language. What the immediate effect of these various ministries were is not clear in detail, but very notable improvement was made in the lives of the downtrodden slaves who began to give up their drinking and indecent dances. So satisfied with the energy of the Jesuits was Garcia de Castro, that he wrote to tell Philip II that if he wished the whole land of Peru in peace and quietude, he had better send many more Jesuits.

5

According to plan the center of all Jesuit activities in Peru was to be in Lima, in a "colegio máximo." This colegio was planned to be a residence, a church, a school, a college. It was to be the heart of the Province of Peru where men were to be trained for missionary work and educational work, and it was to be the administrative headquarters, in brief, the headquarters for all the activities of the Society in the Province. The term "colegio" also has reference to the corporation or the group of men working at the residence, whether they were engaged in educational or missionary labors.

Portillo went about his task of founding the center for the Province of Peru. The site for the Colegio Máximo, where long years afterwards in Republican times the Penitenciario de San Pablo was erected, was selected and

6

5 Astrain, IV, 309-310. Portillo emphasized the necessity of frequent reception of the sacraments, and did much to popularize special devotion to the Blessed Sacrament. Oliva, 173-174. The fathers also organized religious confraternities for Indians, morenos, and Spaniards. Vargas Ugarte, Manuscritos Peruanos en las Bibliotecas del Extranjero, Lima, 1935, II, 46-47. (Henceforth cited as Manuscritos Peruanos.)

6 Pastells, I, 90; Borgia to Portillo, Rome, October 3, 1568, Borgia Letters, IV, 651.

was to be paid for by the cabildo and the Audiencia. Castro described the location as "... the square that borders on the Capitanía of Diégo de Asuero from the point where there are the houses of Gaspar Baéz to the houses of Diego de Porras on one side, and on the other side as far as the houses of Adrian Merino." Castro estimated that the cost of the buildings amounted to 12,410 pesos. The Governor granted only 2,200 pesos from the royal hacienda in June of 1568. Archbishop Loayza devoted much time and energy soliciting donations for the Jesuit house. The fathers received contributions from individuals in Lima amounting to 12,710 pesos by June of 1568.

This Colegio was put under the patronage of San Pedro y San Pablo. It received substantial assistance from Don Martínez Renifo and his wife, Doña Barbara Ramírez de Cartagena, who contributed the hacienda de Jesús in the valley of Chancay, a house in the villa and a hacienda with 20,000 vines in the valley of Ate. The Society accepted this latter donation October 14, 1581, when the benefactors received the title of patrons of two of the chairs in the colegio. In 1582 Father José de Acosta requested a grant of a thousand pesos annual rent for the colegio, but he received only 200 pesos from the cabildo. Two years later, in 1584, Diego de Porres Sagrada, a prominent citizen of Lima, offered 3,000 ducats annual rent and in turn was

7 Enríque Torres Saldamando, "El Primero y el último provincial de la Compañía de Jesús en el Peru," Revista Histórica: Organó del Instituto Histórico del Peru, (1906-1941), I, 448.

8 Pastells, I, 3.

9 Cédula signed by Castro, April 17, 1572, Ibid., 3-4.

10 Mendiburu, IX, 205.

11 "Relación de los religiosos que ay en el Colegio de la ciudad de los Indios, y de la hacienda y renta, que tienen para su sustento y de los census y tributos que paga el dicho colegio sobre su hacienda y dueños que deben," Juan Sebastian, March 8, 1594, Vargas Ugarte, Mamscritos Peruanos, II, 164-166; Cobo, I, 246.

12 Mendiburu, IX, 205-206; Torres Saldamando, "Un Filantropo," Revista Histórica, (1908), III, 308.

13 Vargas Ugarte, Los Jesuitas del Peru (1568-1767), Lima, 1941, 88.

granted the privilege of having his sepulchre in the Jesuit church. Another generous individual, Don García, donated the hacienda de Villa to the colegio in June, 1595. It is worthwhile to point to these donors who began

15

to contribute toward education in America. They were either Americans or colonials. Since they contributed far more than the Crown and since the fathers contributed their services as teachers, the Spanish Crown could claim small credit for the establishment of education.

The Colegio Máximo of San Pedro y San Pablo was embarked upon its career. It served as a novitiate until 1583. Only a month after their arrival at Lima, Portillo accepted the first applicant for admission to the Society. The problem of manpower began to resolve itself. Pedro Messia, a lawyer, and fiscal of the Royal Audiencia of Lima, was accepted into the Society May 2, 1568. At the same time Portillo appointed Father Miguel de Fuentes master of novices. Before the end of the year thirty men were admitted. These men had been engaged in various professions. In the first group of novices there was Francisco López de Haro, Secretary to the Governor Castro, the author Juan Gutiérrez, who joined as a lay brother, Martín Pizarro, the mayorazgo, who was the first creole to join the Society in Peru, as well as three soldiers and two carpenters. Two ecclesiastics also joined the Society in 1568. The first was Don Juan Toscano who was dean of the cathedral of Lima, and the second, the canon of Cuzco, Christóval Sánchez. The latter had been appointed by the Bishop of Cuzco to attend a Council in Lima, and was so impressed by the accomplishments of the padres during their

14 Statement of Aquaviva, Rome, February, 1584, Vargas Ugarte, Manuscritos Peruanos, I, 119-120.

15 Torres Saldamando, Revista Histórica, I, 448.

16 Ibid., I, 450; Oliva, 180.

four months in the city that he applied for admission in August, 1568.

Bracamonte reported that five or six of these first novices were rendering
valuable assistance to the Society in a comparatively brief time. ¹⁷

As it became increasingly difficult to give the young novices their proper training at the Colegio Máximo, the novitiate, dedicated to San José, was transferred in February, 1583, to the residence at El Cercado, an Indian
center on the outskirts of Lima. ¹⁸ By 1594 three priests were occupied solely
in the instruction of the novices. ¹⁹ Toward the end of the century, in 1599,
the novices were transferred to a nearby pueblo. ²⁰ This location proved to be inconvenient. Consequently they returned to El Cercado in 1602.

By 1606 the Society was able to build a very fine residence and chapel
for the novices, due to the generosity of Antonio Correa of Lima. ²¹ Correa provided for 3,000 pesos annual rent, and was in turn granted the privileges of a founder. Until this time the novitiate received no specific contribution or endowment, but was supported by the colegios throughout the Province. This new novitiate was built on a spacious plot of land, and was conveniently located eight blocks from the main plaza on the same street as the Colegio Máximo. The church was large and elaborately decorated. The main chapel was covered by a semi-circular design worked in cedar. This novitiate was used as the house of probation but it also served as the tertianship or the final year of probation in the training of the Jesuits.

The Colegio Máximo also conducted what was known as a grammar school,

17 Astrain, II, 314.

18 Mendiburu, IX, 206-207; Torres Saldamando, Los antiguos Jesuitas del Peru, Lima, 1882, 158-159.

19 Vargas Ugarte, Manuscritos Peruanos, II, 164.

20 Torres Saldamando, Revista Historico, I, 450.

21 Vargas Ugarte, Manuscritos Peruanos, II, 164.

with a curriculum equivalent to that of upper primary and secondary education. Young boys from twelve to sixteen years of age were taught the rudiments of grammar, Latin, rhetoric and arts. Fuentes, in addition to acting as master of novices, began the instruction of forty boys, the majority of whom were sons of prominent citizens of Lima, in 1568. ²² Ten years later the enrollment had increased to 150. ²³ The school was closed for two years upon Toledo's order during a period of dissension between the Viceroy and Provincial, which will be dealt with in another chapter. When it was reopened in 1582 ²⁴ 200 pupils were enrolled. The grammar school continued until the Society was expelled in the eighteenth century.

More advanced classes were also offered at the Colegio. Portillo had to provide for the scholastic as well as the spiritual training of the novices. ²⁵ After two years of probation, the novices entered the juniorate period of their training, devoted primarily to the study of classics. Following this they were given three years of philosophy, including logic, epistemology, ontology, psychology, ethics, cosmology, theodicy, natural sciences and mathematics. Consequently classes had to be provided in these studies. The lectures in Latin, rhetoric, arts, dogmatic theology, moral theology and native languages were open to laymen and to other religious during Portillo's provincialate. Although the Ratio Studiorum was finally formulated only towards the end of the sixteenth century, the Jesuits already

22 Astrain, II, 310-311.

23 Vargas Ugarte, Los Jesuitas del Peru, 87-88.

24 Ibid., 88.

25 Felipe Barrera y Laes, Vida Intelectual del Virreinato del Peru, Buenos Aires, 1937, 58-59; Mendiburu, IX, 206; Torres Saldamando, Los Antiguos Jesuitas del Peru, 7; for a careful explanation of the Jesuit training and curriculum see chapters I and II of Jerome V. Jacobsen, Educational Foundations of the Jesuits in Sixteenth Century New Spain, Berkeley, 1938, 1-35.

followed a rather definite pattern in method and curriculum, adhering to the pedagogical theories practiced at Alcalá and Salamanca.

Another educational foundation in Lima developed from the beginnings at the Colegio Máximo. Since there were many of the regular clergy studying at San Pedro y San Pablo and since there was no seminary specifically for the regular clergy, Toledo's successor, Don Martín Enriquez sponsored a foundation which would partially care for the need of a seminary in Lima to be directed by the Society. Enriquez reported to Philip II August 11, 1582:

In as much as Father Juan de Atienza, rector of the colegio of the Company of Jesus in this City of the Kings, has, on behalf of the Colegio, presented a petition to me, I now make this report, stating: that since it is evident to me that the fathers of this Colegio employed in the instruction of the youth who gather here, serve both God and country through their work with the students progressing in learning and in virtue, ... if another or other colleges could be founded in this city where the students would be able to live in more seclusion and in a more cloistered atmosphere with an obligatory rule as is customary in the colleges which have been established at Salamanca, Alcalá, Mexico, and other educational centers, the result would be a larger university enrollment for this city and a greater number of capable statesmen for this kingdom, and virtuous men of sufficient learning, and many poor persons would be benefited being enabled to study in this way, and would pursue education, as has been the case in Rome, Milan, Paris, Cologne, Mexico, and in Spain in Zargoza, Córdoba, Ocana, and in many other places where similar colleges have been founded: that the time is now

opportune for establishing a college of this type in this city, for there are many here who desire such a college in order that they might send their sons to it; and I petition and humbly request permission to grant a licence allowing this Company to establish the college and directing that the students wear a uniform dress as do the students of other colleges already mentioned, and that they live in seclusion and under a rule prescribed by the rules and constitutions that will be drawn up subject to my approval, that in this college God will be served and this kingdom will be singularly benefited....

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The term seminary does not refer to a foundation for the training of young men for the priesthood exclusively. A seminary was a hall adjacent to a college or university where students lived under prescribed regulations.

As Viceroy of New Spain Enríquez had sponsored a similar seminary, San Pedro y San Pablo, in 1573, at Mexico City. Enríquez sought bursaries or scholarships and dwellings for the deserving students. The constitutions for the

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Seminary of San Martín, so named in honor of the Viceroy, were given viceregal approval in October, 1582. The students marched to the Colegio

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Máximo for classes in arts, theology, canon and civil law. They had rules of conduct and wore a distinctive collegial garb. The college or seminary was modeled on the University of Alcalá or Salamanca, which was really a

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group of such colleges. San Martín was to enjoy privileges similar to those of Alcalá and Salamanca.

Two of the most prominent of the sixteenth century Jesuits were espe-

27 Cobo, I, 273-274.

28 Jacobsen, Educational Foundations of the Jesuits, 94-95.

29 Torres Saldamando, Los Antiguos Jesuitas del Peru, 26.

30 Jacobsen, Educational Foundations of the Jesuits, 155-160.

cially concerned with the establishment of this college. The first, Father Juan de Atienza, had served as rector of the Colegio Máximo since his arrival at Lima, May 20, 1581. ³¹ Atienza, son of a noted legist in Castile, entered the Society in 1564 at Salamanca where he had been studying law. Having completed his training he lectured in philosophy at the College of Ávila. In 1573 he served as procurator of the Province of Castile. He was named rector of the College of Villa García, and later rector at Valladolid. He had been sent to Peru in answer to his request for the appointment. As rector of San Pedro y San Pablo he saw the need of a seminary or college in connection with the Colegio Máximo. It was he who presented the formal request to the viceroy for such a foundation.

Father José de Acosta, concerning whom more will be said in subsequent chapters, is probably the most prominent of the sixteenth century Jesuits in Peru. ³² Following his provincialate (1576-1581), he was appointed to the chair in theology at the Colegio Máximo. At the same time he acted as a consultant to Viceroy Martín Enríquez and to his successor, Ramírez de Cartagena. His influence in effecting the establishment of this foundation was not negligible. Acosta reported in 1586 that he had urged Enríquez, who ³³ favored his opinion, to sponsor the school.

Classes for the San Martín collegians were begun by 1583, although the

31 Torres Saldamando, Los Antiguos Jesuitas del Peru, 24-30; Carlos Sommervogel, Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jesus, Paris, 1890, I, 611-612; Astrain, IV, 749.

32 Mendiburu, I, 150-152; Jose R. Carracido, El Padre José de Acosta y su Importancia en la Literatura Científica Española, Madrid, 1899, 13-70; Torres Saldamando, Los Antiguos Jesuitas del Peru, 2-3; Sommervogel, I, 31.

33 Acosta to Philip II, April 15, 1586, Astrain, IV, 508-509.

royal cédula confirming the constitutions and regulations which had been approved by the viceroy was not issued until October 5, 1588. This cédula allowed 1,500 pesos annual rent to provide scholarships or bursaries for twelve deserving students. In the meantime both Acosta and the Conde de Villar, who was viceroy from November, 1585 until January of 1590, had petitioned Philip II for financial assistance. How far the king intended to or was able to contribute to such a cause after the disaster of the Spanish Armada became clear later. Father Juan Sebastián de la Parra, provincial from 1592 until 1599, reported in 1594 in his financial summary that a Juan Martínez Renifo bequeathed to the Seminary of San Martín, a wheatfield in the valley of Chancay, nine leagues from Lima, in addition to a house, a vineyard, a small olive orchard and a honey plantation, stipulating that the Jesuits offer a certain number of masses for him. He reported also that Diego de Porres Sagredo and his wife, Ana de Sandoval, donated a house, a large fruit orchard, a small olive orchard and a pasture, but the latter was arid and practically useless. Even with the rents and donations received by the Society, the Jesuits had at the time of Sebastián's report in 1594, outstanding debts in Lima amounting to 29,000 pesos.

Papal approval of the new foundation followed shortly after the royal

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- 34 Cobo I, 274-275; Roberto Levillier, ed., Organización de la iglesia y ordenes religiosos en el virreinato del Peru en el siglo XVI, Madrid, 1919, (Hereafter cited as Organización.) I, 335-336, 452-455; Vargas Ugarte, Manuscritos Peruanas, II, 165; Catologo de los Colegiales que hubo en el Real de San Martín, II, 175-176; Mendiburu, I, 438; VI, 208.
- 35 Conde de Villar to Philip II, April 17, 1586, Lima, Levillier, Organización, I, 335-336; Memorial of Acosta, April 11, 1586, Vargas Ugarte, Manuscritos Peruanas, II, 161.
- 36 Vargas Ugarte, Manuscritos Peruanas, II, 165.

cédula of confirmation. October 25, 1588, Sixtus V gave his approbation to the college and granted special indulgences to the faculty and students on the feast day of St. Martin. Clement VII decreed a public jubilee on this day.

San Martín was located next to the Colegio Máximo, on the site of the present Palacio de Justicia. Acosta reported that Martín Enríquez and an oidor of the Audiencia "... sought donations to commence this undertaking, and a certain sum was collected with which a very large place adjoining the house of the Company was purchased, and a hall was built immediately which now [1586] affords modest living quarters for twenty-four students." By the middle of the eighteenth century the Society had educated approximately five thousand young men by means of this college.

Originally the rector of San Martín was subordinate to the rector of San Pedro y San Pablo. Atienza, as provincial, ruled that these rectors govern independently of each other. Father Pablo José de Arriaga, who had arrived at Lima in 1585 and who had been teaching rhetoric at the Colegio Máximo, was appointed rector of San Martín, and continued in this capacity from 1588 until 1608.

37 Cobo, I, 275.

38 Acosta to Philip II, April 15, 1586, Astrain, IV, 508-509.

39 There is considerable obscurity as to the number enrolled at San Martín during the first few years. Barrera y Laos, 60, writes that there were 50 in 1583, and 225 in 1588. Vargas Ugarte, Los Jesuitas del Peru, 95, says there were 80 students by 1601, and that the following year the enrollment increased to 220. The annals of the college list the names of the twelve original students, while Barrera speaks of fourteen first colegians. Vargas Ugarte, Manuscritos Peruanos, I, 172-175. The catalogue for the college begins in 1587. Ibid., I, 175-176. This college became the Novitiate of San Antonio when the Jesuits were expelled. Mendiburu, VI, 208.

40 Pablo José de Arriaga, La extirpación de la idolatría en el Peru, in Colección de Libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Peru, Lima, 1920, 27.

A certain amount of opposition was encountered in establishing San Martín. The Archbishop, St. Toribio de Mosgrovejo, felt that the entire proceedings had been irregular. Philip II had directed inquiries to the Archbishop January, 1586, regarding the establishment. ⁴¹ The king wrote that he had been informed that Toledo had established a college for the sons of caciques, or Indian chiefs, and that the Condé de Nieva appointed Toribio's predecessor, Archbishop Loayza, director of this college granting him 1,000 pesos ~~rents from Betulés~~. Then, the king continued, Don Martín Enriquez established another college for Spanish youth, and, placing it under Jesuit supervision, applied the rent formerly granted for the purpose of educating the sons of caciques to this school. Evidently Philip II was satisfied with information received from other sources in this regard, for he approved the constitutions for San Martín before he received Toribio's report.

Toribio finally replied. His summary indicated his doubts regarding the legality of the founding of the seminary. He wrote:

This much I am able to tell Your Majesty, that a man from the province of Chile died in this city, who at the instance of the fathers of the Company established a chaplainship in this holy church with 400 pesos rent ... with the obligation of offering masses and conducting a boarding house for students ... and since the houses in this city are very expensive ... an oidor as well as other important persons began to solicit donations and in this manner a sum of money was collected to purchase the establishment mentioned, and to build other rooms and necessary offices, where at the present time there are lodgings for students who wear a reddish habit of coarse cloth, and a thick

cloth in the manner of a florid sash, and they placed the name of San Martín upon the house, for it was established in the time of your Viceroy, don Martín Enríquez. 42

Toribio continued, saying that it had been Toledo's plan to found a college comparable to the corporate colleges of Salamanca, and incorporate this with a school for the instruction of the sons of native chiefs. The rents designated for this project were diverted by Enríquez toward the Jesuit college of San Martín which was then (1589) receiving about 2,800 pesos, and, the Archbishop said, it was not serving the purpose for which the grants were intended, since natives were given no instruction here. However, he did approve the fact that the college offered opportunities for an education to the descendents of impoverished conquistadores. And, although Toribio questioned the manner in which the grants were made to San Martín, and the legality of founding such a college instead of a mere boarding house or a school for natives, he did commend the educational standards of the college. By 1618 the viceroy reported to the king that San Martín was "... the most useful seminary in this kingdom for the instruction of the youth." 43

So far in this chapter, we have seen how the educational beginnings of Portillo and his small group developed into three establishments, namely, the novitiate, the grammar school, and, subsequent to Portillo's provincialate, the seminary of San Martín. But these schools were directly concerned with the instruction of the Spaniards, while the prime purpose of the Jesuit

42 Buenaventura Ora, "Ersección de Centros de Enseñanza Superior y el Espíritu Docente durante la Colonia," Reglas y Constituciones, Córdoba, 1940, 21. Archbishop of Lima to Philip II, March 15, 1589, Levillier, Organización, I, 452-455. Toribio was consecrated in Seville in 1576 and entered Peru in May, 1581. He possessed boundless energy and zeal, and made countless missions among the natives. He died in 1606 and was canonized in 1680. Moses, Spanish Rule in America, 261-262.

43 April 26, 1618, Vargas Ugarte, Manuscritos Peruanos, II, 50.

entrance into the viceroyalty was the care and instruction of the natives. Although this chapter has been devoted to the educational endeavors of the fathers among the Spaniards of Lima, subsequent chapters will show that the majority of the Jesuits in Peru were engaged in missionary work among the natives. Those in the vicinity of Lima were of most immediate concern.

Father Bracamonte, the first rector of the Colegio Máximo, began the study of the native languages immediately upon his arrival with the first group of Jesuits to come to Peru, and by 1569 he was directing the instruction of approximately 3,000 Indian children in the vicinity of Lima. In 1570 the fathers undertook the care and reduction of the Guarochiri tribes outside of Lima, but due to a difference of opinion between Portillo and Toledo, which will be discussed later, the Provincial recalled the men from this field.

In 1570 the Jesuits assumed the care and management of an Indian center on the outskirts of Lima, called Santiago del Cercado, or, more commonly, El Cercado. A school for native children was established here, doctrine was taught to the Indians, and the old and infirm received care. Spaniards were restricted from entering this suburban settlement or barrio. The area was originally an encomienda of a licentiate, Rodrigo Niño. Governor Castro paid 15,326 pesos for this land which he placed at the disposal of the Jesuits. The land was enclosed by a wall or cercado. Residences were erected for the natives, and a chapel, dedicated to St. James, Santiago, as well as a house for the fathers. El Cercado was actually a small city

44 Astrain, II, 310.

45 Vargas Ugarte, Los Jesuitas del Peru, 10; Mendiburu, III, 87.

46 Mendiburu, III, 87.

with its own hospital, school and church, and was administered by the padres. Except for a brief difficulty with Toribio, the fathers encountered comparatively few obstacles in their successful labors here. There were generally six priests assigned to El Cercado during the sixteenth century.

Toribio, a zealous religious and a saintly man, possessed a strong will and a strong sense of duty. He misunderstood his jurisdiction and the privileges accorded by Rome to the Society. He quarreled with the bishops at the Council of Lima, with the cabildo, the Audiencia and the viceroys, particularly the Marqués de Cañete. Shortly after his appointment in 1581, the Archbishop announced his intention of visiting the Jesuit residences at Julí and at El Cercado with the understanding that these establishments were in the same category as those of regular clergy, although the Jesuits protested that these were religious communities, not parochial, and consequently were not subject to episcopal visitations.⁴⁷ Toribio's contention was that these religious were living outside the cloister, extra clausura, and as such could be visited by himself. The Jesuits maintained that their provincial took the place of the bishop in the matter of administration of members of the Society, wherever they were. In reply to Father Atienza's report on the affair, Aquaviva wrote that he hoped the viceroy would dissuade the Archbishop from his plan unless Toribio requested the permission of the Jesuit provincial.⁴⁸ Toribio canceled his visit but a more serious quarrel followed.

In 1589 the Indians of El Cercado, influenced by some of the clergy,

47 Astrain, IV, 525.

48 Ibid., IV, 526.

formally protested to the king against Jesuit supervision. The following year Viceroy Velasco's successor, the Marqués de Cañete, having investigated the complaint upon orders from the Council of Indies, reported that conditions at El Cercado warranted no dissatisfaction. Shortly after this incident, Toribio failed in an attempt to establish an Indian parish similar to El Cercado, dedicated to San Lazaro, on the opposite side of Lima. While Toribio was on a pastoral visit the Viceroy directed the few Indians at San Lazaro to El Cercado. Incensed by this action, the Archbishop formed another parish close to the Jesuit residence. In reply to the complaints of the Jesuits, the Viceroy and Audiencia directed the Archbishop to forsake this undertaking. Both the matter of the visits to Jesuit residences and to El Cercado were brought to Madrid and to Rome. On June 10, 1591, a Congregation of Cardinals announced that such religious communities as El Cercado were not subject to episcopal visitations; the following December the Council of Indies ordered Toribio to leave the vicinity around El Cercado entirely under Jesuit supervision. These decisions reached Lima in May of 1592, and Toribio dutifully complied with the stipulations. A House of Reclusion for Indian medicine men was added to El Cercado in 1618, and in 1620 a college for caciques was founded here.

49 Velasco attributed the complaint to the work of the regular clergy, particularly to Alonso de Huerto who desired the parish at El Cercado, Astrain, IV, 530; IV, 526 from Irigoyen, II, 178.

50 Atienza to Aquaviva, Lima, April 1, 1592, Astrain, IV, 528.

51 Oliva, 204; "Constituciones del Colegio de los Caciques que por orden de su Magestad ha fundada en El Cercado de Santiago desta Ciudad de los Reyes," in Domingo Angulo, "Documentos sobre los antiguos colegios de caciques," Revista del Archivo Nacional del Peru, (1920), I, 369-372; Mendiburu, III, 87.

These branches of the Colegio Máximo de San Pedro y San Pablo in Lima, the novitiate, the grammar school, the seminary of San Martín, and the Indian settlement of El Cercado are illustrative of the type of foundations established by the Society throughout the Province. San Pedro y San Pablo was the administrative center for all, but due to the vastness of the Province and the difficulty in maintaining frequent communications between Lima and the distant houses to the north and south, other residences or colegios were established which, subordinate to the Colegio Máximo and manned by instructors from its halls, served as centers for the activities of the padres in the various localities. Such residences were subsequently founded at Santiago del Estero, Cuzco, Santiago de Chile and Quito.

CHAPTER V

PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION AND ORGANIZATION

The instructions given Portillo by Borgia in March, 1567, describe¹ the principal features of Jesuit organization throughout the Americas. They were addressed not only to Portillo but also to "the other fathers who go to the Indies from Spain." This brief but important document contains seven explicit directions.

First of all, the fathers were to restrict their foundations to a few localities in the beginning, and they were admonished to avoid undertaking tasks or missions that they might not be able to continue. Borgia had reason to fear the dispersion of his men in the vast area of Spanish America. A royal cédula of March 3, 1566, had petitioned the Society to appoint twenty-four missionaries to be sent to the Americas by the Council² of Indies. Although such royal petitions were actually commands, Borgia hesitated to appoint men without knowing their exact destination in the³ vast territories of Spanish America. Requests for Jesuits, as has already been noted, had been sent from many sections of the viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru, and there were the persistent demands of Menéndez to send men to the Florida wilderness. The vagueness of this cédula worried Borgia.

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- 1 "Instructions regarding the affairs which are entrusted to Father Portillo and to other fathers who are going to the Indies from Spain," March, 1567, Borgia Letters, IV, 419-421; Felix Zubillaga, "Métodos Misionales de la Primera Instrucción de San Francisco de Borja para la América Española (1567)," Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu, Rome, (1943), XII, 58-68. Text of cedula, 60-62.
- 2 Borgia Letters, IV, 226. The contents of this cedula were revealed by the president of the Council to Father Araoz before the king had affixed his signature. Araoz informed Borgia of this in a letter of February 22, 1566, Ibid., IV, 192.
- 3 Ibid., IV, 226-227; A.H.S.I., XII, 64-65.

for he did not know whether the Council intended to dispatch the padres to Florida, New Spain or Peru as a group, or whether they were to be separated and sent to various sections of the Americas. Borgia made it clear that the Society should begin in one section and establish there until the manpower problem should resolve itself sufficiently to warrant further expansion.⁴ When he wrote these instructions to Portillo, the fathers had already been drafted to participate in Menéndez' Florida project. Even then the insurmountable difficulties in establishing permanent foundations in this land where the fathers were dispersed at the will of the Adelantado were apparent. Borgia did not intend to have his men serve only as transitory missionaries, but he wanted them to found permanent establishments and to increase the radius of their activities only when they were assured that they could continue the work they began.

The second point mentioned in the instructions concerned the residence of the provincial and the selection of superiors. The provincial was to reside at the main house of the province from which all other activities should be directed, and he should be able to communicate with the other houses established in his province. The superiors were to be selected with utmost care to be certain that those who directed the work of the Society would be equipped not only with admirable spiritual qualities, but also with the tact and prudence of able administrators. In this, Borgia was rephrasing the words of Ignatius found in the Constitutions of the Society,

⁴ Again, in a letter to Araoz, March 16, 1567, Borgia wrote, "... if we proceed slowly we will be able to sustain the tasks we assume." Borgia Letters, IV, 446.

both in regard to the necessity of the provincials' communication with
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other houses and in the requisite qualities of superiors. Borgia emphasized
the importance of vigilance in this matter, for laxity in this regard would
be disastrous in the provinces so remote from Spain and Rome.

Thirdly, the fathers were to concentrate first upon the instruction of
the natives in the cities who had already been baptized, and then they were
to "attend to the conversion of others who are not baptized, proceeding
prudently and undertaking no more than they can manage and also they should
not as a matter of expediency, travel from one section to another to convert
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persons whom later they would be unable to attend." The natives who had
been baptized were frequently not practicing Christians, and were often
ignorant of the meaning of the Faith. This was the result of mass baptisms
of of the failure to give them sufficient instruction before baptism as
well as the lack of continuous instruction after conversions were made.
Already the fathers had witnessed the sad results of such procedures in
7
India and in Brazil where they found many who were Christian in name only.
The caution against makingg hasty converts "as a matter of expediency" might
well have been a warning to the fathers to avoid being used as tools in
projects such as that of Menéndez, who appeared more interested in the
speedy pacification of natives by cross or sword in order to realize his
ambitions of conquest than he was in fostering the slower process of gaining

5 M.H.S.I., Mon. Ign. Consti., II, 699, n2, 723, n. 8. Exceptional care was
taken in selecting men for missionary work from the beginning. A.H.S.I.,
XII, 69; J. M. Ganero, La acción misionera y los métodos misionales de
San Ignacio de Loyola, Burgos, 1931, 131-143.

6 Borgia Letters, IV, 420.

7 A.H.S.I., XII, 72-73; Granero, 161-167; Leite, Historia, II, 271-279.

sincere concerts to the Church

In the fourth article of the instructions it was stated that those who entered areas which were not completely under Spanish control should reside at some protected city or fort where either the civil or the military authorities could afford protection and assistance.

The fifth article summarized the method or plan for evangelizing natives, which had been the general procedure followed in the orient and in Brazil. First of all the fathers were to prepare themselves for their work among the Indians by acquiring a knowledge of the native temperament, rites and language. Then they were to concentrate upon the conversion of native chiefs or influential natives whose cooperation and example would facilitate the evangelization of the tribes.

Next, Borgia stressed the necessity of the fathers' avoiding undue peril in hostile regions. He noted that the need for clergy was great, and the difficulties involved in replacing any man in the province demanded every precaution against martyrdom. The General reminded his men that they could serve God as well, possibly better, and certainly longer, by living for their Faith rather than dying for it. The crown of martyrdom was desired so ardently by many of the sixteenth century religious that it sometimes led them to invite death by risking their lives unnecessarily in the lands of hostile natives. Borgia hoped to avoid losing more men such as Martínez due to the lack of sufficient protection.

The seventh instruction required written reports from the provincial and

8 A.H.S.I., XII, 80-83.

9 Ibid., XII, 83-85.

superiors which were to include a description of the progress of the Society and of the land, climate, peoples and general situation in the various localities. Thus the General could check upon the needs and activities of the remote provinces.

Borgia's instructions and his missionary plan met the approval of Pope Pius V, who had been elected January 7, 1566. The Pope was particularly concerned with the evangelizing of the orient and of the Americas, and he welcomed the aid of the Society in this tremendous undertaking.

While, as the instructions indicate, the chief concern of the Jesuits in the Americas was the conversion and instruction of the natives, the fathers were also to found educational establishments. The fact that the Jesuits were sent as a province implies this latter obligation. A province had to have a central college, a novitiate, a juniorate, a philosophate, a theologate and a tertianship or third probation. They not only afforded the necessary training for their own men, but they provided educational opportunities for the Spanish laymen and clergy of the province.

Portillo had complied with his instruction to found a colegio máximo as the first step in establishing the Society in Peru. This accomplished, plans for work in other sections of the province were considered. Since Borgia wanted the Society to establish a firm foundation in the principal city before spreading outside of Lima, he wrote to Portillo in 1568:

10 Ibid., XII, 87-88.

11 L. Lopetegue, "San Francisco de Borja y el plan misional de San Pio V," A.H.S.I., XI, (1942), 1-26.

12 Jacobsen, Educational Foundations of the Jesuits in Sixteenth Century New Spain, 17-35.

Even though some individuals in that land, inspired by a holy devotion, should offer foundations and assistance for them, as ... were offered elsewhere, accept no place however for the present time outside the City of the Kings, nor assume any obligation to establish a center in Peru without understanding first of all more of the affairs there, in order that the people may be satisfied; and those who remain in Panamá or who may be in other sections should be there on missions and not under the obligation of establishing residences.

Having founded the principal house in the City of the Kings, if it should seem necessary to assign some of our men to Indian repartimientos in order to instruct the natives in doctrine, it should be with these conditions as far as possible: First that they should be extremely virtuous and worthy to be intrusted with this position; Second, they should be located as close to the principal residence as possible in order that they may easily communicate ... Third, they should not be obligated or assigned for a definite period, but the superior should be free to dispatch or recall them. Fourth, they should accept no stipend unless it seems necessary for them to do so in order to subsist; and with this the Provincial should have grasped the knowledge of these parts and be informed about matters in order that he may know the most effective way to proceed in the service of God. And always, in order that he might advise on important matters, let the consultants write him their individual opinions regarding these affairs that he might evaluate them individually.

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Portillo had already, by May 15, 1569, received requests to establish residences in Cuzco, Charcas, Quito, Cartagena and Panamá from the cabildos

and from prominent individuals in these cities. The lack of men prevented the Provincial's acceptance of these offers at the time. Before the termination of Portillo's provincialate, however, the padres had commenced work around Cuzco, La Paz, Arequipa and Potosí.

The administration of the province made necessary personal tours of inspection by the provincial and by visitadores, provincial congregations, and annual reports from the superiors. The need for maintaining a regular system of supervision in the faraway and vast province of Peru was even greater and more difficult than that in the European provinces. The administrative system was the same however. American provincials were guided by the same rules as those of Europe. So also were the rectors.

The first means of supervision were the periodic visits made by the provincials to the various houses throughout the province. In some instances provincials selected capable men to make this inspection for them, as was the case in 1573 when Portillo selected Acosta to inspect the beginnings at Cuzco and to check upon the possibilities of establishing houses elsewhere. ¹⁵ The Jesuit General also appointed a Visitador who served as an inspector to tour the entire province. The Visitador or visitor was empowered with considerable authority to make revisions in the plan of proceedings in the province, and in disciplinary matters. Appeals from the Visitador's decisions could be made directly to the General, but more frequently the Visitador was able to solve the difficulties to the satisfaction of the majority in the province. The first Visitador of Peru was Father Juan de la Plaza, who

14 Portillo to Borgia, May 15, 1569, in Vargas Ugarte, Los Jesuitas del Peru, 5.

15 Carracido, 44.

received this appointment for both the Province of Peru and that of New Spain in 1574.

Plaza had entered the novitiate at Alcalá in 1553, at the age of twenty
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six. He had already received his doctorate having completed his studies at the University of Alcalá de Henares and at the College of Singüenza. He had served as master of novices at Córdoba, rector at Granada, provincial at Andalucía and had been permitted to take the fourth vow. In later years he was named Provincial of New Spain (1585) and then spiritual father of the Colegio Máximo in Mexico where he remained until his death in 1602.

Plaza sailed from Cadiz October 10, 1574, and arrived at Lima June 20,
17
1575. He had been instructed to investigate a misunderstanding between Portillo and Toledo involving the question of the supervision of Indian parishes under Jesuit care, which will be discussed later, and to investigate rumors concerning the conduct of Father Luis López in addition to the general duty of touring the Province. After examining conditions in Lima, which he found were satisfactory, Plaza, accompanied by López, commenced his inspection
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outside the City of the Kings July 10, 1573. He attended both sessions of a provincial congregation held at Lima and Cuzco, since this was a meeting of the forty senior members of the province, although he was not permitted to vote upon the decisions of the congregation. He left Cuzco January 14 for Potosí, arriving there February 14, 1577. He journeyed from Potosí to Juli

16 Torres Saldamando, Los Antiguos Jesuitas del Peru, 58; Sommervogel, VI, Astrain, III, 161.

17 Torres Saldamando, op.cit., 58.

18 "Relación Última de la visita del Peru hiza el P. Plaza," Lima, April 25, 1579, Astrain, III, 176-177.

July 27 to witness the establishment of a residence. Except for a brief visit to La Paz, he remained at Juli until November 4 when he departed for Arequipa where he remained for a month. In September, 1578, Plaza called Acosta, who was then provincial, and his advisors to Cuzco for a conference. Plaza left Cuzco for Lima October 20 and sailed for New Spain in June of 1579. His report showed satisfaction with the progress of the Society, though he regretted the attitude of Viceroy Toledo in regard to the supervision of Jesuit houses.

The need for constant supervision was unfortunately demonstrated toward the end of the century. When Father Rodrigo de Cabredo arrived in Peru to succeed Father Juan Sebastián de la Parra as provincial in 1599 he learned that the latter had failed to tour the province since 1596, since he had been anticipating his replacement by another appointment. This neglect distressed Cabredo and Father Estéban Páez, former Provincial of New Spain, who arrived at Lima as Visitador July 31, 1599. Both Cabredo and Páez began their journey around the province immediately. It is difficult to trace their exact itinerary, but we know that they visited all the Jesuit houses in Peru as well as the missions of Tucuman and Paraguay from 1599 to 1602.

Cabredo wrote a dreary account of the result of Sebastián's neglect. In his letter to the General Aquaviva, he accounted for the difficulties he found in the province:

First, Father Juan Sebastián had not visited the colegios of the province for over three years, but had remained at the colegio in Lima; and although I excuse him

since he says that he was expecting a Visitador and Provincial daily, and that consultors with whom he conferred were of the opinion that the situation in the province had not altered, nevertheless the damage that has resulted is without a doubt irreparable for an evil has been nourished which spreads as a forest over the province. 19

Due to a laxity that resulted from Sebastián's failure to check the houses of the Province, Cabredo found it necessary to expel ten or twelve subjects, six or seven of whom had been ordained. The precise nature of the offenses committed by these subjects is not clear. However, Aquaviva supported Cabredo in this action when some of the fathers complained that the Provincial had been too severe in his judgements. Since there had been considerable difficulty with many of the Peruvian members of the Society, Aquaviva, like Mecerian, advised that men born in Peru should be admitted to the Society only when they reached their twentieth year, but he encouraged the fostering of vocations among these young men, and their training in the Jesuit schools. The failure to visit the Province was an error seldom repeated in the history of the Jesuits in Peru.

The provincial congregations were another means of organizing and directing the Province. The first of these, held in 1576, was probably one of the most important in the early history of the Society in Peru, for it was at this meeting that plans were laid for the course subsequently followed

19 Cabredo to Aquaviva, April 26, 1601, Ibid., IV, 534.

20 Ibid., IV, 535.

21 Aquaviva to Cabredo, March 10, 1603, Ibid., IV, 536. In 1575 Plaza had stated that no applicant should be admitted to the Society until he reached his twentieth year, except in exceptional cases, and each applicant should be known and examined for one year previous to his admission. José Jouanen, Historia de la Compañia en la antigua Provincia de Quito, Quito, 1941, I, 17-18.

by the padres in Peru.

This first provincial congregation met at Lima, January 6, 1576, in order to review the progress in the Province and to remedy the obstacles encountered during the eight years the Society had been established in Peru. 22
Father José de Acosta had assumed his duties as second provincial of Peru on January 1st of that year. A delegate or procurator was generally elected to represent the decisions of the congregation in Spain and Rome. There were two sessions held by the congregation, the first at Lima in January and the second at Cuzco the following October. Fathers Acosta, Bartolome Hernández, Juan de Montoya, Báltasar Piñas, Bracamonte, Diego Ortún, Luis López and Pedro de Barcena attended the Lima session. Piñas and Ortún were absent from 23
the second session while Portillo, Zúñiga and Andrés López were included. Four questions were of particular interest to this congregation.

The first of these problems had arisen through a difficulty regarding Jesuit procedure in Peru. The friction resulting from Portillo's refusal to become involved in the parochial system among the Guarochiri Indians, which will be discussed in detail in a later chapter, had raised the question of whether the Society should accept similar parishes in other localities of Peru. Portillo's encounter with Toledo on this score brought a vital problem in Jesuit administration in Peru to the foreground. It was decided at the congregation that the precedent set by Portillo in this regard would be followed. Bracamonte, who had returned in 1575, Bartolomé Hernández and a

22 The Jesuit congregations should not be confused with the archdiocesan provincial councils which were held in Lima, under the direction of the archbishop. The provincial congregation was confined to the Jesuits. Hernández, II, 367-368.

23 Astrain, III, 163-167; Torres Saldamando, Los Antiguos Jesuitas del Peru, 4.

few others objected, but the majority supported Portillo's decision.

The second matter of discussion was whether travelling missions, such as those conducted among the Spaniards and natives in cities, should be made among uncivilized infidel tribes. Borgia had admonished his superiors to avoid sending men into areas where their lives were endangered. The congregation therefore, resolved to concentrate first upon the care and instruction of those tribes located near Spanish settlements where some degree of protection was assured, and to travel among only those infidel natives who were docile and who were inclined to accept the doctrine.

The congregation also decided to establish a residence at the Indian reduction of Julí, not far from Potosí, where the Dominicans formerly conducted a mission. The group discussed too, the matter of establishing colleges for caciques and for the more intelligent natives. It was agreed that the caciques should receive special instruction, but no definite plans were made for the founding of cacique colleges.

Still another resolution was made to print catechisms in Quechua and Aymará to facilitate the instruction and conversion of the natives. Portillo had required that all those in his province study Quechua immediately upon their arrival in Peru. Plaza stipulated that each man should devote the minimum of six months to this study and shortly afterwards, the General decreed that no member of the Society in this province could be assigned to work among the Spaniards until he had devoted his efforts to work among the natives. The Society encountered considerable difficulties in obtaining permission to print these catechisms at Lima. Atienza, in a letter to

Aquaviva, April 8, 1584, described the Audiencia's reluctance to grant the
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necessary license. He reported that the catechisms and dictionaries had
been composed and approved by the provincial congregation, but there was
a general attitude of reluctance on the part of the officials in Lima to
grant permission for the printing of any work. The Audiencia finally
issued a permit February 13, 1584, giving authority to Antonio Ricardo, a
reliable printer who had worked in New Spain from 1569 to 1579, to publish
the work at the Colegio Máximo. This was the first license to be granted
in Peru, but the catechism was not the first work to be published. Operations
were delayed when Ricardo received orders to print instructions pertaining
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to the corrections recently made on the calendar. The catechisms were
finally off the press by the latter part of 1584. Acosta was cited as the
author, although Torres Saldamando holds that only the composition of the
catechisms was the work of Acosta, while the translation into Quechua and
27
Aymará was the work of Fathers Valera and Santiago.

In addition to the tours of inspection and the congregations, a
third means of supervision was the annual report made by the superiors of
the various houses to the provincial who, from these, made and submitted
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an account of the progress in his province to the General. These letters,
the well known Cartas Anuas, are a most valuable source of information to

25 Ibid., I, 26.

26 The title of this work is Pragmatic sobre los diez días del año, July 14, 1584, Bernard Moses, Spanish Colonial Literature in South America, New York, 1922.

27 José de Acosta, Doctrina christiana y catechisma para instrucción de los Indios y las demás personas que han de ser enseñados en nuestra Santa Fe. Con un confesionario y otras cosas necesarias para los que doctrinan que se contienen en la pagina sequiente, Lima, 1584. This work was reprinted in 1773 by order of the Provincial Council. Sommervogel, I, 31-33; The Dominican Domingo de San Tomás published the first Quechuan grammar in Valladolid in 1560. Markham, Cuzco and Lima, 194.

28 Published in Pastells, Levillier, Organización, Vargas Ugarte, Manuscritos.

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the student of Spanish American colonial history since they generally contain a description of the conditions prevalent in the area as well as an account of the activities of the Jesuits. The provincial congregations also sent reports to the General. So too, did the rectors of the various houses.

The number of Jesuits in the Peruvian province rose from seven in 1568 to 376 before the division of the province in 1604. It has been noted that Portillo accepted thirty men into the Society before the end of 1568. The number grew to 44 by 1570. When Toledo accepted his appointment as viceroy, November 26, 1568, he immediately requested both Borgia and the king to assign more men to the viceroyalty. Borgia had previously received similar requests from the cabildo, the Audiencia of Lima, the Archbishop Loaysa, and various prominent individuals. Philip II asked the General to select twenty men for work in Peru and Florida. In reply, Borgia selected ten to accompany Toledo to his post, including five priests, Bartolomé Hernández, superior, Juan García, Alonso Barzana or Barcena, Hernán Sánchez, Rodrigo Álvarez, three scholastics who were soon to be ordained, Juan de Zúñiga, Antonio Martínez, Diego Ortún or Ortuno, and two lay brothers, Juan de Casacola and Diego Martínez. This group set sail

29 Jouanen, I, 14; Astrain, III, 159-160.

30 Borgia Letters, IV, 620; 631-632; 641-643.

31 Ibid., IV, 610; Astrain, IV, 311-312.

32 Astrain, IV, 312, says the king requested 20 for work in Peru without mentioning that some were to go to Florida. This is not an error, however, since Florida was at this time a vice-province of Peru. Borgia says, December 24, 1568, that the king requested 20 to accompany Toledo to the New World and that they were to be assigned to Florida and Peru. Borgia Letters, IV, 681-684.

33 Astrain, IV, 312, from Regest. Borgiae Hispaniae, 1567-1569, f. 180; Jouanen, I, 13.

from San Lucar March 19, 1569, but due to stopovers made by the Viceroy at Cartagena, Nombre de Dios and Panamá, they did not enter the City of the Kings until November of that year. ³⁴ Meanwhile Father García died at Panamá where the group had been detained for two months. The third group of Jesuits

to sail for Peru included only three, but each was a man of exceptional merit. Father José de Acosta, about whom more will be said later, Andrés

López and Diego Martínez disembarked at Callao April 27, 1572. ³⁵ López, who received his major orders in Peru, was a zealous missionary and a

capable superior. ³⁶ Martínez finished his theological studies at Lima, was ordained at Cuzco in 1573, and contributed much to the missionary progress around Cuzco, Juli and La Paz. ³⁷

The fourth contingent of thirteen arrived May 31, 1575, with the ³⁸ Visitador Plaza. Two of the fathers, Diego de Vaena from the Province of Andalucía, and Diego Suarez from the Province of Rome, died before reaching Lima. Vaena perished at sea while Suarez succumbed to the fever at Panama.

Included in this group were Father Juan Montoya, former Provincial of Sicily, and Father Báltasar Piñas, who was to serve as Provincial of Peru from 1581 until 1585, and a lay brother, Bernardo Bitti, whom Bracamonte had sought especially for his artistic talent could well be employed in ³⁹ beautifying the chapels and churches of the Society in Peru.

By 1576 Portillo had accepted fifty novices into the Society at Lima. ⁴⁰

³⁴ Zimmerman, 54-60.

³⁵ Torres Saldamando, Los Antiguos Jesuitas del Peru, 2.

³⁶ Ibid., 35.

³⁷ Ibid., 50-51.

³⁸ Oliva, 304-305.

³⁹ Ibid., 205-206.

⁴⁰ Mendiburu, IX, 206; Torres Saldamando, Revista Historico, II-I, 159-160.

Four years later there were 110 Jesuits in the Province, and the following year Piñas, returning to Peru from Spain where he had acted as procurator of the Province to serve as Provincial, brought twenty members including twelve priests. These he had recruited from the Spanish provinces. Twenty more men were sent from Spain in 1585, when Atienza was appointed Provincial.

Despite the number of men who had entered the Society in Lima and those who had come from Spain, the need for more was imperative, in order to comply with the requests for padres arriving by messengers from the various parts of the province. Consequently the Viceroy, Condé de Villar, sent Father Zúñiga to Spain in 1589 to recruit thirty Jesuits for the viceroyalty. The petition of the Viceroy read:

Father Diego de Zúñiga has been sent to court with orders to beg Your Majesty to grant the necessary license to bring thirty members of the Company here there are vast, densely populated Indian territories that are being discovered every day; these religious express their desire to convert the Indians and accomplish the fruitful results Your Majesty desires, and they are unable to achieve this end without further assistance they report there are 174 religious in all the territory. The majority of these are students and lay brothers, for there are but 75 priests, and it is not right that they should abandon the cities and ports where they are needed it is my opinion that Your Majesty should grant the license in order that thirty members of this Company be permitted to come to this kingdom, since they are extremely helpful in converting and instructing the negroes, Spaniards, and Indians. 43.

41 In 1580 there were 500 Jesuits in Castile, 480 in Toledo, 260 in Andalucia, 200 in Aragon, and 107 in New Spain, according to the catalogue of that year. Astrain, III, 183; Pastells, I, 95.

42 José de Arriaga, La extirpación de la idolatria en el Peru, Lima, 1830, xi. Six of these were priests and fourteen brothers.

43 Villar to Philip II, March 31, 1589, Levillier, Organización, I, 456-457.

By 1592 the number of Jesuits rose to 192, by 1595 to 242, and by 1604 to
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376.

Having indicated the organization of the Jesuits in Peru, their general policies, and the number of men assigned to the viceroyalty during the sixteenth century, it seems necessary at this point to review the general trend of expansion throughout the Province, which will be treated in more detail in the following pages.

By 1605 the Jesuits were established in the present republics of Peru, Bolivia, Argentina, Ecuador, Chile and Colombia, and it is significant to note that they had a key residence in the capital of each of these republics, save Argentina, whose present capital was not founded until 1580, and was of slight importance during the greater part of colonial Spanish American history. However, the fathers did visit Buenos Aires and later established a house there.

To the southwest there was the important center at Cuzco, and from there the fathers travelled to Arequipa and La Paz where they established residences. Then further south the colegio of Potosí was founded as well as the Indian center at Juli and the house at Chuquisaca. The next important move southward was the foundation at Santiago del Estero from where the residences and colegios of Asunción and Córdoba were directed. Santa Cruz, in Bolivia, became the focal point for activities among the natives of central and eastern Bolivia and from there the fathers went to San Lorenzo and Santiago del Puerto.

The first permanent residence to the north was founded at Quito, contemporary with the beginnings at Santiago del Estero. From Quito men were directed to Guayaquil, Pasto and numerous pueblos in the region of Ecuador. Missionaries from Peru met with those from Mexico in Colombia, and it was not until the early seventeenth century that a permanent college was founded at Bogotá. Far south in Chile, the Society had important work in hand at its new center at Santiago.

CHAPTER VI

CUZCO

The first step towards establishing a residence outside of the vicinity of Lima led to Cuzco. In Cuzco, the old Inca capital, there was a dense Indian population. There were in this district the Canaras and Chachapoyas, who had been subjugated by the Incas, and other tribes who had been brought to the capital previous to the Spanish conquest. While these natives nurtured a resentment toward their former masters, there were at the same time many who retained a certain loyalty to the Inca dynasty, as was evidenced during the trial and execution of the Inca Tupac Amaru in 1572.¹ The diocese of Cuzco had no bishop from 1562 until 1573. Consequently there was a lack of direction or order in parochial and missionary activities.

Jesuit beginnings were made in this region when the fathers began a preliminary reconnaissance. Father Portillo, Father Luis López and Brother Antonio González accompanied the viceroy on his tour of inspection as far as Ayacucho, or Guamango as it was called then.² Portillo had been selected by the viceroy to accompany the viceregal tour as an interpreter.³ Toledo undertook the tour in order that he might study the needs of the viceroyalty and remedy the evils which called for correction. The project necessitated the viceroy's absence from Lima for five years, during which time he travelled

¹ Montesinos, 44-45.

² Torres Saldamando, Revista Histórica, I, 441-442.

³ Levillier, Don Francisco de Toledo, supremo organizador del Peru, Madrid, 1935, 205-206.

over 5,000 miles. The personnel of the group who assisted him included some of the most capable military leaders, political advisers, scholars, and clerics in the viceroyalty.⁴ The task of visiting every settlement could not be accomplished by one man. Consequently delegates were entrusted to represent the viceroy in various sections. Although the tour was extensive, it covered but a small portion of the area included in the viceroyalty, for⁵ actually it was confined to southern Peru and western Bolivia. Then too, for almost two years Toledo remained at Cuzco or in the district following his arrival there in the middle of February, 1571. It would have been impossible for Portillo, as provincial, to remain with the viceroy during the years when this expedition was conducted. The Provincial was needed at the Colegio Máximo in Lima, and could be spared only for the necessary provincial visitations to Jesuit houses outside the capital or to inspect⁶ the possibilities of establishing the Society in various sections. However, although we find no mention of it in Portillo's report, it is probable that during the short time he remained with the viceregal party he did act as an interpreter.

The Jesuits, Portillo, López and González, departed from Lima October 22,⁷ 1570, with the Toledo expedition. Following the royal road from Lima to

4 Zimmerman, 85-90.

5 Torres Saldamando, Libro primero de Cabildos Lima, Paris, 1900, II, 110.

6 Zimmerman, 90, says: "Three interpreters were taken along." Then he proceeds to name Portillo as one of these and indicates that the padre remained with the viceroy except for the short time he proceeded the entourage to Cuzco. Ibid., 91-92.

7 Levillier, Don Francisco de Toledo, 210; Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y colonización de la posesiones españolas de América y Oceanía, Madrid, 1864-1884, VII, 247. The later work cited henceforth as Documentos inéditos...América.

Ayacucho, they passed through the Guarochiri district where Dr. Garbriel Duarte, in compliance with viceregal orders, had commenced the reduction of the natives in villages. Upon Toledo's request Portillo agreed to send Jesuits to these natives. The difficulties involved in assuming the care and instruction of the Guarochiri will be treated in another chapter. Continuing along the royal road the group arrived at Ayacucho December 15, 1570. The entourage remained a while in this valley of the highlands while Portillo decided to journey to Cuzco to review the situation and the prospects of extending the work of the Society to the old Inca capital.

Evidently word of their coming arrived at Cuzco before the fathers did for they were given an enthusiastic formal reception by the cabildo, the corregidor Don Juan Ramón and many of the citizens as they entered the city in the early days of January, 1571. The group resided at the hospital of San Bartolomé, while they spent their days ministering to the natives who were so numerous in the vicinity and to the Spaniards. On January 15, a special feast day at Cuzco, and the election day for the selection of alcaldes, Portillo was asked to preach at the cathedral. The enthusiastic response of the people and the opportunity for helping the multitude of native peoples of the highlands, convinced Portillo that he should make arrangements for a permanent residence. So it was that he sent a messenger to Toledo, who was still in Ayacucho, to procure the necessary licence to found a house. The viceroy not only granted permission for

8 Documentos Inéditos...América, VIII, 246-247.

9 Montesinos, II, 43; Vargas Ugarte, Los Jesuitas en Peru, 6.

10 Torres Saldamando, Revista Histórico, II, 453.

this foundation but at the same time he assigned a repartimiento of 12,500 pesos towards the project.

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Next, Portillo commenced negotiations with the cabildo to purchase the former residence of Hernando Pizarro located beside the principal plaza on the site of the palace of the Inca Huanya Capac. The house was large and conveniently located for the purpose of the fathers, although it was sadly in need of repairs as well as necessary alterations. It was purchased for exactly 12,500 pesos, the amount granted the Society by the viceroy. The city officials, in accordance with instructions from Toledo, contributed towards the alterations on the building and towards the construction of the church, which was to be part of the group of colegio buildings, dedicated to the Transfiguration of the Savior. Work on the church commenced immediately but it was not until eight years later that the task was completed. It was in the Transfiguración that Brother Bitti, who came to Peru in 1575, executed some of his finest murals.

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The most generous individual contribution was made by Captain Diego de Silva Guzmán and his wife, Teresa Orgóñez. They donated 20,000 pesos as soon as Portillo received the viceregal licence, and they added to this another 10,000 before 1572. On September 9, 1578, Guzmán and his wife received a patent giving them the title of "Founders of the College of

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11 Ibid., II, 453.

12 Montesinos, II, 43.

13 Torres Saldamando, Revista Histórico, I, 453-454; Mendiburu, IX, 208.

14 Mendiburu, IX, 208.

15 Vargas Ugarte, Manuscritos Peruanas, I, 135; Torres Saldamando, Los Antiguos Jesuitas del Peru, 56.

of Cuzco¹⁶ which granted them the privilege of having their sepulchres built in the Jesuit church and of having Masses said for them upon their deaths.

Thenceforward the newly begun colegio of Cuzco was given excellent financial support by the citizens and was, as a rule, in better financial condition than the majority of the Jesuit houses in the province. In 1588 it received a rich hacienda from Andrés Torres de Mendoza and his wife, Doña Beatriz Bonifaz de Ocampo.¹⁶ Four years later the Dominican Bishop Gregorio Montalva, who had been appointed to this see in 1590, bequeathed¹⁷ over 12,000 pesos to the Society, and was buried in the chapel of the colegio.

Before he had completed all the arrangements for the purchase of the house, Portillo appointed Father Diego de Bracamonte rector of the colegio¹⁸ in January, 1571. Bracamonte concluded the arrangements when Portillo returned to Lima. In addition to Father López, Bracamonte had the assistance of two brothers, González de Ocampo and González Ruíz. Shortly after he received this appointment Bracamonte sailed for Spain to recruit more men for the province and to discuss the Guarochiri question, which has been mentioned, with the Council of Indies and in Rome. Three more men were assigned to Cuzco in 1572, Father Alonso de Barcena, Bartolomé Santiago and Blas Valera.

These three were well qualified to achieve much progress particularly among the natives in the vicinity. Barcena, an Andalucian, was forty one years old when, upon his own request, he was sent to Peru in 1569 with the group accompanying Toledo. During the voyage from Spain to Lima he studied

16 Vargas Ugarte, Manuscritos Peruanos, I, 135; Mendiburu, VII, 414-415.

17 Mendiburu, VII, 415.

18 Pastells, I, 2.

the Quechua and Aymará languages in order to equip himself as quickly as possible for missionary work in the viceroyalty. He commenced work among the natives in Lima the day following his entrance into the city. Portillo had selected him for superior of the Guarochiri mission where he worked from 1570 until the parishes were abandoned in 1572. Shortly after his return to Lima he was assigned to Cuzco where he was occupied in the instruction of the natives until 1577 when he was sent to Juli to commence work on a new Jesuit foundation. Barcena was truly a pioneer padre, for from the time of his arrival in Peru until his death at Cuzco in January, 1598, he was active in establishing new mission centers throughout the southern portion of the viceroyalty.

The companions of Barcena, Santiago and Valera, had yet to complete their studies of theology. Although they were not yet ordained, Portillo ordered both to Cuzco since their knowledge of Quechua and Aymará would be of great service in instructing the natives. Both were creoles, born in Peru. Santiago had lived in Arequipa with his mother, an Indian named Francisca, and his father, a leading man in the town, Don Juan de Santiago, until he joined the Society at Lima, December 5, 1569. He remained at Cuzco where he was ordained until 1583 when he returned to Lima to instruct the natives and to direct Indian congregations. This was his work until his death in 1589 at the early age of thirty eight.

Valera, born in San José de Chachapayas, Peru, was received into the Society at the age of seventeen, November 9, 1568. He was deeply interested

¹⁹ Torres Saldamando, Los Antiguos Jesuitas del Peru, 32-33.

²⁰ Ibid., 47-48.

in both the language and the history of the natives of his land. In later years, upon royal command, he went to Spain to supervise the printing of a history of the Incas. ²¹ Barcena, Santiago and Valera collaborated in the composition of a catechism and dictionary in Quechua and Aymar  to facilitate instruction of the natives and to train other men for missionary work among the Indians. ²²

L pez acted as temporary superior of the colegio upon Bracamonte's departure. By the end of 1572 Father Juan de Zu iga, who had come to Peru in 1569, where he was ordained, was appointed superior by Acosta. ²³

In the summer of 1573 Father Jos  de Acosta was appointed by Portillo to examine affairs at Cuzco. Acosta is the most famous of the sixteenth century Jesuits to work in Peru. He was born at Medina del Campo in 1539 or 1540, the son of Antonio de Acosta, a wealthy and prominent citizen of this town. Four of his brothers had joined the Society when Jos  entered in 1553. He had distinguished himself as a student of theology before coming to Peru in 1572 where he had been sent to teach theology at the Colegio M ximo. While teaching at San Pedro y San Pablo he mastered the study of Quechua and Aymar , and took much interest in the plans for expanding the work of the Society. Portillo placed a great deal of confidence in the judgement of this young scholar whom , he felt, was equally capable as an administrator and a missionary. Acosta justified such confidence both in

21 Ibid., 20; Sommervogel, VIII, 402.

22 Sommervogel, VIII, 402; Torres Saldamando, Los Antiguos Jesuitas del Peru, 20-23.

23 Torres Saldamando, op. cit., 3.

24 Carracido, 1-74; Sommervogel, I, 31; Astrain, III, 157-158; Torres Saldamando, op.cit., 2.

his record up to the time he came to Peru and in his later achievements. He served as Provincial of Peru from 1576 until 1581 during a time when the Society faced unusual difficulties in its dealings with Viceroy Toledo. From 1581 until 1585 Acosta resumed teaching at the Colegio Máximo. At the same time he was a consultor of the viceroys Enríquez and Condé de Nieva. In 1585 Philip II called Acosta to Spain where he was to work on a history of the Indies. From Lima he sailed to New Spain, remaining there almost three years to study the history, the flora and fauna of the land. Return-²⁵ing to Spain in 1588 he finished his history by 1590. He served as Visitador of Aragon and Andalucia and later as rector at Salamanca where he died February 15, 1600.

When Acosta arrived at Cuzco in the summer of 1573 there were seven²⁶ novices at the house. Cuzco had already been established as a training center for missionary work. While the fathers ministered to the Spaniards, they concentrated primarily upon the care and instruction of the natives in the vicinity. Acosta, who was not uncritical in his report, told Portillo²⁷ that this colegio was a source of "great edification and comfort to all..."

Scholastic activities at Cuzco began in 1576 when Portillo assumed the rectorship of the Colegio of San Bernardo at which time Acosta was appointed Provincial of Peru. Portillo established five chairs, two in arts or

25 Jose de Acosta, Historia natural y moral de los Indias en que se tratan los cosas notables de cielo, y elementos metales, plantas, y animales dellos: y los ritos y ceremonias, leyes, y guerras de los Indios, Seville, 1590. Many editions of this work have appeared since 1590 in Spanish, French, German Italian and English. The latest edition was printed in Mexico in 1940. Fifteen editions are in the Ayer Collection. Barreda y Laos, 99, refers to Acosta as the "most notable intellectual director of the Peruvian youth of the sixteenth century."

26 Torres Saldamando, Los Antiguos Jesuitas del Peru, 3.

27 Astrain, III, 155.

or humanities, and three in theology including moral theology and cases of
28
conscience. These classes were offered originally for the training of
scholastics in the Society. However laymen and other religious were per-
mitted to attend the lectures.

The colegio suffered a temporary setback during 1577 due to the fact
that although Portillo was appointed rector he was at the same time selected
by the provincial congregation to act as procurator in Rome. Consequently
the colegio remained without a rector. Plaza, who had visited Cuzco in 1576
for the provincial congregation returned December 20, 1577 to find that
"...this colegio was much altered, since there was no rector there, and
there was one brother who taught grammar who was a source of scandal to the
29
colegio...." Plaza gives no hint as to why this brother was a source of
scandal, whether it was a matter pertaining to his personal life or whether
his teaching failed to meet the standards required. The Visitador remained
at Cuzco for ten months until October 20, 1578, when Portillo returned to
assume the duties of the rector.

The Cuzco residence soon attained prominence as an Indian center and as
a training center for younger Jesuits destined to mission fields. By 1601
there were generally twenty five to thirty religious stationed here, the
majority of whom were occupied with the instruction of natives, according to
30
Tiruel's report that year. Tiruel stated:

The residence at Cuzco was established since
Cuzco is a densely populated Indian district

28 Buenaventura Ora, "Errección de Centros de Enseñanza superior y el Espíritu
docente durante la Colonia," Reglas y Constituciones, Córdoba, 1940, 24-25.

29 Final Report of the Visit to Peru made by Father Plaza, Lima, April 25,
1579, Astrain, III, 698.

30 José Tiruel, Relation of 1601, Pastells, I, 90.

for there are over 30,000 natives in the city and more than 200,000 in the vicinity. There are twenty-five to thirty religious in this house, half of whom are priests, and all of whom, with the exception of three who give lectures in grammar and theology, are occupied in work among the natives, and the Society has a special church (Transfiguración) in Cuzco where there are usually three or four confessors to hear confessions from morning to night, and there is not a week when they do not preach at least three sermons, besides those they deliver in the eight parishes around the city, in addition to the many and frequent missions: in this way the Company has brought the doctrine to the majority of the natives in this district and has baptized more than 4,000 adult infidels and demolished and destroyed 2,000 idols.

These early workers laid the foundation for two notable institutions.

The first, the Colegio for Caciques, San Francisco de Borja, and the second, the Colegio Real de San Bernardo, later the University of San Ignacio de Loyola. The Society generally followed the plan of educating native chiefs in order that they might be assured of cooperation in instructing the native tribes. This had been the course pursued at Cuzco although the native colegio was not officially founded until April, 1621. In 1593 Domingo de Ros received permission from Viceroy Don García Hurtado de Mendoza to endow such a colegio provided that the Jesuit Provincial Juan Sebastián would accept the offer. Ros was willing to contribute three silver mines and the partial income from another in the vicinity of Vilabamba. He intended to retain only 2,000 pesos for himself, the amount he had invested in

31 Domingo Angulo, "Documentos sobre los antiguos Colegios de Caciques Fundaciones, Provisiones, Constituciones, etc." Revista del Archivo Nacional del Peru, (1920), I, 355-358.

32 Ibid., I, 349.

33 February 21, 1596, Ibid., I, 342-348.

initiating operations on the mines. However, he stipulated that he should participate in the administration of the temporal affairs of the colegio, although his decisions would be subject to the approval of the rector. Ros realized that these mines, which at the time were valued at 2,000 pesos each, would depreciate in value and would be insufficient to sustain the fathers of the colegio indefinitely. In view of this, he requested that the royal hacienda contribute certain lands and rents. The Jesuit provincial accepted the offer May 25, 1593, but Sebastián did not obligate the Society to commence organizing the colegio within any set time. Indeed, almost thirty years elapsed before the project materialized. The fathers were directed to undertake this task in a provision of Viceroy Principe de Esquilache in 1620. Accordingly the colegio for caciques, San Francisco de Borja, officially opened its doors April 9, 1621.

The educational beginnings initiated by Portillo for the purpose of instructing scholastics led the way for the founding of a college and university. Esquilache authorized the Jesuit colegio, the Real de San Bernardo, in 1619. Although there were not as many classes offered at Cuzco, the curriculum was very like that of San Martín in Lima. Both San Francisco de Borja and San Bernardo were directed by the rector of the Jesuit house, the Transfiguración. By 1623 the Jesuits founded the University of San Ignacio de Loyola at Cuzco with the right to confer degrees similar to those of Alcalá, Salamanca and San Marcos in Lima.

34 Ibid., I, 351-354.

35 Ibid., I, 358.

36 Ibid., I, 355-358.

37 Torres Saldamando, Los Antiguos Jesuitas del Peru, 169.

38 Vargas Ugarte, Los Jesuitas del Peru, 92.

Although San Pedro y San Pablo remained the administrative center of the entire province, Cuzco soon rivaled Lima as a missionary and educational center. Cuzco became another headquarters from which the fathers expanded the work of the Society southward. It was a step towards the foundations of Arequipa, La Paz, Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Potosí, Juli and the important houses in Argentina and Paraguay.

The initial move towards expanding the work of the Society southward from Cuzco was taken in 1573, two years after the establishment of the residence in this city. After he had completed his inspection of the colegio in Cuzco, Father Acosta made an extended tour as far south as the Potosí district thus complying with Portillo's instructions to make a preliminary reconnaissance of this land to determine the adviseability of founding Jesuit houses in this region and to serve as a missionary. At the same time the viceregal tour of inspection was being conducted in this territory. Toledo had named Acosta an inspector and counselor for this expedition before the padre sailed from Spain. His duties as inspector for the Viceroy and as a delegate for the Provincial coincided, for both Toledo and Portillo were interested in obtaining an accurate summary of the situation in the Upper Peru region and in evangelizing the natives. The details as to the dates of arrival and departure from the places he visited are not given in Acosta's report, but the account does reveal that he travelled from Lima to Cuzco, to Arequipa, to La Paz, to Chuquisaca and to

39 Astrain, III, 154-157.

40 Zimmerman, 89; Levillier, Don Francisco de Toledo, 205-206.

Potosí and that he returned to Lima by the same route. Portillo's annual letter concerning Acosta's work and travels from the early summer of 1573 until October, 1574, contains little information regarding his position as counselor to the viceroy. He does mention Acosta's being called from La Paz to Chuquisaca by the viceroy to join in the expedition against the Chiriguanes. However, Acosta left the viceregal party at the Pilcomayo River to go to Potosí.

Father Luis López and Brother Gonzálo Ruiz accompanied Acosta from Cuzco to Arequipa. This town, located at the foot of the volcano El Misti, had a small Spanish population, but there were more than 50,000 natives in the vicinity. The fathers went about their usual routine of administering the sacraments, preaching, visiting the sick and instructing the natives.

41 Carracido, 44-46. Briefly, the viceregal expedition departed from Lima October 22, 1570, arrived at Ayacucho December 15, from there went to Cuzco in the middle of February, 1571. Toledo remained in the Cuzco vicinity for almost two years. By December of 1572 he was in Potosí from where he directed inspectors to Arequipa, La Paz and Chuquisaca. He remained in Potosí about three months. By the end of May, 1573, he was in Chuquisaca. He participated in the war against the Chiriguanes in this region, and then remained here for five months to recuperate from the ordeal. By the end of 1574 or early 1575 he was back at Potosí, thence to La Paz, and the following summer he went to Arequipa. He left Arequipa in November for Quilco from where he went by sea to Callao. He entered Lima November 2, 1575. Zimmerman, 90, 91, 99-100, 101, 175-176, 199, 201, 204, 206, 221; Torres Saldamando, Libro Primero de Cabildos Lima, II, 110; Montesinos, 34-36; Maria Jimenez de la Espada, ed., Relaciones geográficas de Indias, Madrid, 1881-1894, I, 48.

42 Annual Letter of Portillo, 1575, Astrain, III, 158-160.

43 Zimmerman, 89, says Acosta "met Toledo at Chuquisaca and remained with him as a counselor until the tour was completed. "This statement requires revision. It is probable that Acosta met Toledo at Chuquisaca since he was here about the same time as was the viceroy, and this may have been the occasion mentioned by Portillo regarding Acosta's summons to join in the Chiriguane expedition. Since Acosta left the viceroy to journey to Potosí and, after working here several months, retraced his steps to Lima along the land route while Toledo continued to pursue the Chiriguane expedition and later remained at Chuquisaca for 5 months, and finally returned by sea the padre could not have remained with the viceroy. Acosta returned to Lima in October, 1574, and Toledo in November, 1575. Ibid., III, 154-157.

They explained that they were here only on a transitory mission, but the citizens were insistent that they remain or that they send other fathers to found a permanent Jesuit residence. In view of their persistence Acosta promised them they would at least have the benefit of permanent missions, although they could not be assured that the Society would establish a house here for some time. However, the citizens still hopeful, subscribed 15,000⁴⁴ or 17,000 pesos for a colegio in Arequipa.

The following year, 1574, Fathers Barcena, López and Brother Juan García were sent from Cuzco on a missionary excursion to Arequipa. Again the citizens of Arequipa offered to establish a house.⁴⁵ The Jesuits continued their visits but no definite plans for founding a residence were made until the latter part of 1577. In November of this year Plaza and Acosta discussed the possibility of founding a colegio for it seemed to be an opportune time to undertake the project. The people were still anxious to contribute, while a Diego Hernández and Captain Gerónimo Pacheco, with his wife, Doña Lucia de Padillo, promised generous donations.⁴⁶ In addition, the cabildo offered 26,000 pesos. However Acosta, who was now provincial, was still hesitant since he was not certain that there were enough men in the province to warrant the establishment of another residence. He did not refuse the offers,⁴⁷ but delayed his reply while he considered the matter. Hernández died in 1578, bequeathing a generous annual rent to the Society provided

44 Ibid., III, 158.

45 Vargas Ugarte, Los Jesuitas del Peru, 11.

46 Torres Saldamando, Los Antiguos Jesuitas del Peru, 6-7.

47 Barreda y Laos, 99-100, says Acosta accepted these donations after he failed to obtain the necessary license and despite the viceroy's refusal he directed the establishment of a residence. There is no evidence that Acosta acted in this manner. The failure to obtain a license was rather a matter of negligence on the part of the Provincial, not defiance.

that a colegio be founded before 1579. The Provincial assigned men to Arequipa and a house was purchased. However, they stayed at this house but three months after their arrival in August, 1578, for they were commanded to return to Lima by Toledo. Plaza reported this unhappy situation to the General, April, 1579:

Diego Hernández Hidalgo died at Arequipa in June of the past year, 1578. In his will he bequeathed 2,000 pesos rent to establish a colegio in this city. A house has been purchased for the foundation and the viceroy dismissed those members who were there and seized the house in the name of the king, saying that we had commenced the foundation without his licence. At present the viceroy will grant no license for the colegio in Arequipa until a permit from the king arrives. 48

Due to the difficulty concerning the licence, which will be discussed in another chapter, the fathers did not return to Arequipa until 1581. This residence remained primarily a mission center for the natives, with eight to ten priests resident at the house. 49

Another advance was made from Cuzco during Portillo's provincialate, with the establishment of a house at La Paz. This city, today the chief commercial center of Bolivia, lies 12,000 feet above sea level in a narrow valley of the Altiplano. Founded by the Spaniards in 1548, it was situated on the trade route from the Argentine to Peru, and was a stepping place for travellers from Bolivian mines. 50

48 "Relación Última de la Visita del Peru," Plaza, Lima, April 25, 1579, Astrain, III, 700.

49 Pastells, I, 94.

50 León M. Loza, História del Obispado y de la Catedral de La Paz, La Paz, 1939, 7-16.

100

Acosta worked in the vicinity of La Paz in 1573. At this time the cabildo offered 1,000 pesos rent toward the founding of a colegio, and promised to double this amount upon the completion of the establishment. One individual, whose name Portillo did not give, was willing to add 500 pesos to this sum. Portillo sent Fathers Zuñiga and Amador with Brother Casasola to the area in 1574 to found a residence primarily for evangelizing the natives. The Provincial expressed his opinion regarding the necessity of this house, writing in his annual report of 1575: "I consider the founding of this colegio important; for according to the report Father Acosta has given me, there is here an excellent opportunity for accomplishment among the natives, and too, missions can be made down to Potosí and La Plata."

While the fathers continued to work at the La Paz residence, it was not established as a colegio until 1581. Plaza reported that:

In the city of La Paz Juan de Ribas hoped to found a colegio, offering 3,000 pesos rent since the year 1575, and until now 1579 this has not been accomplished since the viceroy has not granted the licence. Now the licence from the king has been obtained permitting the establishment of the colegio and this should be done at the earliest opportunity.

The colegio was opened as a school two years later, although it offered only elementary training and doctrinal instruction for the children of the

51 Portillo's Annual Letter, February 9, 1575, Astrain, III, 155.

52 Zuñiga was calumniated by a Spaniard at La Paz when he denounced the man for sedition. Toledo gave credence to these accusations deporting Zuniga to Spain. Although the priest's innocence was proved and the viceregal mandate revoked, Zuñiga never returned to La Paz, Ibid., III, 157.

53 Ibid., III, 155. La Plata was also called Charcas, Chuquisaca, and finally, Sucre.

54 Astrain, III, 699.

city.

By February 15, 1584, Cabello, the rector of the colegio, wrote that the progress of the fathers in converting and pacifying the natives was a source of tremendous satisfaction. He reported that five or six thousand natives came to the colegio for instruction each Sunday, and he noted that hitherto these natives had been unable to congregate and maintain any semblance of order. There were usually seven or eight resident priests at the colegio. Although this house was enjoying spiritual success, it was financially in arrears throughout the sixteenth century.

The initial work towards the reduction of the Cunchos commenced from La Paz. May 2, 1597, Father Miguel de Urrea received viceregal permission to enter the land. Urrea commenced his work in the early part of 1599. His progress among the natives roused the local chiefs and hechiceros to murderous jealousy. Thus on August 7, 1599, Urrea was bludgeoned to death by the native leaders. Three years later his remains were recovered and laid in the sepulchre at the colegio of La Paz.

The foundation of Cuzco was a center for the Upper Peru or Bolivian area, followed by those at Arequipa and La Paz, illustrate the primary work of the padres in this part of the New World was that of converting and instructing the natives. From these houses the fathers travelled great distances to found new missions among the natives.

55 Estéban Cabello to Aguaviva, La Paz, February 14, 1584, Astrain, IV, 510.

56 "Información a pedimento del P. Juan Avellanda, Rector del Colegio de La Paz sobre la necesidad que tiene dicha casa de sujetos para los ministerios y de renta que sustentarlos," Vargas Ugarte, Manuscritos Peruanos, I, 138-140; Pastells, I, 104-105.

57 Relation of 1601, Pastells, I, 101-102. Two priests and a brother began an excursion into this land in 1595, but one of the fathers died after entering the region and the brother became ill, so that the project was abandoned.

CHAPTER VII

MISSIONS IN THE MOUNTAINS

Father Acosta, as has been stated previously, travelled to Chuquisaca and Potosí during his expedition of 1573-1574. Potosí was one of the most fabulous boom-towns of the sixteenth century. The city, 13,780 feet above sea level at the base of Cerro Rico, rose to sudden prominence in 1545 when Spaniards began exploiting the abundant silver deposits of the mountain. Despite the severity of the climate, the population of the town, which was designated an imperial city, mounted to over 100,000 during the next forty years when Cerro Rico is reputed to have supplied about half of the world production of silver. Potosí, the scene of all the vice and problems typical of many mining towns, was the center of a large area inhabited by the new mining society. In the rush for silver the Spaniards subjected the natives to severe hardships working the mines while their spiritual welfare was neglected. Both Spaniard and native

1 The first census taken by Toledo revealed there were 120,000 inhabitants. By 1611 there were only 114,000. Moses, The Spanish Dependencies in South America, II, 6. Like many boom towns, Potosi was destined to be a ghost town. After the serious flood of 1626, other mines in Peru and Mexico took precedence over Cerro Rico. For over two centuries Potosi remained an insignificant village, with but a few hundred Spaniards. Rich deposits of tin, bismuth and tungsten have brought the city into prominence once more in recent times. Today there are about 36,000 inhabitants, engaged primarily in mining. James, 200-201.

were seriously in need of religious instruction.

When Acosta visited Potosí in August or early September of 1574, he was accompanied by Father Alonso de Barcena, Father Luis López and a brother.³ When Acosta left the city about October of that year, the others remained in this region for several months. All were able to preach to the natives in Quechua and Aymará. Portillo reported that they were particularly successful in persuading the natives to receive the sacraments of Confession and Communion more frequently, as well as in converting infidels of the surrounding territory. Although they were offered assistance by the Spaniards of Potosí for establishing a house, the padres could not accept the offer until more men came to the Province.

By 1577 Acosta, now Provincial, and Visitador Plaza decided that there were sufficient men in the province to warrant the establishment of a colegio in Potosí.⁴ This residence was primarily for the benefit of the Indians, but the fathers attempted much work among the Spaniards hoping to persuade them to deal more leniently with the native laborers in the mines. In addition to attending to their own colegio and making missionary excursions in the vicinity, the padres assisted in fourteen neighboring parishes. By 1578 there were seven Jesuits at this house. Plaza reported:

There are at present seven members of the Company in Potosí, three priests: Father Portillo, Father

2 During his inspection of the city Toledo, finding there were not enough priests to attend the people, provided that the number be increased from six to thirteen. April 25, 1574. P.V.Canete, "La Intendencia de Potosí," Revista de Buenos Aires, (1871), XXIV, 179-180.

3 Portillo's Annual Report, February 9, 1575, Astrain, III, 156.

4 Pastells, I, 94.

Bracamonte, Father Molina; four brothers: Diego Martínez, Gonzalo Ruiz, Santiago Pérez, and Juan Ruiz, a carpenter. They have a place donated by the city to the Company with accommodations for twelve, and possibly many more of our members. They have a chapel in which they preach and administer the sacraments. There is a site where a sufficiently large church may be erected, and here there are twelve or fifteen shops which are rented for more than 1,500 ducats; and this rent contributes towards sustaining our members at Potosí Our residence in this city seems to be the most important that the Company could establish in this kingdom for the Glory of God and gain in souls; for there are usually more than 3,000 Spaniards and more than 50,000 Indians; and since the Indians are gathered here from many parts of the kingdom, the fruitful results will be extremely far-reaching and universal. 5

The work at Potosí, like that at Arequipa, was interrupted by the viceregal order during the latter part of 1578 which closed the colegio until 1581, when the king demanded that the Society be permitted to continue its work here. The padres returned in 1581, resuming their former program in caring for the natives. There was no attempt to establish a school for Spaniards since the needs of the Indians demanded all the attention of the Jesuits.

Contemporary with the establishment at Arequipa and Potosí, the Society undertook the supervision of the Indian reduction at Julí, a little south of Potosí. The decision to found a house here had been made at the provincial congregation following which Father Portillo and Father Plaza journeyed to Potosí and thence to Julí to assist in organizing the residence. The first

group assigned to Julí in August, 1577, included Fathers Diego Martínez, who was the superior, Barcena, Bracamonte and Añasco, while the following year Bracamonte and Añasco were sent elsewhere when Fathers Andrés López, Valera and Jiménez joined the group. All but Jiménez had mastered the native languages of the region and he began the study immediately upon his arrival. The group also included, in 1578, three scholastics who were yet to be ordained, Juan García, Diego González and Martín Pirán. By 1601 there were fourteen Jesuits at Julí.

The financial assistance afforded by the royal hacienda was scarcely generous, nor do we find any substantial donations given to this residence by individuals during the sixteenth century. The viceroyalty allowed each priest 2,400 escudos of gold annually, and each brother was granted 800 escudos. Tiruel noted in 1601 that the religious at Julí received a salary equivalent to that of four pastors, an amount hardly sufficient to sustain fourteen men.

There were five thousand Indian dwellings included in the Julí residence in 1578, housing more than 40,000 persons. During 1577 the fathers heard the confessions of three thousand natives. Statistics alone give an inadequate picture of the situation, but they reveal how ill prepared the people were for an educational program. Plaza reported:

I have noted through experience during the days I remained here: that the fruitful results are not so easily

6 José Tiruel, Relation of 1601, Pastells, I, 92.

7 Ibid., I, 93.

8 Plaza said each escudo was valued at thirteen reales per peso. Astrain, III, 166-167. Pastells, I, 92-93; Vargas Ugarte, Los Jesuitas del Peru, 10-11.

obtained, nor the difficulties so simply overcome, as it would seem to those who have not observed the situation. Of the three thousand persons who have been confessed this year, not one thousand have confessed voluntarily, and more than two thousand have confessed through coercion. In some cases those apprehended living in concubinage are commanded to marry or separate, and those of them who do not separate must confess immediately in order to prepare for marriage; and once they are married they do not return to confession Others confess on account of sickness, and chiefly because the fiscals or syndics inform the fathers concerning those who are ill and the fathers go to hear their confessions ... Others go to confession because they are ordered to do so by barrios Those who come to confession without compulsion are few in comparison to the number of those who come compelled to do so Public inebriation in plazas and yards has ceased; but that which goes on in the houses has not Few come for instructions in doctrine voluntarily. Many gather to hear the discourses and sermons, but many others hide themselves; and consequently it is necessary on Sunday mornings to place watchmen [alguaciles] on the roads to prevent some from going to work in camp.

9

The officials referred to by Plaza were native officials, appointed by the fathers generally from the ranks of the native caciques or leaders. The Society undertook complete management of this Indian residence, and was concerned with both temporal and spiritual welfare of the natives. The fathers found many of the natives had been baptized, but had not even a rudimentary knowledge of the religion they professed.

The first task confronting the fathers was that of organizing the
10
Indians into groups. Upon their arrival they found there was but one
church, Asunción, to serve the thousands of natives. The fathers added
three more churches to the residence and each church was designated to
serve a particular group. To Asunción the M6jos Indians were assigned,
to San Pedro, the Huancollas, to Santa Cruz, the Incas, Chambillos and
Chinchallos, and to San Juan Bautista, the Ayoncas. A school for the
children was opened immediately where both boys and girls were given in-
struction in separate classes. One brother was encharged with the care of
the hospital and apothecary where the sick and infirm received attention.
The superior resided at San Pedro, while each of the fathers was assigned
to work in one of the four parishes or sections. Spaniards were banned
from entering the residence, but every year a certain number of Indians
were required to labor in the mines of Potosí for four months. Those sent
to Potosí were selected by the Indian officials with the approval of the
fathers who instructed them to contact the padres of Potosí who continued
to administer the sacraments to them and offered them doctrinal instruction.
11

Julí was to become not only one of the largest but one of the finest
Jesuit reductions in South America. It served too, as a training center

10 Letter of P. Diego Vázquez to Provincial from Julí, April 9, 1601, in
Diego de Torres Bollo, Relatione breve ... circa el frutlo che si
raccogli con gli indiani de quel regno, Rome, 1603, 38-43.

11 Toledo, in a measure approved by the king October 17, 1575, ordered
Indians from sixteen provinces, including Julí, to work in Potosí.
As a result about 13,500 natives were recruited. Recopilación de las
leyes de los reinos de las Indias, Madrid, 1841, Book VI, Title XV,
Law 2.

for young Jesuits who were to be engaged in missionary work. Here the Jesuits provided a tertianship. Some of the most famous of the early Jesuit missionaries received their training here. These numbers include Fathers Barcena and Añasco who recorded such success in the Tucumán and Paraguay region, Martínez who left Julí for Santa Cruz and the area of the Chiquitos and Itatines, and Diego González Holguin, who was one of the first to work in the Quito territory, as well as the historian Anello Oliva.

Another missionary front was established in the central part of Bolivia, at Santa Cruz de la Sierra, a Spanish frontier town of the sixteenth century. This settlement, founded by the colonists from Asunción in 1560, is situated about twenty miles east of the great mountain range, not far from the dense rain forest of the Yungas to the north. East of Chuquisaca and southwest of Santa Cruz dwelled the cannibalistic Chiriguanes whose hostile raids endangered Spanish settlements as far west as Potosí and Porco, and northwest beyond Cochabamba. This fierce tribe that had repulsed conquest by Inca and Spaniard menaced the frontiers of Upper Peru, and not only did they conduct raids themselves, but they also influenced and organized neighboring tribes to join in hostilities against

13

the Spaniards.

12 Vargas Ugarte, Los Jesuitas del Perú, 39-40.

13 Even Toledo, who had organized an impressive force to wage war against the Chiriguanes in 1574 met ignominious defeat. Reginaldo de Lizarraga, "Descripción y población de las Indias de los preladados eclesiásticos del reino del Perú," Revista Histórico de Lima, (1907), II, 486-499. The viceroy did found the villages of Tarija and Cochabamba in an effort at defensive expansion. He had given Luis de Fuentes thirty leagues in the hostile territory, but Fuentes was unable to claim this land from the natives. Zimmerman, 196-199.

Two of the most notable of the sixteenth century Jesuits pioneered in the spiritual conquest of this region, Fathers Diego de Samaniego and Diego Martínez. Samaniego had been received into the Society at Salamanca in 1563 shortly before he had completed his studies for a degree in medicine at the university.¹⁴ He came to Peru with the group recruited by Andrés López in 1585. A few days after his arrival in Lima he was sent to Juli to study Quechua and Aymará. After mastering these languages he remained at the residence working among the natives. Hearing reports of the need for missionaries in the Santa Cruz area and of the desire of the Spaniards there for religious instruction, he obtained permission from Atienza to investigate the possibilities of establishing a residence there. The Governor Don Lorenzo de Figueroa had written that the natives were receiving some instruction from young laymen appointed to this task, but he added that "... much more could be accomplished if there were priests, Franciscan friars or religious of the Company of Jesus, who could work with them."¹⁵

Father Diego Martínez, who had acted as superior at Juli, joined Samaniego in his enthusiasm to establish the Society along the Bolivian frontier.¹⁶ Martínez came to Peru in 1571 while still a scholastic, was ordained at Cuzco in 1573 where he worked until 1577 when he went to Juli as superior. This saintly padre devoted himself to the care and instruction of the natives of Peru from Lima to the La Plata area until his death in

14 Torres Saldamando, Los Antiguos Jesuitas del Peru, 54.

15 Figueroa, June 2, 1586, Relation of the City of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Relaciones Geográficas de Indias, II, 161-169.

16 Torres Saldamando, op.cit., 49-51; Sommervogel, V, 631; Martínez has been declared Venerable by the Church. His beatification was proposed in 1633. Vargas Ugarte, Manuscritos Peruanos, I, 128.

Samaniego and Martínez with a coadjutor, Juan de Sánchez, departed for Santa Cruz de la Sierra in 1586. They were forced to stop at Cochabamba owing to an Indian uprising which endangered travel. Meanwhile they preached to the people of Cochabamba and to those in the valleys of Misque, Capachuncho, Tiraque and small pueblos in the vicinity. They were able to resume their journey to Santa Cruz April 10, 1587, when twenty soldiers arrived at Capachuncho to accompany the fathers. They finally arrived at their destination May 17, 1587. The people of Santa Cruz heard of their coming and had prepared a reception. They were given a modest house by the Governor.

The fathers began their work among the Spaniards and the natives. We find a description of the situation among the natives in a report of the Governor who wrote:

Some of the native Indians are of service to the city, but there are many others who are not, for they are more distant, concealed, and dispersed by their kin in the extremely dense forests and high mountains ... in order to avoid serving the Christians and for fear of the Chiriguanes who kill and eat them, they separate and hide themselves as well as they are able; and all the people go nude as they were born, as has been said, and are extremely bestial, without order or reason, or law, and they are the most vicious imbibers of wine prepared from maize....

19

He added that the Chiriguanes were the most fickle and cruel of the lot.

The fathers undertook first of all, the task of studying the language

17 Torres Saldamando, Los Antiguos Jesuitas del Peru, 54.

18 Astrain, IV, 530.

19 Relaciones Geográficas de Indias, II, 162.

of these barbarians. Martínez concentrated upon Golgotoque while Samaniego
20
studied Chiriguane. Within three months they were able to preach in these
languages. Both travelled among the Tupis, Toloparas, Chiriguanes and other
tribes from Brazil to Paraguay. They witnessed over 500 Christian marriages
among the fierce Chiriguanes and were hopeful of similar progress among the
other tribes who imperilled the journey of the Spaniards from Lima to
21
Tucuman.

In 1589 Samaniego accompanied Figueroa in the expedition to found the
22
city of San Lorenzo de la Frontera among the Chiquitos. From here he
23
journeyed with the Governor to assist in the reduction of the Itatines.
He returned to Santa Cruz de la Sierra from where he directed work among
the natives of this vicinity until his death in 1627. Samaniego spent
forty-two of his sixty-four years in the Society as a missionary in Peru.

Governor Figueroa was impressed with the accomplishments of the Jesuits.
He reported to the Audiencia of Charcas, January, 1589:

The fruitful results obtained by the fathers of the Company, among Spaniards as well as natives, are greater than I am able to describe, for the principal means of their success is that faculty which God gave to the Apostles in enabling them to speak all languages in order that all nations might understand what they taught. It would seem that this is a fortunate inheritance bestowed upon this pious Company giving grace to its sons enabling them in a very brief

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- 20 Torres Saldamando, Los Antiguos Jesuitas del Peru, 52; Pastells, I, 98.
At the same time, with the assistance of Brother Juan Sánchez, Martínez was composing a catechism in the languages of the Chane, Capaccora and Puyano.
- 21 Extract from Barrasa, 715, 726, Astrain, IV, 521-522.
- 22 Relaciones Geográficas de Indias, II, lxvii-lxviii.
- 23 Samaniego to Sebastián, October 8, 1594, Ibid., II, lxvii-lxviii.

time to speak the language of each nation,
and so they preach, hear confessions, and
teach Christian doctrine and catechism in
the various languages....

24

Fathers Angelo Monitola and Jerónimo de Andián arrived at Santa Cruz in 1590. The latter entered the Society in Peru in 1585, and, until his death in 1623, he served primarily as a missionary in Bolivia. A few months later Father Dionisio Velásquez joined the group. With the assistance of these fathers Samaniego extended the radius of missionary activity to the Chiquito land. He reported in 1594 that there were Jesuit residences at San Lorenzo el Real and at Santiago del Puerto in addition to the residence at Santa Cruz. The Jesuits commenced work among the Moxos or Mójos in 1594 when Andián accompanied the Governor in an expedition to this territory. However it was not until the latter part of the seventeenth century that the padres were able to begin the systematic reduction of the Moxos. Each of the Spanish settlements mentioned by Samaniego had been established to keep the natives in check. In pacifying the natives of the area the padres contributed much towards the efforts of the Governor in his policy of defensive expansion.

By 1596 there were nine Jesuits, seven priests and two brothers in this mission. Martínez, Velásquez, Miranda and Ortíz worked around Santa Cruz, Angelo was in the Itatine region, while Samaniego and Andián

24 Figueroa to Audiencia of Charcas, January, 1589, Astrain, IV, 521.

25 Sommervogel, I, 315-316.

26 Relaciones Geográficas de Indias, II, lxvi. San Lorenzo was founded by Figueroa in 1588, Santiago del Puerto, in 1591.

were in the Chiriguane territory. In his annual report, Sebastián described the general progress of this mission by 1596, writing:

They reside at present, or rather it is more accurate to say there are peregrinating through these regions, nine of our members, seven fathers and two brothers, each one assisting in the section where he is most useful, according to the language he has mastered. The first letters received for this annual report are of August, 1594, and of October, 1595. What has occurred during this time we may report briefly.... The Spaniards have established three cities in this province in order to control the subjects and pacify all the natives here. The first and principal one is Santa Cruz de la Sierra, which is so called since it is located near a small forest and range of mountains.... The second is the city of San Lorenzo el Real, founded six years ago by Don Laurencio de Figueroa, which has been given the name of his patron saint, between Santa Cruz and Peru, in order to protect those who travel to and from Santa Cruz from the numerous hostile Indians and the mighty warriors who hinder them. The third, Santiago del Puerto, so named on account of the devotion of the Spanish nation to this glorious saint, and since it stands at the entrance and pass to many diverse nations; this was founded three years ago in the center of many hostile Indian bowmen, in order to restrain them from their cruelty and ferocity, and to open the way to their conversion, ...There is always one of our members residing at each one of these places or going from these headquarters to the Indians in the vicinity.

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Sebastián transcribed the letter he had received from Samaniego October 8, 1594. Samaniego reported that the people of Santa Cruz were suffering

from hunger. He stated that although the governor had offered 10,000 ducats to the procurators of San Lorenzo and Santa Cruz in order to buy food for the inhabitants, the cities refused the offer "for want of horses as well as soldiers to accompany and defend the supplies from the enemy who lurk

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along the way." These cities were isolated from sources of supplies by hostile Indians for four months. Figueroa, with the aid of the padres, managed to subdue and pacify the rebels. The work of Figueroa and the Black Robes in this region affords material for a study in itself. It repeats the tale of cooperation between men of the sword and men of the cross and the success of the combination that is found frequently in the annals of colonial Spanish American history. By the end of the sixteenth century Samaniego reported that the fathers of these houses had baptized

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21,418 persons including 8,600 adults.

The fifth Jesuit house to be founded in Bolivia was that at Chuquisaca, or La Plata, the seat of the Audiencia of Charcas on the eastern slope of the Andes. Acosta and Father Luis López worked in this city for two months during the latter part of 1573 or early 1574. They were not given a particularly warm reception. Portillo does not explain the reason for this, but perhaps the explanation lies in the fact that Acosta was connected with Toledo's tour of inspection at the time, as has been noted in a previous chapter. Both the civic authorities and the clergy were generally opposed to Toledo's inspection. The investigation revealed the laxity of both in

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28 Ibid., II, lxix.

29 Samaniego's Report, 1601, Torres Bollo, 31,38.

30 Portillo's Annual Letter, February 9, 1575, Astrain, III, 156.

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fulfilling their duties. A full fifteen years elapsed before, in 1588, the President of the Audiencia, Juan López de Cepeda and Bishop Alonso de la Cerda urged Atienza, then provincial, to establish a colegio here, and promised full cooperation in the undertaking. The Audiencia granted 1,000 pesos to endow a chair in Aymar³²á. In addition to this the Bishop and cabildo gave 1,000 pesos rent.

Father Miguel Vásquez and Father Antonio de Vega entered the city in June of 1591 to found a residence. The following year more men were assigned to La Plata, and the Jesuit house was established. The last sparks of opposition to the Jesuit foundation gradually burnt out as the residents saw the achievements of the padres. However it was not until the early part of the seventeenth century that this colegio began to assume the prominent position it played in the history of Jesuit foundations in colonial Spanish America.

31 Relaciones Geográficas de Indias, I, 48; Zimmerman, 176.
 32 Mendiburu, VII, 88. Cepeda was buried in the Jesuit church at Chuquisaca.
 33 Ibid., VII, 88.
 34 Relation of 1601, Pastells, I, 99.
 35 Astrain, IV, 523.
 36 Lanning, 22-24.

CHAPTER VIII

IN THE ARGENTINE AND GRAN CHACO

Having thus surveyed the expansion of the work of the padres from Peru to the Bolivian area, we may now watch the progressive steps southward toward Argentina. First, it is well to recall that the original interest in this area was aroused by the Portuguese fathers in Brazil, as has been discussed in Chapter I. The first move was to the diocese of Tucumán, which included Paraguay and Argentina in its jurisdiction. This region was at the time relatively unimportant to the Spaniards. For a brief time, following the marriage of Philip II to Mary of England, the province of Tucumán was referred to as New England or Nueva Inglaterra.¹ Key bases that were to become prominent in the history of the Americas were founded during the sixteenth century. Santiago del Estero was established between 1551 and 1553 by Spaniards from central Chile. From the Chilean capital, Santiago, other settlements were made at Tucumán (1565), Córdoba (1573), Salta (1583), La Rioja (1591), and Jujuy (1592). To the south men from Chile founded Mendoza (1561-1562), San Juan (1592) and San Luis (1598). Asunción on the Paraná had been established in 1537, and was the center of prime importance during colonial times. From here colonists pushed northwest into the Gran Chaco towards Peru, and southward along the Paraná, founding Santa Fe in 1573 and reestablishing Buenos Aires in 1580, after it was abandoned in 1536. The port town remained an insignificant settlement during the colonial period until 1776.

1 Moses, The Spanish Dependencies in South America, 27.

Tucumán was the scene of political turbulence and native rebellion. Francisco de Victoria, Bishop of Tucumán, submitted his resignation to the king in 1584, and gave a disheartening account of conditions in his diocese. He reported that there had been constant dissension, and that he encountered particular difficulties with the clergy who were generally disinclined to pursue their tasks due to the unjust policies that had been adopted by the Governor Hernando de Lerma. He noted that "... in the four years that he Lerma has been governor, the province has lost the majority of the more notable and wealthy inhabitants." Lerma had confiscated much of the Bishop's property. Victoria stated that there were but five priests in his diocese. This statement probably refers to the regular clergy. The Bishop continued his complaint saying that he had been able to accomplish little among the 100,000 souls in his diocese which extended 300 leagues. Then too, the 500 pesos given him annually was not sufficient for his sustenance, and he concluded with the note that the climate had a detrimental effect upon his health. Victoria's resignation was not accepted, although he left Tucuman seven years later, in 1591.

It was in answer to the requests of this Dominican bishop, whose repetitious petitions for Jesuits commenced with the provincialate of Pinas that Atienza finally dispatched men to the Argentine area. Fathers Francisco de Angulo and Alonso de Barcena, with the coadjutor Juan de Villégas, went from Potosí to Santiago del Estero, having preached at Jujui, Salta,

2 April 6, 1884, Lima, Pastells, I, 25.
 3 Lozano, Historia Societatis Jesuitas en Paraguay, I, 2; Carlos Leonhardt, ed., Documentos para la História Argentina, Buenos Aires, 1927, XIX, lxix.

and Esteco along the way. They arrived at Santiago del Estero November 26, 1585, with the intention of establishing a house. Angulo described their reception in a letter to Atienza:

We departed from Esteco and have arrived recently at this city. There are fifty leagues of travel from there to here, with much sun and little water. Almost the entire population of the pueblo came to receive us, and they decked the path with branches, and we arrived at the church where the Bishop and all the clergy ... came in a procession ... to the center of the plaza to receive us. The Bishop approached us and gave us his blessing, and began to intone the Te Deum Laudamus, and in this manner we proceeded chanting until we entered the church when the organ and bells were sounded and immediately the dean appeared to say Mass. ...and the Mass over, the Bishop led us to his house and delivered a brief oration before the people of the pueblo who had accompanied us, saying how much they should appreciate our coming and how merciful God had been to them and other remarks in praise of the Company and of our coming here, so that we were very embarrassed at this reception. He had prepared a room in his house for us, which he now wants us to use, and although it is very much designed for our convenience and seclusion, it is not suitable for our ministry to reside in a bishop's house. We are lodging here now until God shows us a more suitable place. Great contentment has been demonstrated with our coming, and the entire pueblo has been wonderfully comforted, and we are confident of reaping much fruit among the Indians as well as among the Spaniards.

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4 Torres Saldamando, Los Antiguos Jesuitas del Peru, 28; Astrain, IV, 607.
5 Angulo to Atienza, November 27, 1585, Astrain, IV, 608.

Angulo also spoke of his appointment as commissioner for the Inquisition in this letter. He had accepted this post reluctantly, since it prevented him from devoting his efforts entirely to the work among the natives. Consequently Barcena was appointed superior of this residence.

The fathers found the majority of the natives in the district of Santiago del Estero were infidels, while those who had been baptized were pathetically ignorant of Christian doctrine.⁶ One of the principal reasons for this situation lay in the fact that so little attempt had been made to study the native languages and to instruct the natives in their own tongue. Three languages predominated in this region, Tonocote, Kakana or Caca and Sanabirone. The fathers commenced the study of these immediately. Barcena composed a grammar, catechism, confessional instructions and various sermons in Tonocote.⁷ By the end of 1586 they had converted 2,424 natives, and during the following year they baptized and catechised 4,027.⁸ They continued their work at this pueblo as missionaries, but had not founded a colegio for Aquaviva had instructed Atienza that while the work among the natives should be carried on, the fathers should "... be sustained by donations, without accepting any rent obligating us to establish a colegio."⁹

Bishop Victoria had sent requests to Brazil for padres at the very time when he was pleading with the Provincial of Peru to dispatch some men to his diocese.¹⁰ The Brazilian Provincial appointed six subjects, Fathers Leonardo

6 Pastells, I, 85.

7 Sommervogel, I, 998.

8 Astrain, IV, 610.

9 Aquaviva to Atienza, November 28, 1588, Astrain, IV, 611.

10 Leite, Jesuitas do Brasil na Fundação da Missão do Paraguai, Rome, 1937, 12.

Arminio, superior, Juan Saloni, Tomás Filds (or Fields, an Irishman), Manuel de Ortega, Esteban de Grão, and a coadjutor. These men arrived at Espiritu Santo September 12, 1586. It will be recalled that Brazil was at this time under the Spanish Crown. The question now arose as to whether the Tucumán residences should be supervised from Brazil or from Peru. Since the region was being colonized by Spaniards, Aquaviva agreed with Atienza that the Tucumán diocese should be included in the Peruvian Province. When this decision reached Tucumán, April, 1587, Arminio and Grão returned to Brazil, while Saloni, Ortega and Filds remained because of the drastic need for missionaries. Since the Brazilian fathers understood Guaraní, Angulo suggested that they go to Asunción. The three arrived there in August of 1587, and were hospitably received by the Dominicans. After a few months Ortega and Filds made missionary excursions to the central and eastern sections of modern Paraguay, while Saloni remained in Asunción at the house donated to the Society by the people of the city. This residence was later to become a colegio.

In 1588 Governor Ramírez de Velasco sent Barcena to the land of the truculent Calchaquies who had been rebelling against the Spaniards for twenty-eight years. This tribe lived a semi-nomadic existence in a valley which ran parallel to the Cordillera of the Andes, not far from Tucumán. They were not the menace that the Chiriguano in Bolivia were, but they fought successfully against Spanish domination, and occasionally they made

11 Documentos para la Historia Argentina, XIX, lxix.

12 Leite, op.cit., 16; Orders of Aquaviva, January 24, 1587, Astrain, IV, 614.

13 Astrain, IV, 613; Guillermo Furlong, Los Jesuitas y la Cultura Río-platense, Montevideo, 1933.

offensive attacks upon the Spaniards in the Tucumán region. Unfortunately the details of this expedition are not known, for this spiritual conquest receives only brief mention in the provincial report. We do know that this padre, experienced in the field of missionary endeavor, entered the Calchaqui Valley in March of 1588, and four months later, July 6, he reported to the king that 50,000 of these natives were now willing to recognize Spanish authority. This achievement is all the more remarkable considering that Barcena was accompanied by but ninety five soldiers and four hundred friendly natives.

In 1590 Father Juan Font arrived at Santiago to act as superior, and he brought with him Father Pedro de Añasco. Barcena and Anasco made frequent excursions into the Chaco region from 1590 to 1592, travelling as far as Corrientes in their expeditions. They collaborated in the composition of a grammar and catechism in the language of these natives.

Father Juan Romero, one of the twenty who arrived at Lima in 1592, was appointed superior of the missions in the Tucumán diocese although he was but thirty four years old. Font was recalled to Lima where he remained until

14 Barcena to Philip II, July 6, 1588, Astrain, IV, 616.

15 Torres Saldamando, Los Antiguos Jesuitas del Peru, 44-45.

16 Sommervogel, I, 308.

17 Report of Romero, 1594, Documentos Para la historia Argentina, XIX, lxx.

1595 when he commenced his wanderings in infidel lands. Romero entered the land with Fathers Marcelo de Lorenzana, Juan de Viana, Gaspar de Monroy and the coadjutors Juan de Aguila and Juan Toledano. Añasco and Monroy went to the land of the Amaguacuas, Angula, Viana and the coadjutor Villegas resided at the house at Santiago del Estero; Saloni remained at Asunción where Angula and Lorenzana were to be sent to further the work among the Guaraní. Romero went to Asunción, hoping there to establish a colegio. He founded a house similar to that established at Santiago del Estero where

Father Juan de Viana offered a class in grammar in 1594.

The arrival of Romero and his group gave new impetus to the work of the fathers in this land. The need for more men had been repeated constantly to the superiors in Peru and Spain. The Viceroy Condé de Villar sent Father

18 In 1595 Font obtained a license from the viceroy granting him permission to travel to infidel lands and for four years he was occupied in making expeditions which were more of an exploratory than missionary nature. In 1599 he traveled far into eastern Peru where he claimed to hear of the cities of Jouja and Maronon, where Indians were reputedly congregated awaiting a man of the cross. Although he was opposed by his religious superiors who doubted the veracity of this tale, he secured viceregal permission to go still further into eastern Peru. He sailed for Spain where he presented his story to the king who, influenced by the Duke of Lerma's favorable opinion of Font, issued a cedula to the effect that the authorities of Peru were to favor Font's expedition. Font returned to Peru and in August, 1602, accompanied by Father Virar and a lay brother, Morales, departed from Ayacucho for the fabled cities. After four months the weary travelers returned. Font then confessed that the cities he sought could be found only in his imagination. Astrain, IV, 441-444.

19 Documentos para la Historia Argentina, XIX, lxx.

Zuñiga to Spain in 1589 to recruit thirty Jesuits for his viceroyalty, some of whom were to be sent to the Argentine area. He reported that some of the padres :

have gone to the province of Tucumán and Santa Cruz de la Sierra where they are occupied in studying the languages of the region, which are as numerous and diverse as are the native tribes, in order to instruct them and explain the ministry of our holy Faith, in which respect I am informed, they have been very successful and have converted infidels and renegades who had received the water of holy baptism. 20

Philip II ordered Cartagena, the receptor of the Council of the Indies, to contribute seventy ducats to Zuñiga "... to defray the expenses involved in gathering and transporting twenty religious of this Company to Seville to be dispatched to the province of Tucumán, Santa Cruz de la Sierra, and Rio de la Plata." 21 The following year, 1591, a royal cédula directed the Casa de Contratación to provide for the transportation of twelve Jesuits to accompany Zuñiga to Peru, and granted permission for twenty more to be sent to Tucumán, Santa Cruz and Rio de la Plata. This cédula stated:

....it is my wish that they be provided with the necessities for the voyage as it has been customary to provide for other religious of this Company who have gone to the Indies: I command you to provide for this immediately from whatever funds I have in this Casa and I direct you to donate from my treasury to this Diego de Zuñiga or to whomever is authorized in his place, the funds required for the passage and necessities for these twelve religious and one servant from Seville to the province of Tierra Firme. 22

20 Condé de Villar to Philip II, March 31, 1589, Lima, Levillier, Organización, I, 456-457.

21 Madrid, July 9, 1590, Ibid., I, 492.

22 Madrid, February 12, 1591, Ibid., I, 510-512.

Each father was allowed a mattress, a pillow, a vesture, a real and a half per day for food, and the king promised to pay:

the expense of transporting their books and apparel from their houses and colleges to this city [Seville] and for the transportation of all their necessities from there to San Lucar or Cadiz and the King orders that these religious receive excellent accomodations during the voyage, that they be given one compartment for five or six, and the King will arrange with the ship master or owner of the ship to pay for the passage and freight of these religious and their ... books and vestures....

This cédula also directed the officials of Tierra Firme to supply medicines and the necessary diet for any who might become ill during the voyage, and:

they should supply beasts of burden to travel from Nombre de Dios to the city ... and during the time that the religious and the servant should be detained in the province of Tierra Firme, the officials should provide them with the necessities for sustenance and also with the necessities for the voyage from this city of Panamá to the port of the City of the Kings.

The officials of Peru were required to pay the ship master for the transportation of the Jesuits. There was no provision made for supplying the fathers with their needs during their journeys to such far away regions as the Argentine.

This cédula, typical of those drawn up in such instances, illustrates the fact that the funds supplied the Jesuits in the New World came for the most part from the Spaniards in the Americas. Only a small portion was granted from the royal treasury in Spain. The fathers were dependent largely upon officials and generous individuals for their sustenance once they arrived in the Americas. Nor does the fact that a royal cédula gave

directions for certain donations prove that such contributions were actually made, or that "excellent accommodations" were afforded. If they were sent away "as other religious who have gone to the Indies," they got along on a minimum of food, lodging and baggage. It should be noted too, that though this cedula provided that twenty men be sent to the Argentine area, only four priests and two lay brothers of the twenty who arrived in Peru with Zúñiga in 1592 were sent to the Tucumán diocese.

By September of 1594, according to a letter from Barcena to Sebastián, then Provincial, the Society had men working in the missions around Santiago del Estero, San Miguel de Tucumán, Salta, Asunción, Guaira, Nuevo Rioja, Las Juntas and Jujui. The language difficulties had been overcome for the most part. A grammar and dictionary were written in the Caca language spoken in the Calchaqui and Catamarca valleys and in the region of Santiago. The fathers composed a catechism and dictionary in Tonocote spoken in the pueblos around Tucumán, Esteco and on the Salado River. Some of the fathers mastered the Sanavirona tongue, but this language was not as commonly spoken as the other two, and the majority of the Sanavirones also spoke Caca or Tonocote. Barcena added that already the fathers had baptized 4,000 Sanavirones. Houses were established at Santiago del Estero, Salta, Asunción and Guaira.

23 One and a half real was equivalent to about seven or eight cents. For further information regarding the assistance actually given the fathers coming to the Americas see Mariano Cusvas, Historia de la Nacion Mexicana, Mexico, 1940, II, 328; Jerome V. Jacobsen, "Pedro Sánchez," Mid-America, (July, 1940), XI, 172.

24 Barcena to Sebastián, September 8, 1594, Relaciones Geográficas de Indias, III, lli-lxv; Pastells, I, 97.

25 "Anua de la Compañia de Jesús: Tucumán y Peru, 1596," Relaciones Geográficas de Indias, II, liv.

26 Ibid., II, liii.

Although those who had been sent to Tucumán were accomplishing a great deal considering their number, the diocese was still in need of many more men. The Archbishop of Lima described the discouraging status of his archdiocese, including Tucumán, in a letter January 13, 1593:

The bishop of Cuzco, don fray Gregorio de Montalbo is dead, as I have been informed by a letter from the cabildo of this church. I should inform your highness also of the deaths of the bishop of Las Charcas Chiquisaca or Sucre don fray Alonso de la Cerda, the bishop of Popayán, don fray Agustín de la Coruña, the bishop of Quito, don fray Antonio de San Miguel, the bishop of Santiago de Chile, don fray Diego de Medellin, and the bishop of Tucumán, don fray Francisco de Vitoria is not in his diocese, having departed from the kingdom and the diocese of Paraguay, also called Rio de la Plata, is without a prelate, and great is the necessity for providing prelates for these churches who are suitable and sufficiently mature, and who are not handicapped by infirmities and other impediments so that they might be capable of accomplishing their pastoral duties and be able to travel in their districts through such vast and rugged lands.

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After urging that these vacancies be filled immediately, Toribio transcribed a letter he had received from the Jesuit Father Angulo written August 30, 1592. Angulo stated that the Bishop of Tucumán left his diocese almost two years previously, and that it was known that he had remained in Brazil for several months. Angulo wrote:

It is certain that every day thousands of souls go to perdition in this miserable land for want of a pastor and ministers, and these poor natives are without baptism and many thousands ... without any knowledge

27 Levillier, Organización, I, 561-564.

of their Creator and Redeemer and of the way to salvation ... and the Spaniards and encomenderos are so powerful and so dominating that alas neither those enslaved or captured in Barbary or those in the galleys of the Turks are under more subjugation, from the time they are born until they die, fathers and sons, men and women, adults and children, render personal service providing excellent profits for their masters while the poor Indians receive in compensation neither apparel to clothe themselves nor a handful of grain to eat, and they have been dying rapidly and perishing without knowledge of God ...; and since it saddens the heart so sorely to observe and discuss these conditions so apparently destitute of remedy in this extremely remote and far away corner, I can say no more. His Grace, as Archbishop, should be able to remedy the spiritual conditions of this unhappy diocese, since it is now without a bishop, and should treat with His Majesty and with the Viceroy to free this miserable tribe from the exceptionally severe captivity, and halt the rigorous personal service and payments so that the natives be required to pay only what they are well able considering the poverty of the land, in the same way as is the practice in Peru and in all the Indies.

This report indicates the difficulties encountered in this vast disorganized land. The situation was relieved considerably with the arrival of Bishop Fernando de Trejo Sonatina, a Franciscan, who arrived at Tucumán before 1595 and remained here until his death in 1614. His cooperation facilitated the work of the padres. Upon his death he bequeathed his property to the Society for the purpose of establishing a university, although the Jesuits received only a part of their inheritance. The problem of personal service, however, was always aggravating to the fathers,

28 Ibid., I, 563-564.
 29 Moses, The Spanish Dependencies in South America, II, 154-156; Lanning, 25-26.

particularly when the encomenderos in remote regions felt far enough removed from the authorities in Peru and Spain to abuse their prerogatives. Thus it was too, in Chile where personal service degenerated into slavery.

A royal cédula was issued in 1596 to the governors of Chile, Rio de la Plata, Tucumán, and Santa Cruz de la Sierra recommending cooperation in the extension of Jesuit activities; a license was simultaneously issued to Father Cristobal Velásquez to take twenty Jesuits to Peru to be sent to the more remote regions of the province. The king stated that the necessities for the voyage were to be paid by the royal hacienda. February 11, 1597,³⁰ another cédula commanded the Casa de Contratación to equip this expedition.³¹ The Tucumán province did not receive many of these men however. In 1599 Father Juan Dario, Juan de Arcos, Hernando de Monroy and a lay brother, Antonio Rodríguez, arrived in this region. The mission lost Barcena, who had been ill since 1595 and who died at Cuzco in 1597, and Saloni who died during the early part of 1599. Another valuable worker, the saintly Añasco, died at Cordoba April 12, 1605, worn out at the age of fifty five from his strenuous missionary career. By this time Philip II had also passed away.

The histories of the Jesuits in the Argentine generally place much emphasis upon the developments in Córdoba, since this was the principal center during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. During the sixteenth century, however, Córdoba was all but ignored by the padres since it was not the most suitable location for a headquarters from which the fathers could conduct their missionary excursions. In 1587 Barcena and Angulo preached in Córdoba where they met the fathers from Brazil, but all turned northward

30 Levillier, Organización, I, 530-531.

31 Ibid., I, 606-608.

to do missionary work. In 1589 the inhabitants of Córdoba requested the establishment of a Jesuit house; two years later they offered a spacious solar with a field for an orchard. This donation was accepted although eight years elapsed before the fathers established a residence. In March, 1599, Romero and Juan Dario arrived at Córdoba to found the Jesuit house. Three years later there were eight priests and two brothers stationed here. The city also donated a hermitage dedicated to San Tiburcio y Valeriano, the patrons of Córdoba, and added another solar to their gift. This residence was to become a colegio máximo when the province was separated from Peru. By 1622 it was recognized as a university.

Visitador Páez traveled to this region, arriving at Tucumán in December of 1600 or in January, 1601, accompanied by Father Diego de Torres. Although Lozano, Techo and Charlevoix date the formal organization of the Paraguay missions from a meeting of Páez with missionaries at Salta, Astrain points out that this meeting was presided by Provincial Cabredo almost two years later. Cabredo made his visit to this region in the summer of 1602, meeting the fathers at Salta in August. From there he went to Tucumán accompanied by Romero as far as Jujuy. In his annual letter of 1602 Cabredo expressed his satisfaction with the progress of the eight fathers and two brothers stationed in this territory.

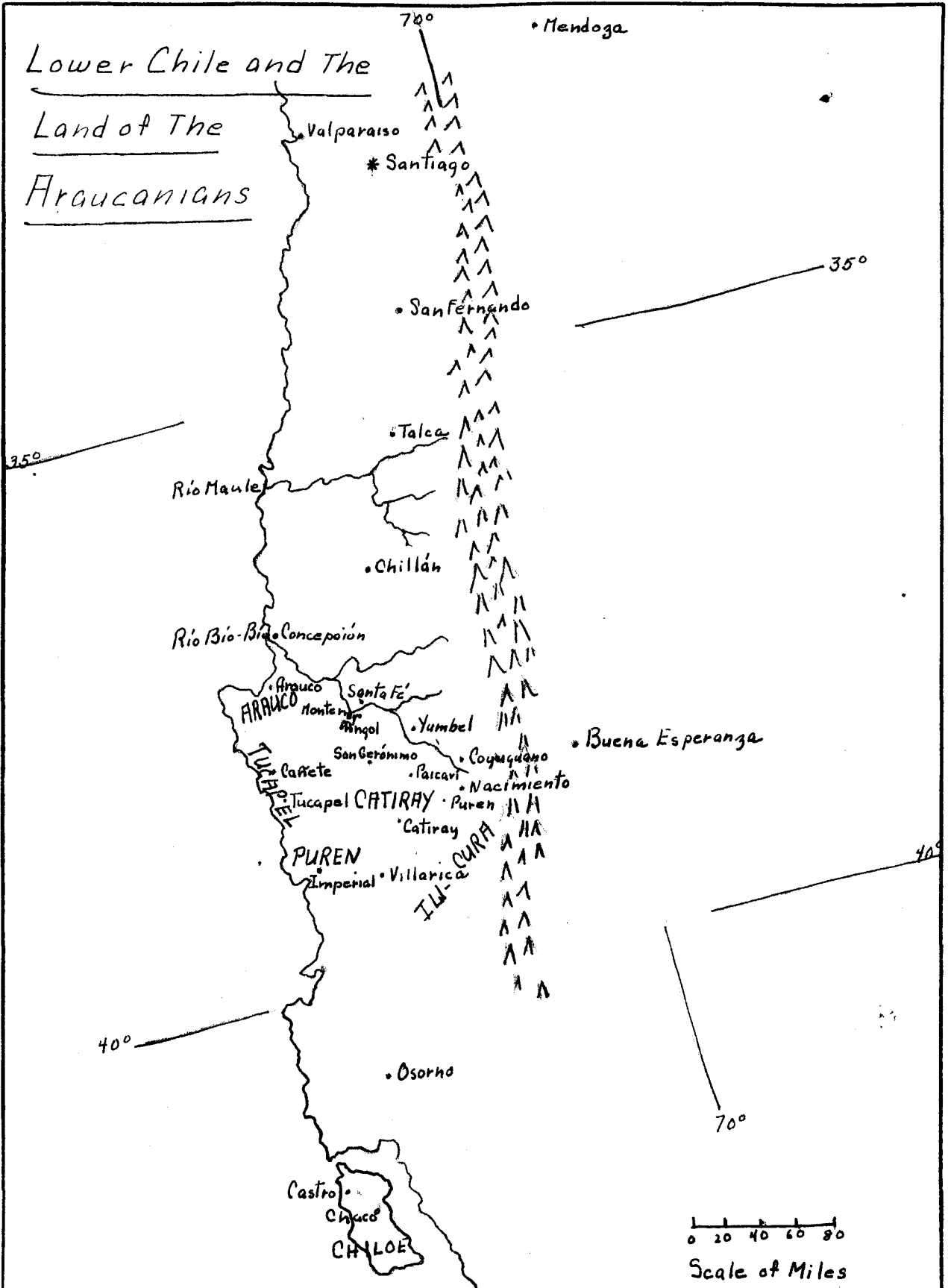
Following the suggestion made previously by Páez, the fathers organized their activities with Santiago del Estero and Córdoba as their head-

32 Astrain, IV, 621; Report of Romero, June 23, 1601, Torres Bollo, 22-30.
 33 Documentos para la Historia Argentina, XIX, lxxi.
 34 Lanning, 25-26.
 35 Astrain, IV, 622; Torres Bollo, 23-26.
 36 Carta Anua of Cabredo, 1602, Documentos Para la Historia Argentina, XIX, lxxi.
 37 Ibid., XIX, lxxi-lxxii.

quarters. Lorenzana left Asunción for Córdoba, while Filds, who intended to follow him, remained in Asunción due to illness. Lorenzana returned to assist Filds; so it was that the house at Asuncion was not abandoned.

Despite the obstacles they confronted in the disorganized diocese of Tucumán, the padres laid the foundations for the flourishing progress of the following century and a half. By 1600 these pioneer fathers had established the Society in the key centers of Santiago, Asunción and Córdoba from where they directed missions throughout the Argentine. After these pioneer days they began a program of spreading education and culture throughout the upper portion of Argentina that causes no little astonishment. Their labors have been summarized by Father Furlong in the work referred to in this chapter.

Lower Chile and The
Land of The
Araucanians



0 20 40 60 80
Scale of Miles

CHAPTER IX

CHILE

Portillo in his time received requests for members of the Society from Chile shortly after he arrived in Peru, and these requests were repeated with increasing persistency. The fathers did not go to this land, however, until a quarter of a century after the Society was established in Peru.

Chile, land of the fierce and proud Araucanians, had been added to the Spanish dominions by Pedro de Valdivia. In 1541 the capital, Santiago, was founded, a cabildo was organized, and the conqueror assumed the office of governor and captain-general of the region. By 1549 the upper portion of Chile, three hundred miles above the Bío-Bío, was pacified. Spanish forces continued southward. Araucanian forces, under leaders such as Ailloralu, Caupolican and Lautaro, proved indomitable foes. These natives refused to become absorbed in the encomienda system which in Chile was a source of serious abuses.

Pedro de Valdivia had introduced ten ecclesiastics to Chile, three of the regular clergy and seven Mercedarians. In compliance with a royal cédula, three Dominicans founded the Convent of Nuestra Señora del Rosario at Santiago in 1552. The following year the Franciscans also established a convent at Santiago. The sudden uprising of the Araucanians resulted in

1 Francisco Enrich, História de la Compañía de Jesús en Chile, Barcelona, 1891, I, 10-11; J. M. Fernández and Rafael Granados, Obra Civilizadora de la Iglesia en Colombia, Bogotá, 1936, 69-70.

2 Cresente Errázuriz, Los Orígenes de la Iglesia Chilena, Santiago de Chile, 1873, 50.

3 Ibid., 97-98.

4 Ibid., 103.

the destruction of the Spanish settlements to the south and in the torture and death of Pedro de Valdivia. Again the Spaniards proceeded to establish centers to the south and again the Indians repeated their destruction.

However, by 1593 the Dominicans had four convents in the capital, the Franciscans eight and the Mercedarians six, while the Augustinians came to Chile in 1595. Two dioceses had been established, one at Santiago in 1561 and one at Imperial in 1564.

In 1568 Bishop Fernando Barriamuevo asked Castro to assign padres to his diocese. Castro in turn sent this plea to the king and to Borgia. The request was repeated by Bishop Diego de Medillín, by the governor and by the cabildo of Santiago. In view of such petitions Philip II, according to his custom, issued a cédula bidding the Society to send men to Chile. This was done as early as February 11, 1579. But the number of members in

5 Following Valdivia's death Don García de Mendoza (governor and captain-general, 1553-1560) re-established some of the forts south of the Bío-Bío. Francisco de Villagra (1560-1562) met his death at Concepción in an Indian uprising which resulted in the depopulation of Cañete and Arauco. His successor, Pedro de Villogra (1562-1564) was unable to make any inroad against the natives, but Rodrigo de Quiroga (1564-1566) met with minor success. His gains were lost by Don Melchor Bravo de Saravia Sotomayor (1568-1575). Again Quiroga (1575-1581) managed a few minor victories over the Araucanians, although he won no decisive battles. Don Martín Rúaiz de Gamboa (1581-1583) accomplished nothing during his governorship. Don Alonso Sotomayor (1583-1592) commanded large military forces and used severe measures to subdue the natives; nevertheless he met defeat at Mariguano and Villagra. Miguel Luis Amunátegui, Descubrimiento i conquista de Chile, Santiago, 1913, 11, 322, 348, 63-87.

6 Enrich, I, 9; Errazuriz, 440.

7 Carlos Silva Cotapos, Historia Eclesiástica de Chile, Santiago, 1925, 5, 12-13.

8 Astrain, IV, 668; Enrich, I, 11-12.

9 Recopilación, Volume I, Book 1, Title 6.

the Peruvian province did not warrant a venture to the south at the time. In 1590 Father Juan Román was sent from Lima to Spain to recommend the establishment of a Jesuit mission in Chile. Again royal cédulas were issued ordering the receptor of the Council to supply necessities for eight fathers to sail to Lima and from there to Chile. Consequently Father Sebastián, the Provincial of Peru, appointed the aged Father Báltasar Piñas superior of a group to sail to this war torn land, and instructed him to select seven companions. First among those of his selection was Father Luis de Valdivia who was destined to devote the next three decades of his life championing the cause of the Araucanian. This group also included two native Chileans, Fathers Hernando de Aquilera and Juan de Olivares, as well as Fathers Luis de Estela, Gabriel de Vega and the lay brothers Miguel de Telena and Fabián Martínez.

The expedition left Callao on the San Francisco Javier February 9, 1593. Their ship barely escaped destruction. The fathers were forced to put in at the port of Coquimbo. The story has often been told of how they walked barefoot, as an act of gratitude to God, two and a half leagues to the church of San Francisco in La Serena, there to repeat their prayers of thanksgiving for their escape from shipwreck. The citizens, as might have been expected in so small a town, heard of their arrival and flocked to the

10 Cédulas of September 12 and September 19, 1590, Enrich, I, 12-13.

11 Pastells, I, 100.

12 Valdivia had already merited esteem as a teacher of philosophy and theology, and had accredited himself as a missionary in Cuzco and Juli. Born in Granada in 1561, he studied at Salamanca, and in 1581 entered the Society in the Province of Castile. He was sent to Peru shortly after his ordination in 1589. He taught theology at the Colegio Máximo, and then worked among the natives. Beatrice Blum, "Luis de Valdivia, Defender of the Araucanians," Mid-America, (1942), XXIV, 109-137.

13 Pastells, I, 100.

church. Piñas delivered a sermon for their benefit. When this was over the congregation offered him assistance in founding a house at La Serena. But the fathers had received no instructions for activity in this way station, and hence wished to be off for Santiago. At the insistence of the people of this village the fathers agreed not to resume their journey by sea, as they planned. They mounted mules given them by the people, and thus they jogged their way for 160 leagues of travel to Santiago.

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They were given an elaborate reception at the capital April 12, 1593. The hospitality of the Dominicans was theirs until their own quarters were prepared. The following Sunday Piñas preached at the Dominican church. His enthusiastic audience subscribed 4,300 pesos towards a house, and their actual contributions, a little short of the goal, amounted to 3,916 pesos. With this sum the fathers were able to purchase the former residence of Governor Rodrigo de Plaza for 3,600 pesos. The king's bounty apparently had not considered their housing problem. The house, facing north on the main plaza, had been valued originally at 10,000 pesos, but it had depreciated considerably, and required much repair. A carpenter named Miguel de Telena made the necessary alterations and built a chapel while the inhabitants of Santiago provided the simple furnishings. Within six weeks after they purchased this house it was ready for occupation.

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Piñas assigned a specific task to each man upon their arrival. Yaldivia was encharged with the instruction of the natives and the visiting of

14 Ibid., I, 100-101.

15 Miguel de Olivares, Historia de la Compañia de Jesus en Chile, in Colección de Historiadores de Chile, VII, Santiago, 1873, 18.

16 Errázuriz, 435.

17 Ibid., 436; Enrich, I, 26-27; Astrain, IV, 671.

133

hospitals and prisons. The capable Valdivia quickly applied himself to the
18
study of the native language which he mastered in a brief time. Aguilera
concentrated upon the instruction of the natives also, preaching and
holding classes in the plaza and in the Dominican church. For the first
19
time the natives received instruction in their own language. Estella
taught doctrine to the Spanish children in the Dominican convent until the
Jesuit house was opened. Olivares was assigned to instruct both the
Spanish adults and children. In 1594 Piñas, who was now sixty seven years
old, was forced to return to Peru since the vigorous climate of Santiago
20
reacted unfavorably upon his health. Valdivia succeeded him as superior.

Valdivia's achievements in Chile are notable from several aspects.
It was under his direction that the Society organized the educational
program of the colegio. On August 15, 1594, Valdivia began a course in
philosophy for the benefit of the three religious orders, the Franciscans,
21
Mercedarians and Dominicans. Where he lectured is not certain. It was
not until October 16, 1595, that the Society offered formal classes at
22
their own colegio which was called San Miguel. The lectures offered at
this time included Latin, rhetoric, philosophy, theology, canon law and,
we note with considerable interest, a course in the Araucanian language.

The establishment of the Colegio de San Miguel was made possible by

18 In 1606 Valdivia published in Lima a grammar and catechism in the Araucanian language. José Toribio Medina, Biblioteca Hispano-Chilena, Santiago de Chile, 1897, II, 386.

19 Enrich, I, 21.

20 Piñas died in Lima in 1611, at the age of 84, having been in the Society 62 years and professed 47 years. Enrich, I, 37-45.

21 Olivares, 25.

22 Ora, Reglas y Constituciones, 26.

the generosity of two retired captains, Don Andrés de Torquemada and Don Agustín Brisceno. Torquemada contributed a hacienda about two leagues from Santiago, near Podoval (now called Pudahuel) which was known in later colonial times as La Punta, while Brisceno donated a hacienda near Santiago²³ called Rancagua, and today, La Compañía. San Miguel became the center for Jesuit activities in Chile. Miguel de Telena was the most generous²⁴ contributor to the Jesuit church which was completed in 1597. Eleven Dominicans, six Franciscans and several Mercedarians were among the first²⁵ to matriculate at the colegio. Still the student enrollment was low for, as Visitador Páez noted in 1602, the majority of the young men of Chile²⁶ were engaged in military entradas below the Bío-Bío.

The Jesuits extended their work outside of Santiago. Regular visits were made to Indian ranches in the vicinity of the capital to instruct the natives in doctrine.²⁷ In 1594 Valdivia traveled to the Chacras region, while Gabriel de Vega and Hernando de Aguilera sailed from Santiago to Concepción to spend a year and a half doing missionary work around the²⁸ Bío-Bío.

Vega and Aguilera worked for several months around Arauco and Tucapel where, although a cessation of hostilities had been effected temporarily,

23 Torquemada's donation amounted to 16,000 pesos. In 1598 he donated all his goods to the Society, save a small share which he retained for mere sustenance. Enrich, I, 52-53; Olivares, 25.

24 Enrich, I, 33. This church was destroyed by an earthquake in 1647.

25 Errázuriz, 437; Olivares, 25.

26 Olivares, 49-51.

27 Ibid., 22-23.

28 Ibid., 45; Claudio Gay, História Física y Política de Chile según Documentos Acquiridos en esta Republica durante doze Anos de Residencia en ella, Santiago, 1894, II, 215-216.

the natives had been given no doctrinal instruction until the arrival of the
 29
 padres. In 1596 they accompanied the governor's troops south of the Bío-Bío
 to Cañete, Imperial, Valdivia, Osorno, Villarica, Angol and Santa Cruz de
 30
 Coya. Returning to Santiago in 1597 they conferred with Valdivia who was
 extremely concerned over their reports of the impending revolt south of the
 31
 Bío-Bío. Assigning Vega to his class at the college, Valdivia with Aguilera
 32
 and the lay brother Telena left for the Araucanian territory in 1597. For
 seven months they visited the region of Arauco, Tucapel, Imperial, Villarica
 and Angol. They made close observations of the existing conditions, the
 relations between the Indians and Spaniards and the mood of the Araucanians.
 Returning to Santiago in 1598 the fathers warned the governor that the
 natives were on the verge of bloody rebellion. They added that such a
 disaster might be averted were the governor to halt the enforcement of per-
 sonal service upon these peoples and withdraw the soldiers from the Arau-
 33
 canian land.

The warnings were ignored. Consequently, on November 22, 1598, Gov-
 ernor Martín Oñez de Loyola with sixty soldiers and three Franciscans was
 34
 slain in the region between Angol and Imperial by the troops of Paillamachu.
 This was the first of a series of devastating blows dealt by the Araucanians.
 Within two days the Chunchese and Huilliches provinces were in revolt as
 were the Araucanians around Osorno, Valdivia, Villarica, Imperial, Cañete,

29 Olivares, 22-23, 45.

30 Ibid., 46; Errázuriz, 435-437.

31 Blum, 112.

32 Ibid., 112; Olivares, 46-47.

33 Blum, 112; Enrich, I, 64-65, 66-67.

34 Diego de Rosales, História General del Reino de Chile, Valparaiso, 1878,
 II, 229-306.

Angol, Coya and the fortress of Arauco. The first six of these places were destroyed; only four of the twelve cities of Chile, Concepción, Santiago, Arauco, and Coquimbo escaped serious damage. Fierce but ineffectual was the policy of aggressive warfare adopted by the governor and his successors. Hatred dominated both sides. Temporal and spiritual progress seemed impossible in this land where war was the prime concern. While Valdivia begged the governors to halt offensive warfare south of the Bío-Bío and to establish defensive forts along the river, the majority of the religious and civil authorities in Chile were convinced that even more oppressive measures should be adopted to crush by arms the spirit of independence in the Araucanian - a feat never to be accomplished.

37

In 1602 Visitador Páez inspected the situation around Concepcion from where military entradas were being directed. At this time Governor Ribera requested that two Jesuits be assigned to work along the frontier among the natives. Páez appointed Fathers Gabriel de Vega and Francisco Villegas to this task. Actually the governor used these men as chaplains for his troops, though they were given the opportunity of doing some work among those natives who had been pacified. In the general redistribution of men occurring in 1602 Valdivia was sent to Lima to take the chair in theology.

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Olivares and Aguilera were also transferred to Peru at this time, while Páez brought three other priests, including Villegas, to the Chilean field.

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36 Rosales, 305-355; Blum 112; Pastells, I, 201-203.

37 Blum, 113; Medina, Biblioteca Hispano-Chilena, II, 5-20; Amunategui y Solar, Las Encomiendas de Indígenas en Chile, Santiago, 1909, I, 355.

38 Olivares, 49-51.

39 Ibid., 54; Enrich, I, 88-90.

40 Olivares, 49-51; Enrich, I, 81.

A crisis in the colonial history of Chile was at hand. The alarm of the royal administrators spread to the court of Philip III. In 1604 Viceroy Marqués de Salina received orders from the king. He was to seek a solution to the Araucanian problem; he was to halt this expensive war. Salina thereupon asked Father Valdivia, who had been teaching at the Colegio Máximo since 1602, to review the Chilean situation in detail. Valdivia set about the task of preparing a report methodically. Briefly, this memorial attributed the difficulties encountered in Chile to the

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existing system of personal service. A conference including the governor elect of Chile, Garcia Ramón, and other important administrators of the viceroyalty was held to give consideration to Valdivia's report and pro-

42

posals. This junta, resolving to abolish personal service in the land of the Araucanians, allowed two years for the transition from forced to voluntary labor, though it strongly urged that the transition be effected sooner. Valdivia was delegated to make a tour of inspection in southern Chile to observe and supervise the adoption of this new policy.

Extraordinary civil and ecclesiastical authority was conferred upon Valdivia. He carried instructions to: (1) offer a general pardon to the Indians for all their former misdeeds; (2) make it clear that the king did not approve personal service as it was practiced in Chile and now demanded its cessation; (3) sanction tribute only in the form in which

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41 Blum, 113; Luis Tribaldos de Toledo, Vista Jeneral de las Continuas Guerras Dificil Conquista del Gran Reino Provincias de Chile, in Colección Historiadores, IV, 95.

42 Blum, 113; Copia de Vna Carta del Padre Luys de Valdivia Para el Senor Conde de Lemos Presidente de Indias, Lima, January 4, 1607, Photostat No. 245, Massachusetts Historical Society, 1-2.

43 Blum, 114; "Copia de Vna Carta del padre Luys de Valdivia Para el Senor Conde de Lemos..., January 4, 1607, 2.

the natives were accustomed to pay in their own lands. These instructions were not welcomed by the encomenderos or soldiers of Chile, and they were received suspiciously by the natives who found it difficult to believe that the Spanish government would, after these many years of war, reverse
44
its policy so suddenly.

Valdivia embarked at Callao, accompanied by Governor Ramón and two hundred soldiers. They docked at Penco March 19, 1605. His task of communicating the new policy regarding the natives to both the soldiers and the Araucanians was begun. From Concepción, accompanied by friendly toquis or native chiefs, he carried his message of peace to Arauco, through Tabo-leno, Lapi-ré, Mahuda, the region of Catiray, down to Guadava, Puren,
45
Cateray del Sur and to the fort of Nuestra Señora de Ala. The task of convincing the Indians of the pacific intentions of the civil and military authorities in Chile was especially difficult since García Ramón was sanctioning military entradas into the land south of the Bío-Bío. Valdivia embarked for Peru in the latter part of April, 1606, assured that his con-
46
clusions regarding the cause of native belligerency were sound.

In a letter written the following January the padre again denounced
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personal service as the crux of the Chilean disorder. He also noted the failure of the soldiers and encomenderos to cooperate in the attempt to abolish the system. In June of 1607 Valdivia and the oidor Don Juan de

44 Ibid., 2-3; Astrain, IV, 696; Enrich, I, 103.

45 Copia de vna carta del Padre Luys de Valdivia para el Senor Conde de Lemos..., January 4, 1607, 2; Carvallo i Goyeneche, Descripción Histórico Geografica del Reino de Chile, in Colección Historiadores, VIII, 284.

46 Olivares, 63; Copia de vna carta...., op. cit., 3-4; Blum, 115.

47 Ibid., Astrain, IV, 694.

Villela sent memorials to Spain upon the request of Viceroy Marqués de
48
Montes Claros who succeeded the Conde de Monterey. These were a repetition
of all that Valdivia had pointed out previously regarding the Chilean
problem. In a letter of June 4th Valdivia specified that the abuses already
denounced should be abolished, and that the Spaniards should withdraw
military forces from below the Bío-Bío, establishing posts along the river
49
for the purpose of defense only. Thus he sponsored the system which came
to be known as guerra defensiva, or defensive warfare, as opposed to the
existing policy of offensive warfare.

Meanwhile the authorities in Chile launched upon another futile but
even more rigorous attempt to subdue the natives by force. The disaster at
Borcha, September 29, 1606, when more than one hundred Spanish soldiers
perished, dispelled what qualms might have existed among the members of
the Council of Indies concerning the cruelest of castigations. Under Merlo
de la Fuente the enslavement cédula of 1608 was interpreted to pertain not
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only to those on the frontier, but to all natives in Chile.

Meanwhile the land of Chile came under the jurisdiction of the newly
designated Jesuit Province of Paraguay in 1607. The Provincial Torres
Bello had joined Valdivia in his petitions to the king to abolish personal
service. Both his ecclesiastical and civil superiors decided to bring this
matter to court by sending Valdivia to Spain to have a personal interview
51
with the king. The padre sailed from Callao in 1609.

The most complete exposition of Valdivia's plan is found in a lengthy

48 Astrain, IV, 694-696.

49 Blum, 115; Copia de vna carta del Padre Luys de Valdivia..., 6.

50 Amunategui y Solar, I, 353-354, 364-365; Actos de Cabildo de Santiago,
in Colección de Historiadores, XXIV, 188-189.

51 Blum, 116.

informado which he presented in Madrid probably in 1610. The first five chapters summarize the social, economic and religious reasons for discontinuing an offensive war in Chile. The last three chapters present an historical survey of the principal events in the war against the Araucanians, and outline the padre's procedure for effecting an eventual cessation of the war. The Council of Indies, having discussed Valdivia's plan and that of the ardent militarists of Chile who presented their argument for offensive warfare through their delegate Captain Lorenzo del Salta, officially adopted the policy of defensive warfare.

Valdivia was intrusted with extensive civil and ecclesiastical authority to execute the plan that had been accepted. He was civil visitador of Chile with supreme political control over the affairs at the Indian frontier. Aquaviva dispensed him from Jesuit jurisdiction in the New World; he was directly accountable to the General. Valdivia, with nine priests and two coadjutors, embarked for America early in 1611. The story of his work among the Araucanians has been narrated in the article by Beatrice Blum already cited. The lack of cooperation accorded him by the militarists and the encomenderos of Chile nullified his plan for pacification. The padre sailed from Chile in November, 1619, a defeated man.

Valdivia's efforts to establish guerra defensiva incurred the animosity of both civil and ecclesiastical authorities in Chile. Nor was,

52 Luis de Valdivia, "Tratado de la importancia del medio que el virrey propone de cortar la guerra de Chile, y hazerla solamente defensiva," Madrid, c. 1611, Photostat No. 264, Massachusetts Historical Society.

53 Tribaldos de Toledo, 102-105; Blum, 118.

54 Blum, 118-120.

this animosity directed solely against him, but it included the Jesuits as an organization. The hostility of the encomenderos was not to decrease appreciably throughout colonial times, for it was inspired in great part by economic factors influential in the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Spanish dominions in 1767.

CHAPTER X

NORTH TO THE LAND OF THE CHIBCHAS

The first Jesuit residence north of Lima was established at Panamá, the oldest European settlement on the American mainland. Due to a geographical accident, it cannot readily be classed as part of North or South America. We must mention Panamá, however incidentally, even though no elaborate enterprise was undertaken there by the Company. It may be recalled that Portillo and his group, on the way to Lima, had been asked by fervent citizens to establish a house here. Thereafter Jesuits on their way to Peru passed through Panamá, and it was customary for them to give missions or sermons for the people of this city. In May, 1577, Father Fuentes and a brother went to Panamá from Lima with an expeditionary force against the corsairs who were looting in the vicinity. Little is recorded of their adventure in quest of El Draco, as Drake was known, or other "gentlemen adventurers." Plaza reported in 1579 that "A widow donated a house at Panamá with no other condition than that the members of the Company who were in Panamá should reside there." Upon Fuentes' return to Lima, Father Juan de Baena was sent to carry on where Fuentes left off in Panamá and by 1584 he received permission to establish a permanent residence there. Throughout the sixteenth century only two or three men resided at this house, and they were occupied primarily in charitable works and missions among the Spaniards. If they wrote diaries or letters of the

1 Astrain, IV, 308.

2 Plaza's Report, April 25, 1579, Ibid., III, 700.

3 Vargas Ugarte, Los Jesuitas del Peru, 12-13.

events transpiring on the Isthmus during these years, how precious the records would have been with stories of pirates, navigators, merchants, fairs, dignitaries, silver fleets and plagues!

While the fathers' main attention was focused southward in the viceroyalty, some missionary excursions had been sent from Lima to the north. At the time Acosta was beginning his expedition to southern Peru and Bolivia in 1573, Father Juan Gómez and Brother Juan Casasola were making their way to Guayaquil. They did some missionary work in the pueblos around Loja, Cuenca and Piura.⁴ Several years elapsed, however, before the Society considered a permanent residence in this northern land. In 1586 Atienza sent a group to Quito with Piñas as their superior.⁵ These were Fathers Juan de Hinojosa, Diego González Holguin and the lay brother, Juan de Santiago.

Quito, the site of an ancient Indian pueblo, is built on the slopes of the volcano Pichincha, 9,350 feet above sea level. It was the seat of the audiencia whose limits had been defined in a royal cedula of August 29, 1563.⁶ The jurisdiction of the government of Quito extended from Lima to Panama along the coast, and inland through Piura, Cajamarca, Chachapoyas, Moyabamba and Motilones. Within this area were the dioceses of Quito and

4 Astrain, III, 158-159.
5 José de Jouanen, Historia de la Compañia de Jesús en la Antigua Provincia de Quito, Quito, 1941, 42; Torres Saldamando, Los Antiguos Jesuitas del Peru, 25. The Franciscans had established their convent in 1541, the Augustinians in 1573. Jose Gabriel Navarro, La Iglesia de la Compañia de Quito, Madrid, 1930, 20. The Dominicans held classes in Latin, scholastic theology and moral theology which seculars were permitted to attend. The Franciscans founded their college of San Andrés in 1558, offering a special course for natives. Federico González-Suárez, Historia Eclesiástica del Ecuador desde los Tiempos de la Conquista hasta Nuestras Dias, Quito, 1881, 362-363.
6 González-Suárez, 240.

Popayán. The difficulties of travel in this land are known even to the present day. The problem of heat and pestilences in the Guayaquil-area has recently been taken over by the United States forces. There still remains that of travel from the higher regions westward to the lower tropical coastline or eastward beyond the Andes into the jungles.

The fathers arrived at the city of Quito in the middle of June, 1586, and resided at what was then termed "the hospital" during the ensuing month.⁷ With the approval of the Bishop, the Audiencia donated the church of Santa Barbara, a small house nearby and 4,000 pesos to the Society on July 31, 1586.⁸ This site was purchased by Bishop Peno from the Augustinians. The Jesuits accepted the donation with the understanding that should they abandon Quito, the property would revert to the ecclesiastical authorities of Quito.

After the first month the fathers moved to the small dwelling that had been given them. Their first task was the alleviation of distress resulting from a violent earthquake that had damaged most of the buildings in Quito and had caused considerable suffering in the city and surrounding territory.⁹

In the group of reinforcements that came in 1588 was one whose name was long held in benediction - Father Onofre Estéban. He came with two priests and a brother and entered upon fifty four years of labor in Quito and its environs. He found the city scarcely recovered from a temblor and

7 Ibid., 304. In 1585 there were but 20 or 24 religious in Quito. Pastells, I, 99.

8 González-Suárez, 305. Navarro mentions a donation of 15 cabaldrias of wheat fields near Quito in the valley of Chillo, given by the cabildo, as well as 4,460 pesos, but he does not say when the donation was made. Navarro, 22.

9 Juan de Velasco, Historia Moderna del Reino de Quito, Quito, 1941, II, 164.

in the following year the padres were called upon to assist the inhabitants during a severe epidemic which ultimately took the lives of about 7,000 persons in the vicinity. Among the victims was Father Hinojosa. Such events were harbingers of many similar tribulations that beset the padres in the years to come.

On the first day of January, 1589, the Jesuits purchased another house which they needed to accommodate their growing numbers for there were now thirteen members of the Society in Quito. It is not certain, however, that they occupied this house before 1595. In 1589 the Ecclesiastical Cabildo which was administrating the diocese since the death of the bishop gave the direction of a small college to the Jesuits. Here they began their educational work offering elementary courses in humanities. A class in philosophy was conducted by Father Juan de Frías. Very soon laymen and

10 This epidemic began in Cartagena in 1589, and spread down to the Straits of Magellan, causing the deaths of 30,000 of the 80,000 inhabitants in the intervening area. Ibid., II, 66.

11 Although González-Suárez, 323, says they moved to the new house January 1, 1589, Navarro, 25-27, basing his argument upon a pleito or complaint found in the Archives de San Francisco in Quito which remonstrated against the Jesuit plan to move to this house, (Legajo 7), says they established their house here six years later, in 1595. The Franciscans objected on the ground that the Jesuit house was located 140 varas (one vara is equivalent to 2.8 feet) of the Franciscan convent, and the Bull Motu Proprio of Sixtus IV as well as other decrees of Clement V prohibited the establishing of religious houses, colleges or churches within 140 varas of each other. Evidently the complaint was not considered too seriously for the Jesuits did move to this house.

12 González-Suárez, 354-365; Jouanen, 59, 61.

13 Velasco, 59.

members of other religious orders in the city came to attend the college.

Temblors and pestilences were one thing to contend with. A reyolt was another. On July 24, 1592, a viceregal cedula imposed another alcabala or tax upon the city. The citizens went up in arms when collection was attempted. By Spring of 1593 Quito was in a state of turmoil. The Jesuits, acting as mediators between the govenror and governed, did much toward restoring peace. When calmness finally prevailed it was Father Morillo who obtained a general pardon for the citizens of Quito from the viceroy.

In 1594 the newly appointed Bishop Luis López de Solís founded the Seminary of San Luis. This he placed under Jesuit direction since he felt assured of their ability to conduct the institution according to the rules stipulated by the Council of Trent. López de Solís stated in the Auto de

Fundación of the Seminary:

In order that this work, that is to say the founding of the Seminary, which we hope will be of great service to God and beneficial for our diocese, should serve its purpose, it is essential that the persons placed in authority be of good example and be adequately educated, and have experience in instructing the youth; for this reason we agree in accord with the Royal Audiencia and the Cabildo of this city ... to intrust this Seminary to the direction of the Company of Jesus. 16

The Jesuits accepted this responsibility with the stipulation that they

14 Ibid., 69-71; Letter of Arana, Astrain, IV, 569.
15 José Joaquín Borda, Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Nueva Granada, Poissay, 1872, I, 42; Diego Rodríguez Ocampo, "Descripción y relación del estado eclesiástico del obispado San Francisco de Quito," Relaciones Geográficas de Indias, III, 12.
16 González-Suárez, 366-367.

retain complete temporal and spiritual management. Father Frías Herrán was
 18
 appointed rector. By August of 1601 when Páez visited Quito there were
 twenty members of the Society at this residence, including ten priests,
 19
 devoted to the education and training of young seminarians.

During the sixteenth century the padres in Quito were occupied largely
 in establishing their colegio, conducting the seminary, and alleviating the
 distress of the people during the revolt and epidemic. However, men were
 sent out to the surrounding land on missionary excursions. The most notable
 early missionary in this region was Father Rafael Ferrer. Ferrer and Father
 20
 Diego de Cuenca journeyed the fifty leagues from Quito to Pasta in 1599.
 This was a perilous journey through hostile lands but the fathers arrived
 safely at their destination. After preaching in Pasta they traveled to
 Popayán and to Cali. They were joined at Cali by a studious, pious youth,
 21
 Diego de Carcedo, who returned to Quito to be admitted to the Society.
 Following Ferrer's visit other Jesuits were welcomed at Cali. Father Manuel
 Rodríguez and others traveled to Cali where the inhabitants regularly offered
 to establish a colegio but the fathers were forced to decline the offer until
 22
 more men were sent to the province.

17 Ibid., 369-370; "Reglas de Colegio Seminario de San Luis," Reglas y Constituciones, Córdoba, 1940, 143-163.

18 Torres Saldamando, Los antiguos Jesuitas del Peru, 166.

19 When the royal university of San Gregorio Magno was established in Quito in 1620, the king stipulated that the rectorship should always be given to the rector of the Jesuit Colegio Máximo at Quito. Navarro, 29.

20 Velasco, III, 14; Torres Saldamando, op.cit., 91-92; Mendiburu, V, 287.

21 Carpedo was the first person born in New Granada to enter the Society. Diego Restrepo, La Compañía en Colombia, Bogotá, 1940, 18.

22 Borda, I, 46.

Ferrer returned to Quito to study the language of the Cofanes, a task
23
he is said to have accomplished in four months. In 1602 he began his work
among the Yumbas and Cofanes in the present intendencia of Amazonas. That
year he founded the pueblo of San Pedro, in 1604 he founded Santa Maria
24
and shortly afterwards, Santa Cruz. In his travels he explored the
Maranon River and some of its main tributaries. He discovered Lake Pequeya
and the course of the River Putomayo. He was called to Quito for a short
time to instruct the novices but was allowed to return to his beloved
Cofanes. About a year and a half after his return to missionary work,
soldiers began to invade the territory. The natives resented the intrusion
of the Spaniards and held Ferrer responsible for it. Thus in June, 1611,
he was slain by those natives to whom he had dedicated his efforts for nine
years, and among whom he had, with the assistance of Fathers Juan de Arcos
25
and Onofre Esteban, baptized 4,800. Still Ferrer had blazed the trail for
the Jesuit fathers who subsequently founded the missions of the upper
Amazon regions.

The fathers moved further north after establishing their house at
Quito. When Antonio González arrived at Peru in 1589 to assume his duties
as President of New Granada, a territory roughly comprising the present
Colombia, he requested that the fathers establish the society in his

23 Mendiburu, V, 287.

24 Torres Saldamando, *op.cit.*, 91; Fernández and Granados, 349-350;
Velasco, III, 183-184.

25 Mendiburu, V, 287; Velasco, III, 137-144.

presidency. Fathers Alonso Linero, Francisco de Victoria and a lay brother, Juan Martínez, were chosen to accompany González to Santa Fé de Bogotá, although they were not instructed to found a residence here at this time. They must have taken the round about route from Lima to Panamá, overland to Portobelo and thence to Cartagena. After a delay in Cartagena where Victoria was ill for several months, the party resumed its journey and arrived at Bogotá March 30, 1590.

Father Antonio Martínez was sent to supervise the group at Bogotá. Arriving there in October, 1590, he was distressed to find a certain dissension between the Jesuits. Victoria proved particularly difficult. Without consulting his provincial or the rector at Quito he had contracted for the purchase of a house for 4,400 ducats, expecting to establish a colegio. Furthermore he had obligated the Society for this sum despite the fact that the Jesuits had received donations of but 400 ducats from the people of this region. These plans had to be cancelled. Then too,

26 Borda, I, 6-7. The Franciscans entered New Granada in 1513, establishing their convent in Santa Maria la Antigua del Darién. They began their work shortly afterward around Bogotá, going from there to the missions in the Valle de los Alcazures. The Dominican Fray Tomás Ortiz and 20 members of his Order arrived at Santa Marta in 1529. Three years later they conducted missions at Cartagena. In 1537 they cooperated with the Franciscans in founding missions around Bogota and in 1539, around Tunja. Both Orders established numerous missions in New Granada before the arrival of the Jesuits. In 1542 the Dominican Bishop Loaysa was unable to realize his plans for a seminary at Cartagena. Archbishop Luis Zapata de Cárdenas established a seminary which was closed four years later, in 1586. In compliance with a royal cédula of 1554, the Dominicans offered instruction to the sons of caciques and encomenderos at their convent in Bogotá which developed later into a university. Fernández and Granados, 297-302, 508, 59, 22-23, 190-191, 65, 312, 246-247.

27 José Cassini, História de la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesús del Nuevo Reyno de Granada, Madrid, 1741, 8.

28 Restrepo, 14.

29 Astrain, IV, 482.

while Victoria lived at the hospital Linero was residing at the home of the president who was related to him. This situation persisted for at least two years, for in May, 1592, Victoria wrote to Aquaviva that Linero's residence was the subject of adverse criticism in the city.

30

During the Lenten season of 1591, Martínez sent Victoria on missionary excursions around Bogotá, while he himself began to work among the natives in Pamplona. The President and the cabildo requested that the fathers establish a permanent mission among the natives at least if they felt there were not sufficient men to warrant founding a residence for the instruction of the Spaniards as well. Still Martínez was not in authority to answer this request.

In 1598 when the Inquisitor of Mexico, Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero, was appointed Archbishop of Bogotá, he was given permission by the Jesuit Provincial of New Spain, Estéban Páez, to bring two members of the Society to Bogotá. Fathers Alonso de Medrano and Francisco de Figueroa sailed with Guerrero April 30, 1598. By the time of their arrival, Linero had returned to Spain with the coadjutor Martínez, Father Martínez had gone to Lima, and Victoria alone remained at Bogotá.

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Medrano inaugurated a series of lectures in moral theology for the clergy of the city while Figueroa taught grammar to the children. The worked too, among the natives in the pueblos of Chia, Cajica, Bojaca, Serrezuela (now known as Madrid), Suba and Tena. At the same time they commenced work on a grammar and dictionary in Muisia which was later completed by Father

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30 Victoria to Aquaviva, May 13, 1592, Ibid., IV, 483.
31 The archdiocese had been vacant for nine years previous to this appointment. Manuel Groot, Historia Eclesiástica y Civil de Nueva Granada, Bogota, 1889, I, 211.
32 Borda, I, 8; Cassini, 9.
33 Restrepo, 15-16.

José Dadey.

Though Archbishop Guerrero and President Francisco de Sonda, who had succeeded González in 1597, urged them to accept donations towards a permanent residence, Medrano and Figueroa explained that they too, like the fathers from Lima, had received permission only to make missionary excursions in this land. Consequently they departed from Santa Fé de Bogotá for Mexico in Spring of 1600. They stopped at Cartagena on their way and there they were offered a house by Francisco de Alba who hoped the padres would establish a colegio. ³⁴ Again the fathers had to decline, and they left the diocese in the summer of 1600. Medrano went to Spain and to Rome to obtain permission to establish the Society in this territory.

Father Diego de Torres as Procurator in Rome also urged the establishment of the Society in New Granada. The General consented to this March 14, ³⁵ 1602; on the following December 30th a royal cédula confirmed this decision. In compliance with these orders, Medrano and four other Jesuits arrived at ³⁶ Cartagena July, 1604. They were given a gracious reception by the Dominican Bishop, Juan de Ladrada. The fathers were willing now to establish a colegio, but there were no immediate offers of financial assistance. The Bishop, therefore, humbled himself by begging from house to house for donations and in this manner he gathered sufficient funds to enable the Jesuits ³⁷ to build a modest house and church. The colegio was opened July 14, 1605.

³⁴ Ibid., 16.

³⁵ Cédula in Revista del Archivo Nacional, Bogotá, III, 151; Borda, I, 10-12; E. Posada, "Cronología de Colombia," Boletín de Historia y Antiquedades, (Colombia), (1909), V, 171.

³⁶ Restrepo, 17.

³⁷ Ibid., 17; Groot, I, 229-230.

According to the Annual Letter of 1605, there were more than 2,000 Spaniards
 38
 in Cartagena and from 3,000 to 4,000 negroes. The fathers held classes in
 grammar for sixty or seventy Spanish children and worked among the negro
 slaves who were living under the most sordid of conditions.

Fathers Martín de Funes, superior, Juan Bautista Coluccini or Colin-
 ucci, José Dadey, Bernabé de Fojas and a coadjutor, Diego Sánchez, arrived
 at Santa Fé de Bogotá September 23, 1604, and four days later presented the
 39
 royal cédula which licensed them to establish a colegio. Father Dadey,
 like his confreres in Ecuador, Estéban, rejoiced in a long life of service.
 He spent fifty four years in this land of the Chibchas. Archbishop Guerrero
 purchased the house of the treasurer, Juan de Albis, for the Society and
 40
 assigned an annual rent of 500 pesos for the maintenance of the college.
 In addition, the President, Juan de Borgia, contributed 2,000 pesos as an
 annual pension from the encomienda of Guatinita while the cabildo provided
 41
 funds for a class in grammar. A large church adjoining the colegio was
 placed at the disposal of the Jesuits. Classes were announced at the
 Colegio de Los Aulas, "The Halls," as it was called, embracing the study of
 42
 Spanish, Latin, philosophy, theology, physics and cosmography. By the end
 of 1604 over one hundred students were enrolled.

The Archbishop had long hoped to establish a seminary at Bogotá that
 would maintain the standards and regulations stipulated by the Council of

38 Astrain, IV, 588.
 39 Restrepo, 20.
 40 Borda, I, 14; Groot, I, 224.
 41 Borda, I, 14-15.
 42 José Joaquín Guerra, "El Seminario de Bogotá," Boletín de Historia y Antiquedades: Organa de la Sociedad de Historia Nacional, Bogotá, (1911), VII, 47; Restrepo, 20-21; Fernández and Granadas, 68.

Trent. In 1584 the first Archbishop of Bogotá, Luis Zapata de Cárdenas,⁴³ had been unsuccessful in his attempt to found a similar institution.

Guerrero, certain that the padres were capable of conducting the school, requested the Society to undertake the supervision of a diocesan seminary.

The fathers accepted the offer October 18, 1605.⁴⁴ Henceforth the Jesuit colegio and the seminary were incorporated as the Colegio de San Bartolomé.

The Colegio was located on the present site of the Palacio de San Coral, and over the portals of the palacio was placed the inscription that had⁴⁵ been on San Bartolomé, "Sapientia aedificavit sibi domum." The Jesuit quarters were on the upper floor, while students occupied the ground floor.

Father Martín de Funes was the first rector of San Bartolomé, with Father Vásquez supervisor of the seminarians. In 1606 a chair in the Muisia language was added, with Dadey as professor, to train men for missionary⁴⁶ work in the region around Cajica, Fontibon and Duitome. San Bartolomé

43 Guerra, VII, 47.

44 Letter of Guerrero, October 18, 1605, in Restrepo, 24; Juan Rodríguez Freile, El Carnero, Bogotá, 1935, 172; Posada, V, 171. Father Dadey gave the sermon at the ceremony on the opening day of the Colegio. Groot, I, 225-226. This seminary remained under Jesuit supervision for 163 years. The fathers were given the supervision of a similar seminary at Popayán in 1648.

45 Restrepo, 25-26.

46 Francisco de Barrera, "Los Jesuitas Misiones," Boletín de Historia y Antiquedades, (1902), I, 70. Dadey completed the grammar and dictionary in Muisia which received the special commendation from the President. Astrain, IV, 591.

was declared a university in 1610. By this time it had also become the Colegio Máximo for the newly established Province.

47 Ora, Reglas y Constituciones, 29. At the time of the expulsion of the Society, the majority of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities in this region were graduates of San Bartolomé, or the Universidad Xaveriana which was the name given the university that developed from San Bartolomé. The fathers continued to expand their activities, establishing a colegio at Tunja in 1611, at Hondo in 1620, at Pamplona in 1622, at Popayán in 1640, at Mampa in 1643, at Panamá in 1651 (became a university in 1715), at Antioquia in 1727, at Pasto in 1713, and at Buga in 1743. Fernández and Granadas, 73-74, 115..

CHAPTER XI

PROBLEMS AND THE ULTIMATE ORGANIZATION

In tracing the progress of the Jesuits in various directions over the South American scene little attention was paid to the many difficulties against which they labored. Not the least of their problems cropped up during their early years in Peru. This was the antagonism which developed between Viceroy Toledo who governed the land from 1568 until 1581, and the Jesuit authorities. Toledo had been most anxious to have the padres work in his viceroyalty. The source of friction that developed is found in the viceroy's failure to respect the right of the Jesuit superiors to conduct the activities of their men. Toledo had been sent to Peru to organize the viceroyalty, and organize he did. His "Code of Government" was an attempt to embrace all political and ecclesiastical matters in a rigid uncompromising system. There was a serious need for order in the land, but Toledo's interference in ecclesiastical affairs was a times a hinderance rather than an aid towards this goal. In his attitude we find a reflex of that of Philip II in his dealings with the Popes.

The Guarochiri missions occasioned the first dispute between the viceroy and the Society. Both Archbishop Loayza and Toledo, in their requests for Jesuits, had expressed the hope that the fathers would supervise the reduction and care of the Lunoguana and Guarochiri Indians who dwelled a little south of Lima. The Guarochiri were especially aggravating.

1 Moses, Spanish Rule in America, 139-140; Zimmerman, 252-269.

2 Oliva, 199-200; Zimmerman, 91.

They were not inclined to cooperate with the Spaniards, and they were practically unorganized so that it was particularly difficult to work among them. They dwelled in small groups or Pueblecillos of three or four families, each a league or two distant from the other.

Portillo assigned five fathers to work among these natives in November
 3
 of 1570. Bracamonte, as superior of the group, was assisted by Fathers Alonso de Barcena, Hernan Sánchez and Sebastián Amador who came to Peru with Toledo, and Cristoval Sánchez, the priest who had entered the Society at Lima in 1568. Two coadjutors were also assigned to this field as well as two scholastics one of whom was Blas Valera who was to distinguish himself as a linguist and historian.

The viceroy sent Dr. Gabriel de Loarte to the Guarochiri province to gather the natives into villages or reductions shortly before the Jesuits
 4
 arrived in this vicinity. In the short time given Loarte to accomplish this task, no more than a month, he was able to do little more than designate eight sites for the reductions. The actual work of inducing the Indians to abandon their seventy seven pueblecillos to congregate in the eight villages where they could be contacted more easily was left to the padres. The first task was to win the confidence of the numerous Indian chiefs or caciques. This accomplished, they were able to organize the villages designated by the viceroy. The missionaries instructed the children in reading, writing and doctrine. They provided a house for the aged and ill. These natives were intensely superstitious, and the fathers found many idols which they destroyed, at first to the consternation and then to the

3 Pastells, I, 88; Oliva, 200-201.

4 Levillier, Don Francisco de Toledo, 210; Zimmerman, 91.

astonishment of the Indians. The work among the Guarochiri was strenuous. Father Hernán Sánchez perished in the region while Father Amador was forced to return to the Colegio Máximo where he died soon afterward.⁵

Portillo abandoned this field in 1572, two years after he had assigned the first group here, when a dispute arose regarding the supervision of these missions. Neither Archbishop Loayza nor Toledo approved of the Jesuit supervision over these reductions as missions instead of as parishes. The land of the Guarochiri was within the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Lima. However, it was not actually organized previous to the time when the Jesuits commenced their work among these natives although the Dominicans accomplished some missionary work in this area. Portillo assumed at the time that he assigned men to this section that the reductions would be regarded as missions, and would be under the direct jurisdiction of the Society. Under this arrangement the Indians would not have to pay the customary taxes. Toledo and Loayza demanded that the reductions be absorbed into the parochial system.⁶ The parochial system involved the regular collection of fees and rents which Portillo considered would be an unjust imposition upon these natives. It was customary also to permit encomenderos to impress natives of parishes into a limited amount of personal service - a situation which would alienate the Guarochiri whose confidence the padres had gained after much effort, and would render the task of converting them even more difficult. Portillo was generally opposed to the practice of personal service. Then too, the Jesuits were supervised directly by their superiors in the province with the right of appeal to

⁵ Jouanen, I, 27.

⁶ Astrain, II, 313-314; III, 155-157.

the General at Rome. Since parishes were under the immediate jurisdiction of the Archbishop, Portillo preferred to avoid a situation in which the padres would be supervised as regular clergy, resulting in a confusion of authority.

Toledo wrote his version of the dispute to the king who replied that the Society was obligated to convert the natives. This reply offered no solution for the point in question was not whether the fathers should work toward the conversion of the natives, but rather whether they could work in their own mission system or whether they would be obliged to continue this mission under the direct supervision of the Archbishop and the viceroy. The matter initiated a series of misunderstandings between Toledo and the Society, and, at the same time, caused a certain amount of dissension among the Jesuits in the province. Bracamonte was of the opinion that Portillo had adopted a rather stubborn stand for the sake of a mere technicality, an attitude which he felt could only impede the progress of the Society. For this reason, as well as to present certain matters which he had discussed with Toledo concerning Cuzco and to recruit more men for the Peruvian Province, Bracamonte sought permission to journey to Spain and to Rome to confer with the General and with the political authorities. Portillo was aware of Bracamonte's criticism. Yet he allowed him to return to Spain in 1572 in order to avoid further disagreements with Toledo. Despite Bracamonte's protest, Portillo was commended both in Spain and in Rome for his stand in the matter. Again, as has been noted, Portillo's decision met

7 Extract from Archivo de Indias, Seville, 70-1-28, Cuzco, March 1, 1572, Astrain, II, 313-314.

8 Ibid., III, 155-157.

9 Torres Saldamando, Los Antiguos Jesuitas del Peru, 4.

with the general approval of the members of the Province for at the provincial congregation of 1576 it was decided that in the future the Society would avoid becoming in any way involved in the parochial system.

The fathers progressed without a definite clash with the viceroy until 1578. During this year Toledo sought to direct the provincial, at this time Acosta, once again. Now he offered Acosta the supervision of the University of San Marcos. Toledo had reorganized the university in 1577, suspending the Dominican rectorship and placing laymen as well as clergy on the faculty. The viceroy sponsored the erection of two chairs in grammar, one in Indian languages, one in theology, three in law, two in canon law and two in medicine. This was an ambitious program but at this time Toledo was able to assign only two men to these chairs. Consequently he was anxious to secure the services of the Society in conducting the university. Two factors influenced Acosta in rejecting the offer. First of all the Society would be obligated to assign many members to teach in the university, and thus the progress of the Society in its own missions and colleges where men were desperately needed would be impeded. Then too, the supervision of the university would involve an administrative problem similar to that the fathers encountered in the parochial matter.

Toledo appeared to consider Acosta's refusal as a personal insult. He retaliated by forbidding laymen in Lima to attend the lectures given at the Jesuit Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo. This ban met with considerable

10 Manuel Vicente Villaran, La Universidad de Lima, Los Origenes, Lima, 1938, 17.

11 Lanning, 20-21.

12 Zimmerman, 237-238.

opposition. Among the most notable citizens of Lima to protest was an oidor of the audiencia, Ramírez de Cartagena, who wrote to Philip II, in 1579:

About 150 young men from twelve to sixteen years of age attended this college. They were taught the principles of grammar, Latin, rhetoric and the arts Over and above this they were instructed in commendable habits, in confessing every fifteen days, in praying, in fasting and in discipline. The fruitful results achieved in the work with these youths was doubtless accomplished through a special grace of God.

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The viceroy not only closed the doors of the colegio but at the same time directed the Jesuits to abandon their newly established residences at

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Potosí and Arequipa. Toledo accused the fathers of neglecting to secure the proper licenses for these houses. The corregidores of these towns were reluctant to comply with the viceroy's orders, but the Jesuits were prompt to leave, with the promise that they would return as soon as the Society could obtain the necessary licenses. Acosta appealed to the king through

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the procurator at Madrid, Father Francisco de Porres. The case was brought to Court in 1580. Three royal firmados, or confirmatory decrees, were issued as a consequence, on February 22, directing the Society to proceed with their classes at the colegio as they had previous to the viceregal ban, demanding restoration of the Jesuit house and goods at Potosí, and granting the licenses for the colegios of Arequipa and Potosí. These decrees arrived

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- 13 Letter of licentiate Ramírez de Cartagena to Philip II, April 27, 1579, in Astrain, III, 172-173.
- 14 Viceregal Orders to Corregidor of Potosí, October 7, 1578, Pastells, I, 14. The license was granted by the Audiencia of Charcas to establish the house at Potosí but Toledo said this was insufficient. Torres Saldamando, Los Antiguos Jesuitas del Peru, 7.
- 15 Memorial of Francisco de Porres to Council of Indies, Pastells, I, 18-19; Petition of the Society concerning Arequipa Colegio, Ibid., I, 10-14; Letter of Porres quoted in Astrain, III, 174-176.
- 16 Astrain, III, 176; Zimmerman, 257-258; Torres Saldamando, Revista Historia de Lima, I, 452.

at Lima in 1581 and were executed immediately by Toledo's successor, Don
 17
 Martín Enríquez.

Unfortunately the antagonism between Toledo and the Society was abetted
 by the tactlessness of Father Luis López. López, one of the first Jesuits
 to come to Peru, had served well in the care and instruction of both negroes
 and natives. He was, however, guilty not only of tactlessness or imprudence,
 but also of a serious misdemeanor. In 1579 he was imprisoned by the Inquisi-
 18
 torial Board on the charge that he disputed the authority of the Holy Office.

However, a report sent to the Supreme Council of the Inquisition stated that
 the principal reason for his imprisonment was his improper relations with
 19
 a penitent, Maria Pizarro. López, perpetually banished from Peru, was
 sentenced to two years reclusion at the Jesuit colegio of Trigueros in
 Andalucia, and four years confinement after this period. Some of the
 Inquisitors at the Court of Madrid suspected the charges were unfounded. The
 Grand Inquisitor, Cardinal Quiroga, expressed the opinion that they were the
 fabrications of the viceroy; the Society on the other hand confirmed the
 20
 condemnation of López. It is understandable however, that to Quiroga and
 others the judgement of the Inquisition in Lima against the padre appeared
 to be the work of the viceroy since López had worked earnestly among the
 natives of Peru for almost a decade and, at the same time, had criticized
 the tactics of the viceroy. He had accused Toledo of allowing the negroes,

17 Authorization of Enríquez, Levillier, Organización, I, 132-135.

18 M.H.S.J., Polanca, IV 1; VII, 349.

19 Medina, Historia de la Inquisition en Lima, Santiago, 1890, 99-110; Toledo
 to Philip II, Lima, November 27, 1579, Papeles de los Gubernadores,
 VI, 221-223.

20 Astrain, III, 178. Quiroga wrote, October 19, 1580, "En lo que toca a Luis
 López, lo que puedo decir es, que me dicen personas a quien debo creer,
 que es buen religioso y muy diferente de como lo penta el Virrey, el cual
 se ha portado con pasión contra la Compañía, y es razon tener respecto a
 esto y tratar bien a Luis López² en todo lo que se sufiere de Justicia...."

to mingle with the natives with the result that the Indians were acquiring even more vicious habits, and he charged the viceroy with excessive taxation of the natives. Toledo admitted the first charge, but defended himself with the explanation that the negroes multiplied so rapidly that it was impossible to segregate them from the Indians. He answered the second charge with the statement that the tributes were less than had formerly been required from the natives. Acosta had also complained to the king, in 1577, that the taxes imposed by the viceroy upon the natives were unjust. Such charges served merely to aggravate the viceroy.

The controversy between Toledo and the Jesuit Provincial Acosta regarding the supervision of San Marcos had far reaching effects. It planted a seed of discord between the old university and the Jesuit colegio. In 1584 the university made it impossible for its students to attend lectures at San Pedro y San Pablo by stipulating that those seeking a diploma from the university be required to attend both morning and afternoon classes at the university. The following year the rector of the university, a member of the Audiencia of Lima, offered a chair in theology to the Jesuit Estéban Dávila. Atienza allowed Dávila to accept the offer, but rivalry between the schools persisted.

In 1588 the directors of the university petitioned the king to ban lectures in languages, science and the higher arts at San Pedro y San Pablo. The Council of Indies referred the matter to the viceroy, the audiencia and the visitador of the university, July 11, 1590. May 6, 1595, Viceroy

21 Zimmerman, 253-254.
 22 Acosta to Philip II, Lima, March 17, 1577, Levillier, Organización, I, 114-116.
 23 Astrain, IV, 547.
 24 Ibid., IV, 528.

Marqués de Cañete declared that: 1) Latin should be taught in the Jesuit college as a course offered in connection with the university; 2) Latin students would matriculate at the university under the jurisdiction of the rector of San Marcos; 3) representations, declamations, conclusions and literary acts of the colegio should be forwarded to the university for approval; 4) Jesuit recommendation should be required before students of Latin would be accepted at the university; 5) the master of Latin at the university, Carnejo, should receive a pension but his classes would be discontinued; 6) candidates for a Bachelor of Arts degree should attend morning and afternoon classes at the university; 7) classes in arts and theology held in the novitiates of religious Orders, including those of the Society, should be closed to outside students, or, if special permission were granted to students to attend, no credit toward a degree could be granted. ²⁵ The Jesuits were to be considered masters of grammar at the university. This made the situation difficult, for the fathers were practically restricted to one field, Latin, and at the same time were subjected to a limited amount of jurisdiction of the rector of the university, Antonio de Arpide y Ulloa. The arrangement was unsatisfactory for both Arpide y Ulloa and the Society. The fathers complained that they were being unduly restricted while the rector saw no reason for placing any department of the university under exclusive Jesuit supervision. Nevertheless both were obliged to comply with the viceregal order. Father Estéban Dávila was appointed prime master of theology at the university May 19, 1595, and upon

25 Ibid., IV, 548-549.

his death in 1601, the Viceroy Luis de Velasco decreed that the Society
 26
 should continue to hold the first chair in theology at San Marcos. *The
 selection of a man for this position was to be left to the Jesuit provincial
 Juan Pérez Menacho was appointed to succeed Dávila in 1601. At the same
 time the Jesuit Father Francisco Aguayo accepted a chair in arts at the
 university.

The fathers continued protesting against the enforced attachment to
 the university. On May 8, 1604, the Council of Indies stated that the
 university could impose no further obligations upon the Society, and that
 the fathers would not be restricted from offering advanced lectures in
 subjects other than Latin, although students could not receive credit for
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 attending such lectures from the university. The Council answered further
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 protests April 20, 1608, declaring that no more concessions would be made.
 In 1624, during the provincialate of Frias Herrán, the Jesuits discontinued
 lecturing at San Marcos. They resumed the lectures in theology in 1713 when
 they were given more favorable terms by the university.

The routine tasks of administrating this vast and remote province were
 not simple. Father Jerónimo Rúa del Portillo who brought the first group
 to Peru had been given a difficult assignment, but in his judicious super-
 vision he served his office well. Father José de Acosta, the most notable
 of the early provincials, proved to be a capable administrator as well as
 a scholar of note. Acosta's successor, Father Baltasar de Piñas who was

26 Torres Saldamando, Los Antiguos Jesuitas del Peru, 159.
 27 Astrain, IV, 551.
 28 Astrain, IV, 551.

appointed provincial in 1581, lacked the broad ability of his predecessors in fulfilling the requirements of the position. Piñas came to Peru in 1575 with Bracamonte. In 1576 he was appointed rector of the Colegio Máximo. The following year he went to Rome as procurator. He returned to the province in 1581 bringing with him twenty members of the Society from Spain. As provincial he was strict and careful to select men for positions of authority who would place similar emphasis upon rigid discipline. Acosta wrote to Aquaviva that a more extensive and magnanimous spirit was to be desired in a provincial, while even Father Juan de Atienza, who was at the time rector of the Colegio Máximo, complained that Piñas was disinclined to consult others in any of his decisions, and Diego de Torres, rector at Julí, noted that he concentrated upon the trifling economic details of the houses to the extent that he was almost parsimonious in donations to the poor. Piñas himself was not unaware of his deficiencies for he asked to be relieved of this responsibility. His request was not granted until 1585. He displayed far more ability as a teacher and preacher, and he served admirably in the establishment of the Society at Quito and at Chile.

Father Andrés López who was at the time procurator, received the appointment of provincial in 1585. He died at Panamá in April of that year while traveling to Lima with a group of twenty Jesuits to be assigned to the province. Father Juan de Atienza, rector of the Colegio Máximo, was

29 Ibid., IV, 509-511. Atienza to Aquaviva, Lima, February 12, 1583, says Piñas has "...neither the memory nor the training for handling the business of the provincial....In his resolutions he is extremely hasty, and when he proposes a consultation he announces his determined opinion immediately and if by chance another father should voice a contrary opinion, Piñas always finds it erroneous, and is extremely quarrelsome about the entire matter." He added that Piñas clung too tightly to the silver.

30 Ibid., IV, 511.

31 López came to Peru in 1573 with Acosta. He received his major orders at Lima. Torres Saldamando, *Los Antiguos Jesuitas del Peru*, 35.

then named provincial. The members of the province received the announce-
 ment of his appointment on Pentecost Sunday with marked enthusiasm.³³ His
 provincialate, terminating with his death in 1592 when he was but fifty
 years old, is marked by harmony within the province and by the expansion
 of the Society's activities in the viceroyalty.

Atienza was succeeded as provincial, December, 1592, by Father Juan
 Sebastián de la Parra who had acted as rector of Potosi and of San Pedro y
 San Pablo.³⁴ Like Piñas, Sebastián was intensely concerned in maintaining
 rigorous discipline. He was inclined to deal harshly with people, constantly
 reprehending them for their faults. Cabredo, Sebastián's successor in 1599,
 noted in his report that the Peruvian Jesuits were divided over the question
 of the most effective method of handling subjects, and that Sebastián and
 the older fathers were for the most part opposed by Father Diego de Torres
 and the younger men who were convinced that more could be accomplished by
 consoling the afflicted and encouraging wayward Christians and infidels to
 reform than by condemning them for their trespasses.³⁵ Sebastián was an
 exceptionally pious individual, but his piety did not endow him with the
 qualities most admirable in a provincial. His failure to visit the province
 during the last three years of his term when he was constantly anticipating
 his replacement by another has already been noted. Father Rodrigo Cabredo
 arrived at Lima to succeed Sebastián in July, 1599. He was accompanied³⁶

32 *Ibid.*, 24-31; Sommervogel, I, 611-612.

33 Astrain, IV, 517.

34 Francisco Figueroa, "Vida del V. P. Juan Sebastián de la Parra, Provin-
 cial del Peru," Archives of Lima. Sommervogel, III, 727.

35 Astrain, IV, 621; Torres Saldamando, Los Antiguos Jesuitas del Peru,
 156-157. In 1633 the process for beatification of Sebastián was pro-
 posed. Vargas Ugarte, Manuscritos Peruanas, I, 128.

36 Cabredo to Aquaviva, April 26, 1601, Astrain, IV, 534.

by Father Estéban Páez, former Provincial of New Spain, who had come to Peru as visitador.

By the end of the sixteenth century the impossibility of maintaining a workable organization in the vast province was the most significant administrative problem. There was the physical impossibility of any one provincial's visiting and inspecting the entire area in any given three year period. Both Cabredo and Páez noted the difficulties in communicating with those residences far removed from Lima. The province overlapped many governmental divisions and many diocesan jurisdictions. Páez suggested in 1600 that Quito and Panamá be included in one province, while another province be formed to the south, including Potosí and Santa Cruz de la

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Sierra. Diego de Torres, appointed procurator in 1600, was instructed by Cabredo and Páez to suggest this division in Rome and in Madrid. Aquaviva consented to the division as proposed by Torres, with a Province of Nueva

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Reino de Granada having its headquarters at Quito, and a southern province

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with headquarters at Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Torres was also given permission to assign forty five men from the Spanish and Italian provinces

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to Peru.

The General revised his decision in the matter after receiving reports from Tucumán concerning the progress of the padres in this region. He sent word to Torres, who was in Valladolid, February 9, 1604, to the effect that

37 *Ibid.*, IV, 573.

38 Torres Saldamando, Los Antiguos Jesuitas del Peru, 112-114.

39 Astrain, IV, 629.

40 List recruited for Peru from Catalogue in Rome. Of these sixteen were priests. Astrain, IV, 629-630.

Tucumán and Paraguay should be organized into a province distinct from Peru as soon as possible, while Quito and Santa Fé de Bogotá were to be included in the vice-province of Nuevo Reino de Granada.

Torres arrived at Lima November 22, 1604, with forty five members of the Society. He presented the instructions pertaining to the division and appointing Torres Vice-Provincial of Nuevo Reino y Quito. This division was unexpected, for it differed from the plans of Cabredo and Páez. Torres was appointed Vice-provincial of the northern section immediately. Instead of separating Peru from Paraguay and Tucumán, however, the provincial appointed Alvarez de Paz Vices-Provincial of Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Aquaviva, hearing of this, wrote an emphatic letter to Páez making it quite clear that the instructions given Torres were to be carried out explicitly.

Torres assumed his duties as Vice-Provincial of Nuevo Reino which included the colegios of Quito, Cartagena and Bogotá, in 1605. When he arrived, there were sixty Jesuits in the vice-province, thirty at the colegio at Quito and the others around Cartagena and Bogota. Ten of the men who came with him from Spain and Rome were assigned to Cartagena. Torres traveled from Quito to Bogotá in the fall of 1606, and commenced work among the negroes in Cartagena and along the Darién coast. In 1607

41 Pastells, I, 130-132.

42 Torres Saldamando, op.cit., 115.

43 Aquaviva to Páez, November 14, 1605, Astrain, IV, 632.

44 Report of Torres to Philip III, January 28, 1606, Ibid., IV, 599.

45 Torres Saldamando, op.cit., 115.

he was called to Lima where he was named Provincial of Paraguay. Gonzalo de Lyra succeeded Torres as vice-provincial. In 1610 the vice-province was made a province, independent of Peru. However, Quito was reincorporated into Peru in 1616 since communication between Quito and Lima was less difficult than between Quito and Bogotá. Again in 1617 Quito was included in the Province of Nuevo Reino. In 1696 General Tirso González divided the northern province and designated a colegio máximo at Bogotá and one at Quito.

The Province of Paraguay was finally established in 1607 when Torres received his appointment as provincial. This province comprised Argentina, Paraguay and Chile until 1625 when Chile was made a vice-province. Torres brought thirteen members of the Society to Paraguay from Peru while Aquaviva directed that six fathers from Brazil be sent to Paraguay. In 1608 there were residences at Santiago del Estero, Córdoba del Tucumán, Asunción, Mendoza and Santa Fé. This province especially in the famed reductions was the scene of intense missionary activity which has received elaborate praise. It was likewise the scene of notable cultural foundations.

The reorganization of the Peruvian Province closes the first phase in the narrative of the Jesuits in South America. It is not easy to summarize the work of the Jesuits during their early years in Peru. The padres contributed much toward the cultural and spiritual improvement of the vicerealty. By 1605 they were established in twenty cities of the vicerealty

46 Jouanen, I, 5.

47 Documentos para la Historia Argentina, XIX, lxxii.

48 Ibid., XIX, lxxiii; Pastells, II, 223.

49 Documentos para la Historia Argentina, XIX, lxxii.

from Chile to Panamá. They had permanent residences at Lima, Cuzco and Arequipa in Peru, at La Paz, Potosí, Juli, Santa Cruz de la Sierra, San Lorenzo el Real, Santiago del Puerto and Chuquisaca in Bolivia, at Santiago del Estero, Córdoba, Salta and Guaira in Argentina, at Asunción in Paraguay, at Santiago in Chile, at Quito in Ecuador, at Bogotá and Cartagena in Colombia, and at Panamá. In addition to this, they made regular missions to distant localities. In all the residences elementary schooling was provided for the children. More advanced courses were conducted regularly at the colegios of Lima, Cuzco, Santiago, Córdoba, Quito, Bogotá and Cartagena. Three seminaries, at Lima, at Quito and at Bogotá, had been placed under Jesuit supervision. Jesuit colegios, modeled on those of Salamanca and Alcalá where many of the padres had received their scholastic training, provided the youth of Peru with excellent educational opportunities.

The fathers contributed notably to the study of the history and the languages of the land. At least two are still regarded with respect by historians, Acosta and Valera, whose works have already been cited. Acosta also gathered important data regarding the flora and fauna of the lands through which he traveled.

The grammars and dictionaries composed by the fathers were but incidental tools to the authors who worked them out primarily to aid in the evangelizing and instruction of the natives. In themselves however, they are remarkable linguistic achievements. The publication of the work in Quechua and Aymará, published under Acosta's name, has already been discussed. While these were the languages of the Inca "empire" they were not spoken commonly by the natives in the regions of Argentina, southwestern Bolivia, Chile, eastern Ecuador or New Granada. Hence the fathers who were sent to

these remote sections found it necessary to master the various local tongues. A review of their accomplishments in this regard is impressive. In the vicinity of Santiago del Estero they commenced the study of Tonocote by 1586. At the same time they studied Kakana or Caca in the Tucumán diocese. In 1590 Añasco and Barcena composed a catechism, grammar and manual for confessional instructions in the language of the natives of the Chaco region. The Brazilian Jesuits were the first to master Guarani, spoken by the natives of the Paraguay district. In the Bolivian region, along the eastern frontier, Martínez and Brother Sánchez composed works in Golgotoque, Chane, Capaccora and Puyano, while Samaniego was engaged in similar studies in Chiriguano. The Jesuits established a chair in Araucanian at their colegio in Chile by 1595, and Valdivia's grammar and catechism in this language were printed in Lima in 1606. To the north, in Quito, the fathers instructed other clergy in Quechua and Aymará, and studied the language of the Cofanes. Even before the Society established a permanent residence at Bogotá, Medrano and Figueroa began a work in Muisia which was subsequently completed by Dadey, who held a chair in this language at San Bartolomé. By 1601 Tiruel reported that eighty of the 105 Jesuit priests in Peru had mastered and were using the native languages spoken in their various localities. He added that many of the brothers were also instructing the natives in the different Indian tongues. The work of the fathers and brothers among the natives defies an accurate evaluation, for the good they accomplished cannot be summarized in a page of statistics, although we have, in the pre-

vious chapters, attempted to estimate the number of natives whom the fathers attended from their residences.

Nor should it be forgotten that the missionaries benefited the State as well as the Church. The natives were the responsibility of the king who had claimed their land. In caring for the spiritual welfare of the Indians and in instructing them to provide for their temporal wants, the padres discharged the royal duty with very little aid from the royal purse. Then too, they assisted the military and civil authorities in the work of pacifying the natives who resisted Spanish rule. We have seen, for example, the success of the padres in this regard in the reduction of the hostile Chiriguanoes of eastern Bolivia whose raids had previously cost the viceroyalty men and money. They might have repeated such success in southern Chile had they been accorded similar cooperation there by the men of the sword.

The work in this far away land was arduous. Even the voyage to Peru entailed hardship. By 1585 four fathers had perished before reaching Lima, three of them, Álvarez, Vaena and López at Panamá, and one, Suárez, at sea. Travel in the viceroyalty was difficult, and since there was a scarcity of mules and horses the majority of the fathers traveled on foot over land that defies trespassing even to the present day. Nor were the natives always to be relied upon. Father Urrea was martyred by the Cunchos in 1599 and Ferrer suffered a similar fate at the hands of the Cofanes in 1611.

It is interesting to note too, that these fathers who worked in sixteenth century Peru came from various provinces of Spain and Rome, and were for the most part, volunteers who had expressed their desire to work in the New World to the procurators from Peru. We have noted that in New

Granada the Peruvian Jesuits were assisted by two men from New Spain in establishing the Society there. Similarly, in the Paraguay and Tucumán region Brazilian Jesuits contributed their efforts, and among these there was even an Irishman, Tomás Filds, or Thomas Fields. Not only were there men from different provinces working in the viceroyalty, but in addition there were Peruvian born creoles contributing their efforts as members of the Society. In this latter group are included such zealous workers as Fathers Juan de Olivares and Hernando de Aguilera from Chile, Blas Valera, Pedro de Añasco, Onofré Estéban and Bartolomé de Santiago from Peru, Diego de Carpedo from Ecuador, and many lay brothers whose valuable assistance receives insufficient recognition in the pages of history. The groundwork for the future progress of the Society throughout colonial times until the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767 had been laid by these pioneer padres.

51 Of the first eight appointed to Peru, two were from Toledo, two from Andalucia, two from Aragon and two from Castile. Cobo, I, 245. Of the forty who came with Torres in 1604, 15 were from Andalucia, 8 from Castile, 4 from Toledo, 5 from Aragon, 3 from Naples and 4 from Milan. Astrain, IV, 630. Portillo accepted creoles into the Society from the beginning. Martin Pizarro was admitted in 1568. Oliva, 180. Even mestizos were not barred, for Santiago's mother was an Indian. Torres Saldamando, op.cit., 47-48.

CRITICAL ESSAY ON AUTHORITIES

While there are a few helpful bibliographies, no one of them serves as a complete guide to the material for this study. The greater portion of the material used has been located through the catalogues of the Newberry Library and the Bancroft Library. A helpful guide, but one that is not complete in ecclesiastical history, is A. Curtis Wilgus, History and Historians of Hispanic America, New York, 1942. There are two useful works pertaining to Peruvian history and historians. The first, Mariano Felipe Paz Soldan, Biblioteca Peruana, Lima, 1879, is a rather thorough catalogue of the books pertaining to Peru up to that time, while Jose de la Riva Agüero, La Historia en el Peru, Lima, 1910, a doctoral thesis, is a more critical work with an analysis of the studies of Peruvian historians. A scholarly and indispensable guide to the study of mission history is Robert Streit, Biblioteca Missionum, Munster, 1916, 1924, 1927, (3 volumes). In the field of Jesuit history there is the twelve volume compilation of Carlos Sommervogel, S.J., Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus, Paris, 1890, which includes biographical data and listings of the works of and concerning Jesuit authors.

PRINTED SOURCES

José de Acosta, Historia natural y moral de los Indias, en que se tratan plantas y animales dellos: y los ritos y ceremonias, leyes, y gobierno y guerra de los Indios, Seville, 1590, is considered among the foremost authorities of early Spanish America. His work has contributed much in the scientific field. The study treats the early history of Peru and of New Spain, and also contains comments on the flora and fauna of these lands.

Acosta says little of the work of the Society in Peru, but he gives a picture of the natives in the Peruvian and Bolivian sections through which he traveled. Editions of this work have appeared in Spanish, Latin, French, German, Italian and English. The latest was printed in Mexico in 1940. Pablo José de Arriaga, La extirpación de la idolatría en el Peru, Lima, 1920, annotated by Horacio H. Urteaga, with a biographical sketch by Carlos A. Romera, was first printed in Lima in 1621. The author arrived at Lima in 1585, and acted as rector of the Colegio Máximo for twenty years. This work is a helpful study of the conditions of the Indians in Peru and of their customs. The factual information pertaining to the work of the Jesuits commences with the division of the province. Diego Barros Arana, Colección de Historiadores de Chile y Documentos Relativos a la História Nacional, Santiago de Chile, 1881-1923, (40 volumes), includes the most pertinent narratives written during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as well as the proceedings of the cabildo of Santiago. Ricardo Beltrán y Rospide, ed., Colección de las Memorias o relaciones que escribieron los virreys del Peru acerca del estado en que dejaban las cosas generales del Reino, Madrid, 1921, contains the final reports of the viceroys from 1568 through 1626, regarding the general situation of the land. Documentos para la História Argentina, Buenos Aires, edited by the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the Institute of Historical Research, has two volumes edited by Carlos Leonhardt treating the ecclesiastical history. XIX, 1927, XX, 1929. Both volumes contain reports of the padres to their superiors during the sixteenth century. F.X. Hernáez, Documentos Relativos a la Iglesia de América, Brussels, 1879, is a collection of papal Bulls,

briefs and documents referring to the organization of the Church in America. Serafim Leite, Novas Cartas Jesuíticas de Nóbrega a Viera, São Paulo, 1940, contains evidence of the interest manifested by the fathers of the Brazilian province in developing missions in Spanish America, particularly in the Tucumán diocese. Roberto Levillier, ed., Governantes del Peru, cartas y papeles, siglo XVI, Madrid, 1921-1926, (14 volumes), includes letters of the viceroys during the period when the Society was beginning its work in Peru. A work more pertinent to this study has also been edited by Levillier, Organización de la iglesia y ordenes religiosas en el siglo XVI, Madrid, 1919, (2 volumes). These documents are for the most part from the Archivo de Indias, the official repository for reports and information concerning Spanish America. They contain much information regarding the work of the Society. The Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesus is a primary source for this study. Of special interest is Volume III of Sanctus Franciscus Borgia, quartus gaudiae dux et Societatis Jesus Praepositus Generalis Tertius, Madrid, 1908. Juan José Mostajo, Juan Voto Bernales, Victor Criado y Tijada, Alonso Álvares Reyna, Fernando Palacio, and a number of other scholars have edited a two volume work, Monografías históricas sobre la ciudad de Lima, Lima, 1935, which includes several documents pertaining to this study. Among these is the history of Bernabé Cobo, História de la Fundación de Lima, written during the early seventeenth century. Cobo's work is honest and well written. Other works found in this collection, and whose titles indicate their context, also contain primary sources: Enríque Torres Saldamando, El Escudo de la Ciudad de Lima, Ricardo Tezan y Bueno, El Plano de Lima, Domingo Angulo, La Metropolitana de la Ciudad de los Reyes, Pablo Patrón, Lima Antigua, Horacio H. Urreaga, El Virrey Don Francisco de Toledo.

Anello Oliva, S.J., Libro primero del manuscrito original del R. P. Anello Oliva, S.J., Historia del reino y provincias del Peru de sus Incaas, reyes, descubrimiento y conquista por los españoles de la corona de Castilla con otros singularidades concernientes a la historia, Lima, 1895, was written in Peru by Oliva in 1598 and was published three centuries later by Juan F. Pazos Varela and Luis Varela y Orbegoso. The last few chapters record the arrival, establishment and progress of the Jesuits in the vicinity of Lima.

Pablo Pastells, Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la provincia del Paraguay (Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay, Peru, Bolivia y Brasil) segun los documentos originales del Archivo General de Indias, Madrid, 1912, includes extracts of documents and summaries as well as the complete documents.

Volume I contains material for this study. A volume edited by the Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, Institute de Estudios Americanistas, Reglas y Constituciones, Córdoba, 1940, contains many of the constitutions and regulations of the various colleges and universities of colonial Peru, including those of the Seminary of San Luis in Quito. Included too, is a contribution by Buenaventura Ora, "Errección de Centros de Enseñanza Superior y el Espiritu Docente durante la Colonia," 1-80, which incorporates several documents relating to Jesuit foundations. Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, ed., Relaciones Geográficas de Indias ... Peru, Madrid, 1881-1885, (4 volumes), contains significant material for this study in the first two volumes, including the annual letter of Father Barzana and Father Sebastián in 1594, and the report of 1596. Diego de Torres Bollo, Relatione breve circa el frutto che si raccogli con gli indiani de quel regno, Rome, 1603, is the report made by Torres as procurator for the province. It contains letters of Fathers Juan Romero, Gaspar de Monroy, Andrés Ortiz, Diego Semaniego,

Diego Vásquez and Francisco Váez. Rubén Vargas Ugarte, Manuscritos Peruanos en las Bibliotecas del Extranjero, Lima, 1935, gives documents in whole, extracts and summaries of documents found in the British Museum, Bibliothèque National of Paris, Biblioteca de la Marina (Paris), Biblioteca Arsenal (Paris), Biblioteca de Sant Genoviva (Paris), Biblioteca Valiscona, Biblioteca Nacional Vittorio Emanuele, Archivo de la Embajado Española (Rome), Archivo del Gesu (Rome), Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), Biblioteca Real (Madrid), and other libraries and archives. An appreciable number of these refer to the work and establishments of the early Jesuits. Concerning the work of the Jesuits in Chile, five photostats have been made by the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1928, and are in the Ayer Collection of Newberry Library. These are found under the titles, Copia de vna carta del padre Luys de Valdiuia para el fenor Condé de Lemos, presidente de Indias, January 4, 1607; Relación de lo que sucedio en la jornada el fenor Presidente Alonso de Ribera Gournador deste Reyno, y yo desde Arauco a Paycaui, a concluir las pazes de Elicura ultima regua de Tucapel y las de Pueren y la Imperial, December 24, 1612; Relación de lo que sucedio en el Reyno de Chile despues q el Padre Luys de Valdiuia, de la Compania de Iesus entro en el con fus ocho companeros Sacerdotes de la misma Compania, December, 1612; Relación de la muerte de los padres escrita por el Padre Valdiuia 24 de Diziembre de mil syssientos y doze al padre Provincial de Lima; Traçado de la importacia del medio, que el virrey propone de cortar la guerra de Chile, y hazerla solamente defensiva, Madrid, 1610 or 1611.

SECONDARY MATERIAL

It is difficult to classify many of these works as secondary material

since they frequently incorporate much primary source material either in the body of the works or in the appendices. In general, the writer has used these works only where there was sufficient documentary evidence transcribed within the texts.

The first group of works are those which treat the more general aspects of the study. Domingo Amunategui y Solar, Los Encomiendas de Indígenas en Chile, Santiago, 1909, I, contains much documentary material pertaining to the Chilean Indian situation at the time when the Jesuits were attempting to check offensive warfare against the Araucanians. L. Ayarragaray, La Iglesia en América y la Dominación Española, Buenos Aires, 1920, is concerned primarily with Church-state relations during both colonial and republican times. Jose de Barrasa and Munez de Bustillo, La Colonización Española en América, Madrid, 1925, devotes particular attention to the encomienda system and to the abuses of the system in the outlying areas of the Spanish colonies. Diego Barros Arana, Historia Jeneral de Chili, Santiago, 1884, II, offers a scholarly summary of the military situation in Chile. Felipe Barrera y Laos, Vida Intelectual del Virreinato del Peru, Buenos Aires, 1937, a comprehensive yet scholarly work, treats the developments of the primary centers of learning in the vicerealty and gives a survey of the works produced by colonial Peruvian writers. The greater portion of this work is devoted to the later colonial period. Constantino Bayle, S.J., España y la educación popular en América, Madrid, 1934, attempts to show the endeavors of the Spanish government and of the religious Orders to maintain high scholastic standards in the colonial educational system. It is a careful study, but the author is inclined to generalize too widely upon his evidence. Herbert E. Bolton,

The Spanish Borderlands, New Haven, 1921, is used in reference to the Florida project, and in particular, in reference to the Menendez contract. Estéban Caceres, España en el Peru, Lima, 1923, is a general study of social conditions. Ricardo Cappa, Estudios críticos acerca de la dominación española en América, Madrid, 1889-1896, III, is particularly authoritative in the section treating the conquistador era. Juan de Castellanos, Historia del Nuevo Reino de Granada, Madrid, 1886-1887, is an interesting but not always reliable chronicle of the early period of Colombian history. Alonso Fernández, Historia eclesiástica de nvestros tiempos, Toledo, 1611, is more of an eulogy than a history. J. M. Fernández and Rafael Granados, Obra Civilizadora de la Iglesia en Colombia, Bogotá, 1936, contains a good many documents and much documented information pertaining to the educational and missionary pursuits of the various Orders. Juan Rodríguez Fresle, El Carnero, Bogotá, 1935, written in 1636, is reliable only in the sections dealing with the developments in Santa Fe de Bogota. Alejandro Fuenzalida, Historia del Desarrolla Intelectual en Chile, 1541-1810, Santiago de Chile, 1903, as the title indicates, attempts to show a steady evolution in thought, culminating in the final revolution to sever ties with Spain. Such a thesis cannot be proven, or even argued successfully, in one brief work. Jorge A. Garcés, ed., Libro de Proveimientos de Tierras, cuadros, solares, aguas, etc., por los Cabildos de la Ciudad de Quito: 1583-1598, Quito, 1941, published by the Archivo Municipal, is an excellent collection of studies concerning sixteenth century Quito. Justus Wolfran Schottelius, "Las Fundaciones de Quito," describing the plan and construction of the city, found in the appendix of the work just mentioned, serves well as a background for this study. Federico González Suárez, Historia Eclesiástica del Ecuador

desde los Tiempos de la Conquista hasta Nuestros Dias, Quito, 1881, is a sound, comprehensive work. The author based his study upon documents in the archives of Quito which he frequently incorporates in the work. The study would be of far more value had the author abided consistently to the scholarly mechanics required today. José Manuel Groot, Historia eclesiástica y civil de Nueva Granada, Bogotá, 1889, (5 volumes), is a more useful and authoratative ecclesiastical than political history. Volume I contains much of importance to this study. Preston James, Latin America, New York, 1942, is invaluable as a geographical study of the land itself, but it is more than that. It touches upon the pertinent political, economic and social problems throughout the history of Latin America. Roberto Levillier, Don Francisco de Toledo: supremo organizador del Peru, su vida, su obra, 1515-1582, Madrid, 1935, is a careful, scholarly, well documented work written by a man who has done much in the field of sixteenth century Peru. Another of Levillier's works that is helpful, though far less extensive than that cited above, is Santo Toribio Mogrovejo, arzobispo de los reyes (1581-1606) organizador de la iglesia en el virreinato del Peru, Madrid, 1920. While there is little to criticize in the matter presented in this work, it is incomplete in as much as the author omitted the various disputes Toribio tactlessly provoked. John Tate Lanning, Academic Culture in the Spanish Colonies, New York, 1940, is a collection of five provocative essays which summarize a great deal of research. Two of these are pertinent to this study, I, "Transplantation of the Scholastic University," and II, "University Life and Administration." Woodbury Lowery, The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States: Florida 1562-1574, New York, 1905, has made use of a tremendous number of documents, and has been

referred to in the Florida chapter. However, Lowery seems to ignore the implications regarding Menendez' personal reasons for pursuing his undertaking. León M. Loza, História del Obispado y de la Catedral de La Paz, La Paz, 1939, is a careful and accurate study which serves as a background for the history of the early work of the Jesuits in this city. Clements R. Markham, History of Peru, Chicago, 1905, a general work, is not too reliable especially in the brief treatment of ecclesiastical matters, as has been noted. Markham's Pizarro and the Conquest and Settlement of Peru and Chile, in Justin Winsor, ed., Narrative and Critical History of America New York, 1886, II, is far more reliable. Santiago Martínez, Gobernadores de Arequipa Colonial, 1539-1825, Arequipa, 1930, is a useful chronology citing the principal events during the various governorships. A similar study of Potosí is found in Bartolomé Martínez y Vela, Anales de la Villa Imperial de Potosí, La Paz, 1939. Juan de Matienzo, Gobierno del Peru, Buenos Aires, 1910, is a worthwhile study of the development of important political issues in Peru. J. Lloyd Mocham, Church and State in Latin America, Chapel Hill, 1934, is concerned with the colonial period only as a background for the later problems during republican times. The author does not seem thoroughly informed in regard to early Church organization; however his study is competent in as much as he presents a good deal of sound factual material. Philip A. Means, Ancient Civilizations of the Andes, New York, 1931, offers an excellent review of the native cultures. Manuel de Mendiburu, Diccionario histórico-biografía del Peru, Lima, 1874-1890, (18 volumes), a tremendous work, is a valuable source for this study and includes primary sources. Fernando Montesinos, Anales del Peru, Madrid, 1906, I, II, is an authoritative account of the events in Peru

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during the latter part of the sixteenth century and the early seventeenth century. The author came to Peru as secretary to the Bishop of Trujillo in 1628, and spent much of his time travelling through the land, gathering geographical and historical data. Bernard Moses, Spain Overseas, New York, 1929, surveys the colonial period in general. The author has studied the field in much detail, and presents his detailed work with a perspective that merits attention. In his Spanish Colonial Literature in South America, New York, 1922, four chapters dealing with Peruvian, Chilean and New Granadan writers are helpful. Angel Gabriel Pérez, El patronato español en el virreyno del Peru durante el siglo XVI, Tournai, 1937, presents a pertinent discussion regarding the patronato español as it should have worked theoretically, and points out instances where it impeded rather than assisted in the work of evangelization. Javier Prado y Ugarteche, Estado social del Peru durante la dominación española, Lima, 1941, places particular emphasis upon the prominent positions held by the peninsulares. The author fails to distinguish between the encomienda system as such, and the abuses of the system. Vicente G. Quesada, La Vida Intelectual en la América Española durante los Siglos XVI, XVII, XVIII, Buenos Aires, 1931, is a fair work, dealing generally with the development of the various universities. An extremely satisfactory economic picture of the colonial situation is found in Emilio Romero, Historia Economic y Financiera del Peru, Antiguo Peru y Virreynato, Lima, 1937. David Rubio, La Universidad de San Marcos de Lima durante la Colonización Española, Madrid, 1933, includes in his study the attempts to induce the Society to assume supervision of the university. Although this is a general study it contains many useful statistics. Carlos Silva

Cotapos, Historia eclesiástica de Chile, Santiago, 1925, is primarily a study of the policies and activities of the bishops and is relevant to this study in its treatment of the personal-service problem. Rubén Vargas Ugarte, S.J., Historia del Peru Virreinato, 1551-1581, Lima, 1935, is a survey of the various social, educational and political developments during these thirty years. Juan de Velasco, Historia del Reino de Quito, Quito, 1844, (3 volumes), written during the eighteenth century, deals with the events in sixteenth century Ecuador. It may be used where the author has carefully transcribed documents in the body of the work, but much of its value is doubtful for want of evidence as to sources. Manuel Vicente Villarán, La Universidad de Lima, Los Orígenes: 1548-1577, Lima, 1938, is an excellent product of exacting research, and is pertinent to the period when the Jesuits were avoiding the political entanglements involved in supervising the university. It gives a clear picture of the difficulties, economic and political, encountered in founding the center of higher education. Agustín de Zarate, History of the Discovery and Conquest of Peru, in Robert Kerr, ed., A General History and Collection of Voyages and Travels 1824, IV, V, written by the treasurer of Peru in 1555, gives a contemporary picture of the conquest. Arthur Franklin Zimmerman, Francisco de Toledo, Fifth Viceroy of Peru, 1569-1581, Caldwell, Idaho, 1938, has cited much documentary evidence, but in his remarks regarding the Church situation, he relies almost solely upon Toledo's accounts. This biography is neither as extensive nor as critical as Levillier's.

Three general works which serve as European background for the study of the educational foundations in the New World are Vicente de Fuente, História de los Universidades Colegios y demas ... en España, Madrid, 1884-

1889; Albert Hyma, The Christian Renaissance, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1924; Henry Ol Taylor, Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century, New York, 1930.

In order to understand the work of the missionaries it has been necessary to include works pertaining to the natives among whom the Jesuits worked. Clements R. Markham, Narratives of the Rites and Laws of the Incas, London, 1878, is a collection of accounts which vary in value. Of these Father Molina's is among the most reliable. Philip A. Means, The Rise and Fall of the Inca Empire, New York, 1932, gives a general picture of the social and political situation of the land at the time of the conquest. One of the most careful archeological studies is Erland Nordenskiöld, Origin of the Indian Civilization in South America, Goteborg, 1931. Another equally scholarly, but less extensive work is Miles Poindexter, The Ayar Incas, New York, 1930.

A less general group of works are those treating the history of the Society. Antonio Astrain, História de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España, Madrid, 1908-1928, (7 volumes), is indispensable both for its well documented narrative and for its numerous printed documents both in the body of the work and in the appendices. Volumes III and IV were particularly helpful in this study. José Joaquín Borda, História de la Compañía de Jesús en la Nueva Granada, Poissy, 1872, collected his material from the Archivo Nacional, but failed to cite exact references for most of his material. D. José R. Carracido, El Padre José de Acosta y su Importancia en la Literatura Científica Española, Madrid, 1899, devotes part of his work to the narration of Acosta's work in Peru, although the greater portion concerns an appraisal of Acosta as a scientist. José Cassini, História

de la provincia de la Compañía de Jesús del Nuevo Reyno de Granada, Madrid, 1741 (Photographed from manuscript at Biblioteca Nacional, Bogota, for Bancroft Library by James F. King, 1940) deals for the most part with the developments of the missions following the establishment of the province, though as background Cassani treats the beginnings in the Peruvian province. It contains a critical analysis of the early Peruvian historians and chroniclers. Francisco Enrich, História de la Compañía de Jesús en Chile, Barcelona, 1891, I, is of some value for the author utilized and quotes much source material, but unfortunately it is interspersed with lengthy and irrelevant comments. Guillermo Furlong, Los Jesuitas y la Cultura Rioplatense, Buenos Aires, 1938, has contributed exacting research to the study of Jesuit foundations in the Argentine following the founding of the Paraguayan province. Joaquín García, Los Jesuitas en Córdoba, Buenos Aires, 1940, also begins his work, except for a cursory review, with the early seventeenth century. José Jouanen, História de la Compañía en la Antigua Provincia de Quito, 1570-1874, Quito, 1941, Volume I, "La Viceprovincia de Quito, 1570-1696," is useful in part, where the author inserts primary sources, but Jouanen is careless in many of his statements regarding the first years of the Jesuits in Peru. Pablo Hernández, El Extranamiento de los Jesuitas del Río de la Plata y los Misiones del Paraguay por decreto de Carlos III, Madrid, 1908, describes the missions as they flourished in the eighteenth century. José Gabriel Navarro, La Iglesia de la Compañía en Quito, Madrid, 1930, a careful detailed description of the Church itself which was constructed during the early seventeenth century, treats also the establishment of the Jesuits from the time of their arrival at Quito.

Serafim Leite, História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil, Lisbon, 1938, I, and Jesuitas do Brasil na Fundação da Missão do Paraguay, Rome, 1937, are products of careful, analytical research. In these works, and particularly in the second, can be seen the beginnings of Jesuit foundations in the New World and the impetus for expansion into Spanish America. Miguel de Olivares, História de la Compañía de Jesús en Chile, (1593-1736), Santiago, 1874, is useful in dealing with the early problems encountered by the fathers in Chile. The author had access to much source material and used it well. Diego Restrepo, La Compañía de Jesús en Colombia, Bogotá, 1940, gives a general survey plus biographical data and descriptions of the work of the more prominent Jesuits in the province. It is a workmanlike job. Mathis Tanner, Societas Jesus usque Ad Sanguinis ... Vitae Prusionem Militans in Europa, Africa, Asia, et America, Rome, 1665, contains brief biographies and descriptions of the deaths of the Jesuit martyrs to about 1640. Ruben Vargas Ugarte, Los Jesuitas del Peru. (1568-1767), Lima, 1941, is an excellent survey account. The treatment of the initial foundations is brief, however. Enrique Torres Saldamando, Los Antiguos Jesuitas del Peru: Biografías y apuntes para su historia, Lima, 1882, is based upon research from the Archives of Peru, and contains much relevant material for this study. The work, arranged as a series of biographies, contributes much to the knowledge of the initial endeavors of the Society in the viceroyalty.

In regard to the educational curriculum and standards of the foundations established in Peru much can be learned by studying the programs of the colleges in Europe where the Peruvian fathers frequently had been trained. In this matter T. Corcoran, Renatae Litterae, Dublin, 1927,

Bernard Dühr, Ratio Studiorum et Institutiones Scholasticae Societatis Jesu per Germaniam olim Vigentes, Berlin, 1887-1894, in Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica, (4 volumes), J. B. Herman, La Pedagogie des Jesuites au XVI Siecle, Louvain, 1914, may be consulted. A fine summary of the Jesuit training and the educational curriculum is found in the first three chapters of Jerome Vincent Jacobsen, Educational Foundations of the Jesuits in Sixteenth Century New Spain, Berkeley, 1938.

L. Schmitt, Synopsis Historiae Societatis Jesu, Ratisbon, 1914, contains vital statistics concerning the various provinces.

PERIODICALS

An appreciable amount of primary source material may be located in the bulletins of the various archives and academies of Latin America. These have contributed considerably to this study.

The Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu has several articles of particular value. L. Lopetegue, "San Francisco de Borja y el plan misional de San Pio V," (1942), XI, 1-26, shows how close were the aims and methods of Borgia and the Pope. Felix Zubillaga, "Metodos Misionales de la Primera Instrucción de San Francisco de Borja para la America Española (1567)," (1943), XII, 58-88, contains the text of the instructions and an analysis of them. Pedro Vicente Cañete y Domínguez, "Potosí Colonial," La Paz, 1939, Biblioteca Boliviana, No. 5, contains a physical description of the city. Three scholarly articles pertinent to this study are found in the Boletín de Historia y Antiquedades, issued by the Society of National History, Bogota. Francisco Barrera, "Los Jesuitas Misioneros," September, 1902, I, 63-90, deals with the early missionary expeditions and with the prominent

missions in the province. E. Posada, "Cronologia de Colombia," (1909), V, 171-181, is a brief but accurate chronology. José Joaquin Guerra, "El Seminario de Bogotá," (1911), VII, 45-54, gives an account of the scholastic requirements and outstanding work accomplished at this institution which was under Jesuit direction. José Gabriel Navarro, "Fundación de Conventos en la América Española," Boletín de la Academia Nacional de Historia, Quito, (June, 1943), XXIII, 5-55, is helpful in giving an over all picture of the centers of the various Orders. In this bulletin too, Julio Tobar Donaso, "El Restablecimiento de la Audiencia de Quito," (June, 1940), XIX, 5-12, treats the political situation as it was shortly after the arrival of the fathers in Quito. Jerome V. Jacobsen, "Nuevos Interes por la Historia de los Jesuitas en los Estados Unidos," Estudios, Buenos Aires, December, 1936, LV, 401-408, reviews the interest and works of the United States historians in the field of Jesuit history. Ruben Vargas Ugarte, "The First Jesuit Mission in Florida," Historical Record and Studies, (1935), XXV, 59-148, is a scholarly treatment of the subject. Alfredo Chavero, "Tovar ... Nota sobre los PP. José Acosta y Juan de Tovar," Museo Nacional de Arqueología historia y etnografía Anales, Mexico, X, 242-246, is an interesting appraisal of Acosta's history in which Chavero contends that the section of Acosta's work which deals with New Spain is for the most part the work of Tovar. There is evidence which might lead one to suspect that Tovar at least assisted Acosta. In the Revista del Archivo Nacional, Bogotá, III, 151-155, is a copy of the "Real Cédula sobre fundación del Colegio de San Bartolomé, 30 de diciembre de 1602." Domingo Angulo, "Documentos sobre los antiguos colegios de caciques, Fundaciones, Provisiones,

Constituciones, etc., " Revista del Archivo Nacional del Peru, (1920-1942), I, (1920), 339-372, includes primary material on the foundation of the Cuzco colegios. A chronology of the Arequipa colegio is found in "Historia del colegio de la Compañía de Jesús de la ciudad de Arequipa," Revista de archivos y bibliotecas nacionales, (1900), IV, 405-423, with a summary of the friction between Toledo and the colegio. Reginaldo de Liazarra, "Descripción y población de las Indias de los prelados eclesiásticos del reino del Peru...", Revista Historico de Lima, (1907), II, 26-39, is the report given the viceroy, Toledo, during his tour of inspection. Enrique Torres Saldamando, "El Primero y el Último Provincial de la Compañía de Jesús en el Peru," Revista Historico: Órgano del Instituto Historico del Peru, (1906), I, 445-465, concerns Portillo and the early foundations in Lima commenced during his provincialate. Torres Saldamando devotes another article in this bulletin to the study of Renifo, one of the chief contributors to the Colegio Máximo, entitled, "Un Filantropo," (1908), III, 307-313. Carlos A. Romero, "El Padre Pablo Joseph de Arriaga," Revista Histórica: Órgano del Instituto Historico del Peru, (1918), VI, 277-284, is a fine critical study of Arriaga's history and a survey of the work of the Father as rector at San Pedro y San Pablo. John Tate Lanning, "Los universidades coloniales de Hispano-America en el desarrollo cultural y politico del Nuevo Mundo," Revista de la Universidad de Córdoba, (1931), XVIII, 17, reviews the effect of the universities upon the colonial culture. Another commentary on Acosta was issued in the annual Bulletin of the National University of La Plata, edited by the faculty of humanities and sciences: "El Valor Testimonial de cuatro cronistas Americanos, Funes,

Ruis Díaz, Las Casas, y Acosta," Buenos Aires, 1929. Alfredo R. Martins, "Caminhos historicos do Paraná," Cincocentario da Estrada de Ferro do Paraná, Curitiba, 1935, discusses the jungle road leading from Asuncion to the coast of Brazil. A series of scholarly articles has been published regarding the Jesuit beginnings in Brazil in Mid-America. The significance of the Brazilian beginnings in relation to the foundations of Spanish America has already been discussed. Included in this series are two by Jerome V. Jacobsen, "Jesuit Founders in Portugal and Brazil," (January, 1942), XXIV, 1-26, and "Nóbrega of Brazil," (July, 1942), XXIV, 151-187, and three by J. Mamel Espinosa, "Luis da Grã, Mission Builder and Educator of Brazil," XXIV, 188-216; "Gouveia: Jesuit Lawgiver in Brazil," (January, 1942), XXIV, 27-60; "Fernaõ Cardim: Jesuit Humanist of Colonial Brazil," (October, 1942), XXIV, 252-271. Another article found in this review treats the work of the Jesuits in Chile: Beatrice Blum, "Luis de Valdivia, Defender of the Araucanians," (1942), XXIV, 109-137.

APPROVAL SHEET

The dissertation submitted by Mrs. Beatrice Blum Roemer has been read and approved by five members of the Department of History.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Date

Director