



Cardillera and Pampa, Mountain and Plain.

---

167  
SKETCHES

OF

A J O U R N E Y

IN

CHILI, AND THE ARGENTINE PROVINCES,

IN

1 8 4 9 .

BY

LIEUT. ISAAC G. STRAIN, U. S. N.,

Corresponding Member of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia :  
of the Historical and Geographical Institute of Brazil :  
Ethnological Society of New York, &c



NEW YORK :

HORACE H. MOORE, 27 MERCHANTS' EXCHANGE.

1853.

---

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1853, by

H O R A C E H. M O O R E,

In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States, for the Southern District of New York.

---

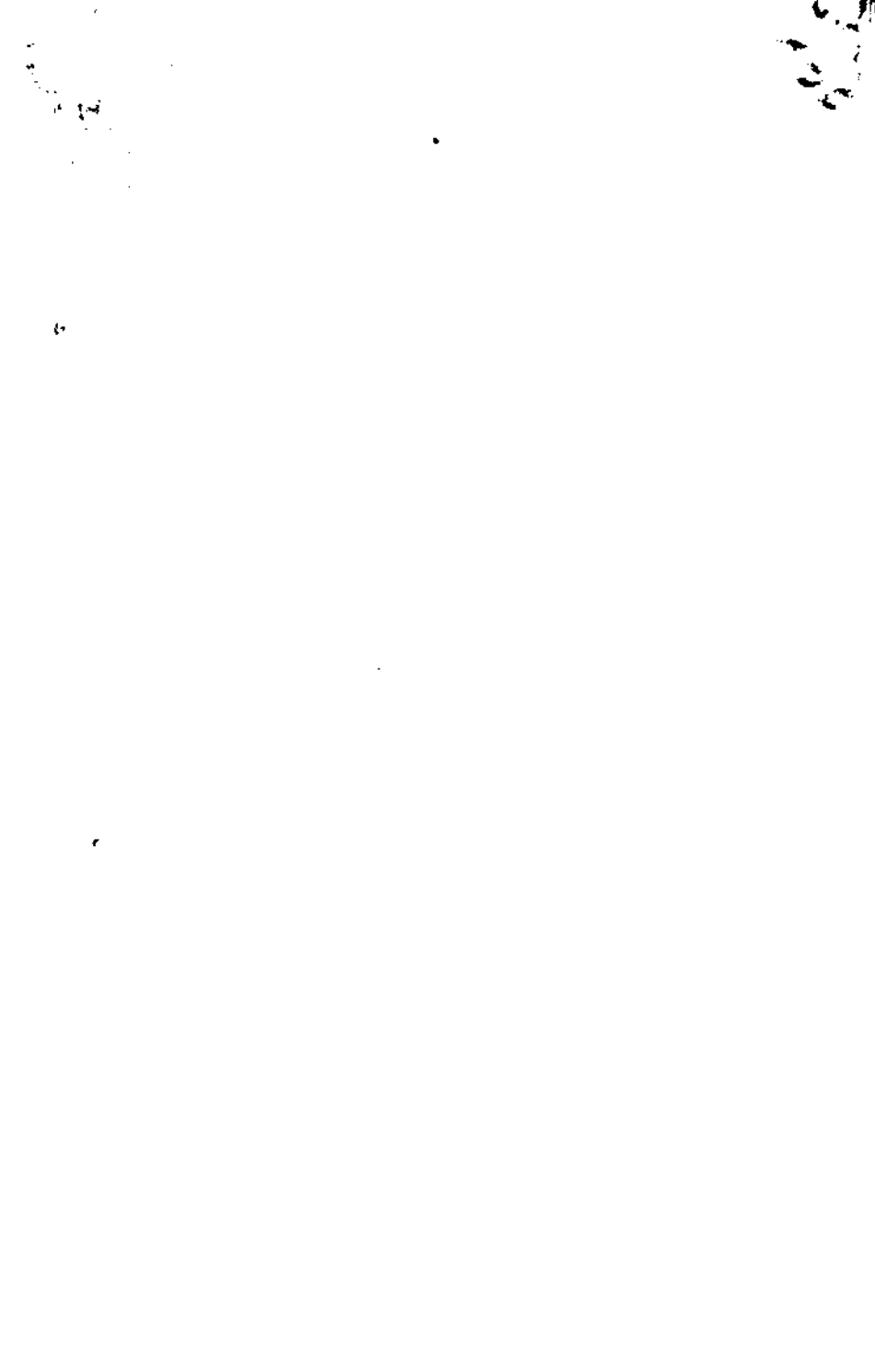
---

Printed by

G. W. B E N E D I C T,  
201 William Street, N. Y.

18.3  
8-8  
F3063  
587

TO  
LIEUT. WILLIAM H. MACOMB, U. S. N.,  
AND MY OTHER MESSMATES, NAVAL AND CIVIL,  
ON BOARD THE U. S. SHIP LEXINGTON,  
THESE SKETCHES  
ARE RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,  
IN KINDLY REMEMBRANCE OF OUR AGREEABLE ASSOCIATION,  
WHILE ON A VOYAGE FROM SAN FRANCISCO TO VALPARAISO, IN  
DECEMBER, JANUARY, AND FEBRUARY,  
1848 AND 1849.



## P R E F A C E.

---

A NOTE of explanation may be deemed necessary before presenting the following pages to the public. *Firstly*, to explain the circumstances under which the journey was made. *Secondly*, the paucity of scientific information, and *Thirdly*, the time which has elapsed between the journey and the publication of the narrative. The first point elucidated will measurably explain the second.

Early in the winter of 1848-9 I was ordered to take passage in the "Lexington" from the coast of California for New York; but, unwilling to pass so much time idly on board ship, and not anxious to double Cape Horn for the third time during three years, I solicited, and obtained permission to leave the ship in Valparaiso, and rejoin her at Rio de Janeiro.

After crossing the continent, and embarking at Buenos Ayres in an American vessel, I fell sick with a bilious fever, about two days before the brig sprung a leak, and between the two dangers, my narrative was nearly anticipated by my demise. The skill in seamanship and calm courage of my friend, CAPTAIN CLARKE, saved me from the second danger, while our joint skill in medicine, and various empirical essays, saved me from the first;

and after a tedious passage of twenty-two days, we arrived at Rio de Janeiro. The brig kept above water by constant pumping, and I, a bright yellow from the effects of disease, and so weak as to walk only with assistance. In the sequel, however, I fared best, as I recuperated, while the brig was condemned and sold. The "Lexington" had sailed four days before our arrival at the entrance of the harbour, and after my health was restored, I returned home in the U. S. brig "Perry," arriving at Norfolk on the 11th of July, after an absence of nearly six years. The circumstances under which my journey was made, will explain the second point. I could obtain no instruments, and had no time to tarry for the purpose of observing.

Soon after returning home, I was detailed for Special Service, which employed my time until within a month of the reception of orders for the Coast of Africa. This duty involved a frequent change of residence, and prevented my settling myself down to write the narrative. It is true that much time which might have been thus employed, and was employed even less profitably, rises in judgment against me; and I can only excuse myself by referring to the fact that for nearly five consecutive years I had been confined on board ship, and had passed the greater part of another year in the wilderness.

The temptation to idleness, when once free from the restraints of military discipline, and in an enlightened and refined community, after such an ordeal, will excuse me to those who have been similarly circumstanced, or have sufficient tolerance to

"Compound for sins they have no mind to."

This explanation accounts, and I hope satisfactorily, for the delay in publication, especially as the countries which I attempt

to describe, are not, as with us, making such gigantic strides in progress, that a description will not serve for two or three years.

As for the subject matter, it must speak for itself. In attempting to compile a brief history of Chili, I have availed myself of the best authorities, and feel assured that in no English or Spanish author can the same amount of information be found embodied, as none that I have met give a continuous history of the country, from its first settlement to the present time.

Of my personal narrative I can only regret that it should not contain incidents of a more thrilling nature, "which do so greatly abound in the works of some travellers," and have endeavoured to supply the deficiency by describing, as accurately as possible, the manners and customs of the people, the local scenery, and the mode of travel.

As far as regards myself as an author, in the whole list of travellers given by Sterne in his *Sentimental Journey*, I can find no classification which embodies exactly my own description. I am not an *idle* or *luxurious traveller* (or I should have selected a different field than South America, and one in which I could have journeyed with a more especial reference to my personal comfort.) Nor an *inquisitive traveller*, as I studiously avoided the tacit acknowledgement that I came to spy out the nakedness of the land by asking impertinent questions. Nor the *traveller of necessity*, because the "Lexington" would have conveyed me home more economically and more comfortably, without an effort on my part. Nor a *lying traveller*, if for no better reason, that I have not written to support a preconceived opinion, or theory, and had no interest to be subserved, by distorting or perverting the truth, and that my memory has more retentiveness than my imagination fertility. Nor a *proud traveller*, because I am not



an Englishman. Nor a *vain traveller*, for reasons best known to myself. Nor a *delinquent traveller*, for I was submissively wending my way home in accordance with a sentence of my so-called peers. Nor an *unfortunate traveller*, unless I can be so considered in having met with no great dangers, and hair-breadth escapes, with which to astonish my friends, and add interest to my narrative.

Upon first inspecting the list I thought I might perchance be an *innocent*, or a *simple traveller*, but find myself excluded upon a close examination of the qualifications required.

Unable to decide to what class of travellers I *do* pertain, I must leave it an open question for the decision of the reader.

J. G. S.

U. S. Flag-Ship "Germantown,"  
Porto Praya, St. Jago, Cape de Verde Archipelago  
February 24th, 1852.

11-25

## CONTENTS.

---

### CHAPTER I.

PORT OF VALPARAISO . . . . .	13
------------------------------	----

### CHAPTER II.

CITY OF VALPARAISO . . . . .	24
------------------------------	----

### CHAPTER III.

JOURNEY TO SANTIAGO . . . . .	34
-------------------------------	----

### CHAPTER IV.

SANTIAGO . . . . .	42
--------------------	----

### CHAPTER V.

SANTIAGO . . . . .	53
--------------------	----

### CHAPTER VI.

EARLY HISTORY OF CHILE . . . . .	64
----------------------------------	----

### CHAPTER VII.

REVOLUTION IN CHILE . . . . .	78
-------------------------------	----

	Page
CHAPTER VIII.	
HISTORY SINCE REVOLUTION . . . . .	97
CHAPTER IX.	
GEOGRAPHY—GOVERNMENT—DEPARTMENTS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, FINANCE, AND INTERIOR . . . . .	111
CHAPTER X.	
DEPARTMENTS OF JUSTICE, RELIGION, WAR AND MARINE .	130
CHAPTER XI.	
SKETCHES IN CHILI . . . . .	14
CHAPTER XII.	
THE CORDILLERA . . . . .	16
CHAPTER XIII.	
MENDOZA . . . . .	19
CHAPTER XIV.	
A GALLOP ACROSS THE PAMPAS . . . . .	21
CHAPTER XV.	
SAN LUIS . . . . .	23
CHAPTER XVI.	
A GALLOP ACROSS THE PAMPAS . . . . .	25

# CONTENTS.

xi

## CHAPTER XVII.

Page

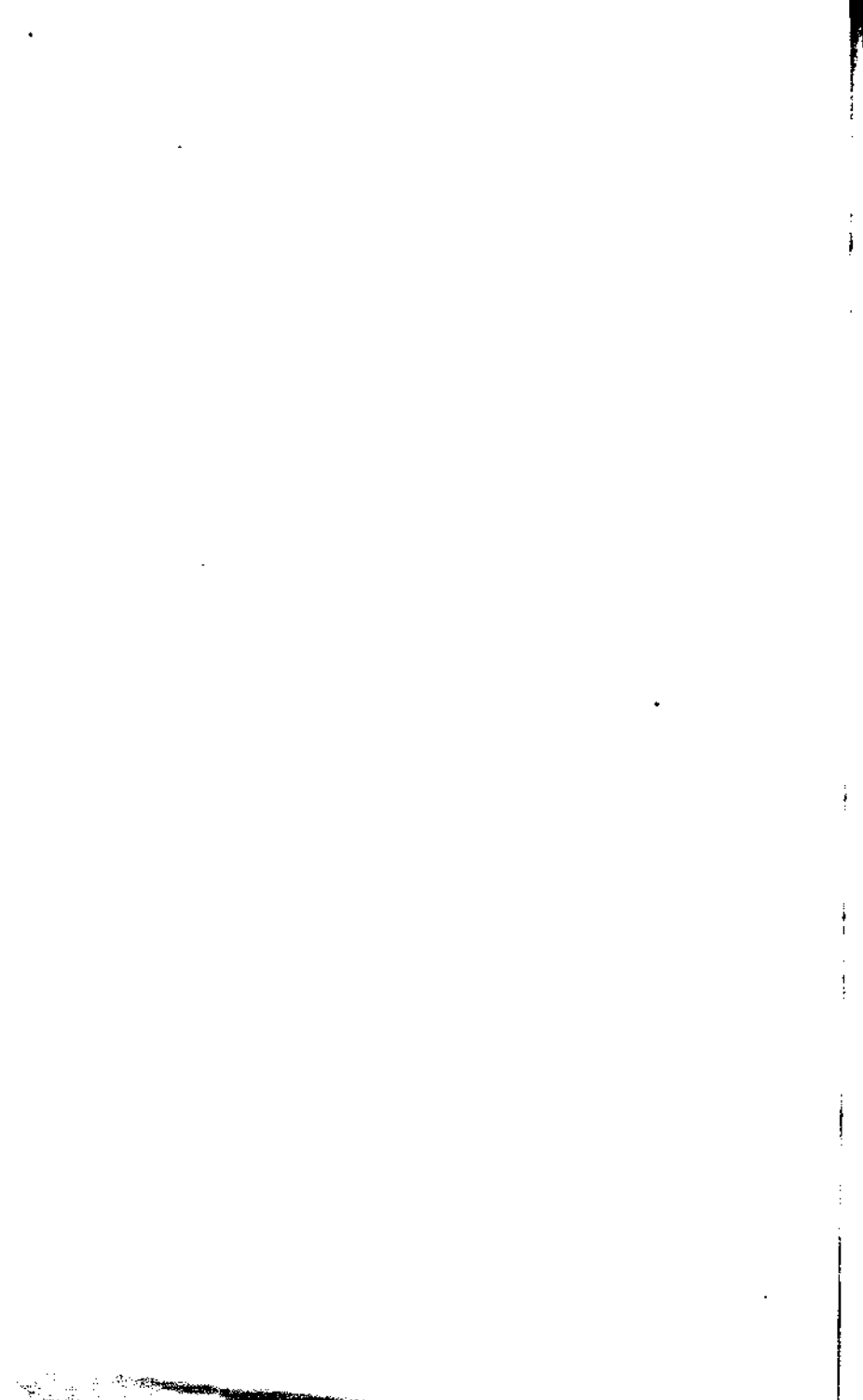
THE PAMPAS

259

## CHAPTER XVIII.

BUENOS AYRES

273



# CHILI AND THE ARGENTINE PROVINCES.

---

## CHAPTER I.

### PORT OF VALPARAISO.

IN the month of February, 1849, I arrived at Valparaiso from San Francisco, after a protracted passage of seventy-four days, in the United States ship Lexington, a store-vessel or transport.

Habits acquired by nearly twelve years' service in the navy, did not in the least decrease my anxiety to place my feet once more on "terra firma;" and although the amiability of my messmates had made it one of the least tedious, though one of the longest passages which I had ever made, yet there was a feeling of relief and satisfaction in once more finding the various comforts, as well as luxuries of life, within our reach, which would have convinced us, had that link in the chain of evidence been wanting, that neither the system of living at sea, nor in our newly acquired territory of California, was in exact conformity with the true nature of man.

Accordingly, the ship had no sooner anchored than three fellow passengers and myself, availing ourselves of our prerogative, as superfluous members of the body politic, had left the ship, and were rapidly approaching the shore in a four-oared boat, which we had surreptitiously obtained, by bribing the boatmen of a gentleman who came on board to call upon an acquaintance.

The bay presented, as usual, the large assemblage of ships which marks it as the commercial emporium or depôt of the Pacific coast and Islands.

Almost every maritime nation appeared to have their representatives, and the gaff-ends would have furnished the rough materials for a coat of many colours, not only for the patriarch son of the favoured wife, but for his less deserving brethren, and half a generation of their descendants.

Nor were the police of the seas wanting, as, independent of the huge black, wall-sided, lumbering armed storeship which we have just left, there were many pennants flying in the harbour—English, French, and Chilian—among which was the flagship *Asia*, of eighty guns, famous for having borne the flag of Admiral Coderington, at the battle of Navarino; the French frigate *Poursuivante*, bearing also a rear admiral's flag; and the *Chili*, a forty-four, bearing the broad pennant of a commodore, and displaying the single star of the Chilian republic. American pennants, too, were more than usually numerous, as several transports, containing the Second Regiment of Infantry, and detachments from the First and Third Artillery, had called in for refreshments on their way to our still distant territories of California and Oregon. Of the four comprising our party in the boat, three had visited the port previously, and had volunteered to initiate the fourth into the comforts and pleasures of Valparaiso, and had promised him a hearty welcome and excellent fare, from our friend and host of the *Chili Hotel*, whose style and attentions had, upon the occasion of our former visits, reminded us so forcibly of our own country. Accordingly, we asked no questions, but proceeded by the shortest route to seek at the *Chili*, not only the welcome which "mine host" usually accords his guests who are competent to pay his charges, but that of an old acquaintance and countryman, which the traveller soon learns to appreciate, while roaming abroad in the world.

To our surprise, however, we found, upon entering the house, none of that bustle which is characteristic of an American hotel, in a commercial port like Valparaiso; and, though we listened attentively, heard none of the loud and cheerful conversation which marks the proximity of the bar. Surprised, we wandered

through the vacant and open rooms, and finally, meeting with some masons who were repairing the walls, inquired the whereabouts of Mr. Thibault, and were civilly informed that he had *gone to California*.

This announcement, to which we were not so well accustomed as we have become since, fell upon our ears with a startling effect, as many of our plans had been laid in direct reference to the reverse of such contingency. There was no remedy, however, but to seek another hotel, and, in order to facilitate this search, I inquired for two of my former acquaintances, expecting to obtain the requisite information. They also had *gone to California*. Afterwards we inquired for no one, taking it for granted that all our countrymen had followed the same course; and when, by accident, we met an acquaintance, it was with a feeling of surprise that they had not been swept by the current of commercial speculation, to the shores of the Northern El Dorado.

Valparaiso being the principal mart from whence California was supplied, all business men were actively employed in shipments to that desirable but precarious market; and as our countrymen appeared, as a general rule, to feel the time lost in shaking hands a sufficient sacrifice to politeness, we were at liberty to make our own selection of a hotel at our leisure, "sans" advice and "sans" counsel on that, to a sojourner, all important subject.

Our first visit was to the *Star*, kept in the American style, with an excellent table and a frequented bar-room; but it was rejected, as the rooms were inferior, while the numbers of English and American mariners, who occasionally tarried too long over their tippie, gave it a character too boisterous to be pleasant, and which the agreeable manners of the host, and his decided disposition to oblige, could not counterpoise. The French hotel was next reconnoitred and rejected "for a raison we had," which reason, by the way, had reference to an appropriateness of the dismal looking cells, by courtesy termed bedrooms, for the propagation of certain insects, whose mode of life render them



inimical to sleep or wakeful comfort. Upon a fourth essay, we found that the Hotel de l'Europe satisfied most of the conditions required, and to this establishment, accordingly, we removed our baggage, after it had undergone a nominal examination at the Custom House. In this hotel, which was kept by a Frenchman, we remained during our stay, meeting at the table d'hôte some thirty well dressed and gentlemanly persons, who appeared to represent every commercial and maritime nation.

The port of Valparaiso has been so frequently described by travellers and authors so much superior to myself, that I would hesitate in placing myself in competition with them, did I not feel that my sketch would be rendered still more imperfect by the omission.

The combination of the two Spanish words *Val-paraiso*, it is well known, means the Vale of Paradise; but why it should have been applied to this particular locality, has sadly puzzled the brains of many who insist upon appropriateness in appellations, as the vicinity, so far from fulfilling the conditions which its name requires, has really a very sterile and parched appearance.

The bay, as it is called by courtesy, upon which the city is situated, is a deep wide-mouthed indentation in the land, and completely open to the northward, whence, during the winter months, from June to August inclusive, heavy gales are experienced, which render the anchorage insecure. Fortunately, however, these winds seldom "blow home;" that is, they do not reach into the bay, yet vessels have to endure a very heavy sea, which not only cuts off the communication with the shore, but renders their position, at times, one of considerable peril.

Formerly, accidents were very frequent, and attended with loss of life; but the improvements in cables, arising from the general adoption of iron chains, has diminished greatly the dangers of the anchorage.

The water, except close to the shore, being deep, has limited the available surface of the bay, which appears very extensive; yet, notwithstanding all these natural disadvantages, which are

has not attempted to remedy, Valparaiso has improved more rapidly than any Pacific seaport, and at present contains some 60,000 inhabitants. Its convenient location, as the first available port for procuring supplies after passing Cape Horn, combined with the effects of the civil wars, which have for many years desolated all the republics lying to the northward, have made it an "entrepot" for European and American, as well as Chinese and East Indian produce and manufactures, which have been exported thence in national or foreign vessels during the intervals of peace, or according to the demand in the neighboring markets.

The Chilean government, aware of the advantages thus derived from making Valparaiso a commercial mart, and in fomenting their mercantile marine, have adopted a system of bonding, by which merchandise remains afloat, or in stone houses, paying duties only when entered for internal consumption, and re-exportable at the discretion of the owners, subject only to a small transit duty.

The advantages of such a system to the natives and foreigners cannot but be important, as the distance from whence merchandise was despatched to the west coast of America, and the paucity of information, prevented the shippers in Europe and elsewhere from informing themselves of either the political or commercial condition of those countries for which their cargoes were destined; and thus, upon the misfortunes of the neighbouring republics, Valparaiso has been built up, and continues to flourish.

In 1836 the government adopted a policy, somewhat questionable in point of morality, to sustain and augment its commercial importance, in commencing hostilities against the Peru-Bolivian Confederation, which, under the enlightened administration of *General Santa Cruz*, was rapidly developing the resources of these countries.

The far-seeing and intelligent Portales, then first minister in Chili, was well aware that the continuance of peace in the neighbouring republics, which was attributable to the personal influence and military force at the disposal of *Santa Cruz*, must, by in-

creasing the commercial importance of *Callao*, inevitably deprive Valparaiso of the monopoly of the Peru-Bolivian markets, which would diminish its commercial importance.\*

The questionable faith, but ultimately singular success with which hostilities were conducted on the part of Chili, will be briefly narrated in subsequent pages; yet, notwithstanding the military success, the object of the war was fully attained, as after a few convulsive throes, which succeeded the dissolution of the confederation, Peru, the most important of the two republics, has settled down into a state of tranquillity, under the Presidency of *General Castilla*, and instead of receiving her supplies by transshipments from Chili, imports them directly through her own port of *Callao*, which has a greater natural adaptation to commercial purposes than its rival. The great increase of prosperity in Peru did not however operate ostensibly in diminishing the importance of Valparaiso, as many markets have recently been thrown open among the Pacific islands, and on the west coast of North America, which have supplied the place of those which have been measurably lost; while within the last few years the blockade of Buenos Ayres by the French and English has caused the exportations of foreign goods through Chili to the Argentine provinces of *Mendoza* and *San Juan* to be more important than usual. *Valparaiso* was the first port to derive considerable advantage from the discovery of the gold washings in California, on account of its proximity, and the fact that a large store of the articles required for consumption of the miners was always on hand. Upon my arrival at this port the supply, generally so ample, appeared exhausted, while many merchants were preparing to start for *El Dorado* with their remaining stock. Yet, notwithstanding the temporary advantage which Valparaiso has thus derived, and still derives, from the increasing emigration to California, most of which is directed through that port, it will be

\* The decrease in transshipments had already attracted the notice of the Government, prior to the impulse given by the great demand produced by the opening of the California market.

crushed, and that too within a few years, by a more formidable rival, rapidly growing up on the magnificent Bay of San Francisco, by which Chilian commerce, which has only flourished owing to want of rivals, with equal advantages from contiguity to market, will be driven from the Pacific, as her own coasting trade can never attain much importance, owing to the limited extent of coast, and of the population to be supplied. As emigration to California must soon decrease, and as vessels loaded only with merchandise, with no unusual number of passengers, will not be obliged to call for water or supplies, the people of Valparaiso will endure the mortification of seeing their port deserted, and find that the "concentrated bustle," which has excited the admiration of all voyagers, has disappeared, and for ever. As neither the exports of the Republic, nor the demand of her limited population, can support the existing state of commerce, such will, in all human probability, be the future fate of Valparaiso, as a commercial port; and she will thus share the fate of Tyro, Sidon, Carthage, and innumerable cities which, built up by commerce, have sickened and died, by the diversion of the nourishment on which their prosperity depended. As this port has been, for many years, the principal station for recruiting vessels of all classes, whalers and vessels of war included, all supplies can be obtained with facility, and a floating water-tank renders the process of filling up with that necessary, an easy operation.

From the bay of Valparaiso, we will now cast our eyes towards the land, and attempt to describe the city as it appears from the water, which view, although singular, is far from imposing, and will by no means give a correct idea of its extent and population. The city is built partly on a narrow shelf, at an elevation of a few feet above high-water mark, and partly on the hills upon which this shelf, or second beach, abuts. The latter are not continuous, but separated from each other by ravines, to which the name "quebradas," or breaks, is given by the Spaniards. To the summit of these hills, which form a first range, and are backed by a higher, attaining some 1,300 feet, houses have been

erected, some of them in situations which give the strongest impressions of insecurity to the mind of the observer. As an evidence of the nautical and commercial character of this city, it may be mentioned that three of these hills—the whole sides of which are studded with houses, and are apparently inaccessible—are by foreigners known as the fore, main, and mizen tops, and are occupied by grog-shops, sailors' boarding-houses, and houses of still more questionable character. Another hill, the "Cerro Alegre," nearly abreast the only wharf which the port possesses, is occupied by the habitations of the rich and foreign merchants; and although the ascent, which is principally a flight of wooden stairs, is tedious, the view of the bay and lower town, obtained from the summit, amply repays the exertion; while the "cottages ornées," with their gardens filled with flowers, throw an air of rural luxury over the whole scene, which we could scarce expect so near the busy thoroughfares of a commercial town, and contrasts favourably with the miserable appearance presented by the "Tops." The lower town, of course, is the scene of commerce, and prosperity having extended its limits much beyond those which were anticipated by the founders, it has been found necessary to cut away a portion of the Cerro Alegre, to open a street by which the old town can communicate with the Almendral, built also on the beach, and following the curve of the bay. This portion of Valparaiso, formerly a suburb, has become the most extensive portion of the city; and as it displays unfavourably from the water, gives a great increase of population for which the casual observer is not prepared. The houses of the lower town, which are Spanish in architecture, but French in most of their internal arrangements, are built of stone covered with stucco, and tiled, the flat, or azotea roof, for some reason, not having found favour in Chili, as in the Spanish South American Republics generally.

The streets, though not so wide as in our own country, are sufficiently so for circulation, and are well paved—a duty with which the Government encharges itself, and upon which it employs large gangs of convicts in chains, who are guarded by

a portion of the naval brigade, or marines, to whom the service on the sea coast is confided. The Custom-house, which is near the Mole, though not extensive, is well built, with a neat, though not imposing interior. On its belfry is a large clock, by which the business hours are measured.

The duties collected on imports in the port of Valparaíso, during the year 1845, amounted to \$1,326,810, whereas the whole amount of duties collected in the eight sea-ports of the Republic, in addition to those upon importations from the Argentine provinces, through the passes of the Cordilleras, was not greater than \$1,353,935, which comparison will give a correct idea of the relative commercial importance of that port. Wheat in grain, flour, and metals, are the principal articles of export. The value of the former, which is of a fine quality, and of a flavour unsurpassed in any part of the world which I have visited, I have not been able to learn, but it must be very considerable, as from this country not only the neighbouring republics but the Pacific islands are mostly supplied. During the latter part of 1848, the rapid increase of population in California produced an immense demand for Chilian flour, which will probably continue to supply that market without competition until the circumstances of the country permit the inhabitants of Oregon to engage more extensively in agriculture.

The duties upon exports from sea-ports during 1845, amounted to \$218,970, of which \$91,421 were collected at Valparaíso; the proportionable difference between the imports and exports being attributable to the greater amount of copper exported at Chiapo, Serena, and Huasao, which, situated nearer the mines, are more eligible points for embarkation.

The amount of silver exported through the custom-house of this port during 1845, was 61,463 marks, while the sum total of the exportation of silver in coin and bullion, during the same period, was 175,051 marks.

The value of the gold exported during the same period was

1,762 marks, 353 of which passed through the custom-house at Valparaiso.

As there is an export duty of six per cent. on the precious metals, and their value, in proportion to their bulk, affording ample opportunities, a large amount must be smuggled out of the country, which will always, under the present system of levying high duties, prevent the custom-house tables from giving even an approximation to the value of the exportation.

The whole value of the metals exported from the Republic, which passed the custom-houses during the four years ending in 1847 inclusive, was \$2,077,343 for 1844; \$3,853,933 for 1845; \$4,534,596 for 1846; and \$4,495,677 for 1847.

The whole value, therefore, of the metals exported during that period was \$15,861,554, of which \$8,483,843 was copper in various forms, bar-copper being valued at \$6,288,212, and copper ore at \$1,184,814.

Silver and gold, after copper, are the most important mineral productions; and the whole value of the former which passed the custom-houses, (an important distinction,) during the four years already specified, was \$6,494,467, while the latter amounted to \$854,641.

The sagacity of the government has been displayed by levying only one-half per cent. on gold, which, under a heavier duty, would afford no revenue.

The export duty is six per cent. on all other minerals, except arsenite of copper, copper ore, wrought and old copper, and gypsum. The first two of these articles pay  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., while the last are free. Arsenite is yet insignificant as an export; but during the four years already referred to, wrought copper was exported to the value of \$63,296, old copper \$42,726, and gypsum \$4,517.

The sum total of the receipts in all custom-houses in the Republic during the year 1845, including port charges, wharfage, light-house dues, municipal charges, deposits, &c., &c., was

\$1,763,739, of which \$1,576,263 was received through Valparaiso.

The total value of imports during 1846 was \$10,149,135, and in 1847 \$10,054,580; the greater portion of which entered through Valparaiso, and during the same years the exports amounted to \$6,340,384 for the first, and \$7,021,334 for the last.\*

The value of naturalized merchandise exported during the same years was \$1,744,904 and \$1,420,737.

NOTE.—The other sources of revenue will be considered in Chapter VIII.

\* Greatest amount through Serena and Huasco.



## CHAPTER II.

### CITY OF VALPARAISO.

THE public buildings in Valparaiso are remarkable neither for size nor architecture. This is especially the case as regards churches, in which it contrasts unfavourably with Lima, a city of nearly the same size, and marks the distinction between those cities which grew up during colonial times, and those which have been constructed since the establishment of the Republic. Within the last few years, a very pretty theatre has been built, about equal size, though superior in decoration, to the old Park, in New York. Upon the occasion of two former visits in 1846 and '48, I found a very respectable Italian opera troupe, which makes its head-quarters at this place, performing occasionally at Santiago, Copiapo, and even at times extending its operations up the coast as far as Lima. Upon the occasion of this visit, as the opera troupe was at Copiapo, its place was supplied by a good dramatic company and "*corps de ballet*," the latter, I think, superior to any stock company which I have seen elsewhere. Among the plays represented, which were generally of Chilian origin, and quite recent, numerous allusions were made to California, which invariably produced plaudits from the audience, and illustrated the enthusiasm which has caused so many natives and strangers in this, and other parts of the Republic, to emigrate to that desirable region—an emigration, which, during my stay in the country, amounted to two hundred and fifty in a single day, and by one vessel. This theatre has all the arrangements of a European opera-

house, and an invariably well-dressed and well-behaved audience. In the boxes and lobbies, I met with many Chilian officers, both of the army and navy, and was struck, as I have been before, by the contrast in their personal appearance to all South Americans that I have seen hitherto. Their complexions are as fair as the English, while they possess the same healthy colour and rotundity of figure. In uniform, which they wear invariably, that of the army appears to have been copied after the French, while that of the navy closely resembles the English. So closely, indeed, that taken in connection with their personal appearance, I have often found myself at a loss to decide to which navy they belonge duntill close enough to recognise the button. If there was a difference obvious to the superficial observer, it was that the Chilians were better dressed and more polite in their deportment, and less frequently under the influence of strong drink than those they have adopted as their prototypes. To gratify the public fondness for dancing, the theatre is frequently fitted as a ball-room, by extending the stage over the orchestra and parquette, and upon these occasions the scene is gay and novel to one unaccustomed to the Spanish masked balls. I attended one while in Valparaiso, there, in common with some hundreds of others, and cannot but commend the order and good behaviour of all present. The women were generally very well dressed, and they, as the men also, in opera or ball costume. The music was excellent, and the dancing of course good, as all Spaniards and their descendants dance well and gracefully. I can scarcely enumerate the dances, waltzes, and gallops, which I witnessed, but what I enjoyed the most was the national dance, "*Sama Cueca*," which has been so frequently described by travellers and voyagers.

There appears, by the way, to be an erroneous impression existing among many who have alluded to this dance, that it is indecent,—an impression arising from the fact of their having seen it only at the fandango and among the lowest class of people. There, it, as well as most other dances, is certainly far from modest, but when the "*Sama*

*Cueca*" is danced, as I have frequently seen it, among the most respectable people in Chili and the other side of the *Cordilleras*, it is as pleasing and more expressive than any other dance I have seen, and tenfold more so than either the waltz or the sensual polka, which has attained so high a degree of popularity in Europe and both Americas. The masked males at these balls, which occur almost weekly, comprise many of the most respectable persons in Valparaiso; for the masked females I cannot say so much, and from what I saw and heard, am afraid that the majority were of that class which so much abound in frequented seaports, and "not so good as they ought to be." The better class of women, however, do not deprive themselves of the amusements of the evening, being perfectly safe from annoyance owing to the efficient police; and although they do not mask, or join in the dances, are found seated in the boxes, where they enjoy the gay scene which is passing around them, which is more amusing, as every individual, upon adopting a costume, makes the same effort to support the character as if upon the stage performing for an audience. This fact, upon the occasion of the ball which I attended, narrowly escaped being the cause of a serious difficulty, as one of my friends, who was masked, was once or twice partially tripped, while waltzing, by an active young lad, who personified the juggler, and being indignant thereat, took his partner to her seat, and watched for his tormentor. It was not long before he saw him in the act of throwing himself at length upon the stage to trip a pair who were waltzing. My friend had him by the collar in an instant, and gave him a shaking which was likely to drive all juggling tricks from his mind for a season, at the same time explaining his offence to the bystanders in the most fluent but not the most classical Spanish. Fearful of a scene, the terminus of which my imagination suggested would be the watch-house at least, if not the town jail, I interposed, and after some explanation, the whole matter was settled as a mistake, the harlequin kindly overlooking the shaking to which his tricks had subjected him. It had, however, a good effect upon him, as he at-

tempted no more pranks with the waltzers. Though he knew his countrymen would submit to it, as an immemorial custom, he did not feel certain, that as all the dancers were masked, he might not rouse another foreigner who might treat him even more roughly than the first. The police of Valparaiso has deservedly received the encomiums of all recent travellers. Its organization assimilates to the military, and its members are armed and distinguished by uniform, though entirely independent of the army, and under the control of the municipal authorities. The uniform and arms have given offence to some over sensitive writers, who mistake the shadow of liberty for the substance; but for my own part, should I wish to exercise my prerogative as a free and independent citizen by making a row in the streets, I should infinitely prefer a collision with a police force armed with swords, which are never used except in cases of emergency, than with the batons, maces, persuaders, etc., of our own country, which are used unsparingly and unnecessarily.

The effective force, independent of the staff, at the period of my visit, was thirty-four foot and twenty-eight horsemen.\*

\* The uniform of the police seems to have given offence to the fastidious Commander Wilkes, in whose *Exploring Expedition* narrative appear the following opinions, which follow upon a panegyric upon their corps: "It is to be regretted that this police should continue to wear the military uniform, as it seems unbecoming in a republican form of government; at least we thought so."—Vol. i. p. 169.

It is a subject worthy of remark, the number of customs which American travellers, and I regret to say, American officers especially, find in foreign countries, which conflict with their highly-wrought republican tendencies. The uniform of the Chilean police is intended, and serves admirably as a distinguishing mark by which they may be known, and called upon when their services are required, and even Commander Wilkes testifies to their general usefulness. Their uniform, notwithstanding the high authority quoted, is not a military uniform, as it is not worn by men pertaining to a military profession. Why does not our author object also to the uniform of his own profession, which has the same object in view, viz., to designate the profession and rank of its wearer? I would also like to inquire which is the most republican, to have the municipal agents distinguished by a uni-

Among the most interesting objects which I saw during my week's stay in Valparaiso, were the American transports conveying the 2d Infantry and detachments of the 1st and 3d Artillery, on their way to garrison our new possessions in Oregon and California. The streets are crowded with the soldiers on liberty, in their neat undress uniform. Their deportment was good, it

form, so that aggrieved *citizens* may call upon them for their assistance and culpable *citizens* may avoid their neighbourhood, or a secret police undistinguishable by the citizens at large, and which is frequently no more than an extended system of espionage of the rulers. While upon this subject, I would refer the reader who may be curious in tracing out the consistency of ultra-republican prejudices, to a letter addressed to Commander Wilkes, and numbered xxxviii. in the appendix to his first volume, by his officers, asking his mercy upon certain offenders who had merited his displeasure by being engaged in a duel. It contains the following expressions which we consider "unbecoming in a republican form of government,—at least we thought so." "We the undersigned, &c., &c., under your command, respectfully take the liberty of addressing you on the subject of those officers who have incurred your displeasure in consequence of having been engaged in a duel, and whom it is understood you intend sending to the United States with a recommendation to the proper authority that they may be dismissed the service. We are very far from arrogating to ourselves the right of discussing the propriety of any course you may think proper to adopt, &c., &c.," followed by, "and that the decided expression of your displeasure will be sufficient to deter others from the commission of a similar error, &c., &c."

The letter wants nothing save the preamble, "*if we might speak and yet live,*" to be as pretty a form for a petition to an Eastern despot, as ever yet came under my notice; yet so far from its having roused the republican spleen of our critic on foreign encroachments upon republican simplicity, in his general order he graciously accedes to the request contained in this remarkable application. Every one will commend the spirit which actuated the memorial, though few will approve its style. If the officers in whose favour it was written had violated the regulations of the navy, the commander had power to punish or pardon, limited by the provisions of said regulations, and his displeasure had nothing whatever to do with the subject.

Had some of our naval commanders, like the Roman Prætor Caius Verres, a Cicero to bring them before the bar of public opinion, for their own arbitrary acts while abroad, they would not offer an outrage to the good sense of their countrymen, by strictures upon a police uniform as repugnant to their delicate sense of the proprieties of republicanism.

being a rare occurrence to see one guilty of intoxication, a habit to which soldiers are so frequently addicted, and in which they are more than usually liable to indulge, after coming from a long sea-voyage. As this was the first considerable body of American troops which had passed through Valparaiso, they excited much attention, while the erect bearing, soldier-like appearance, and handsome, though plain uniform of the officers, excited universal admiration, especially among the Chilean ladies. I saw a great deal of the officers, particularly those belonging to the detachments from the two regiments of artillery, during my stay, and my preconceived ideas of the heroes of the Mexican war were corroborated. Their gallantry and devotion to their country history has recorded, and could I in the short space allowed me give my countrymen a more just appreciation of the value of these gallant fellows, and of the institution which makes them what they are, I would willingly devote much time and labour. These were the men who had served through the war, and many had left Mexico in the month of August, and here I found them in February, after a tedious sea-voyage, on the other side of the continent, and on their way to the wilds of Oregon and California. These are the men who are so frequently accused of being a useless tax upon their countrymen by factious demagogues, who are either jealous of their superior education and acquirements, or desirous to make political capital, by attacking existing institutions. When listening to such unmerited abuse, few care to remember the services rendered, not only during the war, but when other citizens are enjoying the peace and prosperity in many cases secured by their privations and dangers. How seldom in those attacks are considered their protracted campaigns in Indian territories, or their tedious stays of years at the frontier posts, where they are not only deprived of the society of their own families, but utterly beyond the reach of all society whatever, except that of their fellow sufferers! Their pay is barely sufficient to support them, and yet this small sum is made a subject matter upon which to found a tirade of abuse. The injustice of the demagogues is un-

fortunately at times, and indeed frequently, imitated by not only the executive, but the legislature, upon the principle apparently that men who are not educated for a particular profession are more competent to perform the duties pertaining to it than those who have been. General officers are ferreted out of lawyers' offices to command veteran colonels, and even brigadier generals, whose claim for distinction rests not only on thirty years' active and arduous service, but upon the gallantry with which, during the last war in which the country was engaged with England, they encountered more formidable opponents. After half a lifetime meritoriously passed in the service, which unfits a man for civil pursuits, it is too late for the veteran to resent the affront, and necessity forces him to degrade a noble and scientific profession, by serving under an ignomus, or at least a man whose only claim to his exalted position consists in his political influence, or his personal friendship with the Executive. When Congress, too, votes an increase of the establishment by an addition of a regiment, instead of availing themselves of the services of officers already in the army, fully competent from education and the exercise of their profession for many years, under circumstances which would discourage most men; again, the Executive, with a view perhaps to a reelection or some other reason which I can neither understand nor appreciate, officers the regiment from civil life, with no reference whatever to the capabilities of the persons thus appointed, but with direct reference to the recommendations of prominent politicians of their own party, and the claims of personal friends who wish to be provided for; and thus officers, who have devoted their lives to the country, expending many years in acquiring a knowledge of a profession which requires time to master, are frequently placed under the command of mere adventurers, without education or character; frequently the black sheep of some influential political families, who are thus provided for by their provident kinsmen, upon whom Providence and the Executive have smiled.

Yet notwithstanding these acts of injustice, in themselves

palpable to the most humble capacity when properly explained, I have never heard an officer in the army complain. They have become accustomed to contumely and injustice; their past experience leads them to expect it. One would suppose that the Executive of a great nation like our own might be free from the influence of this petty electioneering feeling, at least when about to leave his exalted station and political life forever; but, unhappily, such does not appear to be the case; and the last Message of the late President of the United States, near the close of 1848, would fain give not their due share, but *all* the credit of the brilliant victories gained over the Mexicans, to the volunteers, without alluding to the services of the regular troops and officers. This, then, is not the gratitude—republics have been conceded as ungrateful—but this is the justice of a republic and its chief magistrate, the commander-in-chief of the armies. I have no wish to depreciate the services of the volunteer troops; on the contrary, I believe they behaved as well as could have been expected during the war, and to them even I would be willing to refer the claims of the regular army; but I would inquire which species of force have borne the brunt of all battles in which our troops have been engaged—which was the most economical to the government at home—which the most useful during the activity of a campaign, and the monotony of a garrison; and which, by their deportment, most likely to disarm isolated resistance, and elevate our national character, not only in the eyes of disinterested foreigners, but those of our enemies? These questions I would fearlessly propound to the volunteers themselves, believing firmly that men who have gallantry enough to brave the dangers of battle and disease, to fight their country's battles, will also have candor enough to acknowledge the claims of their companions in arms, whose gallantry and discipline it was their highest ambition to emulate. Notwithstanding our late President, my late commander-in-chief, throws the whole credit of a creditable war into the scale of our citizen countrymen, it will not be perhaps disrespectful to inquire, where were the volunteer troops at the



battles of "*Palo Alto*" and "*Resaca de la Palma*?"—battles which gave a prestige to the whole subsequent war. It was only when the Mexicans had been beaten, that enthusiasm rose to its height, and volunteers crowded in to share the laurels of the army on the Rio Grande. Who planned the campaign of the Rio Grande?—the assault of Monterey? but an officer, whose life had been passed in the career of arms; and who were the most prominent in executing his plans of attack, but the generals, officers, and men, whose education made them most competent to understand them? To the artillery of the regular force, who supplied their want of numbers by their devoted gallantry, was due the success of the battle of "*Buena Vista*," or "*Angustura*." For two days the volunteers fought well, with occasional exceptions. There was an enemy in their rear, as well as in front, which perhaps prevented those who fled from leaving the battle-field entirely; but on the third day, when the commander-in-chief wished again to display his troops in line-of-battle for a last effort, should the Mexicans again attack them, they could not be brought on the field; and had the contest recommenced, defeat, which had been for two days prevented by the efforts of the 1st Artillery and heroism of the commanding general, would have been the inevitable consequence. The volunteers are said to have been much ashamed of their deportment for some time after the battle, but finding that public opinion and its newspaper exponents had made them heroes, they, in turn, assumed the credit of the victory, while those who had fought the battle were speedily forgotten not only by the public, but by the Executive, their natural protector.

At the siege of Vera Cruz, the government, instead of availing themselves of the services of a lawyer recently transformed into a general by executive favoritism, sent the colonel commanding the Engineer Corps to conduct the operations, while in all strategical as well as tactical operations during the war, it was the genius, knowledge, and experience of the educated officer which presided; and it was upon the regular troops that he de-

pended, during the protracted movements in the field, as volunteers, though by no means inefficient in the face of an enemy, become totally demoralized in a long campaign, or when confined to the ordinary routine of a garrison.

If the subaltern officers and privates of volunteers, who served during the Mexican war, would not, in the event of again taking the field, prefer to be commanded by officers belonging to the regular military establishment, who would ensure efficiency and kind treatment, rather than those selected from civil life, who have neither the tact to make the men happy and comfortable, nor the knowledge necessary to make them efficient soldiers, I am greatly mistaken, and have been greatly deceived by the many with whom I have conversed on the subject.



## CHAPTER III.

### JOURNEY TO SANTIAGO.

ON about the 18th of February, I commenced looking out for a conveyance to Santiago, and very soon found myself surrounded by individuals who were ambitious of the honour and profit to be derived from my transportation, as three of my companions, merchants from San Francisco, on their way to the United States by the steamer, had also intended to while away the week which yet remained to them, by passing it in the capital of the republic. I was under the necessity of contracting for two birlochas, as one of these vehicles will accommodate but two persons. After considerable chaffering, the best terms I could obtain, was at the rate of an ounce and a half for each vehicle, being nothing more nor less than \$52 50 for the transporting four persons a distance of ninety miles, over a good road. After the contract had been closed, which I did only when I found that nothing better could be done, the capitaz or head man left one-fourth of an ounce in my hands, as a security that he would fulfil his engagement—a superfluous form, as it was too much his interest, or that of his employer, to suppose for a moment that he would fail in his stipulations. On the following day, accordingly, the two birlochas were at the door of the Hotel de Europa some time before the appointed hour. An unexpected circumstance, the arrival of an old and intimate friend of one of my companions, on his way to California, prevented our having the pleasure of his society in Santiago, and on the road; a circumstance which I personally

regretted the more, as he was not only one of the finest specimens of the American gentleman I had met abroad, but one with whom an intimate acquaintance had been the means of obtaining my warmest friendship. Notwithstanding our disappointment, we could obtain no reduction on the part of our "capitaz," who insisted upon the fulfilment of the contract; so, after taking a kind leave of our friends, whom I was not likely to meet for some time, if ever, we started from Valparaiso on our way to the capital about 3 o'clock P. M., previously notifying our worthy host, that my two friends would return to Valparaiso, and his house, at the expiration of a week. Through the streets of the city we proceeded at a moderate pace, and with only two horses; but as soon as outside, we were joined by another peon, and horses enough to raise the whole number to twenty, for the two vehicles—eight for each being driven by the extra peon, while two only were attached to the carriage, except in ascending a hill, when one of the drivers, first sending the horses ahead, would attach an extra trace to a ring in the saddle, and assist in dragging us up the ascent. As, however, this description may be somewhat obscure, I will, before proceeding further, describe the birlocha and its arrangements, external and internal, as well as its means of locomotion. The birlocha, then, is nothing more nor less than a rough imitation of the gig used in our own country, though perhaps somewhat more strongly built, and more rude in workmanship. One horse is placed within the shafts, upon whom devolves the support of the vehicle and passengers, as well as a large proportion of the propulsive force. Another horse is attached by a single trace on the left of the shaft horse, and on him is seated the driver, who, with powerful bits, controls the movements of both animals. Upon ascending a hill, however, and sometimes on level ground, a third horse is attached to the vehicle, by means of a trace on the right of the shafts, which is hooked to a ring on the girth of the horse belonging to another peon. This trace, when not in use, is hooked on to the gear of the shaft horse. As the horses would frequently tire during the distance, and relays

not being understood or adopted, ten horses are driven with each vehicle, two under ordinary circumstances being attached to it, one mounted by the pcon, who drives spare horses, and assists while ascending a hill, and seven at large. These spare horses are substituted for those attached to the birlocha, at various periods of the journey.

We were very far from being in an amiable mood with our conductors when starting, nor was our disposition much mollified at finding that our "capitaz" had supplied the weight of our friend, who was left in Valparaiso, by lashing behind the birlocha a large box, which he was doubtless conveying on freight to the capital, and when just outside of the city, we were called upon to pay the peage or toll for the two carriages, which we felt well assured, from previous inquiries, should be paid by the proprietors of the vehicle. Against this imposition, which was insignificant in amount, I made a most steady stand; but in the end, however, it terminated as might have been anticipated, and we were obliged to satisfy the demands of the toll-gatherer, whom we had reason to believe as great a rascal as our conductors, as he would not decide in our favour, when the question of the payment was referred to him. Leaving the city, we immediately commenced ascending the range of hills by a zigzag road, which was well constructed and firm, though steep,—rather too much so, I should suppose, to be safe for four-wheeled vehicles.\* From the summit, which was garnished by divers windmills, whose enormous arms, leisurely revolving in the genial freshness of the constant south-east trades, gave a vivid impression of the "dolce far niente," we had a beautiful view of the bay and city which we had just left.

As I turned to take my last look of the Pacific, upon whose bosom, owing to the caprices of fortune, and those in authority, I

\* This road was constructed by Brigadier D. Ambrose O'Higgins, of Balenar, in Ireland, who became Governor of Chili in 1788, and remained until 1802, when he was promoted to the Vice-Royalty of Peru, then the metropolis of the Spanish possessions in America. To him also is due the carriage road from Valparaiso to Quillota and Aconcagua.

had passed some of the most disagreeable months of my naval career, I could still discern the massive black hull of the old "Lexington," between which and myself was commencing a race to Rio de Janeiro. The chances of victory were in my favour, as I had several days' start, and had not more than one-fourth the distance to travel, while she was by no means noted for her speed; her head winds and calms might be considered an offset to my delays on the road. Though I confidently anticipated rejoining her at Rio, it was not without regret I took what might be my last look of the now distant vessel, in which I had passed some eighty pleasant days, and which contained several gentlemen, who knew so well how to fulfil the rites of hospitality, and to make a sojourner's time pass agreeably to him.

In these feelings my companions sympathized, as none of us could part, even for a season, from these agreeable companions, without feelings of strong regret.

The birlocheros of Chili are famous for their skill and rapidity in driving; of this, until our arrival on the summit, we had no specimen, as through the city our progress had been slow, owing to the police regulations, and in the ascent, owing to the steepness; but the time had now arrived when we were to be convinced that common rumour, and the opinions of travellers, had done them no more than justice. Without stopping, the spare horse, which his rider secured by a single trace to the vehicle, to assist in the ascent, was unhooked, and the trace thrown over the dashboard, while they dashed off like Bedouin horse and rider, to assist in driving the spare animals. Meanwhile the driver was not idle, but plying his whip on the shaft horse, and his spurs upon that on which he rode, and occasionally by a dexterous turn of the heel, on the flanks of the other, away we dashed at a gallop, up and down the gentle ascents which we met afterwards, no pity for the horses, and no mercy for the unfortunate inmates of the vehicle, our sole object being to retain our seats, as a shock might at any moment precipitate us over the heads of the horses, at the furious rate at which we were now travelling. Generally

both horses galloped, but at times only that of the rider, while the shaft horse, which is selected on account of his speed, would only trot—an arrangement not only convenient for the beast, but for the driver, as on a long journey, as I have sufficient cause to know, the gallop is much the easiest pace of the two. Nor is it by any means an ungraceful mode of driving, as while the shaft horse is trotting rapidly, the horse upon which the driver is seated, is prancing by his side, somewhat after the manner of the leading horse in a tandem, the length of his trace, and the fact of his having but one, allowing that peculiar sidelong gait.

Owing to the rate of travelling, our observations on the surrounding scenery were somewhat limited. No one that I am aware of, has undertaken the description of a country after traversing it in tow of a locomotive; and our rate of travelling was somewhat of the same character, the deficiency in speed being more than compensated by the absolute necessity of paying constant attention to a more important subject, viz., keeping our seats in the vehicle, which was, at times, no easy matter. Passing the mills, however, "*en volant*," I noticed a straggling village containing some two or three hundred inhabitants; and owing to a glimpse obtained of a sign in passing, was induced to believe that its name had some reference to the mills above mentioned. I saw also, in plain English, upon a sign in front of a small house in this village, a broad Irish name (O'Calligan, I think), purporting that there was entertainment for man and *baste*. The country over which we passed this evening was undulating, and though thickly inhabited, did not strike me as either very fertile or well cultivated, until near Casa Blanca, where we arrived an hour before sunset. This village, which is thirty miles distant from Valparaiso, is, according to Wilkes, at an elevation of five hundred and ninety-eight feet, and according to the same authority, contains five hundred inhabitants; we were informed, however, that it contained more, but as the inhabitants of Chili, in their estimate of a town, include the whole municipality, I am inclined to adopt the estimate of Commander Wilkes, as

being, at least, an approximation. It is a straggling village, the greater portion of which is on a single street. The houses are generally well built, each having a garden attached, in which Lombardy poplars were the most prominent production. Before leaving Valparaíso, we had been recommended to tarry all night at Casa Blanca; and, as an additional recommendation, we were informed that the hotel was kept by an Englishman, to whom a message was sent, that he might give us a good reception. This arrangement, however, upon which we had determined definitively, did not accord with the arrangements of our peones, who had made up their minds to pass the night at Curucubi, a village about six hours nearer Santiago; but after a protracted dispute of half an hour, which terminated only when I threatened to knock the "capitaz" down, we carried our point, and had the vehicles drawn within the square upon which the hotel was constructed. Our pertinacious persecutor then applied for money to feed his horse, himself, and companions, stating that Curucubi was his regular baiting-place, and that he had no authority from his master to pass the night elsewhere. Knowing this to be untrue, I reminded him of the contract, which he was so pertinacious in exacting while in his favor; threatened to make him leave the freight which he had taken in lieu of the passage for which we paid; finally dismissed him with what sailors term a left-handed blessing, and the positive announcement that we would not pay him a single cuartillo,\* for either him or his horses,—a decision, however, which we were induced to modify, when our host informed us that it was by no means unfrequent for the drivers who were dissatisfied with their fares, to tilt them *accidentally* into some ditch, by which translation, legs, arms, &c., were frequently damaged. In corroboration, he mentioned a recent occurrence, in which two Frenchmen had been severely injured, nor did his announcement that both "capitaz" and driver were sent to the galleys for the crime, entirely relieve my mind. So, as a sort of compromise for our own safety, and with due refer-

\* A quarter of a real; three cents.



ence to our dignity and the inviolability of our decisions, I sent for the drivers, and, announcing myself perfectly satisfied with their conduct, granted to them what we had refused to the "capitaz," for whom we did not pretend to conceal our disgust, and hinted vaguely, that if their conduct continued to give us satisfaction, they might receive some further compensation. This was a sop to Cerberus, which I am induced to believe was at least prudent; because these rascals, riding themselves in perfect safety on their horses, have an excellent opportunity of capsizing passengers who have made themselves disagreeable; and unless they have been so imprudent as to threaten to do so beforehand, with perfect impunity, as it would pass current for one of the accidents to which their rapid rate of driving renders them liable. Our hotel, which, having carried our point with the "Capitaz," and "laid out an anchor to windward" for our future security, we had now leisure to examine, was an extensive edifice, or rather collection of edifices, enclosing a square, into which all vehicles were driven and left for security during the night. A large gate opening from this square led to a court-yard, into which the horses were driven, and where they were fed. All the offices, kitchens, etc., belonging to a regular farm-house, are upon this square, which, while it possesses advantages in security against theft, and compactness in the whole establishment, has, as we had reason to believe, before falling asleep, certain inconveniences which would prevent our adopting it in a country infested as Chili, by fleas. This is the ordinary arrangement of not only all the *Posados*, or hostleries, in Chili, but of their farm-houses also. Although we had left a sweltering population in Valparaiso, and though the warmest month in the year, the elevation we had attained caused the temperature to fall far below the comfortable point, as soon as the day closed; and we were fain to imitate some travellers who had arrived soon after us on horseback, and cluster round a really red hot stove. This sudden decrease of temperature appears greater than is due to elevation, and we were assured by mine host that it was the rule and not the excep-

tion, as we first supposed, and that a fire was kept burning in the stove almost every night in the year. Our fellow travellers were English, apparently on a Saturday night and Sunday excursion ; but though evidently much at home in *Casa Blanca* and with mine host and his family, with the modesty or arrogance, which shall I call it ? of their nation, they were careful to show no civility to the strangers whom circumstances had thus thrown in their way. We accordingly ate our suppers separately, the whole group having divided into parties, whom the considerate servants, either aware of national characteristics, or having noticed the attraction of repulsion, had placed as far distant from each other as the long dining-room table would admit. As our host was neither disposed to be civil nor to communicate the local information he possessed, we had no motive after our supper and cigar, to keep late hours and accordingly retired across the square to a bare-walled, unfurnished apartment, which was destined to contain the three of us ; and having in view the fact that we were to start early in the morning, we vigorously attempted to fall asleep, notwithstanding the practical phlebotomizing to which we were immediately subjected.

## CHAPTER IV.

### SANTIAGO.

AT about half-past two in the morning we were aroused by our over-wakeful peons, whom either the cold or fleas must have kept alert during the night, and informed that we must dress, and start, so as to reach Santiago before the heat of the day, of which we had, on our own account, about as much dread as the French philosopher who told the priest that it was useless to attempt to frighten him with the flames of hell while he was absolutely freezing to death, as it was really so cold that our teeth chattered while making our toilet and performing our ablutions. At length, however, we emerged, and finding both vehicles already in the street, we delayed only to pay our bill to the Major Domo, and were off at a gallop before the clocks of the establishment had told 3 A. M. If it was cold within doors, it was infinitely more so without, as our rate of travelling, combined with a smart breeze in our faces, chilled us most effectually, notwithstanding a heavy cloth cloak which I had taken the precaution to bring, and with which Mr. W. and myself covered ourselves while cowering in a corner of the vehicle, where we had retired to enjoy the mutual warmth arising from each other's persons. As it was for a long time dark, we could arrive at no very definite conclusions in regard to the country over which we passed so rapidly. We observed only, that it was thickly populated, apparently well cultivated and fertile, and that the roads upon which we travelled were smooth and firm, with no considerable elevations or depres-

sions, as it followed the course of the valley of Casa Blanca. Before it was quite light we had left the valley, and attained by a zigzag road the summit of the Cuesta de Lapata, from which we had a pretty view of the valley we had just left; although it was yet too dark to derive the greatest advantage from our fine point of observation.

As the temperature was still low, and the horses fresh, we ascended the hill at a brisk trot; and, upon attaining the summit, set off in a round gallop, which, owing to the steepness of the road, and its height above the valley, into which we would have rolled, made our position less agreeable than many which may be imagined. The number and extreme abruptness of the turns, which not unfrequently led off from the former course at much less than a right angle, gave me a nervous feeling at each one as we approached; and more than once, during our rapid descent, did I bless the lucky thought upon which I acted when I gave the drivers their suppers, and hinted a future recompense. As things, however, must have an end, so did my anxiety, and the ascent of the hill, after which a rapid gallop of a few miles brought us to the straggling, poplar-shaded village of Curucuti, where we were to change horses, and perform the more important operation of breakfasting.

The posada was nearly similar to the last, while the food and internal arrangement was more decidedly Chilean. Our new host, however, was not a Chilean, but an old Spaniard, and, as he informed me, a naval officer in the Spanish service during the reign of Ferdinand VII. The prejudices of our host against Chili, and in favour of Spain, were strong, even after twenty years' hospitality on the part of the former government, and utter neglect and want of protection from the latter; yet he had adopted the Chilean style of cooking in all its ramifications. Our breakfast, in consequence, consisted of the invariable *casuila* (home-made), of which, as the reader will be obliged to eat frequently, if he intends to accompany me in my journeys, he may be allowed to understand the ingredients. The *casuila*, then, is nothing more

or less than chicken, or chickens, divided into all the fractional parts which the distribution of joints and sutures may permit, boiled with salt, Chili pepper, and any vegetables which may be at hand, and served up in its own gravy. Though not rich or delicate, it is far from unpalatable, especially as it is generally—at least so I found it, spiced with hunger, produced by a long fast and exercise.

As the chickens, upon which we were destined to breakfast, were satisfying their own appetites when we arrived, of course some time had to elapse before our repast was ready; which time we divided between the very pretty and well-irrigated garden, the pretty daughter of our host, and his own long stories relative to the faults of the Chilians, and the virtues, as well as magnificence, of his own country.

It is a somewhat curious fact, and one which our countrymen might do well to bear in mind, while withstanding under the abuse, deserved or not, of the English tourists, who have done us the honour to gain money at our expense, by pandering to the vicious prejudices of their own countrymen, that we are, in this respect, by no means exceptions to the rule, as the old Spaniard—as in the case of our host—will invariably inform the stranger, with much self-gratulation, that *he* is not Chilian, not an Argentine, nor a member of any other republic of Spanish origin, in which you may meet him, but that he is an “*old Spaniard*.” The Portuguese in Brazil also will, after depreciating to strangers the nation whose hospitality he enjoys in all its ramifications, announce with a self-satisfied air, that he is from Lisbon, Oporto, Trasmontes, or some other portion of the most contemptible country boasting civilization. There is nothing more common, and apparently more natural, than to find fault with a country in which we reside, and draw unfavourable comparisons between it—having all its faults before our eyes—and our own, whose faults are softened by distance. Of this I remember what I could not, with my feelings on the subject, but consider as a remarkable instance. It was in Rio de Janeiro, in 1842, I having been de-

tained late in the theatre, found myself locked out upon my return, and not knowing how to obtain entrance, wandered about the streets for some time, with a strong idea of putting myself under the charge of the guard, in order to secure a night's rest under cover. I was not, however, driven to this extremity, as meeting a stranger, and announcing to him my situation, inquiring how it might be remedied, he informed me, that he knew of no hotel which would admit me at that time of night, but that he was himself in the same category, and hoped to obtain a bed by waking a friend in the neighbourhood—in which case a shake-down could be also provided for me. We were not disappointed, as his friend willingly conceded us a portion of his accommodations, making for me a tolerable camp-bed in his shop, and sharing his own bed with his friend. A bottle of wine was also produced; and I was exhorted to make myself perfectly comfortable, and not to have any fear, as they were *not Brazilians, but Italians*. If I had been at all fearful before, which I was not, this announcement, made with much self-satisfaction, would have been far from re-assuring me, as my estimate of Italians was not very high; and I presume that assassinations and robberies, in almost every state in that peninsula, are as ten to one compared with Brazil, in the ratio of the population. One of my entertainers proved to be a sign-painter, and the other a horse-jockey; and from the morning that I parted from them I saw them no more, as the former changed his residence; but I frequently thought of the circumstance, as illustrative of that particular modification assumed by our national pride, while we are abroad, and the disposition shown by a foreigner upon meeting another, even though belonging to a different, and perhaps antagonistic nation, to abuse the country in which he resides, and more especially when himself a native of a country of which his residence was formerly a colonial possession.

At length our breakfast was prepared, eaten, and paid for, when we took leave of our host, whose enduring patriotism and long stories of the arsenals at Seville, Barcelona, and Cartha-

gena, had rather disgusted me. I thought the former misplaced, believing that a man owes allegiance not so much to the country which accidentally gave him birth as that which protects him in his lawful industry, and enables him to fulfil the purposes of creation by rearing his family in comfort; while his stories relative to the latter I did not believe, although prepared to credit much in favour of those *once* wonderful dock-yards. As we had now fresh horses, we travelled rapidly, emerging at a dashing gallop from the village of —, and keeping the same pace as we followed this valley, which resembles that of Casa Blanca, toward the Cuesta del Prado, a very considerable hill, which we had yet to traverse before reaching the valley in which Santiago is situated. The scenery in this valley was pretty; and the abruptness with which the hills on either side rose from the plain, are strongly corroborative of the theory of Darwin and others, that these valleys, notwithstanding their great elevation above the sea, were beneath its waters within a recent geological period.

The country over which we now passed was thickly settled and well cultivated, and, it being Sunday, many parties, male and female, were met on horseback in their best bibs and tuckers, evidently enjoying their holiday by paying visits to their neighbours and friends. Both males and females rode well; and many of the latter *guasitas*, as they term country girls, were quite pretty, and with a good healthy colour on their cheeks, heightened, in many cases, by the effect of the sun, which showed that the Chilian females are not excused entirely from labour pertaining in some countries exclusively to the other sex. I observed farther—and the same remark will apply to all the Argentine provinces which I traversed—that the women invariably use a side-saddle. In this respect it is very different in Brazil, where the women ride almost invariably “en cavalier,” after the manner of the women in France at the epoch of Goldsmith’s Chinese traveller. I cannot, perhaps, on account of early prejudices, but look back upon this as an advance in civilization on the part of Chilians and

Argentines; nor do I consider this improvement, at least in Chili, as due to the example of foreigners, as I saw many of a construction without a parallel in Europe, and so ancient in style, that one could easily believe them contemporaries of Pedro de Valdivia, the conquistador. Few vehicles were met during our journey, except two-wheeled ox-carts, on their way to and from Valparaiso, laden with the productions of the country for exportation, or foreign goods for the consumption of the interior. They are massive, awkward affairs, with little or no iron in their construction—a fact observable at a distance, as the creaking of the wheels upon the axles marks the absence alike of that material and of grease, which would measurably modify this ear-piercing sound. The cargo contained, is secured from the weather by a roof of either hides or thatch, on which is secured the hay or forage intended for the animals during their journey. The drivers are either on foot or on horseback, armed with a goad. The team consists of six oxen under ordinary circumstances; but they are almost invariably accompanied by a second team, as a relief, which assists in ascending the hills. All these oxen are yoked by the horns, instead of bearing a yoke over the neck, as with us—a system not without its advantages, as it enables the animal to exert his whole strength without pain or injury to his shoulders. When not required for draught, the spare teams, with their yokes, traces, and all their simple harness in its place, are secured firmly to the tail of the cart, in which position they render good service in holding back, while ascending a hill—thus supplying the place of locks to wheels, a contrivance unknown in Chili, it being, as is well known to the practical, the “nature of the beast to hold back” when secured in this manner, with the further advantageous peculiarity of holding back the harder the faster he may be dragged by the vehicle. Whether this arrangement is intended or accidental I did not learn; but, be it as it may, it certainly answers that desirable end. It was after ten A. M., when we commenced the ascent of the Cuesta del Prado, and it was then we found our driver’s predictions by no means an



exaggeration, as it was intensely hot, and the air, filled with fine dust, made respiration painful and difficult. The ascent was slow and extremely tedious; the road, consisting of zigzags, which appeared almost innumerable.\* All things, however, have an end, and we finally found ourselves at the summit, rewarded with a beautiful view of the fertile valley which we had just left, studded with its groves and well cultivated fields; the deep yellow of the ripe grain on the latter forming a pleasing contrast with the bright green of the Lombardy poplars, clustering along the road, and frequently forming avenues of great length, reaching to the farm-houses, which occupy a central position. On the other side our view was more extended, and with more of grandeur, mingled with the quiet, rural beauty of the valley we had left, and which is so characteristic of a Chilian landscape.

In the view now opened to us from the summit of Cuesta del Prado, which is elevated 2,394 feet above sea-level, we had the immense basin or valley of Santingo, enclosed on all sides save one by hills of considerable elevation rising abruptly like islands out of the sea, there being no *debris* to give to them a gradual slope. Bounding the eastern side of this valley was the majestic Andes, standing like an impenetrable barrier, beyond which man should not pass. Peaks of the range appeared to pierce the heavens, rising to the height of more than 23,000 feet, and were covered, for half their height, by a perpetual garment of snow, which may, for aught we know to the contrary, have been the result of the first snow-storm which fell in this region after the Deluge; for although judging by our own experience in temperate climates, we are given to consider this meteor as perishable and temporary, coming and going like our summer buds; but in inverse order, here it is as imperishable and permanent as the rocks upon which it rests. Nor was this valley wanting in the less imposing, though more pleasing, requisites for a

\* The number of zigzags, or caracols, as they are called in Chili, is said to be ninety on the west side of the hill. I did not count them, but can easily credit the statement.

view of rural scenery, as, like that which we had just traversed, its surface was clothed with the green and yellow of groves, meadows, and the ripened grain. Our attention, however, was soon recalled, at least measurably, from this fairy scene to the realities of life, as illustrated by down-hill travelling in Chili. The road on this slope differed considerably in construction from that which we had just ascended, as, owing to the peculiar conformation of the hill, it required fewer zigzags, and followed for the most part a spur of the hill, having the bank on one side, and a precipice on the other. Whether its slope was in reality greater than that on the other side, which I am inclined to believe, or whether it appeared so because we had a large continuous extent in view at the same moment, it presented a very formidable appearance; and it was difficult to conceive how horses and carriage, after obtaining an impetus in the first descent, could possibly stop before reaching the plain below. As usual, at the summit, the spare horse was untraced, and we commenced our rapid descent; but our shaft-horse, which I afterwards learned upon particular inquiry was new and unaccustomed to harness, became fractious as soon as the spare horse was taken away from his sight. The first zigzag was successfully turned, but at the second he forced the driver and his horse so near the precipice, that nothing but reining up prevented a visit to the valley, some nine hundred feet below. Guiding the horses into the middle of the road, we again started to accomplish another zigzag; at the termination of which the same scene was repeated, and a sudden draw-up only saved us. Although somewhat alarmed by the pranks of this horse I did not wish to display my anxiety, but when the same trick was repeated at the third turn, and the wheel brought within a foot of the precipice, I jumped out, advising my friend to follow my example, as with an unbroken horse there could be no safety, and we had not even the satisfaction of feeling that the driver must share our fate, as he being on horseback would probably escape. My friend maturely considered the matter, but, having a new pair of glazed

boots ran the risk of breaking his neck rather than that of spoiling his boots, although he acknowledged himself in great bodily fear. After walking half a mile, the descent having become more gradual, and the horse somewhat more docile, I took my seat and proceeded safely to the foot of the hill. One advantage at least I derived from dismounting, as I discovered the singular contrivance by which the drivers lock the carriage in the descent. The rider of the spare horse had uncoiled the lasso at his saddle-bow, and fastening it around the axle of the birlocha, it was his duty, and that of the horse, to hold back at steep descents and sudden turns. Once at the foot, however, we were safe, and had a rapid transit over a beautiful and level road, through a highly cultivated champaign country, until our arrival at Santiago.

Approaching in this direction, the capital of Chili presents anything but an imposing appearance, as it is screened by numerous trees, and the mean mud-dwellings which are characteristic of this suburb; but, as we advanced, we found the architecture gradually improving, until finally we stopped before a large and handsome building, which the announcement of our drivers, and that of the sign upon the corner, convinced us was the present terminus of our journey—the “Hotel Ingles,” or English Hotel. Its appellation and frequent advertisements, which we had seen in our vernacular, had induced us to expect English proprietors, English style and servants; but in all this we were destined to be disappointed, as we ourselves spoke all the English which was spoken in the house. All the internal arrangements were essentially French, as was the cooking and style of service; and why it was called the English Hotel I was never enabled to learn, unless it was in a spirit of contradiction, because there was nothing English about it. As the edifice, however, was one of the finest in the city, the rooms unexceptionable, the table well supplied, the society select, and finding a strong disposition on the part of our host to make us comfortable, we contented ourselves without being too particular in our inquiries as to the origin

of the name. The dining hour was three, that for breakfast between nine and twelve, and tea between certain hours during the evening, the limits of which I never defined during my stay. Altogether the English Hotel was so far unexceptionable that I should establish myself there, should I ever return, in preference to risking a new hotel of which I had no knowledge. After dinner we set out to visit some of the lions of the city. The famous Alameda or Cañada,\* as it is termed, certainly merits its celebrity. Its whole extent I should judge to be more than a mile immediately through the heart of the city. The width of the principal promenade is about forty yards, enclosed by stately poplars, planted on a straight line with mathematical precision. Outside this, the principal avenue, there are two others narrower than the first, and like it, enclosed by poplars, while outside of all, on either side of the Alameda, runs a rapid stream, lacking purity and clearness only to be beautiful, and which, as it is but a short distance from its snowy origin in the mountains, combined with the shade, renders the air cool and refreshing. In the main avenue seats of masonry are placed at equal distances for the benefit of the fashionable evening loungers of Santiago. When the picturesque Alameda is crowded by the beauty and fashion of not only Santiago but Chili, I can scarcely imagine a more pleasant promenade; but such, unfortunately, was not the case upon the occasion of our visit, as in this capital, like many others, it is not thought fashionable to remain in town during summer, and those who can afford it repair to the coast for sea-bathing, or to their estates in the country; and it is said that those who cannot afford the former, and do not possess the latter, shut up their houses, and feign the enjoyment of a luxury beyond their means or inclinations. As such innocent deceptions are practised elsewhere, it would not be at all surprising that they should be practised in Santiago; and that they are, I was assured by several respectable natives, whose official position re-

\* Cañada literally signifies a glen, and this appellation is by no means inappropriate, although situated near the heart of a large capital.

tained them in the city. There was certainly a great dearth of female society visible in the capital ; and if I have not described the fair Chilians the reader must attribute it to this cause, that I have seen few to describe. The occasional stragglers we met appeared, like ourselves, strangers who had come to the famous Alameda only from motives of curiosity.

## CHAPTER V.

### SANTIAGO.

WE rose early in the morning of the 26th, and with the zeal of new arrivals, set out to visit Santa Luzia, a fort situated on a rocky eminence, in the centre of the capital, from the battlements of which we anticipated a fine view of the city and its environs.

We had not been misinformed, and were not disappointed, as the whole city of Santiago was laid out like a map before our eyes.

Its tiled houses contrasting with the foliage of the numerous gardens, its numerous spires, and continued line of green, which marked the position of the Alameda and the Taja Mar, was in itself a beautiful picture; while the ornamental cottages, on the other side of the river, approached by long avenues of poplars, surrounded by grassy lawns, and embowered in the richest foliage, presented a scene of suburban beauty which I have seldom seen equalled, and never surpassed.

But that which most pleased me, was the beauty of the surrounding fertile and highly cultivated plain, of which we had a most advantageous view from this point. Such views reminded me of the more cultivated portions of my own country, and recalled to my mind a period, before my wanderings over the ocean had commenced, when I lived quietly, and in seclusion, upon a farm, far from the stir and bustle of the world, and of the highly wrought though beautiful descriptions of rural life in the English classics, which then entranced my youthful imagination

and left upon my memory an impression as indelible as it was pleasing.

Such scenes of fertility and careful cultivation are rare in South America, and are, indeed, seldom met with out of Europe; and it is on account of this, the least unpretending feature of a landscape, that I prefer Chili, and Chilian scenery, to that of any country in which I have sojourned, while absent from my own.

As far as the eye could reach in two directions, extended a level plain, every portion of which was in the highest state of cultivation. Here was a farm-house, peering from among the ornamental trees by which it was surrounded, and with a long avenue of poplars, by which its approach was marked; there, was an extensive meadow, covered by lowing herds, and contrasting its bright green with the light yellow of the fields, where the husbandman was collecting and storing his ripened grain. The whole valley was carefully and skilfully irrigated, and impressed upon our minds the ideas of industry, wealth, and happiness. Nor was the grand and sublime wanting in the landscape; and we had thus at our feet, a large and prosperous city; near us, suburban luxury and taste; and in all directions around us, a beautiful champaign country, whose quiet and repose could not but delight the mind at peace with itself, with nature, and mankind; while above all, at the distance of some fifteen miles, frowned the colossal Cordillera, its snowy summits glistening in the rays of the same sun which ripened the fruits of the earth in all directions.

The fort, which still exists on Santa Luzia, is neither remarkable for extent, nor for perfection in military architecture. It consists solely of a flagged "terréplein," and a parapet, with its battery of seven light guns "en barbette."

Its position would make it formidable only to the city; and although we were informed that it had been erected in former times, as a defence against the Indians, it has doubtless been kept in repair for the purpose of overawing the capital, which could be advantageously battered by its artillery. The guns were old,

and mounted on superannuated carriages, and its garrison appeared to consist of the rapidly increasing family of the man who had it in charge.

One thing, however, in this fort, struck us as new and peculiar, which was an arrangement, by which the rays of the sun at mid-day, converged by a convex lens placed in a box, communicating with a tube containing gunpowder, fired a gun to inform the inhabitants of the castle of the hour of noon.

The gun being loaded immediately after its discharge, requires no further care until discharged again, as the powder in the train and priming is so secured as not to deteriorate from the effects of the weather.

And thus, every day that the sun shines with sufficient power at the meridian passage, the apparent noon is loudly proclaimed to the good citizens, the greater number of whom, I doubt not, consider its announcement infallible, although the knowing ones are aware that the sun, notwithstanding Virgil's first Georgie,

"Above the rest, the sun who never lies,"

can be right but twice during the year.\*

We availed ourselves of the same morning to visit some of the churches, which are always open at an early hour, but found few remarkable for the architectural taste displayed in their construction, though rich in their internal decorations, much gold and silver being lavished on their altar-pieces, most of which are elaborately carved and gilded.†

\* As a branch of our National Observatory has been recently established in Santiago, the announcements of the gun will lose their reputed infallibility. If, however, the Observatory should fail in arousing the people to the distinction between apparent and mean time, the gun and the chronometer, an invasion of Yankee clockmakers will speedily consummate the work. No point is so remote in these days of progress, as to afford a refuge for the pleasing delusion of ignorance.

† The Catholic religion certainly produces one practical advantage to the devout, by encouraging early rising; the Mahometan, also, when the Muezzim



The Cathedral, which forms one side of the Grand Plaza, is, however, an exception to the first remark, as its architecture, though massive and heavy, is imposing, and in my opinion, well adapted for the purpose intended. The material of which it is composed is porphyry, and its internal architecture is as fine as anything I have seen.

Though enormous in extent, compared with the churches of our country, it is not so large as the Cathedral in Lima, which, however, it excels in solidity and chasteness of style. The name of the architect of this very creditable work, I did not learn, but the plan of the frontispiece was made by an Italian engineer, Joaquin de las Tuescas, who planned and constructed the Mint, and planned most of the architectural ornaments of the capital.

Having returned from our visit to Santa Luzia and the churches, we took a late breakfast, after which we called upon the *Chargé des Affaires* of the United States, to whose politeness and hospitality, and that of his amiable and accomplished lady (a fair Chilian), we were much indebted during our stay.

After this first zealous effort at sight-seeing, we rested from our labours, and I must confess that afterwards, in the enjoyment of this pleasant capital, and in the society of our numerous acquaintance, there was so little method in our investigations, that they will not bear to be submitted to the severe ordeal of journalism; and I will, for this reason, compress the information we obtained into this and the following chapters, without reference to date, or to the mode and manner in which it was obtained.

Santiago has been for a long time, and I believe justly, esteemed as the most beautiful South American capital—a distinction which it owes in a high degree to its position, and the beauty of the surrounding country. It is regularly laid out, and

calls the faithful to prayers at sunrise, with the words, "God is great," "God is great," "Come to prayers," "Prayer is better than sleep." The powerful influence of the Prophet over his followers is most fully evidenced by the fact that he convinced them of the truth of this last dogma, which would prove a *shibboleth* to most drowsy and comfort-loving Christians.

the streets sufficiently wide for comfort and convenience, and is well paved with small rounded stones or pebbles. The houses, which are for the most part of *adobe*, or large sun-dried bricks, so much used in South America, seldom exceed one story in height, which ensures greater safety during the frequent earthquakes. The roofs are tiled, while the interior arrangement is that derived by the Spaniards from the Moors, an open and ornamental courtyard in the centre, enclosed by the various apartments. The entrance to this court, in the houses of the wealthy, is by a "porto cochère," while that to the humbler sort is through the "sala," or principal apartment. The Mint, which was erected in 1787, during the administration of Don Ambrosio de Benavides, occupies a whole square, and is deservedly esteemed the architectural ornament of the capital. Its machinery—according to the report of a commission appointed by the Minister of Finance, in 1848, to examine critically into its condition—is antique and inefficient.

In relation to this subject, the commissioners state that the establishment has three fly-presses, antique in style, and imperfect from continued use—defective in power, and slow in their operation. For the coining of ounces and dollars, six men are required to manage each of them, while two are sufficient to coin *pesetas* (20 cent pieces). Each press will coin from 21 to 24 *pesetas* in a minute, and only 15 or 16 ounces in the same interval. They state further, that the improved French press, which had been provided by the government, was utterly useless, for want of a good mechanic to repair it. New furnaces, and presses of a simple construction, are recommended by the commission, who consider the employment of a working steam engine, and the most improved press, as too expensive, and too liable to disarrangement; for the existing state of the finances, and the mechanic arts in the country. The danger of a large steam engine is also considered by the commission objectionable, unless some skilful foreign mechanic is employed to take charge of it, especially as the government offices and archives are in the same edifice.

A re-organization of the administrative department, and the adoption of the system in force in the Mint in Philadelphia, is also advised.

The other public buildings of most importance are the Presidential Palace, formerly occupied by the Royal Governors, the Cabildo, and the Museum, all of which are respectable, but not remarkable for size or architecture.

The river Mapocho, which traverses the confines of the city, is, properly speaking, a mountain torrent, inconsiderable as a river, except during the freshets. At the time of my visit, the quantity of water in its bed would warrant the appellation of a large mill-stream, which indeed it is, supplying the motive power to several fine flour-mills, some of which are owned by Americans, in the immediate vicinity of Santiago. It is traversed by two bridges—one quite modern, of wood, and the other of stone—constructed by D. Luis Manuel Llanartu, during the administration of Don Augustin Jaraque, between the years 1780 and '87.

In connection with the Mapocho is found the Taja Mar, or break-water, one of the most extensive constructions of the capital, which was raised by O'Higgins, in about 1790, to prevent the overflow of the river, which a few years before had inundated, and destroyed a large portion of the northern part of the city. Its use is the same as that of the levees on the banks of the Mississippi, but it is handsomely constructed of stone in such a manner as to form a fine promenade, with an esplanade in front, planted with poplars. The Museum, though an unpretending edifice, contains a fine collection of all branches of Natural History, and especially a good cabinet of minerals. Some monstrosities, though certainly curious, might be transferred to an anatomical collection without detriment to the Museum, which being open to the public, is doubtless visited by many females and young persons, whose sensibilities ought not to be shocked by the sight of such objects.

The wall of the principal saloon is ornamented by the shield containing the single star of the Republic, supported by a stuffed

condor on one side, and a quadruped on the other, in imitation of the national coat of arms. The latter, which is about the size of a deer, is believed to be extinct, and some naturalists have even considered it fabulous. I mention the fact of the existence of this specimen, to convince the incredulous, and to point out the opportunity for an investigation.

The theatre, which I attended regularly during my stay, is small, somewhat out of repair, and does not compare favourably with that of Valparaiso, where the influx of strangers affords means of supporting a more extensive establishment. The performance, however, was always respectable, and the "ballet corps" remarkably good, as almost invariably occurs where there is a Spanish audience and Spanish performers. I witnessed the representation of a national drama founded upon the Chilian campaign in Peru, in 1839, and terminating with the decisive battle of Yungai.

The theatre being crowded to excess, prevented my having an opportunity to judge of the merits of the piece, which, to say the truth, "smelt in my nostrils somewhat too strong of gunpowder;" but one, and I believe the most pleasing feature of the play, did not entirely escape me. A vivandière, finding a battalion of her countrymen retreating under the fire of the batteries of the Peruvians, seized the sword of a dying officer, placed herself at its head, and followed by the troops, whom she effectually rallied, carried the position. This circumstance is historical, and the heroine of the play, Sergeant Candalaria, who has rank, and pay or pension in the Chilian army, was said to be present at the performance.

The enthusiastic reception of this play by a large audience, displayed the patriotism and military bias of the people, the existence of which has been clearly proved in the history of the republic. As in Valparaiso, the upper tier of seats was occupied by females, an advancement in the refinements of civilization which I have not elsewhere observed in South America, and

which brings Chili up to our own practical standard of the proprieties of life.

Among the acquaintances whom we were so fortunate as to make during our stay, was a captain in the general staff, through whose instrumentality we obtained permission to visit the arsenal, which has been established in the artillery barracks, within the city. It contained about fifty thousand stand of arms, admirably kept, and tastefully disposed. In artillery alone, they were somewhat deficient; but it appears from the report of the minister of war, which will be hereafter discussed, that measures have been taken to supply this deficiency.

In hotels, the city is by no means deficient, as it has two of the first class, which are sufficient to accommodate the travellers who find their way to an interior city, with little commerce—the Hotel Ingles, in which we were domiciled, and the Hotel de Chili. The latter is also a great resort for the fashionable, who at certain seasons repair to it for the purpose of eating ices made from the snow which is amply supplied by the neighbouring mountains.

My visit being made near midsummer, the fashionable were generally absent from the city, at the springs, at the seaside, and on their estates, which prevents my giving a description of the society of the capital. I consoled myself, however, for this deprivation, and the reader may safely follow my example, by the reflection of Goldsmith in his Chinese letters, "That the wise are polite all the world over." Judging from my previous experience, I should have expected to meet a refined and agreeable people, as I have found the educated classes in all parts of the world I have yet visited. As far as general morality is concerned, Santiago is, I presume, little better or worse than other cities of its class, and I certainly saw nothing which would warrant the severe strictures of Sir Francis Head. "The lower rooms" (he says, speaking of women of a certain class) "of the most respectable houses are let to them, and it is really

shocking beyond description, to see them sitting at their doors, with a candle in the back part of the room, burning before sacred pictures and images." That such persons are by no means rare, is true, but they are certainly respectable, considering their position, and never fall so low as those of England and the United States. In fact they are by no means held to be so degraded in Spanish or Portuguese countries generally, as in some others; and a woman, who through want or circumstances may have lost her virtue, does not become utterly abandoned, and still retains a certain amount of self-respect and outward respectability.

While this class of people exists, which they have done through all ages, since the capture of Jericho at least, it is questionable whether the course pursued towards them by the religious teachers, and by the public at large in Catholic countries, is not preferable to that of our own, by which, to discountenance vice of one kind, those who are guilty of it are driven to every other crime in the calendar.

The markets of the city are well supplied, and held in open spaces, where each vendor erects his temporary screen, or tent, to protect himself and articles of sale from the sun. The beef is excellent, as are also the garden vegetables; while the fruits peculiar to a temperate climate, especially the strawberries, are justly celebrated.

Horses and mules, many of which are brought from the extensive plains in the Argentine provinces, are cheap and abundant, the usual price for ordinary animals varying from seventeen to twenty dollars. For two mules which I purchased, I paid fifty-four dollars, but have every reason to believe myself cheated, the vendor having fulfilled the letter rather than the spirit of the sacred text, "I was a stranger," &c., &c. The horses in Chili are remarkably well broken, and when mounted, are kept under admirable control by their dexterous riders, who perhaps excel any horsemen in South America, even the daring guachos of the Buenos Ayrian plains, who pass their lives on horseback. The distinguished English savan, Darwin, states in his journal of a

naturalist, that among other feats of horsemanship, he saw a Chilian gallop in a circle so small, that he kept his finger always on a post in the centre; and then suddenly reining up his horse, he performed, a *devuolte*, shifting his finger at the same time, and continued his career around the post in the opposite direction. This identical feat, which displays most clearly the training of the horse, I have never seen, but I have witnessed others so remarkable, as to prepare me to believe almost any thing which may be narrated of the trained Chilian horse and his fearless rider. As an evidence of the esteem in which the *guasos* are held as horse trainers by their transmontane neighbors the *guachos*, I may mention that horses are frequently sent to Chili from Mendoza to be broken, and Chilian labourers are always employed for this purpose, when it is possible to obtain them, even by the *guachos* themselves.

For breaking in a wild horse which has never been bitted, the rough and cruel method pursued by the *guacho* may be the most effective; but for his perfect training, I have met no one who will compare with the *guaso*.\*

The police of the capital, horse and foot, is under the same organization as that of Valparaiso, and appears to be admirably regulated. I never saw an instance of any disorder in the street, nor any rudeness on the part of the police, but on the contrary found them obliging and polite, especially so to strangers.

With the exception of the theatre, already alluded to, there appear to be few public amusements. That which seems to find most favor with the common people is dancing. With my two companions, and a Chilian officer, I attended a *karana*, a species of  *fandango*, where we passed an agreeable evening. The music

\* In the narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition, the country people of Chili are called *guachos*, instead of *guasos*. This is an error. I am not aware of the derivation of either word, but in use they are kept perfectly distinct, as appellations of very different classes of people. The *guacho* of the plains is a herdsman, holding all manual labour as beneath him; while the Chilian *guaso* is a peasant of any kind, and may be a farm labourer, or a miner, as well as a herdsman.

was a harp and a couple of guitars, the dancing good, and the dances characteristic, and unlike the unmeaning quadrilles, &c., &c., which distinguish the terpsichorean art in more highly refined communities. Although the party, especially the females, were by no means the most respectable, there was no indecorum; while to us, as strangers, every attention and civility was shown by all present.

During our stay I made an excursion through the suburb on the opposite side of the river, in company with one of the European Consuls from Valparaiso, and found that its beauty, when nearly approached, exceeded our anticipations, formed from the glimpse which we obtained from Santa Luzia. After passing the river we rode about two miles through a beautiful avenue of poplars, which were planted so closely as to form a complete hedge, and passed numberless smaller avenues leading to cottages, which were generally some distance from the main road, and in the centre of ornamental grounds.

These cottages were generally of frame, painted white, and frequently so embowered in the foliage of the surrounding trees as to be scarce visible from the road. In the case of one, pertaining to a wealthy and hospitable countryman, which I visited, I observed that the kitchen and outhouses were separated from the main building, and so well concealed by shrubbery as to pass unobserved, until attention was especially called to them—an arrangement which found much favour in my eyes, as it doubtless will in all those who have, in the course of dining out in suburban cottages, had their appetites destroyed by the fumes of a dinner, long before it was brought upon the table. After our return from this excursion, I concluded that though the vicinity of Rio de Janeiro was unequalled in its combination of the sublime and beautiful, there was a quiet and unpretending beauty in these suburbs, which addressed itself more directly to the heart; and that "*love in a cottage*," so much lauded by poets, and so much ridiculed by the critics, could not but be desirable, if that cottage were one of those which I saw in the neighbourhood of Santiago.



## CHAPTER VI.

### EARLY HISTORY OF CHILE.

CHILE was discovered by adventurers from Peru, where the Spaniards first obtained intelligence of the existence of the rich and fertile country of that name, lying to the south, a portion of which, it would appear, had formerly been conquered by the armies of the Incas, and with which a partial communication had been kept up, by means of the great military road extending southerly from Cuzco.

The history of the Peruvian conquest is foreign to the subject under consideration, as are also the causes which led to the Expedition of Almagro. Both have been placed within the reach of the English reader, in Mr. Prescott's elaborate and classical "Conquest of Peru." It will be therefore sufficient to remark, that after the supreme command had been bestowed upon Francisco Pizarro, notwithstanding the efforts of his rival and the malcontents composing his party, Almagro consented to leave Peru, and seek elsewhere, with a small force, a more brilliant fortune in new conquests.

In the year 1535, he took his departure for the south, and entering Chile by one of the passes in the Cordillera, visited the present sites of Coquimbo and Santiago,—and even penetrated as far south as Rancagua. Finding no metallic treasure, of which he was in search, and tired of battling with the Indians, who were not only inveterate in their hostility, but warlike and formidable, he returned to Peru, hoping to avail himself of the growing dis-

satisfaction in that country, to place himself at the head of the government, by the overthrow of his old companion in arms, and leader in the conquest.

The Excursion of Almagro was therefore no more than a Military Exploration of a limited portion of the country.

The next attempt was more successful, as Pizarro, after the fortunate termination in 1539, of civil strife, between his faction and that of Almagro, dispatched a second army to Chili, under the command of his Maestro de Campo, Pedro Valdivia—a brave and distinguished officer, who had learned the art of war in Italy, under Gonzalvo de Cordova, the Great Captain.

The colony of Valdivia consisted of two hundred Spaniards, a large number of Peruvian Indians, some friars, and women, together with domesticated animals, intended to stock the new conquest.

Entering Chili, through the pass of Uspallata in the Cordillera, Valdivia followed nearly the same route as that pursued five years before by Almagro; but finding a strong and central place of re-union necessary to defend his new colony, he founded, in 1641, on the banks of the Mapocho, the city of Santiago, which has existed, as the capital of Chili, up to the present time.

Hostilities continued between the Indians and infant settlement; and in the following year, the colonists, disappointed in not obtaining the gold which they coveted, fomented a mutiny, intending to murder their leader, and return to Peru.

Valdivia, having discovered the designs of the mutineers, intended at first to punish the attempt most condignly; but having established a civil government, by which he caused himself to be proclaimed governor, he contented himself with this acknowledgment of his power, and suppressed the mutiny, without resorting to capital punishment. With the view, however, to put his people in a better humour with their new acquisition, he had the mountain of Quillota examined for a gold mine, said to exist in the neighbourhood; which being discovered, the Spaniards soon forgot, while extracting its products, their former dangers, mis-

fortunes, and grievances. In 1544, he communicated the state of the country to Vaca de Castro, who (Pizarro the Conqueror being dead) now governed Peru, and requested reinforcements, which being sent him, he explored the coast as far south as the Straits of Magellan, in search of good sea-ports. About the same time, he founded the city of Coquimbo, in order to possess a port through which he could keep up his communications with Peru. His next undertaking, however, terminated unfortunately, as, encouraged by his former successful explorations, and combats with the Mapochinos and Promaucacs—two Indian tribes in the vicinity of Santiago—he endeavoured to explore the country by land; but being attacked by the savages, suffered such severe losses, that he was obliged to return to Santiago.

In 1547, Valdivia visited Peru, where having attached himself in the civil wars, then raging between the two parties of the President Gasca and Gonzalo Pizarro, to the former, who proved successful, he was established in his authority as governor of Chili, and returned with reinforcements of men and warlike resources, to pursue his conquest. After the return of the Governor from Peru, he made consignments of lands to his companions in arms and the colonists, assigning, also, conquered Indians for their cultivation. In 1550, he again undertook an expedition to the south, during which he founded Concepcion—a city which was destined to be destroyed and rebuilt many times, as fortune favoured the Spaniards or their inveterate Indian enemies. It was during this campaign, and in the same year, that the Spaniards first met the Araucanians, the most untamable of all the Indian tribes of either America.

The information they had previously obtained relative to the Spaniards, was, for the barbarians, "*casus belli*," and they attacked them with a force of about 4000 warriors; and showing no unmanly fear of the terrible and novel weapons wielded by their adversaries, fought with such fury, that the Spaniards, though ultimately successful, were so much discouraged, that they felt little inclined to follow, when they had retreated after the

death of their intrepid chief. Thus commenced a war which lasted ninety years, almost without an interval of peace; was re-commenced by one party or the other, at various times, even since the establishment of the Republic—and yet the Araucanians remain unconquered. Valdivia, accustomed to a feeble resistance from the effeminate Peruvians, was surprised by the valour and constancy of this new enemy, and saw the necessity for a fortification to defend his infant colony; and scarcely was it completed, when the Araucanians, under a new chief, Lincoyan, attacked him behind his walls, and at the muzzles of his artillery. In this attack the Indians were beaten, a fact which the credulous Spaniards attributed to the exertions of the Apostle Santiago, whom they saw, mounted on a white horse, brandishing his sword, and pursuing the enemy. From 1550 to 1553, Valdivia was occupied in founding cities, consolidating his conquests, encouraging the arts and agriculture, and in examinations of the coasts and the Straits of Magellan, hoping to establish by this route a more direct communication with Europe.\*

In the same year, Colocolo, an aged chief of the Araucanians, actuated by the same motives which inspired Tecumseh in our own country, passed from tribe to tribe among his nation and their allies, urging a war of extermination against the Spaniards, and the necessity of holding a grand council, for the election of a chief who might control the movements and direct the hostilities of the combined forces.

A grand and solemn assemblage finally met on a vast plain in the Araucanian territory, when, after the banquet which in all parts of America precedes a council among the aborigines, the balloting commenced, and resulted in the election of Caupolican—immortalized by Breilla, in his *Araucano*—as their generalissimo.

Their first attack was directed against the city of Arauco, which the Spaniards were obliged to abandon, those who escaped

\* The first route to the Pacific was by the Isthmus of Darien, to which we have returned after a lapse of three centuries."

being indebted to the speed of their horses. This place was utterly destroyed by the savages.

Valdivia, notwithstanding the openly expressed fears of his best officers, again took the field against the Araucanians, who cut his vanguard utterly to pieces, not leaving a single man alive : a disaster which still further intimidated the haughty and warlike invaders, who had, at length, after a long career of conquest, found their masters in this remote corner of the continent. Various skirmishes preceded the battle of Arauco, the most firmly contested and most disastrous to the Spaniards which had yet been fought in South America. The slaughter was immense on both sides, and at one time, during the day, victory seemed to have declared in favour of the brave and desperate Spaniards, and the Promaucaes, their Indian allies ; when the tide of battle was turned by the conduct of Lautaro, an Araucanian, page of Valdivia, who, seeing his countrymen routed, deserted his master, and throwing off his European costume, placed himself at the head of the savages, whom he encouraged, by his eloquence and example, to make another attempt, in which they were entirely successful. The youth was at this time about sixteen years old, and having been taken prisoner, had been educated by Valdivia, to whom he appeared sincerely attached, and had never shown any disposition to rejoin his countrymen, until the moment that he saw them defeated.

The battle of Arauco was fought on the 3rd of December, 1553, and of the whole force of Spaniards and their allies, there escaped only *two* Indians, who succeeded in concealing themselves in the bushes. The general himself fell alive into the hands of his enemies, from whom he asked his life, offering to abandon the whole country if it was conceded. Lautaro, who, though his patriotism had induced him to abandon his master, was by no means unmindful of past favours ; and perhaps aware of the importance of preserving so important a hostage, used all the influence which his signal services on that day had given him among his countrymen, to save Valdivia. But while the subject

was yet under discussion, an aged savage, with that reckless disregard for the chief of his own election, which not unfrequently characterizes men in civilized communities, dispatched the unfortunate Spaniard with a single blow of his mace.

Thus died Pedro Valdivia, the disciple of the Great Captain, the companion of Pizarro, and the founder of the colony of Chili. Although his discoveries and conquests do not wear the same brilliant exterior as those of Mexico and Peru, this does not detract from the credit to which his brilliant services and achievements entitle him.

The least known and most unpretending among the Spanish conquerors, Valdivia was perhaps the best soldier, the most enterprising explorer, and the chief whose character is stained with the fewest crimes as Chili, apparently the least important among the numerous acquisitions of Spain, has, in the course of time, become the best cultivated, best governed, and most flourishing of all the Republics which owe their origin to that peninsula.

The result of the Battle of Arauco was, that the Spaniards were obliged to abandon their southern settlements, and flee to their fortified cities for refuge: nor were they even there safe, as the boy Lautaro, who now commanded a division of the Araucanian army, after defeating the force which the new governor, Villagran, opposed to him, laid siege to Concepcion, which the Spaniards were obliged to abandon, the women and old men embarking on board vessels, which were fortunately in the port, while the Governor retreated, with the rest of the inhabitants and the remnant of his army, to Santiago. Lautaro consummated the utter ruin of Concepcion, which, owing to commerce and the mines, had become a place of wealth and importance.

From 1553 to 1555, the Spaniards enjoyed comparative quiet, relieved occasionally by civil dissensions among the different candidates for governorship, notwithstanding which, Villagran managed to retain his authority, with, however, only the title of Corregidor, in lieu of that of governor, which had been held by his regularly appointed predecessor. In the latter year, in obe-

dience to an order from Lima, Concepcion was rebuilt, and eighty-five families transported to it, notwithstanding the objections which existed to such course, owing to the peculiar circumstances of the country. The rebuilding of this city was a signal for the renewal of the war; and the Spaniards, who were left by Villagran to check the Indians, were defeated by Lautaro, and the city again destroyed, the inhabitants saving themselves by a hasty embarkation. Not satisfied with his success in the south, Lautaro determined, by attacking the central point of the Spanish settlements, to extirpate the race, so hated, and so formidable to his own.

First punishing the tribe of Promancas, whom he looked upon as traitors to the cause of the aborigines, he advanced on Santiago, and after two considerable advantages over the Spaniards, was defeated and slain in 1556, by Villagran. The death of this formidable chief, who could not have been more than nineteen years old, was considered of so much importance that it was celebrated in all the Spanish colonies.

The governor nominated by the king upon hearing the death of the chivalrous Valdivia, never reached his destination, as the ship in which he embarked, with 600 regular troops, was burned, owing to the carelessness of his sister. Alderete, the governor elect, and three soldiers, were saved from this catastrophe, but he died, it is said, of sorrow and mortification, at Panama, before reaching the territory which he was appointed to govern. The Viceroy of Peru, Don Antonio de Mendoza, becoming aware of this accident, appointed his son, D. Garcia Hurtado di Mendoza, to fill the vacant post, providing him liberally with soldiers and munitions of war. The new governor arrived at the deserted Bay of Concepcion, in 1557, when the Indians displayed their inveteracy, by sallying out in their canoes to attack the ships. Repelled by the artillery, they retreated to the shore, where they stood on the defensive. After a futile attempt to negotiate, Mendoza fortified himself, and sallied out to attack Caupolican, whom he defeated, but stained the brilliancy of his achievements

by his cruelty, and added to the horrors of a war of extermination by introducing the custom of mutilating prisoners, which produced terrible reprisals, in which neither age nor sex was spared.

After a battle, fought during this year, in which victory, after a very severe contest, declared for the Spaniards, all prisoners who fell into the power of the cruel governor were tortured and hung, and, among others, the inflexible patriot, Galvarino, who had returned to the defence of his country, notwithstanding he had been previously mutilated, by losing both his hands.

The most important events which occurred during the administration of Mendoza, were a defeat of the Araucanians in 1557, the re-building of Concepcion, and exploration of the Chilian Archipelago, in 1558.\* In the same year, treason placed the daring and indefatigable Caupolican in the hands of his enemies. His sentence, which was immediately executed, was shooting to death with arrows, and impalement; not, however, before he received the benefit of a Christian baptism from the hands of a priest who accompanied Alonzo Reinoso, the commandant into whose hands the unfortunate chief had fallen. Thus died Caupolican, the greatest of the Araucanians, whose long and successful resistance of the Spaniards was marked by many traits of a noble and generous nature, and stained by fewer cruelties, than his civilized and Christian antagonists. The punishment of this atrocious crime was immediate and signal, as Reinoso was attacked, and twice beaten at Concepcion, by the eldest son of the deceased chief, who had been elected as leader of the Indians, in the task of avenging his father's death. So closely was Concepcion besieged, that it must have fallen, had not the return of Mendoza from Chiloe, with a large force, diverted the attention of the Indians, who advanced to meet him, and after obtaining some partial advantages, were utterly defeated in 1560, at a place called Quipcoo, where they had fortified themselves. Their young leader, Caupolican, died by his own hand, when

The warrior poet, Ercilla, accompanied this expedition, and, like a true votary of Parnassus, left some verses inscribed on the forest trees.



resistance had become useless. As Mendoza was relieved in 1561, his last public act of any importance was an expedition beyond the Andes, in which he founded the city of San Juan, and perpetuated his name by the establishment of Mendoza.

Villegran, who had been replaced by Mendoza, by urging his claims at the Spanish Court, received the appointment of Governor of Chili, which he held until his death, which occurred two years afterwards. During his short administration, the Araucanians, under a new chief, re-commenced the war with great success, and destroyed the city of Cañete, where they killed a son of the Governor. In 1565, Rodrigo di Quiroga was appointed governor by the Viceroy of Lima, to replace the temporary appointment made by Villagran. The interval between his accession in 1565, and his death in 1580, was marked by no incident of much importance in a historical point of view, at this remote period. A royal Audience was established in Chili, which deposed Quiroja, and was in itself deposed and abolished, when General Quiroja was re-established in the government, which he retained until he died, leaving as his successor, Rui Gamboa. During this period, the war continued against the Araucanians with success, while the island of Chiloe was conquered, and the city of Castro founded.

During all this period, the north of Chili, free from the scourge of war which desolated the south, had progressed in commerce, agriculture, and the arts, while riches had accumulated, and with wealth and security, knowledge had been rapidly disseminated.

In 1583, the Marquis of Villa Hermosa arrived from Spain as governor, with six hundred troops of the line, and opened a campaign against the Indians, in which he was generally successful. He defeated and hanged a half-breed, who, educated among the Spaniards, had abandoned them, and became general-in-chief of the Indians. During his administration, in 1587, an English piratical expedition under Cavendish made a descent upon the coast, but were obliged to embark, after sustaining some loss. Among the Indian leaders who distinguished themselves, during the adminis-

tion of the Marquis of Villa Hermosa, one of the most celebrated was a woman named Janagues, who fought bravely and dexterously at the head of the army.\*

In 1593, his administration terminated by the appointment of a nephew of the famous founder of the company of Jesus, Don Martin Loyola, who was slain five years afterwards in the new city of Coya, which he had founded. The death of the governor was the signal for a general rising of the Indians, who burnt Concepcion and Quillan, laying siege at the same time to eight other cities, killed many Spaniards, and secured an immense booty. So great was the terror inspired by these new attacks, that the propriety of abandoning the capital, and retreating to Peru, was seriously considered. The new governor, Quinones, who arrived from Peru, in 1599, with powerful reinforcements, could not prevent the utter destruction of Arauco and Cañete. Valdivia was taken by assault, its houses burned, and even the vessels in the harbour attacked, and obliged to make sail to escape. The booty obtained by the Indians in this campaign amounted to near two millions of dollars; and to add to the misfortunes of the miserable settlers, the Dutch, with five vessels, sacked the Island of Chiloe, and destroyed its garrison, but were afterwards beaten by

\* The Chilians perpetuated the name of this heroine, and that of Colocolo, two of their most inveterate enemies, by bestowing them upon national vessels. It is observable that in all the Spanish American revolutions, the Creoles professed to make a common cause with the Aborigines, whose injuries they ostensibly desired to avenge, apparently overlooking the fact that the injustice and barbarity which they suffered, had not been perpetrated by the distant and inoffensive Spaniards of the Peninsula, but by their own immediate progenitors.

The proudest and most influential families in South America are those derived from the early conquerors.

This professed union of causes was never promulgated in the Northern States, where the races have never been crossed to any extent. The true cause of this different course must be sought in the fact that we are a more practical and less imaginative people than the Spaniards. In our case it was the mother country which invoked the aid of the savages in the war of Independence, as well as that of 1812-15.

the Indians, when they disembarked on the Island of Talea. Discouraged by the terrible contest in which he found himself engaged, Quinones resigned in 1600, and was succeeded by Don Alonzo Rivera, an officer of much credit, who arrived from Spain with a reinforcement of troops. Notwithstanding this increased force, in 1602 and 1603, the Indians took and destroyed the cities of Villarica, Imperial, and Osorno; and thus, after a contest of one hundred years, the progress of the Spaniards was checked at this point, no advance having been made since the campaign of Pedro Valdivia. Garcia Ramon succeeded Rivera, and established a city among the Boros, which was destroyed in 1606, and the army cut to pieces. In consequence of these misfortunes, which were without parallel in the history of Spanish colonization, the king ordained that the treasury of Peru should supply annually \$292,279, to pay and provide for a regular force of two thousand men upon the southern frontier of Chili, which decree was carried into operation in 1608. In the succeeding year, the Audience was re-established, which was the most important event which occurred until the accession of D. Francisco de Zuñiga, Marquis de Baides, which took place in 1641. During this period, the war had continued with varied success, and several governors had been replaced. In 1612, a Jesuit, under royal sanction, and aided by the governor, made an unsuccessful attempt to negotiate a peace with the Indians. In 1629, the war raged with renewed vigour during the administration of Luis de Cordova, Lord of Carpio; while in that of his successor, Don Francisco de Iaso, in the year 1638, the Hollanders made another incursion upon the coast of Chili, but without success, as their fleet was injured by a storm, and their troops attacked by the Araucanians, with whom they were unable to establish amicable relations. The administration of the Marquis de Baides, which extended from 1641 to 1647, was marked by an extraordinary event—a peace with the Araucanians. Thus in 1641, after ninety years implacable hostilities, the temple of Janus was closed by

the policy and sagacity of a distinguished warrior, who had served with much credit in the wars in Italy, and the Low Countries.

Among other stipulations in this highly advantageous treaty, the Araucanians promised to defend the coast against the enemies of Spain, a provision which soon approved the wisdom of the Marquis, as the Dutch, having now possession of a province on the coast of Brazil, organized a formidable expedition against Chili, and took the port of Valdivia, which they commenced fortifying, at the same time endeavouring to seduce the Indians from their allegiance. In this, however, they were disappointed, as the Araucanians and Cancos attacked them with such fury, as convinced them of the utter impossibility of retaining their foot-hold when their savage antagonists should be assisted by the Spanish troops, now on their route to attack them. They accordingly abandoned the port, after having held it for three months. From the end of the administration of the Marquis of Baides, in 1647, until 1720, only three notable events occurred to disturb the even tenor of Chilian prosperity—an earthquake in the year of his retirement, which ruined a large portion of Santiago; the breaking out of the war with the Araucanians, which was terminated in 1665 by a favourable treaty of peace during the administration of Don Francisco Meneses; and in 1720, a revolution among the generally peaceable inhabitants of Chiloe, which, however, was easily suppressed by the Spanish forces. From 1720 until 1810, although Chili was rapidly advancing in prosperity, few events of historical importance are recorded, as the specification of the different governors can scarce be considered so, at this remote period. The most important event was a war which again broke out with the Indians, who were (says a modern Chilian historian) “incommoded by the advancing settlements of the Spaniards, and vexed by the missions which they were obliged to receive, and which gave rise to scandalous robberies.” Chili was, however, no longer in her youth, and the five thousand troops of the line which she could now bring into the field, speedily compelled them to sue for peace.

Thus in 1723, after an almost continual contest of more than a century and a half, during which period success was nearly equally balanced, peace was renewed with the Araucanians, and from that time we find victory always inclining to the increasing power of the Spaniards.

In 1753, D. Domingo Ortiz de Rosas, grandfather of the present governor of Buenos Ayres, and political head of the Argentine confederation, succeeded as governor of Chili, and erected several towns, among which were Casa Blanca, already mentioned, and colonized the Island of Juan Fernandez, which had been hitherto a recruiting station for pirates.

In 1766, the governor, D. Antonio Guill de Gonzago, endeavoured to oblige the Araucanians to reside in villages and towns in a social state, which gave rise to a long war, at the termination of which by a treaty of peace, the Indians announced their intention of having a sort of diplomatic agent, who should reside constantly in the capital, and represent their interests. In 1780, this governor having died, was succeeded by Don Augustine de Jaurigui, during whose administration much improvement was made in the social state of the country, and many edifices planned, which are to this day the best efforts of Chilean architecture. The militia were organized, a college was established for the education of Indian youth, and the stone bridge erected across the Mapocho, which, as has been before mentioned, passes by the city of Santiago. In 1787, having been promoted to the vice-royalty of Peru, Jaurigui was succeeded by Don Ambrosio De Benavides, a contemporary of the learned Abbe Molina, the historian of Chili. During his administration, the Italian engineer, Joaquim de las Tuescas, erected the mint, the finest edifice in Chili at the present day, the Cabildo, and made plans also for other public edifices, which were built in succeeding administrations.

In 1788, Brigadier Don Ambrose O'Higgins, a name afterwards celebrated in Chilean history, arrived from Spain, entrusted with the government. O'Higgins was an Irishman in the Spanish service, a man of great foresight and intelligence, whose

efforts will be long remembered with gratitude by the Chilians, as not only do they owe to him the road from Valparaiso to the capital, but those from the same point to Quillota and Aconcagua. Neither must the importance of these communications be considered as his only merit, as he taught the people the art of road-making, and the utility of such communications; and to him in a high degree is owing the fact that Chili has good roads for vehicles, and a disposition to extend them, while every other state in South America appears satisfied with the existing mule paths. O'Higgins, whose views appear to have been extended, aware of the necessity of good communications with the transmontane Provinces for commercial and military purposes, repaired also the roads in the Andes, and the Casuchas, or houses of refuge, to be noticed hereafter, and which are so necessary to those who traverse that lofty range of mountains. To him also was due the paving the streets of the capital, the building of a fort at Valparaiso, the amelioration of the condition of the Indians, and, as has been mentioned, the construction of the Taja Mar, which obviates the danger of another inundation to the city of Santiago. In 1802, he received the reward of his services in being promoted to the vice-royalty of Peru, after which no events of importance occurred in Chili until the breaking out of the revolution during the administration of Francisco Antonio Carrasco, who succeeded to the government in 1808.

## CHAPTER VII.

### REVOLUTION IN CHILE.

MANY causes combined, induced the Chilians to aspire to independence. The Spanish throne had, in 1808, been usurped by Napoleon, who placed the crown upon the head of his brother Joseph,—a measure so unpopular, that even the victorious French columns which preceded and accompanied the new monarch, could not enforce obedience to his authority. The heads of the government, in the persons of the king and heir apparent, were in the hands of the French Emperor, and subject to his will; while the Spanish noblesse, dissatisfied with the projected regime, established “Juntas” in various parts of the kingdom, among which that of Seville claimed pre-eminence, as the central. As these Juntas, alike with the dethroned king, and him whom Napoleon had placed upon the throne, claimed the prerogatives of sovereignty, it was, in the remote colonies, a matter of some difficulty to decide to whom it would ultimately belong *de facto*; and afforded a fair opportunity, should such be desired, to disavow any sovereignty claimed by authorities residing in, and claiming obedience by virtue of their positions in the mother country. Unfortunately for Spain, she had given cause for the desire for emancipation now openly expressed in most of her transatlantic possessions. During her days of power and prosperity, she had made her colonies only a matter of convenience to the parent state, seldom affording them the assistance which they required

in the hour of danger, and directing her sole attention to making them profitable to herself, through their revenues, and as supplying vacant offices, to be filled by scions of her decayed and impoverished nobility. All restrictions imposed by ecclesiastical intolerance in Spain, had been brought to bear with additional force in the Colonies, whom it appeared the desire of the Government to keep as much as possible ignorant of the recently diffused opinions then so prevalent in Europe, in respect to religion and politics. A state of ignorance, however, which was perfectly practicable during the early periods of colonial history, had now become impossible, as the colonists, with the increase of wealth, had, notwithstanding the efforts of government to prevent any from attaining more than a purely scholastic education, informed themselves on the theories regarding the social system, and the newly broached relations between the people and their governments. The success of the American revolution encouraged them to an effort at independence, while that in France, which had terrified even the legal authorities in a country so remote as China, could not be concealed in the various Spanish vice-kingdoms in North and South America, whose aspirations soon rose to the same independence which had already made the United States one of the important nations of the earth.

Notwithstanding the rigidity of the colonial system, education had inspired the Spanish Americans with a desire for travel, and wealth had enabled them to indulge it; and thus they saw the changes in empires and kingdoms, to which new opinions had given rise, and returning to their birth-places, spread through the country an ardent desire for self-government, a theory at all times attractive, and which at that time, more than any in history, enjoyed unbounded popularity in the minds of the people. To attain self-government, they must first obtain the choice, which could be done only by freedom from the dominion of Spain, for which her internal commotions, and invasions from without, gave a fair opening. To Spain they owed origin and existence only—a claim upon their gratitude, which oppression had long since



worn out. In the present position of the mother country, few obstacles could be presented to their emancipation, as, contending amid war and faction at home, she could ill spare troops to act against the colonists; while among the latter there was no hereditary nobility to break down—no rulers, with personal or family influence, to depose, as they were all Spanish—while the creoles, or natives, however great their personal claims, could not obtain a prominent position in the government of their own country. The number of troops quartered among them was insignificant, in comparison with the population; and the most formidable influence with which they would have to contend, was that of Spanish residents, merchants, and others, who had, as they considered, expatriated themselves, in order to gain a fortune in the colonies, to spend in the Peninsula, which they claimed as the land of their birth, and that to which only they owed allegiance. The desire for independence manifested itself openly in 1810, when several of the Vice-Royalties, disclaiming the legality or legitimacy of the authorities in Spain, which attempted to control them, established “Juntas,” or Commissions, to govern themselves, ostensibly temporary, until affairs should be adjusted in the mother country; but, in reality, intended by the master spirits of the movement as a prelude to national independence. The resident loyal Spaniards themselves hastened this movement, by denouncing these Juntas as rank rebellion; as did also the authorities, who attempted by force to crush the rising disposition to think for and govern themselves. A movement against the patriots called forth the strength and energy of the creole population, of necessity the largest portion of the inhabitants, and the question became at once a national one. The result throughout the Spanish colonies no one is unacquainted with: our province, at present, does not extend beyond Chili.

The first movement in this country owed its origin to an arbitrary act of Carrasco, the governor, who, aware of the general disaffection, and assured of the leaders, had them seized suddenly, with the intention of sending them as prisoners to Lima—an out-

rage which immediately produced a popular commotion, seconded by the Cabildo, who summoned the governor before them to account for such excess of authority. Instead of obeying, Carrasco ordered that this body should be dissolved, a decree which, finding public opinion strong in their favour, they refused to obey, making at the same time a formal and threatening complaint against the tyranny of the governor to the Royal Audience, who, better acquainted with the feeling of the people, and their determination, sent a commission, recommending his concession to their demand.

The result of this interview was, that after having in vain attempted to bring the troops to his support, Carrasco liberated the suspected persons, and received as his secretary another patriot, and was obliged to agree that all his acts, which did not bear the signature of this secretary, should be invalid. The news, soon after received, of the deposition of the Viceroy of Buenos Ayres, caused new agitation in Chili, when the governor felt the necessity of a vigorous movement, in order to sustain the royal authority, and endeavoured secretly to collect a body of troops, and military resources, by which a counter movement might be supported. Notwithstanding his care, the project could not be concealed from the Argus-eyed secretary and his compatriots, who immediately held another session, in which Carrasco was obliged to resign, and a native of Chili, the aged "Count of the Conquest," Don Mateo de Toro, elected to supply his place. The troops, in this movement, lent their influence in favour of the patriots. The next important step was the organization of a Junta of government, which was established in the same year (1810), of which the "Conde de la Conquista" was president.

Aware that the steps already taken would bring upon themselves the whole disposable force of the viceroy at Lima, they hastened to organize their government, and form a military establishment, in which they could confide; and with this view, they entrusted Don Juan Mackena, an able engineer, with the military preparations, which, owing to his talents and exertions, were soon

in an advanced state. The first of April, 1811, was named for the election of the deputies for the general Congress, which was prevented by a mutiny of a large body of veteran troops, who, dissatisfied with the new régime, had placed at their head their former commander, Figueroa, and availed themselves of this opportunity to attempt a counter revolution. Fortunately a majority of the troops remained faithful, with whom the Republican authorities attacked and defeated the mutineers. Figueroa was made prisoner, and shot the next day, while the Royal Audience, which encouraged his designs, was dissolved. The attempt in the first Congress, which met on the 6th of May, to legislate on the organization of the Executive, gave rise to a heated discussion, which terminated in the withdrawal of a large number of deputies, headed by one Rosas, who protested against the Congress in the name of their respective provinces, and retired to Concepcion, intending to establish a government independent of Santiago. The Congress, however, continued their labours, and formed an Executive consisting of three persons named by themselves. On the 24th of July, of this year, a young Chilian, Jose Miguel Carrera, arrived in Valparaiso, from Europe,—a man, whose talents and enterprise were combined with considerable knowledge of the mode by which revolutions are consummated, and who was destined to effect great changes in the state of the now republic, and eventually to concentrate the whole power in his own hands.

Seeing the existing state of affairs, the unskilfulness of the Executive, and clumsiness of a Congress representing various provincial interests, he availed himself of his powerful family influence, and the services of his two brothers, who were officers in the army, to organize a military movement, by which a new Executive was created, at the head of which he was placed, and afterwards to dissolve Congress, which left him the sole administrator of the affairs of the government. His official acts, after obtaining power, were of such a character for wisdom and philanthropy, as to cause the means by which he had elevated himself

to be temporarily forgotten. He decreed a sustenance to the clergy from the national treasury, the liberty of slaves, abolition of life offices, monopolies, the suppression of useless employments, the establishment of supreme tribunals of justice, of schools, the organization of the militia, and other measures to develop industry, and place the country in an active state of defence.

Towards the close of the same year, by intrigue, he destroyed the government which the dissenting deputies had actually established in Concepcion, where preparations had been made to take the field against the legitimate party in Santiago. Having now the whole country under his control, he prepared to give it a constitution, in which labour he was employed at the close of 1811.

The new government, which had now acquired some stability, was anxious to propagate the ideas of the age, and to foment the spirit of independence, republicanism, and resistance to the Spaniards; and to effect this object, imported a printing press, and established a political journal in 1812. The same year was marked by a revolution in the remote city of Valdivia, which being successful, left no foothold for the Spaniards in Chilian territory, except in Chiloe, where the spirit of independence never penetrated, and by the arrival of the first diplomatic agent, Mr. Poinset, Consul General of the U. States,—“a great friend,” says the Chilian historian, “and decided fomentor of our political emancipation.”

The events which marked the course of the year 1813, were, for Chili, of much political importance, and threatened its political existence. The Viceroy of Peru learning, though tardily, the important movements in Chili, decided upon decisive measures for crushing their progress; and with this end in view, appointed Brigadier D. Antonio Pareja, Governor of Chiloe, supplying him the means to place the necessary military force in the field against the revolutionists. In February, he disembarked 1000 troops at Talcahuano, which he captured, after defeating a garrison, and then marched upon Concepcion, where the

garrison capitulated, and were transferred to the ranks of his army, which struck terror into the hearts of the revolutionary party, to whose misfortunes at this period must be added a mutiny on board a corvette and brig of war in Valparaiso, which, at a blow, deprived them of the services of their infant marine. Carrera, in this emergency, showed himself competent to the task which he had imposed upon himself, and hastily organizing a numerous army, sallied forth to meet the enemy, who was directing his march on the capital. The opposing armies encountered in the river Maule, which Pareja wished to cross in order to enter Talca, but was surprised by a division of the patriots, on the morning of the 28th of April, and so severely handled, that he decided on retiring to Chillan. This action is known in Chilian history as that of Yerbas Buenas. Availing himself of the moral influence of the defeat and subsequent retreat of his adversary, Carrera pursued the Spanish forces rapidly, and having overtaken them in the Villa of San Carlos, attacked them with such impetuosity, that they were beaten, and owed their escape from complete disorganization only to Colonel D. Juan Francesco Sanchez, who commanded during the illness of his general.

Accomplishing a retreat, Sanchez entered Chillan, where he was rapidly followed by the victorious army, now divided by Carrera into three divisions, two of which were to close in upon Chillan, while the third, under command of O'Higgins, was encharged with the re-capture of Talcahuano and Concepcion, which he accomplished. The month of March was unfortunately employed in attempting to reduce the royalists in Chillan, which place had been most skilfully fortified by Sanchez, who finally forced his enemy to retire to Concepcion; while he, availing himself of a central strategical position, was increasing his conquests in every direction, having his communications constantly open with Lima, whence he expected all his supplies and reinforcements, while he intercepted his antagonist's communications with Santiago. A gallant, though unsuccessful effort was made by the Chilian general to relieve himself from this inactive position, by

an attack upon Chillan; but being defeated, he was obliged to fall back upon Concepcion, with his forces almost entirely discouraged and disorganized.

The misfortunes of this campaign produced much discontent among the people against Carrera; even that mighty engine, the press, which he had taken the trouble to introduce from Europe, was turned against the unfortunate and absent chief, who, with his colleagues, was deposed by a decree of the Junta, dated December 19th, 1813. D. Bernardo O'Higgins, (who was suspected of having conspired against his chief,) was appointed general of the army, and he, Carrera, believing it for the interest of his country, quietly resigned the command. The Junta, which was then at Talca, having deposed Carrera, returned to Santiago, where they were dissolved by the people, who convinced, as many other communities before them have been, that the "wisdom of the many" is more than compensated by the single will, unbiassed decisions, and responsibility of one clear-headed man, had determined to consign the duties of the government into the hands of a supreme director, the first election falling upon Colonel D. Francisco de la Lastra. Meanwhile a successor to Pareja had arrived from Peru in the person of General Don G. Gainza, accompanied by a considerable body of troops, who repaired to Chillan to commence a new series of operations. One of his parties surprised and made prisoners, the ex-general Carrera and his brother, who were travelling as private individuals to Santiago. The operations of Gainza were generally fortunate, and Talca, Talcahuana, and Concepcion, yielded to his arms, although during a brief campaign, he sustained some reverses from the patriot forces under the command of O'Higgins and Mackenna. An armistice attributable to the mediation of the English commodore was signed on the 5th of April, 1814, which was agreed to more readily as neither party had, at the moment, the means of prosecuting active hostilities. By the stipulations of the armistice, all prisoners were delivered up, but as cessation of war accorded at that time with the views of neither party, it was soon

terminated by actual hostilities in the month of August, when General Osorio arrived with a reinforcement of troops, and announced that the former adjustment had been disapproved by the viceroy at Lima. The Spanish interest, at the recommencement of hostilities, was supported by a veteran army of 3000 men, who held the whole of the province of Concepcion, while the Chilians were not only without effective forces, but were again divided by intestine quarrels. Carrera, who had been released by the armistice, had returned to Santiago, where his influential friends effected a pronunciamiento, by which the supreme director Lastra was deposed, and he again placed at the head of the government. The defeated party appealed to O'Higgins, who marched immediately upon Santiago, but was defeated, and compelled to retire by the forces organized by Carrera. A peremptory summons from Osorio, the Spanish general, to surrender, denouncing the severest penalties upon those who refused, effected the desirable object of reuniting the conflicting interests, as the chiefs began to be conscious of the truth contained in the quiet jest of Dr. Franklin, after the signing of the Declaration of Independence in our own country, that "we must now hang together, or hang separately." As soon as the reconciliation was effected between the rival chiefs, O'Higgins took position with his troops at Rancagua; while Carrera, taught I suppose by former experience of the danger of leaving the capital, and the largest city in the republic, open to the machinations of his enemies, took the command of Santiago in person. O'Higgins defended his post most gallantly, and lost the flower of his army in attempting to prevent the enemy from passing the river, but in vain, as he was overpowered by numbers, and so situated that Carrera could not relieve or reinforce him. Finally, after sustaining a terrible cannonade for thirty hours, and having lost his best troops, there remained no resource but to surrender, or attempt to force a passage through the enemy, who had now invested him in every direction. Like a brave and desperate man, he chose the latter alternative, and cut his way through the opposing force, to

the astonishment of the whole Spanish army. The patriots had staked their all upon the position at Rancagua, and it was lost, and with it had flowed the best blood in Chili. No one longer spoke of hope; despair, and escape from their unfortunate country, was the order of the day; and for some time after the battle the passes in the Cordilleras were crowded by the miserable and suffering inhabitants, who were seeking safety in the Argentine Provinces, which had been more fortunate in their attempt to throw off the Spanish yoke. This movement of the population, to all appearance the termination of their aspirations for liberty, was but the dawning of a more happy period, when, chastened by adversity, they would be prepared to enjoy more rationally that liberty to which they aspired. The military excesses of the Spanish soldiers at Rancagua, whom flushed with a dearly-bought victory, the best efforts of the officers could not restrain, and the more systematic cruelties practised by the general in confiscations, imprisonments, and banishments, it is unnecessary to dwell upon. Few rulers have been mild when treating with defeated rebels; and the Spaniards have, at no time in their history, been famed for tenderness to enemies so that events in Chili, during her darkest hour, may well pass undescribed in detail. The entire country again fell under the dominion of Spain; but while this was the case, the conduct of her rulers still farther alienated the hearts of the people. The Chilian revolution now changed its ground, and instead of being confined to her own territory, is to be found beyond the Andes, on the plains of Mendoza, where most of her best defenders had found refuge. Prior to the attempt at independence, the result of which has been already described, the Buenos Ayrian, the most powerful of the new Republics, had watched, with much anxiety the progress of the war; being aware of their own danger, should Spain, proving successful, establish a strong military force in Chili, from whence they themselves might be invaded through the passes in the Cordilleras. To obviate this danger the government had encharged the provinces of Cuyo to San Martin, their most celebrated general,



who was ordered to organize and discipline an army, which would be competent to repel an invasion in that direction. San Martin had but commenced his labours when the defeat of the patriots at Rancagua, and suppression of the Chilean revolution, crowded Mendoza with refugees from that country. It was the desire of the Chileans to obtain their independence, and the suggestions of their leaders which probably induced San Martin to plan and execute his campaign in that country, the boldness and success of which have given him a reputation second to no South American general. The refugees were accordingly organized with the troops of the Cuyo provinces, and the general-in-chief, aided by able men, such as O'Higgins, Las Heras, Necoechea, and others, dedicated their whole attention to the disciplining of their troops and of other warlike preparations. The emigrants, however, bore with them to Mendoza the same party spirit which had actuated them in their own country. At the head of one party was Carrera and the other O'Higgins, who accused the former of wilfully allowing him to be sacrificed at Rancagua. So decidedly was this hostility of parties pronounced, and so inveterate were the opposing factions, that San Martin felt obliged to take a decided stand in favour of one or the other, as his attempts to reconcile their conflicting interests had failed, and motives of policy induced him to favour the party of O'Higgins, while that of Carrera was persecuted, and expelled from Mendoza. From 1814 until the commencement of 1817, hostilities were suspended. San Martin was organizing an army with which to invade Chili, while the Spanish authorities ruled the whole of that subdued colony with a severity which prepared the minds of the remaining inhabitants for the invasion which they anticipated from the other side of the Andes.

On the 17th January, of 1817, the liberating army moved upon Chili. The main body, which took the route called Putendo, was divided into three columns, commanded respectively by San Martin, Soler, and O'Higgins. Besides these divisions, others followed, which acted independently, and pursued different

routes, being commanded by Colonels Las Heras and Freire, who were to enter Chili by the pass of Los Patos, and that near Talca, respectively. Two other divisions, which were to follow, had orders to enter Chili by the Planchon, and by Coquimbo. It was thus that the attention of the Spanish commander was diverted to various points of attack; and uncertain as to the real point of danger, the disposition of his troops was faulty, and the consequences disastrous, notwithstanding the preponderance of force, which was about seven thousand, while the liberating army amounted to only three thousand men. The position of the Spanish general in Chili being central, would have given him with this force a great advantage, had he not been aware of the dissatisfied state of the country, and that wherever San Martin was able to plant his standard the people would flock to it, and soon place him at the head of a force superior to his own. Had this not been the case the division of force by the Argentine general would have been fatal, as the Spanish commander might have remained with the main body of his forces at Santiago, while a few light troops increased the natural obstacles of the passes in the Cordillera, defending them as long as possible, thus embarrassing the movements of the army; and even after these obstacles had been passed, the Spaniard from a central point could have struck at either of the divisions of his enemy while separated, and defeated them with his superior force. As this disposition of his forces owing to the feeling among the Chilians, was impossible, Marco, the governor, attempted to defend every threatened point, and thus his enemy almost invariably presented to him a preponderating force. The first battle was that of La Guardia, where the Spaniards had availed themselves of a naturally strong position near the foot of the Cordillera on the Patos road, and opposed themselves to Colonel Las Heras, who, after a severe combat, defeated them on the 4th of February with much loss, and continued his march towards the plains of Chili. Necoches, a cavalry officer, had also an encounter with an enemy's division of all arms, on the 7th, in which he broke them completely by a gal-

lant charge. The Spanish leader, Colonel D. Rafael Maroto, (recently distinguished in the Christino and Carlist war in Spain,) now becoming aware of the true point of attack, made every exertion to concentrate the whole royal force at the hill of Chacabuco, a strong and defensible pass between the capital and San Felipe de Anconcagua, and over which San Martin would of necessity pass; but the great dissemination which had been made of the troops before the command was given to him, made this impossible in the limited time which the rapid movements of the enemy had left him. Before a concentration could be effected on the 12th February, the enemy were in front of his position, where, after some able manœuvres, the Spaniards were utterly defeated, and the road thus left open to the capital. Many prisoners were taken, and among others the President Marco, who, with the public treasures, was endeavoring to escape to the nearest seaport. Aware of the necessity of rapidity in the movements of an invading army, San Martin, immediately after his victory, marched on Santiago, where he arrived on the 14th, although it is distant fifty miles from Chacabuco. Two prisoners, San Bruno and Villalobos, notorious for their crimes, were declared beyond the pale of the laws of war, and publicly hanged; which it would appear from the records, were the only acts of questionable retaliation practised by the Chilians who had been so long expelled from their country, or by their Argentine allies. With a promptness which distinguished all the movements of San Martin, a national government was created on the 16th, the second day after his arrival in the capital, over which O'Higgins presided with the title of Supreme Director.

Notwithstanding the brilliant successes of the patriots, much yet remained to be done, as the Spaniards, under Colonels Ordoñez and Sanchez—both gallant and skilful officers—controlled the southern provinces. These chiefs had, upon the first intimation of the Argentine invasion, endeavoured to unite their forces with the other royalists at Chacabuco; but hearing of the defeat of the army under Maroto, before their arrival, they

concentrated upon Concepcion, where they were pursued by the patriot chief, Las Heras, and obliged to fall back upon Talcahuano, which had been so strongly fortified as to be almost impregnable against the defective battering trains of the patriots. Notwithstanding the strength of the place, it was immediately besieged by Las Heras, when ensued a series of operations, which, for daring courage and intrepidity, find few parallels in Chilean annals.

While waiting for O'Higgins, who was to assume the command in chief, Las Heras repelled a terrible sally made by the enemy, who had been reinforced from Lima; and upon the arrival of his general, he headed an assault, from which he would not retire without orders, although he had left six hundred of his command of a thousand men in the ditches of the work. In this assault, General Bulnes, the actual President of the Republic, served as a subaltern. While the siege of Talcahuano was slowly progressing, it was determined that the oath of independence should be taken on the 12th of February, 1818, when Chile presented herself, and claimed admission into the fraternity of nations.

Meanwhile, San Martin, whose administrative talents appear fully to have equalled his military skill, was using every exertion to establish a Chilean army, and to recruit, from the other side of the mountains, his Argentine regiments, being well aware that the struggle for liberty was by no means concluded. Nor was the Viceroy at Lima idle as Osorio: the victor at Rancagua was sent with reinforcements to Talcahuano, where, upon taking command, he found himself at the head of about 5,000 troops of all arms—a sufficient force to oblige O'Higgins to raise the siege of that place, by taking the field against him. San Martin had, meanwhile, taken the field, for the purpose of organizing his army; and, after lying a few months in camp, at the Hacienda de las Tablas, near Valparaiso, found himself at the head of near 9,000 troops, in an effective condition, and headed by competent officers.

Osorio had advanced beyond the river Maule, when he found himself, owing to the skilful movements of San Martin, so com-

pletely involved by the columns of the enemy, that he could not retreat, being completely cornered on the banks of that river, and in such a position that he would be obliged to give battle on the following day, the 20th of March, to forces so superior, that success could not be anticipated. Calling a council, a surprise was determined upon, to be attempted that night, which, owing to the fact that the patriots were at that moment changing the order of their camp, was completely successful. This surprise was nearly as unfortunate for the Chilians as the battle of Rancagua, as the whole army—except the division of Las Heras, who, upon this occasion, obtained his title of the Hero of Cancha Rayada—was destroyed and disorganized.

Again the scenes which followed the battle of Rancagua were re-enacted, and the emigration again streamed toward the Argentine territories, and all despaired of the freedom of their country. The advance of the enemy's victorious columns upon Santiago commenced upon the 24th of September, 1818. For a time San Martin was undecided whether to wait his arrival or retreat upon Mendoza, but, influenced by his principal generals, whose interests were Chilian, he determined on the former alternative; and having once determined, he threw all the influence of a mind naturally powerful, and full of resources, upon the organization of a new army, to be formed from the wreck of that he had already led into the field—some battalions of which fortunately had not shared in that disaster—and from the recruits which, on the impulse of the moment, he was able to organize. His camp was pitched to the southward of the capital; and when the gallant division of Las Heras came to incorporate themselves with his command, they were received with salutes of artillery, and all the military honours which could be bestowed—a deserved and judicious compliment, the effect of which was not only to reward the troops of this gallant leader, but to stimulate the ambition of others. Having organized his forces, he moved his camp toward the enemy, whose movements he commenced to observe; and to prevent the Spaniards from taking possession of Valparaiso, he

chose a position on the plains of Maypu, determined, if necessary, to risk a general battle, rather than permit such consummation. On the 5th of April, the Royalists made their appearance, and at mid-day the two armies joined in a general battle—that of Maypu—one of the most famous which has been fought in South America. The royalists were defeated and driven from the field, but again presented a front with their infantry and artillery, in the Hacienda of Espejo, where they placed their batteries in position to defend the approaches, and fortified themselves within the houses. But all efforts to retrieve the day were fruitless, as the patriots, flushed with victory, fighting for home and their country, and anxious to wipe off the stain of the surprise at Cancha Rayada, were invincible; and from this, their last hold, the Spaniards were marched as prisoners of war. General Osorio had the good fortune to escape in disguise.

Thus terminated the battle of Maypu—the Yorktown of Chilian independence—as the dominion of the Spaniard was destroyed, not to be again restored. Osorio, upon reaching Concepcion, appointed Sanchez governor of the Province; after which he dismantled and deserted Talcahuano, and embarked for Peru.

The patriots, however, did not attempt at this time to follow up their successes, but turned their attention to the re-organization of their troops, and the establishment of a national marine, so necessary for the defence of their own coast, or should an opportunity offer, for operations against the Spanish forces in Peru, which yet remained the central point from whence emanated all offensive operations on the part of the Royalists. The first exploit of the infant marine—which was placed under the command of Vice-Admiral Blanco Encalada, a distinguished artillery officer, who had served with credit in the battle of Maypu—was the surprise and capture of the Spanish frigate Isabel, which had convoyed 2,000 troops from Cadiz. Blanco captured also nearly the whole of this expedition, and most of the transports. In November of the same year, the famous Lord Cochrane—whose

efforts in behalf of liberty would entitle him to a high stand in public opinion, had not his avarice and selfishness invariably destroyed his claims—arrived in Chili, and being employed by the Government, hoisted his flag as a Chilean Vice-Admiral, on board the "O'Higgins," the late Spanish frigate Isabel. From that time until 1822, this enterprising and skilful seaman gave the Spaniards no rest at sea—their only shelter, and that not always effective, being under the guns of the Castle of Callao. In 1820, Cochrane's squadron, with land troops on board, attacked and completely defeated the Spaniards in Valdivia, which left the Chileans masters of all the territory pertaining to the former colony, with the exception of the Archipelago of Chiloe. From 1820 to 1822, the assaults of the Chilean squadron, under Cochrane, continued against the Spanish cruisers and commerce, until the Spanish flag was nearly banished from the Pacific. So daring was this adventurer, that he even cut out the Spanish frigate "Esmeralda," while lying under the guns of the formidable Castles of Callao. In 1820, General San Martin, in his turn, aided by the Chileans, weighed anchor from the port of Valparaiso with an army of 4,000 men, and soon after landed in the north of Peru, where he kept up a series of successful operations in the heart of the Spanish influence, until the independence of that country was finally consummated by Bolivar and Sucre, in the battles of Junin and Ayacucho, fought in 1824. Active hostilities in Chili having concluded in 1823, the Directorial Government, to which the people had submitted during the war, became obnoxious, as it was, in reality, nothing more nor less than a military despotism, with no constitutional legislative bodies to temper its absolutism. The Chileans began to consider that they had fought for a free representative government, and not a change of rulers; and the dissatisfaction with the Directorial Government, and the disposition to depose O'Higgins, became very general throughout the Provinces. The dissatisfaction which caused the Chileans so soon to forget the signal services of their most distinguished revolutionary hero, may be measurably explained by the

fact that O'Higgins was the leader of a party; and that his opponents, whom he persecuted, though the weakest, were far from contemptible, and were able by their influence, aided by the general dissatisfaction with the existing form of government, to effect his removal. This was effected toward the end of January, 1823, when the Cabildo, supported by the most influential citizens of Santiago, and the troops of the garrison, informed the Supremo Director that his continuance at the head of affairs was inadmissible. Having assured himself that this was the public will, he showed none of that tenacity in retaining power which has frequently been displayed to a humiliating extent by distinguished men. Stripping himself of the insignia of his office, he tendered his resignation, and parting in courtesy at least, if not in friendship, with the triple Junta nominated to succeed him, set out for Lima, where he remained until his death, notwithstanding an invitation from the Chilean government to return. Such was the political fate of the most distinguished Chilean general, whose unceasing efforts attained the independence of his country. He had his faults, doubtless; he was arbitrary, and displayed a vindictiveness toward his rivals and opponents, especially the Carrera family, which must detract much from his reputation as a disinterested patriot. His eulogy is the narration of his military exploits, which have been already briefly recorded; and the quiet dignity with which he retired from power must command the respect of all who peruse his whole history.

As generally occurs with the multitude, the change of government soon ceased to satisfy; and before the end of the year, the office of Supreme Director was again created, and the dignity conferred on General Freire. One of the first acts of the new Director was to reinforce the liberating army in Peru by 2,000 men, who were dispatched from Valparaiso, toward the close of 1823, under command of General Pinto, with orders to touch at intermediate ports. Before arriving, they learned that the patriots had been totally routed by General Valdez, upon which they returned immediately to Chili, affording the Director an



opportunity to avail himself of this force for the conquest of Chiloe, the only point in the Chilian territory now held by the Spaniards. The Expedition under Colonel Beauchef arrived at the Archipelago, in April, 1824, and took the field against the enemy; but notwithstanding all the efforts of the gallant leader, their invasion was repelled, and the troops obliged to retire to Concepcion. The importance of this island to the Spaniards, who continually fomented disorder and dissatisfaction in the southern provinces, was sufficiently apparent to all; and as the national honour was compromised, another expedition was organized, with more care, during the year 1825, which arrived in San Carlos, in Chiloe, in January of the year following, under command of the Supreme Director, and taking the field, succeeded in utterly destroying the Spanish forces under Quintanilla, and hoisting in the Archipelago the Chilian flag, which now floated undisturbed over every portion of territory governed by the Spanish President of the ancient Colony, but now the free and independent Republic of Chili. Thus terminated the second, and most glorious epoch of Chilian history: the third is little more than a history of parties, and record of civil strife; but being necessary to complete the sketch, and display the slow process by which the Republic attained its present respectable position, we will review it briefly, bringing it up to the existing state of things.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### HISTORY SINCE REVOLUTION.

AFTER a popular administration of three years, General Freire resigned the Directorship, in 1826. No less than six Presidents succeeded between 1826 and 1830, under the new constitution, each one serving but a short time, and resigning with disgust, when he was, in conformity with the provisions of that instrument, succeeded by the Vice-President, and he, in turn, by the President of the Senate. During this short period, dissatisfaction was general, and some revolts occurred among the military, which was the real power by which the country was governed. In 1830, Congress was declared an unconstitutional and body; the President Vicuña, who had succeeded to that office from the Presidency of the Senate, was at issue with the Junta Governativa. General Prieto, who was in command of the Southern army, declared in favour of the Junta, and commenced marching upon Santiago, but was met at Ochagavía by General Lastra, who adhered to the President, when a battle ensued, in which the success was so equally balanced, that both parties claimed a victory. Freire, who attempted an unsuccessful mediation, afterwards joined the President with all the forces who would acknowledge his claim to their obedience as Captain General, but was defeated by the Southern army under Prieto, and banished in 1830. Tayle was now elected President, but resigned, and was succeeded by the

Vice-President, who also dying, was succeeded by the President of the Senate, who acted until Prieto was elected in 1830.\*

With the election of Prieto, who was assisted by Diego Portales, Minister of War and the Interior, commenced a better order of things, when reformation and unflinching improvement became the order of the day. The constitution having been considered faulty, another was proposed by Prieto, which, having been approved, was promulgated in 1833, and being that actually in force, will be discussed under the head of "Government," in the next chapter. Portales, perfectly aware that no government could be stable, so long as liable to a complete revolution by means of the military force of the country, which was at the disposal of many and rival chieftains, determined, as a first step, to limit their influence, by establishing a counterpoise in the organization of the militia, whose efficiency soon destroyed the overweening power of the regular establishment. Not satisfied with this radical change, and with a view also to economy in the administration, the army was reduced, and many useless officers, civil and military, struck from the list.

Portales, who was perfectly acquainted with the character of all the politicians of his own country, was one of those men who, like Tacón, in Cuba, was by nature eminently calculated to master the inferior but turbulent people around him; and perhaps there were few of the leading men of that day who were not more or less in his power, and whom he could not, and would not have crushed, had they attempted opposition to his measures, which were undoubtedly intended, as they were adapted, for the benefit of his country and the masses, as well as the respectability of the government abroad. To him Chili owed its public credit, which had been low—the development of many of its resources—and the establishment of a police unequalled in America, the benefit

\* There appears to have been a singular mortality among the Chilean Presidents during this stormy period of her history, which is not clearly accounted for.

of which he himself enjoyed in watching and checking the turbulent. It is true that his attempts at foreign negotiation, and interference with other powers, led his country into a war; but owing to his combinations, which were acted upon even after his death, it was a glorious and beneficial contest for Chili. The practical advantages derived from it have already been alluded to in discussing the commerce of Valparaiso, in the first chapter. The policy of the Chilian Administration, which brought about the rupture with Peru, was more than questionable. A treaty had been negotiated, highly advantageous to the former country; but before it was fully sanctioned, the Peruvian President, Obejoso, was driven from the executive chair, by a rebel chieftain named Salivera, with whom, at the head of the government *de facto*, ratifications were exchanged, even while Obejoso's agent continued to reside near the Chilian government, and while the legitimate President was still in arms against the usurper. It is at all times difficult, particularly for a stranger, to obtain the true sentiments of a subordinate in an administration upon a delicate subject; but I have every reason to believe, from information received from his contemporaries and personal friends, that this step never met the approbation of the enlightened Portales. Soon after this exchange of ratifications, Obejoso, aided by Santa Cruz, President of Bolivia, defeated the rebels, Salivera and Gomarra, at the battle of Socabaya, after which the latter escaped to Chili, and the former, with his principal officers, was shot. Obejoso was now re-established in his government, and feeling the slight which he had endured at the hands of the Chilians, annulled the treaty by a decree, conceding four months for its renewal, which time having been allowed to pass by the latter without taking any action in the premises, discriminating duties were placed on their products and merchandise transhipped from any of their ports. The Peru Bolivian Confederation placed Santa Cruz, amid expressions of fervent gratitude on the part of Peru, at the head of the two governments as supreme Protector—Obejoso being, in reality, little more than his titled

agent. To his influence was attributable a commercial regulation unquestionably beneficial to Peru, by which double duties were charged upon importations from any vessel which had touched at Valparaiso; a measure by which Chili could not but suffer, as she had been hitherto a deposit whence Peru had received her merchandize in proportion to demand, after first paying transit duties in the former country. Chili now saw that she had much to fear from the Peru Bolivian Confederation and its clear-headed supreme chief; and hostilities, which were doubtless intended, were hastened by an invasion attempted by General Freire, from the Port of Callao, at the head of the Chilian emigrants who had been banished after the defeat by Prieto in 1830. That this expedition, which, owing to the energy and talent of Portales terminated without bloodshed, was counvied at by Obejoso, there can be no reasonable question; but that Santa Cruz neither advised nor was cognizant of it I think no less certain. Freire was again banished, but no one was capitally executed, as the tenders of assistance from all quarters to the government during the attempt, convinced the President and his sagacious minister that they could afford to show their contempt of such ill-concerted and ill-advised enterprises by leniency toward the perpetrators. The Chilian government, conscious of the advantages they must lose owing to the new state of things brought about by the influence of Santa Cruz, and jealous of the power of the Peru-Bolivian Confederation, which it was deemed their interest to dissolve at all hazards, availed themselves of the excuse afforded by Freire's expedition to make a demonstration upon Peru. A minister, accompanied by a squadron, was accordingly dispatched in 1836, to make reclamations on the Peruvian government for injuries attributable to that expedition, as well as the discriminating duties upon transhipped merchandize.

That the original intention of this mission was hostile there can be no reasonable doubt, as the first act of the squadron was to surprise and capture all the Peruvian vessels of war which were lying in Callao roads, and place them under the guns of their own ships,

which were anchored near San Lorenzo and out of reach of the guns of the castles. This act of aggression was ostensibly intended to prevent a repetition of an attempt to invade their territories, and was measurably justified by the fact that Obejoso previously had chartered the Peruvian vessels of war for commercial purposes, and that two of them had been obtained on false pretenses by Freire for his expedition against Chili. Soon after this act of hostility a conference was agreed to, the result of which was, that the Peruvian vessels should remain in the hands of the Chilians—that hostilities should be suspended on both sides, each party being also precluded from making any warlike preparation. Santa Cruz, upon this occasion, most solemnly, and as I believe, most truthfully disavowed all participation in Freire's attempt to revolutionize Chili; and expressed his willingness to refund to that government all the expenses which it had incurred in suppressing it—an offer which he could make without compromising his dignity, as the expedition had sailed from Callao, a city pertaining to the Confederation, where the local authorities ought to have been assured of its innocence before permitting it to leave the port. Although the minister could not sign a definitive convention, Santa Cruz bound himself to fulfil the conditions which it imposed upon him; and at the same time took every measure in his power to convince the agent and his government of his desire to cultivate amicable relations with Chili. That he acted in perfectly good faith no one can doubt; as his protestations upon this occasion were corroborated by his conduct subsequently, when the advantage was clearly on his side. Upon the return of the Chilian agent, the government, which had now determined to regain their commercial supremacy, and destroy the influence of Santa Cruz, commenced warlike preparations; and fitting out all their vessels, among which were the prizes taken from the expedition of Freire, and those somewhat treacherously captured at Callao, the fleet was sent to Peru with their "ultimatum"—the dissolution of the Confederation and restoration of sovereignty to Peru and Bolivia. To this, Santa

Cruz positively, and with much propriety, refused to accede, more especially as it was accompanied by a threatening display of force. In December, 1836, Chili declared war against the Confederation, and commenced, under supervision of the indefatigable Portales, to prepare for hostilities. The President assumed extraordinary powers, provided for in the constitution, and troops were concentrated at Valparaiso, the whole expedition being placed under the command of Admiral Blanco Encalada, while that of the land forces was encharged to Colonel Vidame, an officer who had a high reputation for gallantry and talents. In addition to the Chilian army, a division of banished Peruvians, under command of General La Fuente, an exile from that country, who it was intended should play the same part, to a certain extent, in dissolving the Peru-Bolivian Confederation, that our worthy and philanthropic ancestors, the English, have assigned to a *certain* black boy, whom it suits their purposes to style *King of the Mosquitos*, in these attempts to obtain territory in Central America. Before the sailing of this expedition Chili met with a loss which was irreparable, and for which the ultimate success of the war did not compensate. This misfortune was attributable to the treachery of the commandant of the troops, Vidame, who, after the forces were concentrated at Valparaiso, ungratefully made Portales prisoner, and attacked Valparaiso, when he was beaten off by Admiral Blanco and his cousin Vidame, who was governor of the city. When the result of the attack became known, Portales and his secretary were shot by the step-son of the mutineer. Vidame and his accomplices fled after the battle was lost, but were afterwards captured, when he and eleven of his officers were shot, an act of retributive justice, however, which was a poor compensation to the country for the loss of the most unflinching patriot which Chili has produced, and to whose foresight and uncompromising exertions she owes, in a high degree, her present prosperity. The land forces, to the number of three thousand men, which were now placed under the command of General Aldunate, sailed for

Islay, and took possession of the important interior city of Arequipa, the second in Peru, where La Puente was declared Supreme Chief by the Chilians, and commenced organizing his government. The forces of the Confederation retired before the invading army; but, contrary to their anticipations, no discontented Peruvians joined their ranks. The success of the campaign depending essentially upon such aid, the position of the Chilians soon became extremely critical, and Santa Cruz was concentrating his forces, and threatened to cut off their communications with the sea coast. The Protector of Peru soon consummated his plans, enclosing the Chilians with double their force, leaving no alternative but the desperate chances of a battle, or submission, when their enemy, with a clemency which displayed the truth of his previous assertions to their Plenipotentiary at Callao, offered to treat for the evacuation of the Peruvian territory on terms the most liberal and honourable to them. As the Chilian forces were accompanied by a Plenipotentiary, a treaty was effected, which is known in the history of South American diplomacy as that of Paucarpata, after which the kindest hospitalities were extended to the invaders until they had embarked for home. Upon the return of the expedition, general dissatisfaction was expressed by the government and the people, who considered the convention as disgraceful. Blanco was deprived of his command, and a court-martial ordered; the treaty disavowed; and another army of six thousand men prepared to embark, and placed under the command of General Bulnes, a young and dashing officer, a nephew of the President, who had acquired a reputation by a successful campaign against the Araucanians. This expedition was accompanied not only by La Puente but by Gamarra, an ex-president, who had attempted an unsuccessful revolution against Obejoso, and who it was believed would be better received by the Peruvians than was La Puente upon the former occasion. The policy of Chili in thus forcing a neighbouring state into a war, and then attempting to introduce dissensions among them by aiding with their troops these



revolutionary chiefs, is inexcusable; and the morbid sympathy lately expressed, covertly by the government and openly by the people, for their Mexican brethren during their contest with the United States, and their dissatisfaction expressed towards the latter country, comes with a very bad grace from a people whose history contains such episodes as that which I have just sketched. The explanation, however, may be found in the fact that the war between the United States and Mexico was a war of races, and that the Spanish Americans, whose quarrels resemble those of a man and wife, fight among themselves like the famous "Kilkenny Cats," but are immediately roused in a general crusade should a nation not boasting peninsular origin find it necessary to castigate any one of them. This feeling has upon more occasions than one developed itself, and quite recently it produced much commotion in the Spanish American states, when it was rumoured that French and Irish emigrants would assist Flores in making himself President of Equador; while none of these governments find cause for reclamation in the fact that the most excellent government of Buenos Ayres, with which they have the most friendly relations, has been since 1841 attempting by force of arms and diplomacy to foist upon the Montevideans a President whom they expelled in 1837, and whose legal term of election has long since expired. Before the arrival of the Chilian Expedition at Lima, where they intended to disembark upon the occasion, Obejoso, with a want of faith which so frequently characterizes the prominent men in this hero-ridden continent, declared against his friend and ally, Santa Cruz, and pronounced the Confederation dissolved, in which movement he was assisted by General Nieto. He, however, refused to act in conjunction with the Chilians, whom he informed they must seek elsewhere for Santa Cruz, and organized his forces to observe their movements. Bulnes disembarked his troops beyond the reach of the famous Callao castles and encamped on the plain near Lima. The next morning Obejoso, observing a movement among the Chilians which he supposed to be the prelude to an attack upon

the capital, determined to take the initiative, marching out to give battle, and ordering Nieto to follow. This General imitating the recent treachery of his chief, held back with the troops under his command, which defection led to the total defeat of the President, and the capture of Lima. Obejoso secreted himself in the city, and afterwards escaped to the castles of Callao; but finding that he would, by remaining, fall into the hands of Santa Cruz, embarked for Guayaquil, thus terminating, at least for the time, his political career. Nieto, as is usually the case with defeated rebels in South America, obtained protection on board a foreign man-of-war.

The day after the entrance of the successful Chilians, Gamarra, their ready-made President, was put at the head of the Government, where he remained, however, but a short time, as Santa Cruz, then in Bolivia, hearing of the state of affairs in Lima, collected his forces, and after effecting a junction with three thousand troops, under command of General Moran, the Murat of Peru, entered Lima on the day after it had been evacuated by the Chilians. Bulnes, upon the approach of Santa Cruz, embarked his troops, and landed again in the department of Truxillo, where they were pursued by the enemy, and overtaken near Huara.

Santa Cruz, having encamped in a strong position, intended to give battle as soon as his troops had rested after their unwonted exertion; and aware that the enemy were in much distress, he had no doubt of defeating them with ease, although the numerical difference in force was very small, each army numbering something more than four thousand men. He did not, however, count upon the desperation of the Chilians, nor treachery which was busy in his ranks; and before he had made his dispositions for battle, he was himself attacked in his trenches. The battle of Yungai, which ensued on March 20th, 1839, was one of the most desperate ever fought in South America, lasting six and a half hours, terminating in the utter defeat of Santa Cruz, and dissolution of the Confederation. It was, however, by no means

a bloodless victory for the Chilians, as they lost fifteen hundred killed, while the loss of the Peru-Bolivians amounted to two thousand men. The army of Santa Cruz was completely annihilated; two generals were killed, and three made prisoners, while he barely escaped with his life, accompanied by some twenty soldiers. At Lima he was joined by Moran, whom he placed in command of the castles of Callao, with orders to hold them four months, when he would bring relief, and reinstate himself in authority. He directed his course to Arequipa, where he was most popular; but while on his way, news was first received of a revolution and his own deposition in Bolivia; and next, that Arequipa had also deserted him. His life he saved with difficulty, as all men turned against the unfortunate chieftain, who, accompanied only by three or four faithful followers, among whom was Gen. Miller, at this time H. B. M. Consul-general in the Sandwich Islands, he escaped to Islay, where he had just time, by embarking in an English vessel of war, to save himself from capture by a body of cavalry which had pursued him. Thus for the time terminated the political career of Gen. Santa Cruz, one of the most liberal-minded and honourable of the chiefs who have figured in South America, and a man more calculated than any other to elevate his country to the exalted position which it might hold among nations. In his whole career, political and military, I can find no stigma attached to his name—no treacherous desertion of a leader or a faction for his own elevation—no cruelty to his enemies—no faithlessness to his friends, nor bad conduct as a military leader. His misfortunes were due to his trust in the good faith of others; for had he crushed the Chilian army under Aldunate, it would not have returned augmented in numbers to attack him when unprepared; and had he retained the Bolivian army in Peru, neither the defection of Obejoso, nor the revolt of Baldivia (the general who pronounced against him in Bolivia during his absence), would have occurred. The small remnant of officers who remained faithful to him, including Miller, Moran, Garcia del Rio, and

Cardeno, is a striking commentary upon the dependence to be placed upon South American faith and gratitude.

In 1836, the Peruvian Assembly had declared him Supreme Protector for life; the invincible pacificator of Peru decreed an equestrian statue on the field of Socabaya, \$30,000 per annum as a salary, and that his portrait should be suspended in all public offices, including the halls of Congress. In 1839, he, with three faithful friends, was fleeing from his enemies, and every man was his enemy; and life was only assured when he was no longer within the limits of his Supreme Protectorate, and when he sought the asylum afforded by a foreign man-of-war. These are the people whose glorious efforts for liberty we are expected to admire. I am a republican by birth and from conviction, but rather than see my own country resemble these vacillating, cruel, and ungrateful communities, which we are expected to recognize as our sister institutions, I would a thousand times welcome a despotism. Despots persecute the few, democracies the many. Despotisms may corrupt the morals of a few, but when democracy runs riot, as it has done in many South American States, it spreads its blighting influence over all classes. It is always said, speaking of the disturbed state of those countries, that they are not true republics, but military despotisms, and that armies have no right to deliberate. Of what do the armies consist but of the wavering, changeable people, with arms and uniforms, and influenced by the specious arguments of every demagogue, civil or military! An army ceases to be such when it assumes a right to deliberate. It is then, in different degrees, according to the extent to which its pretensions are carried, either the people or the mob in uniform. While touching, however, upon the destiny of Santa Cruz, I may allude to the fate of his rivals, and the traitors who betrayed him. Valasco was declared president at his deposition, by the military pronunciamento of Baldovian during his absence from Boliva. Afterwards another revolution placed Baldovian in the presidential chair; and in 1847, just before my own arrival in Valparaiso, he arrived in Chili a

fugitive, having been driven out to make room for the same Valasco whom he had deposed. Thus it is with South American revolutions; and thus it is that the natural mode of government is brought into contempt among nations. Santa Cruz was a far-sighted man; he wished to establish a government so strong that the pronunciamiento of the colonel of a regiment in some remote point in the republic might not affect its stability, as had been hitherto the case; and his commercial views were so extended, that he saw no necessity for the citizens of Peru first paying a transit duty on merchandize in Valparaiso before it reached their ports. He wished, also, to open a free commerce with foreigners, as an important element of prosperity to the nation over which circumstances called him to preside. This was the true cause of the hostility of Chili. For the time they were successful, and by destroying the Confederation they retained much of the commerce of Peru and Bolivia in their own hands; but circumstances which their limited though well-organized forces could not control, gave to the United States a good port in California; and almost at the same time, by the discovery of a gold region in their territory, gave a powerful incentive to emigration, by which the time has been much hastened when Chili will be no longer an "entrepot" for the commerce of the Pacific. Such were the objects of Chili in their successful war, and such the fate of the Supreme Protector, who was thus forced to abandon South America. His more recent history has been recorded, whether truly or falsely I cannot say, in the journals of the day, in connection with the projected expedition of Flores; but of one thing I am well assured, that no chief who has hitherto figured in Peru or Bolivia, is so well calculated to ensure their prosperity as Gen. Santa Cruz. After the battle of Yungai, where the Chilians are accused of having shown great cruelty to the wounded, whom they slaughtered indiscriminately during the rout, Bulnes returned by sea to Callao where, before re-embarking for Chili, he not only imposed upon the Peruvians the President Gamarra, but a Constitution, after which he retired,

and was soon after elected President of Chili—an office which he still holds. As Gamarra has figured as a Chilian or their coadjutor in the preceding sketch, it may not be considered inappropriate to follow his history to its speedy termination. In 1840, Bolivia, now having lost her master-spirit in Santa Cruz, became the prey of rival factions contending for the presidency, when Gamarra was requested to settle the dispute with an armed force. Arriving in Bolivia the two parties united, and attacking him at a disadvantage, he was completely defeated. In his flight from the field he was killed, and had not Chili mediated, Bolivia in turn would have invaded Peru. Thus terminates the wars of Chili with the Peru-Bolivian Confederation, and with it terminates Chilian history, as since this period she may be said to have been progressing rapidly in prosperity. "Happy is the country which has no history." He who destroyed the spirit of military insurrection in Chili, Diego Portales, the statesman and patriot, is dead, but his work lives after him, and to his combinations is due the prosperity which Chili has enjoyed since his first appearance in her administration. Bulnes, the successful general, is now serving his second term as President of the Republic. O'Higgins died in voluntary exile. Santa Cruz is an exile, and the General Freire, who succeeded O'Higgins, and attempted from Peru a revolution in Chili against the authority of the constitutional President, is now living quietly in Santiago, although it is supposed by some persons that he would be willing to relieve the monotony of his life by another attempt to place himself at the head of the government, were its strength not too great, and the chance of Executive clemency which he experienced during the presidency of Prieto, too small in that of his prompt and decisive nephew.

Whether or not so long an episode in a work which professes to be a narrative of a journey, may not be justly considered ill-placed, is a question which I leave the reader to decide for himself. It has been, and is my own opinion, that a sketch of the

history of the most prosperous of Spanish American Republics, cannot but possess some interest to Americans, especially when brought into a condensed form from the epoch of the conquest to the present time.

## CHAPTER IX.

GEOGRAPHY—GOVERNMENT—DEPARTMENTS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
FINANCE, AND INTERIOR.

THE geographical position of Chili is easily appreciated by a single glance at the map of South America. It is a long and narrow strip of land, bounded on the west by the Pacific, which bathes its shores during its whole extent; on the north, by the impassable desert of *Atacama*; on the east, by difficult, at some seasons, impassable Cordillera; and on the south, by the territory of the unconquered *Araucanians*. To these natural boundaries, which have prevented the Chilian population from disseminating itself over too wide a field, the country owes its high state of cultivation and much of its prosperity. The whole length of Chili is about eighteen hundred miles; and its breadth, which, however, varies greatly as the *Cordillera* advances to, or recedes from the coast, is about two hundred miles. Independent of their continental territory, the Chilians also possess the far-famed island of *Juan Fernandez* and the Archipelago of *Chiloé*, containing sixty-four islands; all, however, except *Chiloé* proper, insignificant in extent and sparsely populated. Recently the government has attempted to extend its possessions, by establishing a colony on the north side of the Straits of Magellan; but as yet it has proved only a source of expense, and has led moreover to a reclamation from the Argentine government, which also claims that territory. The continent proper is divided into ten provinces, which are each governed by an Intendant, who is



appointed by the supreme government. The provinces themselves are, for greater convenience, divided into departments, the administration of which is entrusted to an inferior authority, who is styled governor. The most northern of these provinces is *Atacama*, the capital of which is *Copiapó*, one of the most important seaports. The great wealth of this province consists in its minerals, of which copper is the most important. The next province in order is *Coquimbo*, of which *Serena* is the capital, which, independent of mineral wealth, produces grain, fruits, and liquors. The port of this province is *Coquimbo*, one of the most secure in Chili. The next province is *Aconcagua*, extending from *Coquimbo* to the hills of *Chacabuco*, which separate it from *Santiago*. On the east it is bounded by the *Cordillera*, whence issue numerous streams, which make this one of the most fertile and productive of the provinces. Its resources are principally agricultural; although it possesses considerable mineral wealth. Its capital is the city of *San Felipe*. The province of *Valparaíso* is less fertile than most other regions in Chili, and derives its principal importance from its port, which, though not so good as either *Coquimbo* or *Talcahuano*, has become the commercial emporium of the country. It must not be understood, however, that this province is sterile, as it produces grains and fruits in considerable quantities, and supplies most abundantly the markets of its capital. *Santiago* is extremely fertile and well watered, the beautiful valley already mentioned in the description of the Chilian capital, extending nearly through its whole extent. Its principal wealth consists in grains, cattle, and fruits, although metals are found in various localities. The capital of the province of *Colchagua* is *San Fernando*, and its wealth principally mineral and agricultural. Marble is found in this province.

*Talca*, with a capital of the same name, is comparatively a new district, but is rapidly progressing in prosperity.

*Maule*, whose capital is *Conquenes*, is fertile, producing grains, fruits and minerals. At the capital there are warm springs,

which are much resorted to by invalids. Temperature, according to *Daurin*, varies in the different springs at different seasons. In 1835, during the great earthquake, it suddenly fell from 118° to 92° Fahr.

*Concepcion*, with a capital of the same name, the port of which is *Tulahuano*, is an extensive district, rich in timber, useful in the arts, grains, cattle and wines, which latter attain an excellence not found elsewhere in South America. There is also mineral wealth in this province of which a coal bank is probably the most important.

*Valdivia*, the most southern of Chilean provinces, is yet almost in a state of nature, and inhabited for most part by Indians. It possesses mineral wealth which is not yet developed. Its productions are cereal grains and wood for construction, the latter having been thus far the most valuable export.\*

While upon the subject of the political divisions of the country, it may not be inappropriate to touch upon the division of land and the condition of the people residing in the country—the *Guasos* or peasantry. Owing to the large grants made to the followers of *Valdivia* and the earlier governors, and which for the most part remain in the families of the first donataries, the land in the cultivated districts is almost invariably held in fee simple by large landed proprietors. When received by the first settlers, the grant of land was almost invariably accompanied by an *encomienda* or grant of a certain number of Indians, who were, according to the Spanish system in those days, obliged to labour for their proprietors. As the Spanish population increased, and the mingling of the people, and the natural effect of contact with a superior race had thinned the Indians, and soon after, when, owing to the exertions of certain philanthropists, which the interested proprietors could no longer oppose, the system of *encomendas* was abolished, it became necessary to supply labour from another source. A scanty supply of negroes measurably filled up this deficiency; but as slavery was also abolished by *Carrera*,

\* D. F. Lopez, *Historia de Chile*.

while at the head of the revolutionary government in 1811, this source of labour was also withdrawn from the proprietors.\*

Meanwhile, even before the abolition of Indian servitude, a new class of men were rapidly increasing in Chili—the poor who had no landed possessions, and who became so numerous that employment could be no longer found in the cities as laborers, or in the few mechanic arts which were practised in Chili. These persons at present form the labouring class, under a system quite closely resembling the feudal, as the landed proprietors give to a peasant who applies to him for permission to reside on his estate, a small portion of land, upon which he erects a cottage, and by the careful cultivation of the limited field which has been given him, supports himself and family. For this right to reside on the estate, and for this assignment of land, he is obliged to render certain services to the proprietor, differing only from a feudal tenure in the fact that these services are not military, but agricultural and pastoral. The *Inquilino*, or tenant, must assist his master's immediate servants in driving in and in marking cattle (the *Rodes*), in getting in and threshing the harvest, and, in short, any of the more important services of an estate, which require greater force than that ordinarily employed. As the limited extent of cultivable soil assigned by the land owner is seldom sufficient to support the tenant and his family, he is at liberty, when not required by the proprietor, to ask service elsewhere, which they invariably do, as the Chilian peasant is by no means idle, and in pursuit of employment, which density of population makes difficult in their own country, finds his way to the adjoining Argentine Provinces, where they are employed as labourers in

\* I often had occasion to remark upon the limited number of negroes in Chili, particularly in the interior, which in this respect contrasts not only with Brazil, but Buenos Ayres, Monte Video, and Peru. Upon inquiring of a very intelligent Chilian, whose exalted official position, thorough education and experience gave him a good opportunity of judging, I was informed that most of the Chilian negroes who had been freed by Carrera enlisted in the army of St. Martin, and were left by him in Peru and Buenos Ayres.

towns, or upon grazing and other farms. So numerous are the Chilians at Mendoza and its vicinity, that any labourer is called Chilenceo whether he be a native of that country or not. The peasant in Chili, of course, can possess but little education—the female portion (*Guasitas*) still less—yet they appear happy, industrious, and are very polite to strangers. As might be expected, the effect of this feudal system is to make them subordinate and very respectful to all whom they consider their superiors in social position or in wealth. All such they address as “*patron*,” employer, or master, and while in their presence, they generally stand uncovered. Such state of politesse, among many will doubtless be considered as in a high degree derogatory to the dignity of human nature; as the predisposition unfortunately among those who are influenced by the arguments of the demagogues, is to consider that in the intercourse between the poor and rich, the ignorant and educated, the former cannot uphold their dignity as free and enlightened citizens, save by a display of rudeness, intended for assertion of equality. Yet these same sticklers for the dignity of human nature, can, as we have often seen, assume the most abject humility when their interest dictates. The independence which they preach, therefore, is only applicable in all those cases in which they require nothing of those who may have it in their power to oblige them, as no man can be more servile than the flatterer and servant of the mob.\* In my opinion, therefore, the respect shown by the Chilian peasant to those whom education, or wealth, or both, have placed above him, has in it more real dignity than the alternations of servility, as occasion offers or requires, and rudeness, mistaken for independence, which I have observed in some other countries. The dwellings of the peasantry are almost invariably to be found by the road sides, while the great house is situated in the centre of the estate, an arrangement not only useful to the peasant, who

\* “Wherever this word occurs in our writings, it intends persons without virtue or sense, in all stations; and many of the highest rank are often meant by it.”—*Fiddling's History of a Foundling*. Note to chap. IX.

has thus an opportunity to dispose of superfluous fruits or vegetables to passing travellers, but to the proprietor, who has thus a barrier against depredators, and gives many estates the appearance of a village, owing to the number of tenants who are located on its margin. In general terms, therefore, the rural population may be divided into land-owners and feudal tenants—the former giving the land, and the latter supplying labour required at certain seasons, as a compensation for this favour.

GOVERNMENT.—The general government of Chili consists of an Executive, elected for five years, eligible for a second, but not a third term unless an intermediate term has meanwhile transpired. His duties and prerogatives are similar to those of our own Executive, and to assist his deliberations, an Executive Council, consisting of the Presidents of the Supreme Court of Justice and Court of Appeals, the Bishop of Santiago, Apostolic Vicar, a General of Division, Minister of Estanco,\* two ex-Ministers, two Judges, and a Secretary of the Council. The Ministers of the government are four: Foreign and Interior Affairs, Justice, Religion, and Public Instruction, Treasury, War and Marine. The existing President is D. Manuel Bulnis, General of Division, who entered upon his second term on September 18th, 1846.

The Legislature consists of two houses—the Senate and House of Deputies. The former represent the provinces in the ratio of two to each Continental Province; the whole number is consequently twenty. Their term of service is nine years, and the mode of election in triple lists, which are renewed every three years. During the first two terms, seven Senators are elected, and in the third term six, completing the number. Senators and Deputies may be elected indefinitely.

The House of Deputies is composed of members elected by direct suffrage, one for every twenty thousand souls. In the event of a fraction remaining, not less than half or ten thousand,

\* The functionary here alluded to, presides over the administration of the monopolies which are reserved by the Government, the amount of which will be discussed under the head of finance.

it is also represented by a Deputy. The term of service is three years, and the last elections took place for this House, alike with the Senate, in 1846.

Annual expenses for salaries and contingents for the two houses, \$7,752.

The Judicial power in Chili consists of two Superior Courts, the Supreme Court of Justice, and that of Appeals. They each consist of a President, five Ministers, a Fiscal, two *Relatores*, and a Secretary.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.—Chili is at present at peace, and is generally in amicable relations with all nations. The most important negotiations on foot during 1848, were those tending to a long projected meeting of Plenipotentiaries of South American States, to determine upon a confederation between them, and establish a convention for purposes of commerce and navigation. Many years had elapsed since the American Congress at which the United States were represented, had met at *Panama*, and many of the causes which made it desirable at that time, had been removed or modified, and when, owing to the exertions of the States bordering on the Pacific, it was finally re-convened, only five Plenipotentiaries appeared in Lima, representing the Republics of Chili, Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, and New-Grenada.

In 1848 the Representatives of these Republics signed a treaty of Confederation, one of Navigation and Commerce, as well as two pacts termed Convention of Mails and Consular Convention. The ratifications, which were subject to the decisions of the respective Governments, were to have been exchanged in Lima in August, 1849. As might be anticipated, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who appeared much in favour of such Congress, announced to the Chambers in his Report in 1848, that the Government intended recommending to the Congress certain modifications of importance in the existing Conventions, and that certain others should be found, the attainment of which he did not consider difficult, but as each State will, in all human probability, recommend conflicting modifications, it can scarce be anticipated that any stable

or useful arrangement can be effected. In truth, it strikes me very strongly as a diplomatic game, in which five governments are attempting to overreach each other; and as of course they cannot all attain their ends, they will not ratify the convention, and the Congress of Nations at *Lima* will terminate like the famous congress above alluded to at *Panama*. The objects to be attained by this Congress, as announced by the Chilean Government to the Houses in 1844, is the preservation of exterior and interior peace, the amicable solution of questions which might arise among the confederate states, the regulation of the right of refuge and asylum, the establishment of more benign principles of international jurisprudence, the better enjoyment of aquatic communications, the police of the frontiers, security and promptness in epistolary correspondence, and the reciprocal protection to be conceded to citizens of the respective states. The Chilean Secretary also recommended to the consideration of the congress of plenipotentiaries such mutual favour and protection of their rising commerce as might be compatible with existing treaties and conventions with other nations. It must be acknowledged that such a pact among the South American States, if it could be agreed upon, might be advantageous to all not only in a commercial view, but on account of the mutual strength arising from such alliance, which could not but tend to liberate them from the insulting and offensive encroachments upon their sovereignty which is not unfrequently practised by powerful maritime nations, and especially by the English. Yet notwithstanding these obvious advantages, I cannot but look upon the attempt as a pleasing chimera, whose realization is impossible, and am indeed surprised that the five plenipotentiaries should ever have come to a definite conclusion on any of the points which were discussed in the Congress. Neighboring states are almost invariably rivals, and contiguity is by no means equivalent to identity of interests, and the confederation will probably be shipwrecked even before it is well organized; and even admitting the possibility of the objects in view, the disturbed state of most of these Republics would effectually pre-

vent a continuance, as a change in administration due to revolution in any one of them might be the means of breaking up their political and commercial relations, and would probably lead to hostilities. The unfortunate fate of the Peru Bolivian confederation ought to warn all these states of the great difficulty of reconciling conflicting interests between nations. The Chilean government has also attempted unsuccessfully to establish similar relations with other South American states. A correspondence transpired between it and the Brazilian government during the year 1848, initiated by the former with the desire of entering into some definite arrangement by which the commercial relations might be placed on a footing more advantageous for both parties, and that for this purpose Brazil should accredit a diplomatic agent, who should be authorized by his government to treat with that of Santiago. The imperial government declined, but has since accredited a "charge des affaires" to Chili, whose minister of foreign relations in his last message states that though the government is unwilling to introduce odious distinctions, it is not disposed to countenance inequality without compensation under the outward semblance of reciprocity between Chili and Brazil. In short, it threatens to establish upon Brazilian products differential duties with a view to equalize the advantages of the commerce between the two countries. That such inequality exists is apparent from the report of the Minister of Finance, in which it appears that the value of the produce of Brazil introduced into Chili during the years 1845, '46, and '47 was \$1,170,606, while the exportations during the same years from Chili to Brazil amounted to no more than \$371,990. The products of Brazil do not meet the rivalry in the Chilean markets that Chilean products do in their own; in the article of flour, for example, the principal agricultural export, Chili has at the same time to compete with the flour from Europe and the United States, each of whom can afford to sell cheaply, as the cargo is little more than ballast, the profits of the voyage arising from the return cargo of coffee. Of the importations made from Chili into Brazil during the period



above alluded to, \$59,000 were in ounces of gold, which is not to be considered as affecting the balance above mentioned, which is in favour of Brazil to the amount of \$807,515.

It could not be expected that Chili should not have had its troubles with its capacious neighbor, the Argentine Confederation. Such indeed is the case, as the latter has protested against the establishment of the Magellan colony, on the ground that the territory belongs to Buenos Ayres, and demanded satisfaction for an invasion of the province of Mendoza by an Argentine chief, named *Rodriguez*. This person, it appears, after an unsuccessful attempt against the existing authorities, escaped to Chili, where he was placed under surveillance at the request of the authorities of Mendoza, but having by some means escaped, returned to the Argentine territory, where he was defeated and executed. In a diplomatically insulting note the government of the Confederation accused that of Chili of bad faith and connivance.

There still exists an open question between Chili and the United States relative to individual claims, but the Minister of Foreign Affairs "hopes that the Cabinet at Washington disembarassed from the urgent attention required by the war with the Mexican States (whose termination, so ardently desired, will be without doubt a motive of congratulation to the Chambers,) will turn its attention to the discussions pending with this Republic. From its justice and wisdom, we ought to promise ourselves a satisfactory result." Even the compliment to our *justice* and wisdom does not counterpoise the diplomatic expression of dissatisfaction at our war with the Mexicans, with whom the Chilian people have sympathised during the contest, not only on account of the ties of common origin which bind them together, but from jealousy to the United States, whose commercial rivalry in the Pacific must inevitably decrease their importance. Touching upon this feeling I may also allude to the superior popularity of England over our own country in Chili, as it presents an anomaly not easily reconciled at first sight, and of which I have assured

myself in three visits to this country. In the course of a voyage round the world and visits paid to countries in Asia, Africa, and both Americas, not to mention divers islands situated in various parts of different oceans, I have found my country and countrymen invariably respected and even loved, whereas the English, either through the aggressive policy of the government or the hauteur of individuals, have managed to make themselves supremely disliked "and immeasurably despised." To this general rule Chili is the only exception which has yet come under my notice. It is true England has never had occasion to commit acts of an arbitrary nature, in this Republic, as has been the case with almost every nation which was not in a situation to resist or resent, yet this alone cannot account for the anomaly to which I allude. The only explanation which I can make is, that the English mining companies with immense capitals and commercial houses, which are numerous in *Valparaiso*, have for many years controlled the commerce and exchange of Chili, while the natives have generally been their debtors for merchandise imported from England and sold to them on credit. Favors rendered and credit given alike to the government, whose external debt is in England, may thus account for the popularity of a nation the forbearance or justice of whose government and social deportment of whose citizens certainly could never have secured it. To the naval adventurers, of whom *Lord Cochrane* stands first in rank and achievements, the Chilians have owed something, although not their independence, which was achieved before their arrival, but as they were called upon to pay so liberally, especially so to the distinguished personage already named, we can scarce imagine that English popularity should owe its origin to this source. If it does, we must confess that "like causes do not always produce similar effects," which we were formerly taught to believe as the acts of the *Marquis of Maranhão*, (*Lord Cochrane*), and his naval adventurers in Brazil, and the Lord High Admiral of Greece, (*Lord Cochrane*), certainly did not elevate the character of his countrymen in either of these countries. Quite the con-

trary, especially in the former, where some of his achievements are branded as piracies. The exterior relations of Chili with other nations do not possess sufficient interest to merit a detailed account. In every quarter they are amicable, and present appearances promise alike peace abroad and freedom from revolution, which before the period of *Portales* prevented the development of its resources at home. The office of Foreign Relations, with a patriotism and sagacity which does it credit, has recently availed itself of the presence of their diplomatic and consular representatives abroad to endeavor to introduce improvements into the country and to benefit and develop their commerce. In furtherance of the former object, a proposition was made to the Royal Gas Company in London, to illuminate the Chilean capital, which offer was declined on the ground that their continental operations had been unsatisfactory, and on account of the remoteness of Chili, but hopes were entertained that their propositions in the United States would be more successful. For the purpose of developing their commercial, agricultural, and mining resources, the foreign office proposed to contribute to the support of a line of steamers to ply between Europe and Chili, by way of the Straits of Magellan, and touching at Brazil. Although the proposition was not accepted in Brazil, hopes are entertained that it has met a favorable reception in France and Spain, and that the project which would be doubtless advantageous to Chili, may be consummated when quiet is once more restored in Europe. In concluding this brief sketch of Chilean foreign relations, we cannot forbear expressing our favorable opinion of the sagacity, patriotism, and firmness by which the government and legislature seem alike actuated in their intercourse with foreign powers, and the economy and strict accountability with which this, as well as the other Chilean departments of government are conducted.

The diplomatic agents by which the Republic was represented in September 1848, were a plenipotentiary in Rome and one in the United States. A "Charge des Affaires," in Paris. A Consul General in Mexico and Rio de Janeiro. Her commercial

interests are entrusted to twenty-six consuls and three vice-consuls, residing at the ports with which her vessels and citizens have most intercourse.

Expense of this department during the year 1845, amounted to \$68,371.

The diplomatic representatives of foreign nations residing near the government of Chili, consist of three "Charges des Affaires," representing Spain, United States, and Peru,\* and four Consuls General, representing Sardinia, Ecuador, France, and England. In addition there resides in various ports of the Republic seventeen consuls and six vice-consuls, representing the interests of the principal maritime powers.

#### FINANCE AND THE INTERIOR.

The sources of revenue in Chili are land tax, tithes, excise, articles monopolized by the government, stamps, licenses, duties of importation, of exportation, toll on roads, post-office, and auction licences. The mint during some years is profitable, while in others it is an outlay, and cannot be calculated upon as a certain source of revenue. The sum total of the public revenue derived from these various sources during the three financial years preceding my visit was as follows :

1845,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	\$3,223,039
1846,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,623,918
1847,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,714,078

The amount produced by each source of revenue during the three years above specified will be seen by glancing the eye over the table subjoined, which displays the gradual but steady increase of revenue from almost all the sources specified :

\* Since publication of above list, a Brazilian Charge has been accredited to Chili, while the United States have raised their legation to a full mission.

## CUSTOM HOUSES, INCLUDING DUTIES ON EXPORTS AND IMPORTS.

	1815.	1846.	1847.
	\$1,763,739	\$2,099,608	\$2,103,976
Monopolies,	663,356	699,352	721,349
Tithes,	378,309	407,868	438,737
Land Tax,	75,078	72,385	71,542
Excise,	102,175	115,744	122,799
Licences,	38,594	38,510	40,865
Stamps,	54,725	58,273	58,171
Mint,	23,959		
Post Office,	46,256	47,036	48,971
Tolls on Roads,	39,509	41,048	37,349
Auctions,	6,100	6,025	6,078
Other sources not specified,	31,225	37,249	50,101

The system of tithes has been abolished by law, and the deficiency in the revenue supplied by an additional tax upon land, the whole impost being included in the latter tax. The government has also taken measures to estimate the value of the *Capellanias*, or rural chapels, which are numerous, with the intention of imposing a tax upon the land pertaining to them in common with all others in the Republic, a plan in which the government announces its intention of persisting, notwithstanding the opposition which the measure has met. The stamp duties are upon legal papers, ships' manifests, passports, &c., and as may be seen by the preceding table, is quite productive as a source of revenue. The stamps are not sold directly by the government, but are purchased in the shops of the various towns and villages. There are seven classes of stamps, ranging in value from one real (12½ cents,) to \$16. The most productive are the stamps for two reals. I am not informed upon the subject of the monopolized articles; tobacco, however, is one of the most important. As appropriations are made without reference to the income during the financial year for which they are intended, it sometimes occurs that it is insufficient to meet the annual expences. In this case, however, the deficiency is supplied by the savings from previous years, as the public expenditures are almost invariably less than the revenue.

The foreign debt remaining in 1848, which was for most part due in England, was one million five hundred and eighty-eight thousand pounds sterling. The interior debt at the same time, which paid three per cent. interest, was \$1,745,950. Both these debts are being extinguished, and should no foreign war increase the expenses of the government, Chili will in a few years be free from national debt. As the exchange in Europe owing to the state of the balance in trade is against Chili, the government has proposed through their ministers in France and England to encharge themselves with the payment of the expenses of their respective squadrons, receiving in return bills of exchange, by which the debt or its interest may be remitted. As this will probably be advantageous only to Chili, it is not probable that the proposition will be accepted, but I mention it as an evidence of the principles of strict economy by which the administration is governed.

The government is urgent in its recommendations for the establishment of a bank which may "satisfy the want so generally felt for institutions of credit." Their diplomatic representatives in Washington and Paris have been directed to enter into some arrangements with capitalists for the establishment of an institution of this kind in Chili. The Minister of Finance in his annual report to the Chambers in 1848, states that considering credit as the most valuable of national properties, he would not have hesitated in founding a bank on account of the government but for the opposition which he was aware the proposition would meet from many distinguished citizens, and the danger which the institution would encounter from the inexperience of those who alone could be appointed to manage it. The experience and practical knowledge to be acquired by a private bank would be desirable before attempting the establishment of a national one. The government, alive to the industrial and mining interests of the country, makes several recommendations for their respective development. "The industry of America," says the Minister of Finance, "cannot develop and thrive by itself alone, as a plant

does not prosper which rises at the foot of another which absorbs all the sustenance arising from the earth." On the principle above stated, protective duties are recommended for Chilean manufactures. To the judicious application of such protection, says the minister in continuation, the United States owes its industrial prosperity. England, as well as Spain, prohibited her colonies from occupying themselves in manufactures, and thus it is that the starting point of fabric industry in the American Union coincides with the commercial restrictions of 1803, while it increased and took root with the protection afforded by the tariffs of 1816, 1824, and 1828. Acting upon these principles, the government recommend an exclusive privilege to be conceded to the manufacturers of certain important articles for the term of eight years. It is also recommended that certain important articles of consumption in the manufactures above mentioned shall be admitted free of duty.

For the development of the mining interests certain recommendations have been recently made, and in part executed by the government. Firstly. *That mines shall be secured from vexatious suits at law, which it appears is not unfrequent when the result of their labours has become productive.* Secondly. *To improve the police of the mines, &c.* Thirdly. *To improve communications.* Fourthly. *Improve ports and construct moles.* Fifthly. *To facilitate the acquisition of necessary articles for mining purposes,* an object measurably attained by permitting native and foreign vessels to disembark bricks, coals, iron, &c., at the bye-ports most convenient to the scene of operations. Sixthly. *To augment the number of vessels for exportation of minerals.* Seventhly. *To perfect the instruments employed in working the mines.* It is also recommended to bestow a premium for the introduction of Artesian wells, and the use of cotton gunpowder in the working of the mines.

The agricultural industry, for reasons which I mentioned in the first chapter, is precariously and unfortunately situated, as each year the increase of the crops, and the want of markets, augment

the excess and diminish the price, while the difficulty is increased by the high interest on money. No government has probably laboured more assiduously than the Chilian to open markets, both by fair and insidious means, as has been shown in the recent history of the country, and in the sketch on Foreign Relations. In a comparison of the state of agricultural and mining interests, the advantage is much in favour of the latter, as the metals always meet a ready market, which is not the case with the former, and strange to say, the export duty is least on the most saleable article, which cannot well suffer from competition. During the latter part of 1848, the agricultural products become suddenly in demand, and much flour was exported to California to supply an immense emigration which the discovery of the gold washings brought to that hitherto unproductive and unconsuming territory. This demand, however, is purely ephemeral, as *California* and *Oregon* will soon supply that territory, and meanwhile Chili will have to compete with the flour from *Guaymas* in Mexico, and with that of the United States. The manufacture of oil and wine, as also that of the spirits made from the grape in the southern provinces, decays daily, says the minister, before foreign competition, and the productive duties can be raised no higher without affording encouragement to contraband, while hemp is only cultivated in small quantities in the Province of *Quillota*. All that is possible, it would appear, has been done by the government, (except in diminishing, or entirely removing export duties. Roads have been constructed and repaired, bridges built, bye ports made eligible to enable the farmer to embark his products without the expense of a tedious land carriage, a treaty effected with Peru, and whalers encouraged to visit the ports, to consume the produce of the country. Amid all these efforts to encourage agriculture, it appears somewhat surprising that the export duty should not be entirely remitted upon products of the soil, yet when the closeness of relation between demand and supply in expences of the government and revenue, with which it is met, is considered, it is less astonishing that the government do



not dare to recommend it. When a revenue is small and nearly equalled by expences, such experiments are unsafe, and failing, might ruin the standing of an administration.

The attention paid by Chili to her internal communications, I cannot but consider the most creditable feature in her administration, and highly beneficial for all classes in the country, especially agriculturists in the interior. In the Argentine provinces and the Banda Oriental, nature has supplied open communications in the plains, which comprise a greater portion of their territories; but as far as regards regularly constructed roads, upon which wheeled vehicles can travel, Chili has a greater extent in her limited territory than there are in all the Spanish South American States. The great empire of Brazil might be also included in this estimate, as like most of her neighbours of Spanish origin, she appears satisfied with the primeval bridle paths, there not being in the whole empire, excluding the cities and their immediate suburbs, three hundred miles of carriage road, except where it has been provided by nature in the form of plains similar to those of the Argentine Confederation already alluded to. The presence of good roads is now considered as one of the salient evidences of civilization, and in this respect Chili ranks favourably. Yet unwilling as I am to detract from the credit given to a nation almost by common consent, and seek abroad for the origin of improvements, a course of reasoning so essentially English, I must acknowledge that carriage roads in this country owe their origin to Ambrose O'Higgins, (an Irishman) already favourably mentioned in the colonial history as the governor who succeeded in 1788. Until the period of his administration, Chili, like other South American States, possessed only bridle paths, and the agricultural products were, like those of the interior of Brazil, nearly useless, on account of the difficulty or impossibility of conveying them to market or to the sea coast for exportation. But although we cannot in view of historical facts and analogical reasoning, concede to Chilians the originality of their invaluable communications, yet we cannot but give them much credit for

the improvement upon the customs of their ancestors, and their perseverance in overcoming great natural obstacles. In fine, as may be inferred from the above sketch, the ministry of finance and the interior, perfectly alive to the interests of its country, has availed itself of every opportunity for the development of its resources and the economical administration of the affairs of the nation.

The total expence of the department of finance for the year 1845, which I suppose may be assumed as the average annual expenditure, was \$734,923, while that of the interior, for the same period, was \$347,710.

## CHAPTER X.

### DEPARTMENTS OF JUSTICE, RELIGION, WAR AND MARINE.

THE Ministry of Justice comprehends also that of Religion and Public Instruction, in neither of which branches of the administration are to be found information possessing more than a provincial interest. The two most important points referred to by the minister in his annual report in 1846, was the continuation of the labours of a commission employed in compiling a new criminal code; and the non-conformance of the government to a decree of the Congress authorizing the establishment of two more courts of appeal. The objections which it urges for not having established these two tribunals, was the additional expense of some \$40,000, which it would not be difficult to expend more advantageously, and the extreme probability that their establishment would augment instead of diminishing the evils they were proposed to correct. The arguments probably had their weight with the Chambers, as neither of these courts had been established at the period of my visit in 1849. The laws which restrict the liberty of the press, require, says the minister, urgent reform, as the publication of ideas through the medium of the press, while it is a powerful means of aggrandizement and enlightenment to which civilized nations owe many blessings, may be converted into instruments of disorder and evil, more especially in new countries just founding their institutions, and where backwardness in civilization makes it a matter of little difficulty to blind and lead men into error. That the limitations

mentioned would be beneficial, I cannot for a moment doubt, although inclined to believe that the central and nervous government of Chili has never admitted such excesses of this privilege as has been perpetrated with so much impunity in her sister, the model Republic, and in Great Britain.

The prison system in Chili is imperfect, but improving, notwithstanding the difficulty of bringing ignorant subordinates into the views of the enlightened government, for according to the report of the minister in 1846, "To construct prisons in that country is to construct large halls and dungeons where the great criminals are mingled with those who are incarcerated for the first time and for a slight cause, and in which the novices acquire knowledge in a school of evil, upon which to practice upon a future occasion." To obviate the defects arising from this system, the government has announced that it will approve of no prison, still less assist in its construction, in which the system of isolating the prisoners is not provided for. One prison upon this system has been already built, while two others are in the process of construction. There exists a House of Correction at the capital, and a penitentiary recently established on the system of isolation, adopted from the United States, so immeasurably superior to the former. A Spanish prison must be seen in order to appreciate its horrors and the truthfulness of the minister's statement relative to their demoralizing influence. It has, however, often occurred to me that imprisonment in either *Chili* or *Petru* must possess additional horrors to the prisoners under any practicable system which might be proposed. Doctor Johnson remarked of a ship, that it was a prison without its security from danger. This remark, which is measurably true where it was made, as well as in our own country, is by no means the case in Chili, where the frequency of earthquakes, sometimes terrific in their effects, destroys not only our confidence in the stability of all edifices, but in that of the earth's crust itself. It is a fact sufficiently notorious that residents of a country where earthquakes are frequent become more timid and easily terrified than

those who are witnessing the phenomena for the first or second time. Having in view this fact, and that upon the first rumbling which generally announces the approach of an earthquake, every inhabitant rushes frantically in a square, street, or some other open space to save himself from death beneath his walls, and that many fear to close their doors when asleep, lest they may not obtain speedy egress, it may easily be imagined the horror of a man at finding himself shut up for years between four ponderous walls, with no chance of escape in the event of a shock. As severe earthquakes are of rare occurrence even in Chili, their unfrequency might lead a prisoner to consider it a danger so remote that the mind would soon cease to dwell upon it, were it not for the fact that it is almost constantly brought before him by minor shocks, which happen frequently. At the commencement of every shock, and even during its continuance, the miserable criminal would not be assured that he was not about to be crushed and buried beneath the ruins of his prison. Successive minor shocks at times accompany a great one, such as utterly destroy cities. This is natural. The same causes being in action, may easily produce in a greater degree what we actually experience in a less ; and what would not be the anxiety of a prisoner during such a period, which frequently lasts for weeks. On the other hand, as I myself witnessed while in Santiago, a long interval without a slight shock also terrifies, as it is then supposed that the next one will be unusually violent. And thus time after time will an unfortunate endure all the bitterness of death, while the continual anxiety at all times must prey upon his health. Combined with the absolute solitary and silent system, the mind must give way and madness ensue, especially when a criminal is condemned for a long term ; and I really consider that the additional and terrible punishment arising from a constant fear of an awful death in confinement ought to be considered in fixing the sentence.

## RELIGION.

Chili has an *archbishop* residing in the capital and several bishops.

*Convents* are rare, as the people are entirely too utilitarian and practical to encourage hives of drones who choose to dedicate themselves to religion for the sole benefit of their own souls, and to the detriment of the pockets of others. Theological seminaries are encouraged, as there is said to be a deficiency of priests to perform the duties required in the various parishes. A want of missionaries is also felt on the Araucanian frontier, among the partially civilized tribes, to supply which a proposition was made by the government some four years ago to the Company of Jesus, but the negotiation was broken off, because the government could not consent to their conditions, which the minister of justice declares by no means necessary for the fulfilment of the objects for which they were called. A succeeding attempt was made to obtain missionaries by application to his Holiness through the plenipotentiary in Rome, the success of which I did not learn. The ill success of the Indian missions in the South does not appear to have discouraged the government, which spares no efforts within its reach to Christianize and civilize these intractable savages. I doubt, however, whether the missionaries are really so disinterested as the government itself is, and supposes them to be, and believe that they are more desirous of personal comfort, than for the conversion of the Indians. The whole number of missions in Valdivia, (the frontier province) I did not learn, and the number of Indians contained in what is termed a Reduction, ranges from two and three hundred to two thousand. As the Indians cannot be made to live in towns or villages, another system of teaching is adopted in bringing them by turns into the mission, where the amount of their teaching is prayers by rote, and confession. The proposed converts, male and female, who are kept separate, remain until some old native coadjutor of the *padre* has taught them a few prayers, and during this stay they receive their food from the mission for which

it is compensated by their labour during their stay. The Indians complain that they are frequently retained in the missions for a month and more, and of other acts of injustice on the part of the missionary, which complaints the *Intendant* of Valdivia, who acted as government visitor, thinks are unfortunately too frequently well founded. This official appears also to have arrived at a conclusion relative to the Indians which is much in accordance with the experience of all other parts of America, viz., that the opposition to civilization is an evil inherent to the race, and that the progress of improvement will be always imperceptible until the race is mingled with, and absorbed by others. One, and I am inclined to believe the only benefit derived from these missions was the recent publication of an Araucanian dictionary and grammar, which though it may be of little use in propagating Christianity and civilization cannot but be interesting to the philologist.

The sole remaining and most important branch of this ministry, public instruction, appears to be progressing steadily, if not so rapidly as might be desired. Uniform works have been published by the government and sold at a cheap rate throughout the country. *Normal* schools have been established, and young men introduced from various provinces who are intended as teachers of the youth. Independent of the primary instruction in the common schools, lyceums have also been established in various interior cities and towns in which the course of *Humanities* is the same that has been established in the National Institute of Chili. The capital boasts a university and national institute, while the cities and principal towns possess their colleges or high schools. Education is very generally diffused among the higher classes. Among the lower, especially the peasantry, this is unfortunately not the case as yet, although the enlightened exertions of the government, and the concentrated state in which the rural population generally exists, affords a prospect of great improvement.

The University at Santiago attempted a few years ago to

modify the Spanish language, by dropping the silent letters. For a time this change was generally adopted, and had the approbation of the government and press, but by degrees the Chilians have become aware of the fact that a language spoken by some sixty millions of people cannot be changed at once by a decree of an academy, or that the example of a remote Republic, insignificant in extent, could for a moment influence the dialect of the mother country. This system, which owes its origin to an Argentine, not a Chilian, possesses no advantage save the omission of a few silent letters, while confusion cannot but ensue, owing to the fact that the omissions thus practised destroy distinctions between words which though similarly pronounced, are distinguished from each other by the presence of this silent letter in print. Gradually the attempt has been abandoned, and I have noted the gradual change during my three visits in 1846, '48, and '49. In the first of these years all books, newspapers, and government documents were printed in the new style, while in the last I found it had been abandoned by the government press, and all save a few enthusiasts. The absurdity of this attempt to legislate down a language, ought to have prevented its having ever been encouraged, as it really was, by an intelligent public and government.

The public library, which is increasing every year, is very valuable, and contains many rare books and manuscripts. The number of volumes I did not learn, but believe it the largest in South America, except those of Rio de Janeiro and of Buenos Ayres.

The expense of the Ministry of Justice, Religion, and Public Instruction in 1846, amounted to \$513,814, which I think somewhat above the average per annum expense, owing to the assistance given by the government to the building and repair of thirteen churches, some prisons, and the new penitentiary. Of this sum \$198,206 was devoted to the Department of Justice, \$179,517 to that of Religion, and \$136,080 for public instruction.



*War and Marine,—Naval and Mercantile.*—Since the administration of President Prieto, and his able minister Portales, the army of Chili, which was formerly a potent instrument of evil, has been kept within moderate limits on the peace establishment, an object easily and securely attainable, owing to the geographical situation of the country, which is bounded by barriers making an invasion too difficult to be attempted by their turbulent and warlike neighbours. At the period of my visit it consisted of 2991 men, who are divided among the three arms of infantry, artillery, and cavalry, in the following proportions. Infantry, three battalions of the line, numbering respectively three hundred and sixty-nine, three hundred and eighty-four, three hundred and ninety-five, and one battalion of light infantry numbering three hundred and ninety-six men. The total number of artillery is three hundred and ninety men forming a single corps. The cavalry consists of two regiments, one chasseurs, numbering three hundred and thirty, and one of mounted grenadiers of two hundred and fifteen men. There appears to be no organized body of engineer troops or military artificers, a corps so essential to the operations of an army, and so difficult of attainment when wanted in the field.

General officers are more numerous in proportion to the number of troops, and of a higher rank than are found elsewhere on this continent, except in Brazil, and consist of two captain-generals, one lieutenant-general, six generals of division and four brigadier-generals. The rank and number would certainly appear disproportionate to the regular military establishment, but it is to be considered that these are the officers who command the whole military force of the country in the event that it should be called upon to take the field, and that a high rank attainable by gallantry and good conduct, is the most powerful incentive to the officer, and one which every sagacious government would do well to hold out to those employed in its military establishments.\*

\* As much eloquence has recently been wasted in this country on the other side of the question, we may be excused for quoting the opinions of the

Attached to the Chilian army are twenty-two colonels, forty-six lieutenant-colonels, sixty-two majors, one hundred and thirty captains, twenty-three adjutants, ninety-two lieutenants, eighty-six ensigns, six cornets, three surgeons, and four chaplains. There are no invalid officers borne on the army-list, and but four hundred and fifty-nine rank and file.

In 1847, the projected expedition of Gen. Flores produced no small alarm. The Spanish American republics called the attention of the Chilian government to the state of defence on the sea-coast, when the minister of war reported that the garrison artillery, on account of its age, as well as owing to the improvements in modern ordnance, required to be renewed; and an order was sent to France for a certain number of pieces of heavy calibre, and mounted in accordance with latest improvements.

In addition to the sea-coast batteries of iron, a mountain and field battery of brass were also ordered. These additions to the defensive and offensive military material, gave rise to no additional expense, as the old brass pieces belonging to the forts, which were no longer serviceable, were, with the sagacious economy which characterises the administration of the public affairs of this enterprising little state, exchanged for a more serviceable and cheaper material.

#### MILITARY ACADEMY.

The Chilian Military Academy of Santiago is under the superintendence of a brigadier-general, who is assisted by a corps of professors, consisting of six captains and a chaplain. The organ-

greatest soldier-statesman, whose career history has transmitted to us: "Voltaire called soldiers Alexanders at five sous a day. He was right; they are really so. Do you believe that you would ever make men fight by abstract principles? Never. Such views are fit only for the scholar in his study. For the soldier, as for all men in active life, you must have glory and distinction; recompenses are the food which nourish such qualities."—Napoleon to the Council of State relative to the establishment of a Legion of Honour in 1801. *Alison*, vol. xi. p. 199.

ization is purely military, and much time appears to be devoted to practical exercises and the duty of the soldier in garrison and in the field. The students are divided into two classes—a section of cadets who study for commissioned officers, and a section of corporals who prepare themselves for the duties of non-commissioned officers. The number of cadets at the establishment in 1848, was forty-five, while the inferior school consisted of thirty-six. The course of studies for the two sections is different. That for the cadets consists of religion, practical geometry, descriptive geometry, spherical trigonometry, right-angled trigonometry, elementary geometry, algebra, arithmetic, geography, Spanish grammar, French language, tactics, military system and regulations, writing, drawing, gymnastics, fencing and military exercises. The course for the inferior school, which is more limited and appropriate to their future duties, consists of religion, algebra, arithmetic, Spanish grammar, writing, drawing, gymnastics, fencing, and military exercises.

The tabulated report of the professors, presented by the minister to the Congress, speaks very favourably for the proficiency of the students of both sections. The advantages to be derived from a school of non-commissioned officers, has already been felt in the Chilian army, and cannot be too highly estimated. Were it practicable to introduce it into our own, its advantages would be felt immediately, and the necessity which now so frequently exists of employing foreigners to fill these positions would soon cease to exist.

The minister of war, in referring to this establishment in his report at the close of 1848, remarks, "I will not pass in silence the Military Academy, which, for so many reasons, merits the special attention of the legislature and the government. The rigidity of discipline to which this establishment is submitted is notorious, and the morality and respectability which, thanks to its influence, is displayed by its pupils. Those who, in a former year, were sent to Europe in order to complete their scientific education, continue to give proofs of their assiduity, and it is to

be believed that they will not disappoint the hopes to which their advancement in Chili gave rise. They have been assigned to different arms in schools of reputation ; and a portion of them, after terminating the course of studies in military engineering, will acquire the necessary knowledge in analogous branches, which will admit upon their return of their useful employment in civil architecture. Last year eleven cadets and twenty-five corporals and sergeants left the academy in order to fill vacancies in the army. Six cadets have also been assigned to the naval service, and it is satisfactory to announce that they have all displayed an aptitude for the service."

The domestic economy of the institution appears to be most judiciously managed. What the annual cost may be, I had no means of ascertaining. By the report of the minister it appears that the monthly ration amounts to four dollars for cadets, and two dollars thirty-seven and a half cents for the inferior school. Provisions are cheap in the interior of Chili, and notwithstanding this allowance is so small, the rations, as prescribed by regulation, are of a good quality and ample in quantity.

I regret that the vacation during my visit to Santiago prevented my viewing the practical working of this institution.

#### NATIONAL GUARD.

The National Guard of Chili is divided into artillery, infantry, and cavalry.

The artillery consists of five brigades and two companies, making an aggregate force of one thousand one hundred and forty-nine non-commissioned officers and privates. The number of officers is thirty-five, including one field officer, while four company officers, eight sergeants, and nine musicians belonging to the regular army serve with this corps.

The infantry consists of forty-four battalions and sixteen companies. Total number of field officers twenty-one, company officers nine hundred and eighty-six. Twenty field officers thirty-eight company officers, and two hundred and ninety-seven

non-commissioned officers and musicians belonging to the regular establishment, are on duty with this corps as instructors. Total force rank and file of infantry, twenty-eight thousand six hundred and ninety-eight.

The cavalry consists of one hundred and fifty-five squadrons and two companies, containing an aggregate rank and file of thirty-six thousand one hundred and thirty-five. The number of field officers is eighty-one; company officers, seven hundred and forty-seven. Seventeen field, twenty-eight company officers, eighty-two non-commissioned officers and musicians belonging to the regular army serve with the cavalry of the National Guard.

Total rank and file of National Guard amounts to sixty-five thousand nine hundred and eighty-two; and the number of regular officers serving as instructors is one hundred and thirty-six, including one general as inspector, and three hundred and ninety-six non-commissioned officers and musicians.

In addition to the three corps already specified, there are two brigades of firemen, ranking as engineer troops, one of which is employed in Valparaiso, and the other in Santiago. The minister of war, while expressing himself in his report well satisfied with their efforts, remarks that being a species of service little practised or understood in Chili, it should afford no cause for surprise that their discipline should not be so satisfactory as in the corps of infantry and cavalry.

The uniform, arms, and equipments of the National Guard are provided by the government, which pays the musicians assigned to each battalion and squadron. As might be anticipated, it has been found most economical that the arms in the provincial and municipal, as well as the general armory at Santiago, should be kept in order at the expense of the general government.

The Chilian National Guard is well drilled, and more efficient than that of any country on the continent. This is especially the case with the cavalry, whose members are as fine riders as

can be found in any part of the world, while horses are cheap and abundant.

The municipal garrisons are furnished from this force, and while actually on duty its members receive a compensation about equivalent to that of a daily labourer. Its efficiency is much increased by the uniformity and regularity of the system, and by the fact that it is placed under the inspection and training of regular officers of ability and experience.

By its organization it is almost out of the power of either the government or factious and ambitious individuals, to make it an instrument of evil, while its discipline and exercise makes it a powerful means of defence, and places Chili, though the smallest of the South American States, in the first rank as a military power. The expense of the regular establishment for the year 1845, which is probably a fair average, was \$757,575, and that of the National Guard, \$180,371.

#### MARINE.

No species of military force is so expensive as a navy; it cannot, therefore, be expected that Chili, with a population of a million and a half, should attempt to support a large establishment of this character.

Their entire navy consists of six vessels; and though a small force compared with more important maritime powers, is sufficient to give them the naval supremacy over all the Spanish American republics, including Mexico and every South American State except Brazil. The part which the Chilean navy performed in the war of the Revolution, and subsequently in that with the Peru Bolivian Confederation, has been already referred to in these pages.

Though the crude and impromptu *material* which existed during war has been much reduced, we have still a comparatively powerful navy, composed of the following named vessels:

Chilo, frigate, -	-	-	46 guns.
Janaquio, brigantine, -	-	-	6 "
Condor, brig, -	-	-	4 "
Magallanes, ketch, -	-	-	4 "
Confederation, transport,	-	-	
Maule, packet,*	-	-	

Besides these cruising vessels, there belongs to the naval establishment some fourteen gun boats, which, in the absence of steam vessels, and especially in the hands of Spaniards or their descendants, render very efficient service in defensive operations on the coast. The frigate "Chile," at the period of my visit, was disarmed, and in ordinary at Valparaiso. She is quite a handsome vessel and a good sailor, and was built, I believe, during the war with Peru, at Boulogne, in France. She now requires repairs, and the minister of the marine recommends that she should be sent to Europe, where it is estimated she could be put in an effective condition for seventy thousand dollars. Her original cost was two hundred and fifty thousand.

The other vessels of the navy, which are in good and effective condition, are employed in guarding the coasts, and keeping up the communications with the naval colony of the Straits of Magellan.

In 1845, the Congress appropriated two hundred and thirty thousand dollars for the construction of a steamer of nine hundred tons, three hundred horse power, and two brigs; but the estimates for the cost of these vessels being much greater in France, where they were ordered to be constructed, than the sum specified in the appropriation, the minister proposes to build a steamer of two hundred and fifty horse power, and seven hundred tons, and one brig. The cost of the steamer, according to estimates sent from France, will be one hundred and seventy-seven thousand eight hundred and fifty, while the brig will cost

\* Since writing the above, I noticed in a newspaper that a sloop of war had been built in Valparaiso, 1851.

thirty-seven thousand five hundred. Adding three per cent. as the compensation of the agents employed, and the ten per cent. cost in the exchange, the sum total would be two hundred and forty-nine thousand eight hundred, or nineteen thousand eight hundred dollars above the amount appropriated by Congress for the construction of this additional force.

#### NAVAL ACADEMY.

A naval school, intended also for the mercantile marine, formerly existed in Valparaiso, which the minister states gave satisfaction; but as the students received a salary from the government, it was found too expensive for the limited financial resources of the country, and was suppressed in 1847.

In lieu of this academy, a naval school was established on board the frigate Chile, on a more economical plan, where officers attached to the ship are professors.

As has been mentioned in the review of the war department, a number of pupils from the military school were on service in the navy, and the intention of the government is to obtain hereafter pupils from this establishment for the navy, who after receiving, as the minister remarks, "the preparatory instruction indispensable to *all* officers in an honourable profession, will complete their naval instruction, theoretical and practical, on board the frigate Chile."

"In order," remarks the minister, "that the extinction of the naval school may not prejudice the mercantile marine, orders have been expedited to open a school for the purpose of teaching navigation in Valparaiso, under the direction of the captain of the port, where any who wish to prepare themselves for the duties of captains of vessels or navigators (*pilotos*), will receive gratuitous instruction."

In this, as well as most other provisions made by the Chilean government, a strong desire will be observed to render economical and efficient service to the country; and I confess that I have nowhere observed officials who seemed more sincerely actu-



ated by true patriotism, unconnected with a disposition to electioneer for a higher place, or a continuation in that already held, or desire to enrich themselves by jobbing at the expense of the people.

#### SEAMEN.

As under existing laws compulsory service cannot be required of Chilian seamen, a deficiency is accordingly observed in the naval marine.

The remedy which had before been applied by the government was to enlist boys, who, taught in the navy, are said to be free from many of the vices which characterize those who are drawn from the mercantile marine.

Many seamen in the Chilian navy are foreigners, principally English and Americans, who, discharged or deserting at Valparaiso or Talcahuano, readily find employment, as their services are always in demand.

#### MARINES.

Under name of brigade of naval infantry, consists of only two companies—a force, according to the minister's report, entirely insufficient for the wants of the vessels in commission, for the garrisoning of the seaports of the republic, and the penal colonies of Juan Fernandez and Magellan.

The notorious relaxation produced among the troops of the regular army, by employing them in duties which pertain to marines from the nature of their organization, induces the minister to recommend an increase of this corps to four companies, and to make it their especial duty to guard the coast, sea-board, colonies, and supply a military force for the vessels in commission. This increase would raise the whole corps to four hundred and eighty-four, and their head-quarters would be fixed at Valparaiso.

The increased expense the minister considers incommensurate with the benefit to be derived, and pertinently remarks that “the

public income has no other object than to subserve the properly-understood interests of the nation."

The number of officers in the Chilean navy is sixty, including one vice-admiral who is stationed at Valparaiso as intendant of the province, and commandant-general of the navy; one post-captain (*capitan de navio*), three captains of frigates, one brevet captain, eight commanders, three first lieutenants, seven second lieutenants, one passed midshipman, sixteen midshipmen, one chief surgeon, four surgeons of the second class, five accountants, one naval constructor, one engineer, and four masters. Three officers are temporarily retired from duty. The officers of the marine brigade are, one major, two captains, one adjutant, and four lieutenants. Of these officers the last four were elevated from the ranks for distinguished services.

Several officers in the navy and marine corps are decorated with medals struck in commemoration of the great victories achieved by the forces of the republic.

Among the naval officers are fourteen names indicative of English origin, Commodore Simpson, whom I met in February, 1848, at Callao, in command of the frigate *Chile*, being the second officer in rank in the navy.

The pay of the officers is not quite so large as that for corresponding grades in our navy, though promotion being more rapid it will be found to correspond very nearly when length of service is taken as a basis. It was only in 1846 or 1847 that the pay was elevated to its existing standard; and the minister, touching upon the subject in his annual report to Congress, remarks, that "whatever expense it may be to the treasury (and, in truth, it is not very great), it is well compensated by the active and zealous service which imposes upon its members' increasing privations and perils."

The expense of the navy during the fiscal year ending in 1845, was one hundred and twenty-eight thousand six hundred and twenty-four dollars, making total expense of military establish-

ment one million seventy-five thousand five hundred and seventy-one dollars.

#### THE MERCANTILE MARINE

of Chili numbers altogether one hundred and four vessels, forty-five of which are engaged in foreign trade, one in the whale fishery, and the remainder in the coasting trade.

Thirty-five vessels are of national construction; two over two hundred tons, aggregate tonnage five hundred and two tons; twelve over one hundred tons, aggregate tonnage one thousand four hundred and sixty-six tons; twenty-one under one hundred tons, aggregate one thousand one hundred and ninety-seven tons. Total tonnage of national construction, three thousand one hundred and sixty-five tons.

Of naturalized vessels there were eight, varying about three hundred tons, aggregate two thousand seven hundred and three tons; twenty-one over two hundred tons, making an aggregate of five thousand two hundred and eighty-eight tons; thirty-four over one hundred tons, forming an aggregate of five thousand two hundred and eighty-eight; and six of less than one hundred tons, making an aggregate of five hundred and twenty-six tons.

The aggregate naturalized tonnage is thirteen thousand eight hundred and five tons, which added to the three thousand one hundred and sixty-five of national tonnage, gives us sixteen thousand nine hundred and seventy tons for the mercantile tonnage of Chili at the close of the year 1848.\*

Of the foreign bottoms naturalized in Chili, thirty-two were built in the United States and nine in England. The remaining twenty-seven are divided between France, Hamburgh, Denmark, Austria, Brazil, and the East Indies.

\* Owing to the extensive trade in flour recently opened between Chili and California, their tonnage has doubtless increased considerably.—1851.

## CHAPTER XL

### SKETCHES IN CHILE.

DURING my agreeable stay of a week in Santiago, I had not neglected the preparations for my journey across the Cordilleras, and had several times attempted to make something like an equitable arrangement for my transportation to Mendoza. It becoming known among the owners of horses and mules that such was my intention, I was besieged by many offers, the fellows attempting to pounce upon my purse like so many Condors of the Andes upon the carcase of a defunct Guanaco; but, though willing to be moderately fleeced, they found me unprepared for any operation which might approach the skin so nearly as that which they proposed. At length, however, I met what at first blush appeared a most eligible opportunity to continue my journey, having been introduced to an Englishman, whose son, a resident of Mendoza, was about to return to that place. The father proposed that I should purchase two mules from his son, and that we should travel in company, each one bearing an equal share of the expenses of the journey, at the termination of which I should be domiciled with him in Mendoza. The price of the mules was \$52.50, and I was assured that on my arrival I could dispose of them for at least \$34.00, or two ounces, while the expenses of the journey would be trifling. The arrangement was duly made, the money paid for the mules, the young man Don Frederico, a regular "petit maitre," duly dined and feted at the Hotel Ingles,

in anticipation of the good fellowship destined hereafter to exist between us, and the 27th fixed upon as the day of our departure. As that day was also fixed upon for the departure of my two friends, who had been my constant companions for the three preceding months, we had much to discuss, and 1 A.M. found us together. Grief at parting is conducive to hunger and thirst, the wherewithal we had not to satisfy until we roused our friend Captain L—— from his comfortable slumbers, and urged him to use his potent influence in the house to obtain the requisites. This he did in a somewhat primitive manner by turning out a servant, and sending him for a chisel, with which locks were broken, and we very soon had all that we desired.

At 3 A.M., we were aroused by the arrival of the Birlocha, which was to convey them to Valparaiso, and after an affectionate adieu, mutual and hearty good wishes for each others' welfare, we parted. Since which time we have never met. Thus was broken the last link which bound me to the good old "Lexington;" and as L—— and myself, while awaiting daylight, smoked our cigars in the now deserted room, I began to appreciate the loneliness of the task which I had undertaken.

A bright sun, a smiling landscape, the cool breeze of morning, and a rapid pace are sworn enemies to blue devils; and at 6 A.M., while galloping over the level plains to the eastward of the city, my regret at parting with my friends was gradually dispelled in the pleasing prospect of a future meeting, while my sense of loneliness immediately vanished, and my enterprise and mental activity returned to me. I agree with Mirabeau, that highway robbery, burglary, and such like respectable employments, which are principally practised under cover of night and alone, require a higher degree of physical courage than to storm a breach on board an enemy's vessel, and confess that I have always found myself less brave and enterprising at night, and when alone. I wonder if every one is not similarly affected, if they would have the candour to acknowledge it.

Our cortege consisted of Don Frederico, who was mounted

on a mule, his peon Bertoldo, who rode a large, raw-boned, black horse, remarkable for his flea-bitten ears, the shortness of the tail, which appeared to have become bald from age, and his excessive thinness, which would have put to shame the highly wrought description of Don Quixote's Rosinante; and a small Chilean boy, who, mounted on a mule led a young and vicious colt, a present which Don Frederico had received from his father, and whose principal amusement appeared to be kicking at any object which came within reach of its long legs; and from which my mule and myself were destined to receive more than one favour during our journey. A description of the peculiarities of the party will appear in the course of the narrative, and in this place I will only remark that Frederico was a plausible scamp, who had inherited from his father, who was originally a horse jockey, all his talents for disposing at a high price very worthless animals, and just English enough to swear with great fluency and grammatical accuracy in that language, but not enough for any other purpose under heaven; that Bertoldo was a good horseman, wore a head dress, which admitting that a hat of ordinary height might be taken as zero, or one story high, was certainly six on the same scale, and appeared to make a religious duty to get drunk as often as an opportunity offered; and the boy, who could never keep awake by day or night, and who led us off the road in more than one instance, by quietly dropping asleep while in his saddle. With this charming party, accompanied by a very jaded looking mule, of which I was informed I was the happy owner, behold the "nephew of my uncle," as Gil Blas has said, availing myself of the coolness of the morning to travel rapidly, in order that I might give rest to the animals during the excessive heat of the noontide hours. The country which we now traversed was well cultivated; its surface being for most part covered with fields of wheat, which were enclosed on the road side by walls of *adobe*. The houses of the wealthy, as usual in Chili, were found far from the road, and near the centre of the estate, while those of the poorer classes, which are built of *adobe*, and thatched with

wheaten straw, generally border upon the road. The road, which is adapted to carriages, is very well constructed, and kept in constant repair; many men were employed upon it, as I passed, and I observed that the labourers used the crow invariably instead of the pickaxe. In all instances the country people, whether on a journey or at work, politely and respectfully raise their hats to strangers as they pass. During the morning, we passed many *guasitas*, or young country girls on horseback, and generally at full gallop. As we advanced on our journey the scenery improved, the country being more thoroughly cultivated, the fields of wheat more extensive, while rural chapels with their surrounding cottages, shaded by the poplars and surrounded by grass plats, became more numerous. About half-past nine, we rode through a fine poplar avenue, bordered on each side by farm houses and evidences of successful cultivation, into the small village of Colinas, where with appetites whetted by a ride of twenty-one miles in the morning breeze, which had been cooled before being put in motion by its night's repose among the snowy summits of the Andes, we sat down to a frugal breakfast of the invariable *casuella*, which has been heretofore described.

Our peon Bertoldo and the boy had a separate table, a distinction always made in Chili between masters and servants, but by no means invariable in South America. In the Argentine Provinces, the *Guacho* whom you may hire, considers himself your equal, and expects to share with you all the comforts or discomforts of the road; this is also the case in the empire of Brazil, which, though an empire in name is more essentially democratic in its social relations than any country in which I have travelled. Very few free men, whatever may be their colour or origin, will in that country hire themselves as servants, at least under that name. The muleteer or the boy whom you may hire to care for your baggage will insist upon his title of *Comarado*—comrade, and expects to eat and drink with his employer—thus I have seen at the long table of a Brazilian Baron, whose wealth enabled, as his inclination prompted, to keep open house for all comers and

goers, the guests and servants seated at the same table, the only distinction being shown by the vicinity to the entertainer.

After breakfast, we proceeded on our journey, which led us through a fine champagne country, where the light straw colour of the ripened wheat contrasted pleasingly with the bright green of the meadows, or the exotic foliage which generally surrounded the houses of the landholders, or the cottages of the peasantry, while ever and anon the rural church with isolated belfry shewed that the recipients of the blessings showered upon this fair land were not unmindful of their gratitude which they owed to the Almighty donor.

It being the season for collecting the harvest, it was a festival in Chili, and we passed many jovial parties of peasantry who were employed in treading out the grain of the proprietors upon whose respective estates their own cottages were located, and to whose liberality they owed the land which they cultivated for the support of themselves and families. That they should assist in taking in the harvest is one of the conditions upon which they hold their lands, but instead of being an onerous service, it appeared to be a general festival, and I have no where seen more boisterous hilarity among the people than upon these occasions, such scenes of mirth, and merriment, in which males and females alike appeared to participate, greeted us in every direction near the road side, while in the distance, as far as the eye could reach, an appearance of a light cloud over the field would mark the spot where other parties were winnowing the grain in the open field, with the aid of the steady breeze.

About half past two in the afternoon, we arrived at the Posada of Chacabuco, a large hostelry, somewhat in the same style of those heretofore described at Casa Blanca, and Curucubi. While attending in the stables to see that our animals were properly fed, I observed a series of mangers, formed of hard clay, so firmly beaten as to resist effectually the effects of time, and which is one of the expedients to which the absence of timber obliges the people of this part of Chili to resort. Our dinner was speedily prepared



and discussed, when having nothing to occupy our time, and being somewhat fatigued by a ride of forty-two miles since daylight, Don Frederico and myself retired to the room which had been prepared for us by our bustling and industrious host.

Having fine moonlight nights, we intended to start at two in the morning, in order to arrive at San Felipe before the heat of the day; but by some mistake we arose at midnight, and were on the road by one o'clock. Having retired at about nine, it gave us only three hours sleep, and having had none the night before, I suffered from an uncontrollable drowsiness, and frequently fell into a doze upon my saddle. A short time after leaving the Posada, we left the main road, and struck the original mule path, which led more directly to the summit of the mountain, and found it almost impassable, filled as it was with stones, and frequently bordering upon precipices, which it was even dangerous to pass at night. This was one of the short cuts which I have found country people everywhere prefer, and which are my peculiar aversion, as the gain in distance is almost invariably more than compensated by the difficulties of the road, which add to the fatigue of men and animals. The beautiful allegory of Obidah the son of Abensinah, was the object of one of my earliest efforts at deciphering my vernacular, and I have never forgotten the moral of the story; and however much I may morally have strayed from the beaten track, I have always been averse to doing so in the practical details of a journey. I give this hint and allusion for the benefit of future travellers, my opinions being founded upon a rough and painful experience, as my unpublished history would demonstrate. At the summit of the Cuesta of Chacabuco, an eminence rendered historical by the defeat of the Spanish forces by the army of San Martin, the path which we had hitherto pursued joined the carriage road, with which our recent experience induced every one to be contented; and now having no longer the fear of rocks and precipices before my eyes, I managed to obtain a little rest upon my saddle as we descended. No one who has not experienced the feeling, can realize the utter

distress of extreme drowsiness while riding on horseback at night, when the indistinctness and blending of the surrounding objects appears to exercise a magnetic influence. I have kept many a watch on board ship, under all and every circumstance incident to a sea life, but never suffered to the same extent from the same cause.

From the summit of this hill the view is said to be remarkably fine, but owing to the darkness it was lost to us, and day dawned only as we reached the level country. Hence to San Felipe, our road lay through a level and well cultivated plain abounding in wheat, hemp, and broom corn; while the roadside was bordered by cottages so numerous and so close together, that it had the appearance of a street in a populous village. Country houses belonging to the proprietors too were numerous, and as usual, apart from the road, and approached by an avenue.

From the foot of the Cuesta, a distance of some ten miles, we continued our journey, crossing as we neared the city, the river of Aconcagua, a considerable mountain torrent, several times by fording. The left bank was that which we generally pursued and found the country in its vicinity more than ordinarily fertile and populous, while divers rustic bridges joining its generally abrupt and elevated banks, were pleasing and tasteful features in the landscape. Near the city, a tributary stream increased considerably the volume of the ice cold torrent, which we forded with difficulty owing to the depth of the water, the strength of the current, and the large rocks at the bottom, which only required to be touched to be set in motion. Below us was the ruins of the bridge which had been destroyed by a recent freshet.

Having achieved our difficult passage, we found ourselves in the suburbs, where we separated from our baggage and *peons*; and repaired directly to the house of Don Frederico's uncle, where he proposed to breakfast, and await the cool of the evening, having already made thirty-three miles from the Posado of Chacabuco. Now, by some mischance, it so happened, that my mule

had formed a sudden and violent attachment for Bertoldo's *bonney*, not bonny black horse, equal in intensity, and doubtless of a similar character to that of *Rozinante* and *Dapple*, as celebrated by Cervantes. This attachment, though not unobserved on the previous day, and on this morning, had caused me no inconvenience, but, no sooner had we separated from the baggage animals and their drivers, than my mule refused to advance, but being persuaded thereto by my spurs, uttered a lamentable bray, which brought all the neighbourhood to their doors. As we proceeded through the town, much to my annoyance, he again favoured us with other specimens of his vocal powers, and finally, as we crossed the public square where a military band was practising in the barracks, he stopped short, and lifted up his voice in such a manner as to stop the music instantaneously, and bring bandsmen, soldiers, and all the residents to their doors, when a hearty laugh was indulged in at my expense, "*Suoni la tromba.*" It was not the first time I had seen a traveller's arrival announced by an ass in an allegorical sense, but certainly the first instance which had fallen under my notice, where it was effected by the quadruped or his half-brother in *propria persona*. As I sat spurring and — in the most forcible Spanish and English I could muster, urging the obstinate beast to proceed, I thought of Balaam the son of Beor, with a degree of sympathy which I had not heretofore experienced in behalf of the false prophet of Moab. Truly, thought I, if he spake in the mode and manner of my mule, very excusable wert thou for wishing that there were a sword in thy hand, that thou might'st slay him.

Having been laughed at by about one third of the inhabitants, my evil genius consented to proceed to the gate of the house where we intended to pass the day, and there announced my arrival with a heraldic flourish which would have put to blush the enchanted trumpets of the ancient novelists.

The uncle of my companion being absent, we were received by a male and female cousin; the latter married, though still young, and apparently in the last stage of consumption. She had been

pretty, and the air of resigned melancholy made her interesting, while she looked and conversed as one no longer pertaining to this world. The levity of her brother and my companion at first struck me as inappropriate and unfeeling, until I had reflected and remembered that the progress of the disease had been so gradual, that they probably did not appreciate its near approach to a consummation. She soon left us, when taking no interest in the family discussions which succeeded, I quietly composed myself on my chair for a snooze, from which I was finally awakened by hearing my name pronounced by Frederico, and reluctantly opening my heavy eye-lids, saw before me a very handsome and interesting girl awaiting an introduction, and smiling at the predicament in which she found me. In an instant it flashed through my mind, that this was the Dona Delfina against whose charms I had been warned before leaving Santiago, and attempting to rise and salute her, I found my spur entangled in my *poucho*, and fell back upon my seat. In my next attempt I was more successful, and a kindly shake of the hand, and a frank welcome, immediately relieved me from my embarrassment.

She had apparently understood that I was an Englishman, and her first inquiry was whether this was my first visit to America, and being set right in this particular, immediately congratulated me on the valuable acquisitions of my countrymen on the coasts of the Pacific. The conversation becoming general she displayed a knowledge of history and geography which I have seldom seen equalled by a young woman in any part of the world, and a knowledge of the important political events which had just transpired in Europe, which surprised me exceedingly. Upon this subject she asked me some questions, with much apparent interest, which I was so unfortunate as not to be able to answer, and was obliged to confess she had much more information upon the subject than myself, as, during the recent and important events to which she alluded, I had been at sea or on the coasts of Mexico and California, and, consequently, out of the way of newspapers. Turning to a table I found a small collection of books, such as I never

expected to have met at this remote point, and among them that inimitable creation of Madame de Stael, Corinne, and the French Encyclopedist, in the original. Her hesitating negative to my inquiry whether she had read the latter was fully contradicted by the blush which suffused her countenance, and by the various indications which her conversation gave of a naturally inquiring mind.

At about 10 o'clock A. M., our interesting "tete a tete" was interrupted by the announcement of breakfast, when my fair friend presided with elegance over a substantial repast. Up to the time I met her I was perfectly contented with my travelling apparel, and my personal appearance generally, but such is the influence of female beauty upon manners, no sooner was breakfast over than I stole away, and, putting myself under the hands of a professor of the tonsorial art, returned as tidy and captivating as the ground work upon which he operated, and my limited wardrobe would permit.

Accompanied by Don Frederico, I went also to take out my passport for leaving the country, which cost four dollars. Had I listened to his suggestions, I might have saved three dollars and a half, but my pride would have prevented my adoption of his plan, even had I been less scrupulous. It was simply that I should pass for his "employee," or clerk, in which case the charge would be but four reals. I must say that his proposition struck me as one of the most dishonest pieces of impudence which ever came under my notice, and I should assuredly have told him as much had not my tongue been restrained by the charms of his cousin. At mid-day our hostess suggested a *siesta*, which I declined, hoping to enjoy in lieu of it the pleasure of her conversation, but my nap in the chair in the morning rose in judgment against my assertion that I was not at all drowsy, and, *volens volens*, I was put to bed, or rather I was put into a room with a bed, whose snow-white linen I could not obtain my own consent to soil with my dusty clothing; so I laid down on the tiled floor, using it only for a pillow. I slept profoundly until four o'clock, when I

was awoke by the announcement of dinner, which had been carefully got up for the occasion, and, as I flattered myself, in honour of my own presence. A pleasant journey across the mountains and plains, and my future happiness was kindly drank in champagne, an unusual beverage for the country. During dinner my pretty hostess, who had already made four trips across the Cordillera from Mendoza, of which city she was a native, directed my attention to the Lago Encantada and the Puente del Inca, the two objects most worthy of observation in the passage of the mountains, and gave me some pertinent advice as to my travelling arrangements.

After dinner, and while alone with her, she informed me that her father was a refugee from Mendoza, whence he had been driven to Chili, on account of his political opinions, and gave me a better insight into the political state of the Transmontane Provinces than I have received from any other person. Her opinions were fearlessly expressed, and as I listened admiringly to her eloquent denunciations of the petty tyrants who rule her native country, I could not but believe what I had frequently heard asserted by foreign residents, that, in courage and independence of thought, the Argentine women are vastly superior to the men. She smiled, but with an air of stern determination, at my proposition that she should assist in liberating her country by raising a regiment of her own sex, and thanked me for my offer to serve under her banner. With all her mildness and refinement of manner, there was in her the same spirit which burned in Joan de Arc, the Armida of Sarro, and the Maid of Sarragossa, and I felt convinced that her sex only prevented her from making herself known as a heroine. Neither do I believe that, female as she is, she would be by any means a contemptible opponent, as she is a fearless and skilful rider, and the fact that she had more than once ridden from Mendoza to San Felipe, across the summit and through the dangerous passes of the *Andes*, a distance of more than two hundred miles, in four days, gave an earnest of her abilities to endure the fatigue and privations of a campaign. That her acquirements

should have been so extended, considering the few inducements and opportunities afforded in the monotonous life in an interior city, almost unknown to commerce and strangers, pointed her out as a remarkable woman, and I did not require her acknowledgment to feel assured that her mind chafed when she reflected upon the limited sphere to which she was condemned. It was six o'clock in the evening when I attended to the repeated announcement of Frederico that our animals awaited us at the door, and turned to take leave of my hostess, in whom I must confess I felt more than an ordinary interest. She assured me, however, that if I remained a week at Mendoza, as I anticipated, she would see me there, as she intended to start in a few days; and I afterwards learned that she was prevented from making her promise good by the dangerous illness of her sister, who was attacked with a violent hemorrhage of the lungs, which doubtless immediately preceded her dissolution. It must not, however, be understood that the journey was planned with reference to meeting me, as it had been for some time intended.

This, then, was the bright spot in my journey, and *Senorita Delphina the Heroine*; and I turned from her house with feelings of profound regret, and anticipated nothing in my future wanderings which could compensate me for my sudden separation from one in whom I had been so thoroughly interested, and in whose isolation from society which could appreciate her, and which she could enjoy, I so heartily sympathized.

The town of San Felipe, through which we rode at sunset, is an incorporate city, containing about twelve thousand inhabitants, and is the capital of the fertile agricultural province of Aconcagua. Its streets are wide, laid out at right angles, and the dwellings of the inhabitants, which are generally but one story high, owing to the prevalence of earthquakes, well constructed, and neatly whitewashed. Its ornaments are two *Alemedas*, enclosing two sides of the city, and composed of several rows of poplars, which shade the pleasant walks to which the inhabitants resort in the cool of the evening for their promenade. One of

these pleasant promenades is called Yungai, in honour of the victory gained by the Chilians over Santa Cruz, in the north of Peru. Leaving the suburbs, we forded the river, where we took leave of the male cousin who had thus far accompanied us, a compliment frequently paid to strangers in various parts of South America. For a mile after passing the river, the country was somewhat rough and rocky; after which, we traversed a level road, bordered on each side by the cottages and gardens of the peasantry, which were more numerous than I had found them elsewhere, even in this thickly inhabited country. For more than four leagues and a quarter, the road resembled the street of a straggling village, with here and there a rustic church, while the peasantry sitting in front of their comfortable cottages, and chatting with their families or those of their neighbours, presented a scene of quiet comfort, which I could not but enjoy, although by no means in the best mood for receiving agreeable impressions. The roads being good, the night cool, and the animals fresh, the time passed rapidly; and, at about half-past nine, we found ourselves, very much to my surprise, in the pleasantly situated town of Santa Rosa de las Andes, where we intended to pass the night. There being no *Posada*, we were at first embarrassed for a resting place, but at length managed to hire a vacant room, where after bribing our stomachs into quiet submission to the deprivation of their evening repast with a glass of *aquadente*, we laid ourselves down to sleep on the damp earthen floor, with our saddles for pillows, my last act of consciousness being a hearty growl at my travelling companion, who had refused the kind invitation to remain in San Felipe, where I might have enjoyed for a few hours longer the society of the interesting *Delphina*, and an effort to distinguish the hour of the night, as it was plaintively, yet sweetly announced by the *sereuos*, who patrolled the street.

*March 1.*—Rose early, and managed to obtain a frugal repast, too frugal indeed to meet our views, considering that our dinner at San Felipe had been our last meal. Afterward I visited the governor of the department, in order to have my passport *viseed*, and



endeavoured to obtain some local information without success, as this functionary evidently belonged to that school of officials, so invariable in England, who appear to suspect every stranger of being a thief, if not an enemy to be dreaded, and consider any civility utterly lost upon him. I was, however, so fortunate as to make some purchases from an intelligent merchant, who gave me the information I had in vain attempted to obtain from the governor. The department of Santa Rosa, he informed me, was one of the richest and most productive of the Republic, abounding especially in wheat, and other agricultural products, although it has also mines of silver and copper. The population of the department is about 40,000, and that of the town 4,000, and the number of the national guard in the town alone, four hundred. The country is generally healthy, being subject to no endemic or epidemic diseases. It is true there are isolated cases of *goitre*, which disease appears to be slightly on the increase, but has not yet assumed the formidable character which it presents on the other side of the mountains. Here, as from sources worthy of confidence in Santiago, I was informed that the *goitre* was unknown in Chili, until some twenty years ago, when it made its appearance simultaneously with the introduction of the poplars from Mendoza. This being the frontier town, the duties on imports from the Argentine Provinces are collected at the Custom House. Among other dutiable articles are cattle and horses, and I was not a little amused at the manner in which my companion, Frederico, imposed upon the Custom House officials. When he came from Mendoza a few weeks before, he had with him several horses and mules, which he announced it his intention to take back with him, and instead of paying the duties, he gave security that they should be paid in the event that he should dispose of them in Chili. How many he had originally I do not know, but two mules had now become my property, two others, perhaps servicable animals, had been exchanged for miserable worn out hacks, upon which Bertoldo and the boy were mounted. The vicious, unbroken colt, had doubtless taken the place of another animal,

which had been disposed of in Chili. Whether the number with which he returned, was the same as that with which he had entered the country, I do not know, but observed that he had my animals recorded as his own, thus saving the duties upon them, and if the hacks which he substituted did not make up the full complement, he was obliged to pay only upon the deficiency. A knowledge of these facts I obtained only by hearing his conversation with the officers, as he doubtless intended to have kept it a secret from me, and my attention was first attracted by his barefaced assertion that my mules were his property, which he had loaned to me for the journey. A shrewd diplomatist and financier was Don Frederico, the companion whom fortune had given me, a fact of which I had still further evidence during the day, when he borrowed some twenty-five dollars which he always forgot to refund. While in the house of my affable and communicative friend, the merchant, we were introduced to a young gentleman from the Argentine province of San Juan, who being also on his way to Mendoza, offered to be our companion, a proposition to which both my companion and myself assented. His name was Astorga, and he informed us that he would be ready at any hour we might think fit to set out, and mentioned the house of a friend in the suburbs where he would be found. Returning to our lodgings, we dined and had our *siesta*, which is seldom omitted in this country, and saddling up, set out on our journey towards the mountain, which now towered in awful majesty above us. The town of Santa Rosa, or Andes, as it is more generally termed in Chili, contains, as has been before mentioned, about 4,000 inhabitants, is laid out with great regularity, with a large square in the centre. The town itself is a perfect square, and is bounded on every side by a beautiful Alameda. The houses, as usual, are of one story, the streets well paved, while through the greater number of them runs a small mountain stream of icy coldness. Altogether, it was one of the prettiest towns I had seen in Chili, yet its beauty did not reconcile me to the loss

of some twenty hours which might have been better passed at San Felipe.

Finding that we were leaving the town without calling for Astorga, I reminded my comrade of the fact, when he stated that he might have gone already, and if not, and we should by accident meet him again, we could say that we sought him, but could not find him. His reply made me more anxious to have another travelling companion, as I was now thoroughly disgusted with Don Frederico, who evidently wished me to have no one in the party to whom I could refer except himself. Leaving the town, the scenery began to assume a different character, and the road led us by various windings, through several fertile and well cultivated valleys, artificially irrigated by numerous mountain streams. Passing near a mill by the roadside, we met a party of travellers, one of whom proved to be a *Mendosino*, an acquaintance of my companion, who was on his way to Valparaíso to reclaim a bride to whom he had a short time previous been married by proxy. Learning that I was an American, he immediately addressed me in English, and informed me that he had been educated in Philadelphia, and at parting, desired me to inform Mr. Somebody and family (whose names were jolted out of my cranium during the next two days' hard riding,) of that city that he was well, and had just been married. Should these pages meet the eye of any one answering to the description already given, they are at liberty to appropriate the intelligence, and the messages of kindly remembrance which accompanied it. The road now commenced a gradual ascent, leading over a rude though substantial stone bridge, to the pass or guard where our passports were examined by a sociable old fellow, whose love of society had not been decreased by his solitary mode of life, and who insisted that we should smoke a cigar and have a chat with him. Night overtook us soon after leaving the pass, when commenced a chapter of annoyances which so frequently beset the traveller. My saddle being intended for a horse, was too large for the mule, and in consequence, I lost the sweat cloth from under it, and it

not being the custom of the country to use a crupper, it and myself nearly went over the beast's head, while going down a steep hill. Next the boy, who had charge of my cloak and the led horse, fell asleep and lost them, thus involving a long delay, while Bertoldo returned for them. Finally, at about nine o'clock, the cheerful glimmering of a light announced the vicinity of the *Loros*, a miserable cottage where we intended to pass the night. I have frequently entered a more pretending habitation with less satisfaction, and a few minutes found me seated by the fire in the centre of the room, with two tolerably pretty girls, who were cooking us a supper of egg soup and *carne seca*, or jerked beef. The prettiest of the daughters of our host, Rosita, was a black-eyed coquettish girl of some eighteen summers, whose intercourse with travellers had removed any bashfulness which she might have originally possessed, and she and I became on the instant, capital friends. Her sister had coquetted some six years longer with the passing voyager, and was consequently less attractive. When supper had been removed from the fire to our earthen bowl, which was common to all who wished to enter their spoons, we were aroused by the arrival of another traveller who claimed hospitality. It proved to be Astorga, our acquaintance of the morning, who had awaited our arrival until nearly night, when despairing of our keeping our appointment, he had set out with his *peon* Jacinto, a fine-looking intelligent Guacho, whose pride in his country was displayed by his wearing, even in Chili, the Buenos Ayrian Chiripá, a piece of red flannel singularly secured about the loins and thighs, over a fanciful pair of loose white drawers.

Frederico's already coined lie was immediately put into service, but he took care not to refer to me, doubtless judging by my countenance, that my support was at least questionable. Indeed, feeling somewhat reassured by the presence of Astorga, from whom I determined not to separate, I felt much inclined to contradict his impudent and useless falsehood.

Our supper, which would have baffled the digestive power of

any one, save a traveller, a seafaring man, or an ostrich, was speedily dispatched, after which the three of us laid ourselves down in the open air, in front of the cottage, and speedily fell into a sound sleep, without being obliged to refer to the magnetic influence of the stars, which shone brightly overhead.

## CHAPTER XII.

### THE CORDILLERA.

March 2.—Rose at daylight, and without waiting for breakfast, set out upon our journey. The ascent proper had now commenced, the road following the side of the mountain, whose summits were lost in the distance overhead. As from time to time we caught a glimpse of the peaks of the principal range, towards which we pursued our devious route, its snow-capped summit reminded us that before night we must change the mild and genial temperature which we then enjoyed for the stern climate of a northern winter. Below the narrow shelf-like road which we followed, rushed the turbid mountain torrent, carrying with it in its course, not only a heavy *debris*, but even large rocks which it had undermined by its impetuous violence. At one point where the hills on either side terminated in solid rock, apparently of great hardness, the torrent was compressed to a width which did not appear to be greater than fifteen or twenty feet. Through this channel, which is termed the *Salto del Soldado*, or Soldier's Leap, the waters rush with a maddening violence, and tradition asserts that a soldier, in attempting to escape from his pursuers, successfully leaped this fearful chasm. Once on the other side he was safe, as no one dared to follow his example, and I could only wonder that, even with the avengers of blood behind him, he should have succeeded in his desperate attempt. On the road

we met several droves of cattle on their way from Mendoza to Chili. They are there fattened and killed for market; the Chilians, like the Chinese, having learned that, with a dense population, the rearing of cattle is far from economical, and that land may be more profitably appropriated in planting cereal grains. In the plains to the eastward of the Andes it is different, population is sparse, and the land, without an enormous expense be incurred in irrigation and cultivation, is utterly useless except for grazing.

It was painful to see the poor animals whose tender hoofs were accustomed only to the soft surface of the plains, limping over the stony roads of the mountains, which, during their transit, had effectually lamed the greater number of them, while want of pasture on the mountains had reduced them to the condition of walking skeletons.

About 10 A. M., we arrived at the *Guardia Vieja*, or old guard, a ruined hut, occupied only during the summer on account of the severity of the climate. We here breakfasted on some beef cooked on a spit, which was quite tempting after our morning's ride, though I much doubt whether its general appearance before cooking, and the manner of cooking, would not have rather produced disgust, had we met it when our appetites were pampered to idleness and the accompaniments of civilization. While breakfast was preparing I availed myself of the opportunity to wash myself in the torrent, notwithstanding the decided protests of my companions, who assured me most earnestly that it was unsafe and pernicious to wash while on a journey. I observed that they never allowed themselves to incur such risk, and never allowed water to touch their faces or hands until we had arrived at Mendoza. The principle upon which ablutions are opposed I did not ascertain, but have observed that it is very general in South America.

Leaving the *Guardia Vieja*, which has been heretofore mentioned as the site of the first battle between the forces of San Martin and the Royalists, we proceeded up the mountain, which became more precipitous as we advanced. About mid-day we

came to a large rivulet called the *Ojo de Agua*, one of the most clear and sparkling streams I have ever seen, and which, as it rushed over its bottom of smooth stones glittered like a stream of brilliants. Its origin was a snow bank about a mile distant up a ravine on our left, and apparently about six hundred feet above the level which we had then attained. This stream differed from that of the principal torrent, which was muddy and turbid, and as the day was yet warm we halted, and had a most refreshing drink of its icy-cold waters. We were now near the limit of perpetual snow, and the *Casueha* on the banks of the *Ojo de Agua*, marked the provision of the Spanish Governor, O'Higgins, who had there houses of refuge built and repaired for the safety of travellers. On the Chilian side there are massive and arched edifices of stone or brick, containing a single room, with the entrance generally elevated some feet above the surface, in order that it may not be closed by the drifting snow. Under O'Higgins, these establishments, so desirable for the traveller who may have to pass the mountains, either late in autumn, or early in spring, were well adapted to resist the extreme cold, and each one contained a supply of charcoal and food, upon which any one who might be so unfortunate as to be shut up by the snow might subsist. The keys of these stores were given to the couriers, and a certain tax was levied upon the interior commerce for their support. Since the revolution they appear to have been neglected; there are now no deposits of coal, or provisions, and not a single door or particle of wood work remains on any *Casueha* on either side of the mountain; all having been burned to supply a temporary warmth to some unfortunate travellers who have been compelled to seek their shelter. We can imagine how extreme must have been their distress when they destroyed their only barrier against the piercing cold which invaded them.

None of these houses have chimneys, which would certainly be an improvement; but even as they exist—cold, damp and cheerless, without a door to obstruct the snow or the piercing wind—they are of great utility to travellers, and have been the means



of preserving many lives. The courier with whom I crossed the plains to Buenos Ayres, had upon one occasion been shut up in a *Casucha* by a snow storm for some eighteen days, and was finally obliged to sally out and pursue his journey by the immediate danger of starvation ; and his description of his horrible captivity, and still more horrible journey through the snow, over mountain torrents, concealed slippery and dangerous paths, though related simply, and without figures of speech, was thrillingly interesting. Though neither timid, nor by any means devotional, he never alluded to this passage in an adventurous life without a shudder, nor without raising his hat and crossing himself. The inducements which had been held out to him to make the journey had been great for a poor man. Some merchants finding it a matter of the last importance to communicate with Buenos Ayres, had offered him twenty ounces of gold to take a letter to Mendoza, very late in the autumn, and he had undertaken it ; but no bribe, he assured me, would ever induce him to renew the attempt, after the terrible experience he had already gained.

Leaving the *Ojo de Agua*, we continued to ascend by a steep and rugged road, passing another *Casucha* about one league—the ordinary distance—from the first. The road thus far had been a steep ascent, but before us was a hill surmounted by the third *Casucha*, which had been climbed by what appeared an innumerable succession of caracals, or short zig-zags. At the foot of this hill, and at the head of a ravine, issued an immense spring, which in a moment I suspected must be the outlet of the famous “*Lago Encantada*,” or enchanted lake, which has not only proved a mystery to the natives of the country, but appears also to have excited the astonishment of scientific travellers who heard in Chili of its existence.\* Nor was I disappointed, as, after attaining the summit of the hill and passing the *Casucha* we had a fine view of a beautiful mountain lake, distant about a mile from the road. As it would have been extremely uncomfortable, if not unsafe to have passed the night on the summit of the mountain,

\* U. S. Exploring Expedition, Vol. I.

I was obliged to forego a visit to this interesting lake, and content myself with a passing view. Of its extent it was impossible to judge accurately, but I should suppose it to be about three miles in length, and one in breadth. In the fact of its existence in that locality, and its always retaining the same level, I saw no mystery. Its bed is the head of a great valley, whose outlet has been closed at some remote geological period, and its supply is derived from the snow banks, by which it is bounded on three sides, while the subterranean channel which issues below is sufficiently large to drain all the superfluous water thus produced. It is not, as some suppose, the crater of an extinct volcano; and the distance of the outlet, which is more than a mile from the margin of the lake, has prevented those who have observed it, from seeking there the key to the apparent phenomena of the lake retaining at all times the same, or nearly the same level; and the superstitious Arrieros, whose minds are doubtless tempered by the awful sublimity of this elevated and uninhabitable region, have sought an explanation in the power of enchantment.

Leaving the lake on our left we followed the bed of a ravine, still ascending, though more gradually, and the cold became so intense that Astorgas' peon declared it must be snowing on the summit, which surmise afterward proved to be correct. As we had been ascending steadily during the whole day, I was somewhat surprised when one of my companions proposed that we should each take a pull of the *Chifres* containing the brandy, and another pull at our saddle girths before commencing to climb the mountain. And sure enough the ascent now commenced in earnest, as, leaving the valley, our road led us by a series of short zig-zags up a mountain slope, which certainly could have varied little from 45°. The height and regularity of the hill gives it an imposing appearance, and from the distance the zig-zag road appears like a line on its face, upon which, by no possibility, a mule could obtain a footing, yet the path is sufficiently wide, and by no means so dangerous as the Laderas which we found on the other side of the mountain.

Again and again, as we ascended, the tired and panting mules would stop, and, after resting two or three minutes, renew their efforts in climbing the mountain. It is in such cases as this that the traveller sees so much to admire in the patient and sagacious, though self-willed animal, upon whose efforts and steadiness depends his life and property. In such cases there is no whipping or spurring, no abusive or reproachful language, and the mule hears only the unusual language of encouragement and approbation. A narrow shelf with a more gradual ascent gave some relief to our animals before the final series of zig-zags which conducted us to the summit; but the sun was now low, the wind high, and directly from the snow bank, and the cold became intense. The sufferings of the poor mules it was now painful to witness, as, partly owing to the rarity of the atmosphere, and partly to the fatigue produced by the steepness of the road, their breathing was more accelerated and laborious, and their pauses to rest more frequent. Still, without a touch of the spur or a word, they would start of their own accord after recovering their breath, apparently conscious that they had a definite task which must be performed. On our right was the elevated ridges of the principal range which we were now ascending, while on our left was a valley which, as we looked down into its dark recesses, appeared unfathomable. On the other side of this ravine the mountain peaks rose to the height of some fifteen or eighteen thousand feet, covered, even at a less elevation than we had already attained, by snow and masses of ice which, clinging to the mountain side, refracted a tint of light green in the rays of the declining sun.

Two facts observable in the appearance of these mountains may require a note of explanation; that perpetual snow is found on the mountains across the valley at a less elevation than on the principal chain where the road crosses, and the existence of the glaciers. To the latter my attention had been directed, while at Santiago, by a gentleman of intelligence, who had seen them in his transit, and, who being aware of the opinion that none were found in the Andes, wished me to corroborate his observations.

The explanation of the former phenomenon, I consider by no means obscure, as the snow when it descends to the lowest level, invariably surrounds the mountains, whose peaks have a much greater elevation than the mountain pass which the road traverses. The summit of the latter is in the latitude below the limit of perpetual snow, which melted by the summer's sun, does not again accumulate until winter, while the lofty peaks of the former being within that limit, the melting influence of the sun has the effect of softening the snow and glaciers, which by their gravity, aided by the expansive force of the fluid, are pushed toward the valley, where they accumulate more rapidly than they are melted. The presence of the glaciers admits also an easy explanation on the general principle of their formation in all parts of the world where they are found. They owe their origin to the snow melting during the day and freezing at night, when it is invariably cool, and are permanently hardened in large masses during winter. Their limited extent it is less easy to explain, as they are found at but one point, and there only covering a small space, which, I presume, is owing to local conformation favourable to the melting of the snows, and collecting it in quantities sufficiently large that it may endure the noon day sun of summer.\*

Wending our way tediously, and by short zig-zags up the mountain, we met the full force of the westerly wind, a return current of the south-east trades, which constantly blew near the level of the sea, while patches of snow in sheltered locations informed us that a few hours earlier we should have had even a more tempestuous transit. It must not, however, be understood that the temperature of this pass is always so low, or the wind so violent. One of my companions who had crossed at mid-day a few weeks before, assured me that he was inconvenienced by the heat, even on the summit. The strong westerly

\* I am inclined to believe that these glaciers have not always existed, as no mention of them is made by that eminent naturalist Darwin, who crossed at this pass.

wind will seldom be experienced in the morning, which is consequently the best time to cross. This fact is another evidence that these elevated winds are return currents to the trades, which along the coast blow strongest in the afternoon. The *puna*, or oppression of the chest, and difficulty of breathing noticed by travellers I did not experience, although, judging from their violent panting, the mules did, as the fatigue of the ascent alone would not account for their obvious distress. The sun was but a few degrees above the glacier-clothed peaks already described, when a scene opened to my view from the summit, which repaid me amply for all my discomforts in the ascent, and during the remainder of my journey. Had I been "*blaze*," I should decidedly have received a new impression. I have heard and read much of natural scenery, whose grandeur and sublimity had produced in observers a feeling of awe, and have in many cases viewed it afterwards without surprise, almost with indifference. The storm at sea in all imaginable phases I have witnessed without a profound impression, neither have I been much impressed by the thunder storm in the mountains, or by cataracts, or by the many natural objects on which so many highly-wrought pages have been lavished. Two views only, of which I had heard and read much, did not fail to realize my expectations; the first was the Andes as seen from Valparaiso in winter, and the next, the view from the summit of the mountain pass of Uspallata. To produce awe, there must be added a certain feeling of personal insecurity to the natural grandeur of the object viewed. The dangers of the descent, which are greater than those of the ascent, combined with the uneasy impression produced by the great height which I had attained, compared with the narrow ridge on which I stood, just sufficiently tempered my admiration with an ill-defined dread to give to the view a character of awful sublimity. Behind us was the deep dark valley which we had left, and beyond it the snow-capped mountain masses, covered in part by glaciers, which reflecting a greenish tint, contrasted beautifully with the pure white of the surrounding snow, while, on the right,

and apparently quite close, though in reality many miles distant, rose the enormous white column of Tupungati, whose everlasting robe of white dazzled the eye as it pierced the heavens to a height nearly double the thirteen thousand feet to which we had ascended. In front, the view was limited by a range of mountains, apparently not more than a mile distant, while the intervening valley appeared as deep as it was wide. The slope by which we had to descend to it was about forty-five degrees, and enclosed by lofty mountains, whose dazzling white and sun-tipped summits contrasted with its deep shadow, was rendered still darker by the fact that owing to the rarefaction of the air, the rays of the declining sun were not refracted into its silent depths. The mind was awed and confused by the power of the contrasts, and glancing from the brilliant gilding of the peaks into the gloomy chasm before us, I recalled almost with a shudder the vivid impressions which my youthful mind had received from Bunyan's description of the "Valley and Shadow of Death."\*

We had, however, but little time to meditate on the grandeur of the scene before us, and were warned by the setting sun of the necessity of descending the mountain, and seeking shelter for the night. By the violent and piercing wind, to which we were rendered intensely susceptible by our sudden transition from the genial plains of Chili, we were thoroughly chilled, and were all, even the *peons*, who are proverbially averse to pedestrianism, glad to dismount and walk to the foot of the ridge, to which the road tended in numberless zig-zags. Had not the measure been first proposed by my companions, I should undoubtedly have adopted it myself, being so thoroughly numbed that I could scarce keep my seat on the saddle, while the steepness of the slope and depth of the valley was fearful to look upon, even from so trifling an

\* Sir Francis Head remarked when crossing at this point, "What can be more beautiful?" to which his companion, a Cornish miner, after a pause, smilingly replied: "Them things, Sir, that do wear caps and aprons." The world will not be puzzled to decide between the Haronet and the Cornish man.

elevation as the back of a mule. We were now in Argentine territory, as the narrow ridge forms the boundary between the two republics. Before reaching the valley it had been for some time dark, and our descent was by no means pleasant, though the exercise restored the warmth to our frozen limbs. Booted and spurred, we were sometimes in danger of missing our footing on the narrow path and rolling down the slope, sometimes dragging the mule with our whole strength, and again in danger of being trampled by him. About half-past eight we reached the valley, when we all remounted and proceeded down the ravine in search of a resting place, of which we were now much in need. After about an hour's ride, my companions, after an earnest consultation with Astorgas' peon, selected a site for our camp. Upon dismounting, I certainly could not discover any desirable features about the locality to recommend it above the Casucha, which I knew must be somewhere in the vicinity, as we had no shelter except the imperfect lee afforded by an immense porphyritic rock, weighing, I should suppose, some hundred tons. Upon inquiry, however, I found that its eligibility arose from the fact that our friend Astorga upon the occasion of a former journey, had left concealed under this rock two sticks of firewood which he had brought from below, there not being a trace of vegetation of any kind to be found so near the summit. All was a bleak, cheerless mass of volcanic rocks, relieved only to the sight by the snowy mountains above us, and to the imagination by the presence of the bubbling streams, the crystal clearness and icy coolness of which would have been more acceptable though less natural in the hot plains to which our course was directed. Often afterward, while suffering on board the vessel in which I sailed from Buenos Ayres with a violent attack of bilious fever, did I revisit these clear mountain streams. Sleeping or waking my mind wandered to every spring, stream, and limpid lake which I had ever visited, and many which existed only in my fever-heated imagination, but it invariably returned to the crystal rivulets fed by the snows of the Cordillera. On that

night, however, as we sat shivering around our meagre fire, in vain attempting to shelter ourselves from the scorching breeze, I am free to confess that though a passionate admirer of good water, I would willingly have bartered an unlimited quantity of the best which nature could supply for a single glass of not very good brandy. Our fire, though on the smallest imaginable scale, was sufficiently large to heat some water, with which we made our *Matté*, which accompanied our frugal repast of bread and cheese. As my supply of cigars was exhausted, the fire low, and being already past ten o'clock, we had no motive for keeping late hours, and accordingly produced our private stock of blankets, *serapes*, cloaks, and ponchos to form a bed for the three of us. Upon an examination it was discovered that all the articles in question belonged to Astorga or myself, and that Frederico's entire stock consisted of an unlined poncho, which would afford no protection whatever, and under which it would have been impossible to have slept a moment on so cold a night. My eyes had been gradually opening since our arrival at St. Felipe, where I began to see how grossly I had been imposed upon by this plausible individual, and how much he had calculated upon the results of my credulity for his own comforts and necessities during the journey. I had paid him three pieces for two mules when one only was necessary; had paid *all* the expenses of the journey, when I ought to have paid but one half; had lent him money which I already looked upon as lost; not only for the payment of his passport, but the duties upon some animals which he had sold in Santiago; bought a large supply of horsefeed, of which my poor mules never got a taste, though the old black horse having broken down, the spare one was always used by Frederico or his peon. The feed was all absorbed by his led horse, which did nothing but kick the mules who ventured within range of his heels, in one case nearly breaking my leg. His sleekness and viciousness increased, while the increasing temerity of my mules reproached me daily, and urged upon me the necessity of coming to an understanding upon the subject. But all these palpable evidences of utter want of



principle, astonished me less than the superlative impudence of the said Don Frederico in placing himself in the middle of a bed to which he had contributed nothing. He had not even the claim of a stranger, who might have been enjoying the hospitality of my camp. The reader may perhaps think the choice of position in such a bed a matter of little moment; but I assure him it was no such thing, as the lee side having been appropriated by Astorga, whose perfect right to a choice I did not for a moment think of questioning, as he had by far more coverings than myself, and Mr. Frederico having deposited himself in the middle, left me the outside berth to windward, where, as the clothes were too narrow to tuck under, I lay shivering all night.

I took off my spurs by way of preparation for repose, and tried to nestle myself under the covering, but every flaw of wind lifted it on my side and sent a chill through my limbs which instantly awakened me; then I turned over and thawed that side, when I would be again awakened and compelled to repeat the operation, and so on during the night—*mutatis mutandis*.

While my *compañero* lay snoring cosily in the middle of the bed I was vowing a terrible revenge, which I inflicted afterwards by exposing his meanness, and defeating, at the very moment that he thought everything secure, his attempt at a further imposition; accident also assisted me in a manner which I little expected, as his led horse, having got fat and frisky on my provender, threw him off his back the first time he attempted to mount him in Mendoza, thus exposing him to a torrent of ridicule, besides hurting him severely, though not seriously. His mortification at finding that he dare not mount his pet horse, avenged me sufficiently for the losses I had sustained, and my cold night in the Cordillera. To be a Mendosino, and not able to mount any horse is not to be a gentleman. I doubt even whether a man's honesty would not be suspected in Mendoza if it were known he could not ride.

March 3.—Rose at day-light, and after partaking of a cup of *matté*, heated by the scanty remains of two sticks of wood, we

saddled up and proceeded down the valley. Although our supper had been sufficiently scanty, that of our mules must have been much more so, as, by the light of day, I could not discover the slightest signs of vegetation, and of the extreme cold of the night, of which I had been tolerably convinced by my previous sensations, we had tangible corroborative evidence, in that the entire margin of the mountain torrent was firmly frozen. A clear case of temperature as low as 33° Fahrenheit was thus made out, and there is no estimating how much colder it would have been if we had been provided with a thermometer to have measured its intensity. This, too, was in March, only the first month of autumn, corresponding to September in our own country, and from the severity of the weather we may form an approximate estimate of what it must be in winter, these passes being too far inland to have their temperature affected by the warmer ocean currents, which exercise so powerful an influence in moderating the climate off Cape Horn, the southern extremity of this continent. We now pursued our course down the valley, which is generally about a mile in width, and bounded on either side by enormous masses of porphyritic rocks. Some lay in loose masses at the foot of the mountains, while others rose like a wall in a single rock, without sign of fracture, to a height where the eye could no longer trace its character. Its colours were various, though red and blue appeared to predominate. The descent was generally gradual, though sometimes so abrupt as to make me feel the necessity of a crupper, which, strange to say, is not used in this country, where it is so much needed. My saddle being English, and having been intended for a horse, was entirely too large for my mule, and, unlike the *recado* or saddle of the country, the formation of the tree would not admit of its lacing tight to the back and sides of the animal. I had previously felt the inconvenience arising from these defects, and had been proportionably careful, but now, the steepest descents having been passed, I relaxed my vigilance, and while descending a very steep hill, more employed in staring at the mountains by which we were surrounded than

in looking out for my own immediate interest, and trusting much to the docility and sagacity of the mule, his indignation was aroused by the slipping of the saddle, which he immediately resented by giving two violent kicks into the air with his hind legs. As his head, even before this demonstration, had been so nearly under me that, in using my spurs, I had to be careful of his eyes, this violent elevation behind was entirely too much for my equilibrium, and, after performing an evolution in the air, I alighted at the distance of some twenty feet below, on the flat of my back, with my head not very gently pillowed on a hard though fortunately flat stone. Not satisfied with the injury already done, this vicious beast of "*Suoni la tromba*" memory followed me, endeavouring to plant his fore feet on my chest. Though somewhat stunned, I had sufficient presence of mind to escape the compliment by rolling down the hill, when he, not caring to follow, dashed off in another direction until he became entangled by the saddle, which had completely turned, and was brought back by the *peons*. I felt much like enforcing the Mosaic Law against the beast, who, with "malice preponse" had endeavoured to take my life, but being unprovided with weapons, he escaped the effects of my first impulses, after which, of course, he was safe. I accordingly put the saddle in its place, and, girding it with all my force, mounted and proceeded on my way with very sore bones and an aching head, quite as well satisfied as ever with the sagacity, but infinitely less credulous in regard to the docility of the animal upon which I was mounted. About 10 A. M. we stopped, and lunched at the camp of an old muleteer, who was the happy possessor of some tough beef, and a little wood wherewith to cook the same, and then proceeded on our route to where the mountain torrent is traversed by the Puente del Inca, one of the lions of the Uspallata pass. It is a natural bridge formed of conglomerate, evidently cemented, at least to a certain extent, by the salts which are abundant in the neighbourhood, and was probably a mountain mass which formerly dammed the ravine, and had been perforated by the action of the torrent. As there

is every evidence that it is a part and parcel of the lofty banks of the ravine which extends for miles in either direction, the mind is carried back to a period when no stream flowed through this enormous chasm, to a period when the climate was so mild that no snow fell in these mountains, or when it was so severe that it never melted. I see no other means of explaining the phenomena, as the water could never have had another outlet from the extensive valley above, and it appears incredible that the torrent should have scooped out this great chasm for miles, commencing at the surface, and left only this slight connection between the banks, while its formation and connection precludes the idea of its having assumed this position at a later period. Its length is about forty and its breadth about thirty yards. On the narrow *plateau*, and within a few yards of the bridge, there is a spring of hot water, and on a shelf on the bank, immediately under it, are two others, varying several degrees in temperature, though they are separated by but a few inches of rock. Having no thermometer I was unable to measure the temperature, but estimated their range at between eighty-five and one hundred Fahrenheit, and are probably affected like the hot springs of Cauquenes, in Chili, by the season of the year, and the melting of the snow in the mountains. One of these springs rushes into its basin with such force that it is entirely covered with foam, and on the banks, and on the bridge overhead, hung stalactites produced by the vapours arising from it.\*

Leaving the Puente del Inca, we pursued our way down the valley, following the left bank of the torrent, and at about 1 p. m. arrived at Punta de Vaca, where we unloaded our animals, and, turning them out to graze, if, by great good fortune, they could discover the wherewithal to graze upon, which I am sure I could not, we produced our scanty provisions, and proceeded to dine

\* It is not impossible that the cement arising from these exhalations may have prevented the removal of the portion of the plateau forming this bridge, when the chasm was scooped out elsewhere by the action of the torrent.

and take a *siesta*. Awakening about 4 p. m., my attention was attracted by a series of zig-zags on a scarped mountain, which rose to the height of some fifteen hundred feet on the opposite side of the valley. They looked like lines traced upon the steep earthy slope; yet, such was their regularity that I could not but believe that they were the paths of some animals, although I could hardly realize the boldness which could induce them to risk themselves on such a fearful elevation. The mystery was speedily solved by the appearance of six guanacos, who marched in a stately and dignified manner over the crest of the mountain in a single file, and with every evidence of confidence in their narrow foothold, commenced descending the path. Saddling up, we crossed the Rio de las Vanas, a deep and rapid torrent, filled in many cases with moveable stones of considerable size. The ford is a bad one, especially in the afternoon when the heat of the sun has melted the snows on the mountains, and I felt mentally relieved when my mule had lumbered through the stream, perfectly content with the compromise of a pair of wet legs. On the level space, near the eastern margin of this river, large piles of stones irregularly placed mark the position of one of the cantonments of the army of San Martin, during his extraordinary campaign for the liberation of Chili. Pursuing our route, we arrived a little after dark at a singular cave or grotto on the right of the road, which was occupied by some eight or ten muleteers, on their way to Valparaiso for merchandize. It was merely a semicircular excavation about fifteen feet in depth, with a rocky floor and ceiling, and probably owed its origin to an extraordinary freshet. Around its entrance were placed the cargo, pack saddles, and other furniture of the mules, in distinct heaps, and a semicircular form, corresponding to that of the interior of the grotto, while in the neighbourhood the mules, under the watchful care of the *madrina*, or bell-mare, sought a scanty supper among the barren rocks. The dark and smoky walls of the cavern, lighted up by a fire in the centre, around which were grouped the *peons* in their fantastic costumes, and in the picturesque attitudes assumed by

men thoroughly at their ease, and utterly unaccustomed to the use of straight-back chairs, recalled forcibly to my mind the description of a bandit encampment, as vividly portrayed in many of the popular novels of the early part of the present century. These, however, were no robbers, but *gente de bien*, honest people in pursuit of their ordinary avocations; and upon our entrance they greeted us hospitably, making way for us at the fire, and assigning to me, as a stranger, the seat of honour, occupied on our arrival by the owner of the troupe. We were kindly invited to encamp with them, and join in the supper which was preparing, and, upon declining, cigars were produced, which were by no means unacceptable, as mine had given out the day before. On learning this fact, our friend the muleteer hoped that "the patron" would do him the favour to accept a bundle, assuring me that he had an abundance for his journey across the mountains, and that, moreover, when they gave out he could resort to cigaritos to which the *cabelleras* from foreign parts were not accustomed. Courtesy would have compelled my acceptance, even had selfishness been allowed to have no voice in the matter; and as I thanked him for his little present my heart re-opened toward mankind, and I thought that, after all, though one might be occasionally cheated and forced to sleep on the windy side of a bed on a cold night, there was still much disinterested kindness in out-of-the-way corners, where we had little right to expect it. We now heard the cheerful cries of our peons encouraging the mules as they drove them up the hill, where the road passed nearly over our heads, so we took a kindly leave of the hospitable strangers, and continued our route to the *Peñon Rajada*, or riven stone which had already been selected as a resting place for the night. This rock had been broken off from some mountain mass overhead, and had rolled into its present position by the road side, where its summit overhung its base so far that it afforded a very good shelter for three persons. It certainly looked far from secure, and the idea of its toppling over and crushing the sleeping traveller cannot but occur to any one who takes refuge under it; yet, the fact that it had occupied its

present position since the discovery of the country, more than three centuries ago, is sufficient evidence of stability to induce one to risk one more night in preference to braving the dews and cold mountain breeze. Owing to the existence of a large stone near the base of our enormous shelter, which must have weighed several hundred tons, it was rather close quarters for three, and as Don Frederico again selected the middle, and Astorga the inside, I was obliged to accommodate my person to its rough surface as well as I could. The midness of this night, compared with the last, had evidently affected the spirits of my companions, who, until a very late hour, sang national songs, among which one called "Padre Francisco" was exceedingly humorous, though by no means complimentary to the reverend clergy. I had few opportunities of observing during this journey the deportment of the priesthood, who, though treated respectfully by the people, appear to inspire them with very little reverence. Those I met were generally jolly, rotund, good-natured fellows, with no small capacity for strong drink, and very great liberality of feeling in regard to heretics.

March 4.—Having drank our *matté* we set out, and after travelling about a league, fell in with a large troop of mules in a bivouac, and among the travellers were several women, who were in the act of rising from their mattresses which were spread upon the ground, and making their toilette preparatory to setting out. There were also some children too young to be trusted on horseback, and who were transported in panniers slung upon the back of a careful mule. This is the ordinary means of locomotion; and provided the traveller have not a pair, provisions, or in default of them, a stone is put in the opposite pannier to balance the juvenile equestrian. Leaving these travellers, who shared with us their coffee, and bearing a present of pound-cake with which the benevolent ladies—Heaven bless them—had supplied us, we proceeded on the first *ladera*—one of the three formidable passes of the Andes. Of these three dangerous passes I had heard much, and am scarce prepared to say whether they

were more or less formidable than I anticipated. The name *ladera* is applied to a narrow path extending some distance along the side of the mountain, which is perpendicular on one side, and nearly, or quite so, on the other. In its narrowest part, the width, I think, was scarce less than three feet, although an occasional stone which has fallen from above forces the mule to the extreme edge of the path, where the traveller, should he be willing to trust his head and look toward the precipice, will see nothing but the deep ravine and furious torrent, in some places several hundred feet beneath. Were this narrow shelf level the danger would not be so great, but the inequalities make them fearful to those unaccustomed to mountain travelling; and I can compare my own feelings, as my mule melted his way along the narrow descent with his nose almost between his legs, his short neck, and the path entirely invisible, only to those of a man sliding slowly down a very steep roof in a disagreeable state of uncertainty as to whether the gutter or trough at the eaves will sustain his weight upon his arrival. The *ladera* of *las Vacas*, the third and last pass, is decidedly the worst, and at one point the narrow path suddenly bends nearly at right angles to its former direction, while the precipice on either side is perpendicular. To this point the ascent is very steep on either side, and the path over the rock completely perforated by the various passing animals, which are obliged to step exactly in each other's footsteps, in default of which they would probably stumble; when mule and rider must inevitably be destroyed. In making this dangerous turn, the mule must bend himself nearly double, and the traveller must guard against the danger of having his leg crushed against the rock, which might not only injure him seriously, but might also destroy the equilibrium of his animal. Passing this, the most trying point, I could not but hope while descending the steep slope beyond it, that my slippery crupperless saddle might not serve me the trick it did on the day before, as the consequences in this case would be more serious. We all passed safely, and there was no one who did not feel relieved,



it being a danger to which men would never become indifferent. Had we met a troupe of mules in this path, the result would have been fatal to some, if not all the animals, and perhaps to ourselves, as there were many places where it would have been impossible to dismount, much less to have turned back. Many persons will tell a traveller that it is safer to traverse these passes on a mule than on foot. This is an absurdity, as the sure footedness of a mule is not greater than that of a man, while its sagacity will not compare with his reason. It not unfrequently occurs that the earth near the precipice becomes insecure, and the mule, as long as he sees the tracks of his fellows, will venture upon it, while man, warned by the indications, will avoid it. Again, should a mule suddenly take fright and start, as they frequently do under other circumstances, it would be fatal to both.

In the account given of the passage of this *ladera* by Sir Francis Head, there is a fine piece of description, which embodies so many characteristics of the patient, long-suffering mule, that I cannot resist the temptation of quoting it entire for the benefit of my readers, hoping that they may derive from it the same gratification which it has afforded me. To most persons an additional charm must attach itself to this description, owing to the fact that from it is derived a picture illustrative of mountain travel in South America, which is found in the school books upon geography, from which most of the present generation in our country derived the rudiments of that science :—

“As soon as the leading mule came to the commencement of the pass, he stopped, evidently unwilling to proceed, and, of course, all the rest stopped also.

“He was the finest mule we had, and on that account had twice as much to carry as any of the others ; his load had never been relieved, and it consisted of four portmanteaus, two of which belonged to me, and contained not only a very heavy bag of dollars, but also papers, which were of such consequence that I could hardly have continued my journey without them. The

peons now redoubled their cries, and leaning over the sides of their mules, and picking up stones, they threw them at the leading mule, who now commenced his journey over the path. With his nose to the ground, literally smelling his way, he walked gently on, often changing the position of his feet if he found the ground would not bear, until he came to the bad part of the pass, when he again stopped; and I then certainly began to look with great anxiety at my portmanteaus; but the peons again threw stones at him, and he continued his path, and reached me in safety;—several others followed. At last a young mule carrying a portmanteau, with two large sacks of provisions, and many other things, in passing the bad point struck his load against the rock, which knocked his two hind legs over the precipice, and the loose stones immediately began to roll away from under them; however, his fore legs were still upon the narrow path; he had no room to put his head there, but he placed his nose on the path on his left, and appeared to hold on by his mouth. His perilous fate was soon decided by a loose mule who came up, and in walking along after him, knocked his comrade's nose off the path, destroyed his balance, and head over heels the poor creature instantly commenced a fall which was really quite terrific. With all his baggage firmly lashed to him, he rolled down the steep slope until he came to the part which was perpendicular, and there he seemed to bound off, and turning round in the air fell into a deep torrent on his back and upon his baggage, and instantly disappeared. I thought, of course, that he was killed; but up he rose, looking wild and scared, and immediately endeavoured to stem the torrent which was foaming about him. It was a noble effort, and for a moment he seemed to succeed, but the eddy suddenly caught the great load which was upon his back, and turned him completely over; down went his head with all the baggage, and as he was carried down the stream, all I saw were his hindquarters, and his long, thin, wet tail lashing the water. As suddenly, however, up his head came again; but he was now weak, and went down the stream

turned round and round by the eddy, until passing the corner of the rock I lost sight of him. I saw, however, the peons with *lassos* in their hands, run down the side of the torrent for some little distance; but they soon stopped, and after looking toward the poor mule for some seconds, their earnest attitude gradually relaxed, and when they walked toward me I concluded that all was over. I walked up to the peons, and was just going to speak to them when I saw at a distance a solitary mule walking toward us.

"We instantly perceived that he was the Phaeton whose fall we had just witnessed, and in a few moments he came up to us to join his comrades. He was, of course, dripping wet; his eye looked dull, and his whole countenance was dejected; however, none of his bones were broken, he was very little cut, and the bulletin of his health was altogether incredible.

"With that surprising anxiety which the mules all have to join the troop, or rather the leading mule which carries the bell, he continued his course, and actually walked over the pass without compulsion, though certainly with great caution."

The great dangers and difficulties which we had to encounter from mountain travel were now passed, and we proceeded rapidly down the valley, the slope of which had become more gradual. At about noon we stopped on the banks of a clear mountain stream, which we had crossed by a rude stone bridge with a single arch, and breakfasted upon the cakes so kindly provided us by the warm-hearted *Mendesinos*. Soon after we left, for the last time, the muddy and turbid torrent which we had so long accompanied, and struck across a shingly plain, producing some low bushes and watered by a single rivulet of clear cold water. The torrent which we left, increased as it was by numerous alliances, had become a considerable stream, and flowed with less violence than nearer its source toward the plains, where it is absorbed and lost in the sandy soil. At about 2 P.M., our eyes were delighted with the sight of the fertile valley of *Uspallata*, which, clothed in green by its various grains

and grasses, and watered by a rivulet of clear cold water, was a pleasing relief to the eye after our three days' travel among the rocks and snow of the Cordillera. The valley is some six miles in length and two in breadth, and contains only one establishment of several small houses and some unused furnaces belonging to the copper mines, which were formerly wrought in this neighbourhood. This is the Custom House station of Mendoza, and we were received very affably by the Captain of the Guard and his buxom wife, who were acquaintances of my *compañero* Frederico. A room was assigned to us in one of the unoccupied huts, and a dinner served to us with the family. In the evening, for want of other occupation, I numbered the dogs in the courtyard, where twenty stood in a single group, as gaunt and ferocious as so many half-starved wolves. I did not need the caution which our hostess gave me not to venture out of the house at night unless accompanied by a peon, as I felt certain of being torn to pieces for food if from no other motive. Like the negro slave in our country, and the poor generally all the world over, the *guacho* of the plains delights in being surrounded by formidable dogs, and is seldom found, except far from his home, unaccompanied by some half a dozen. Bertoldo, the peon, had laudably availed himself of an idle afternoon to celebrate his return to a civilized region by becoming gloriously drunk, and in that condition afforded me some amusement at the same time that he annoyed me. Upon one subject he declared his mind was made up—that he would never leave me until my arrival in Buenos Ayres, and would accompany me as my peon with or without my permission, or a compensation for his services. Rum is a sad leveller, an unmitigated Red Republican, and I could never have realized the great similarity that really exists between a drunken English or American sailor and a drunken *guacho*. Our beds were made on the floor, and Astorga and myself were about to retire when we were honoured by a visit from our landlady and landlord, the Captain of the Guard, who came with the intention of having a cosy game of cards with Don Frederico.

As they did not appear to stand on ceremony with us; I determined to shew my appreciation of the compliment by not considering them as strangers, and quietly turned in and soon smoked myself to sleep, not, however, before I saw the *escudo* which Don Frederico had obtained from me this afternoon to meet necessary expences, transferred in the progress of the game to the captain and his worthy spouse.

*March 5.*—Started about 6 A.M., and pursued our way down the Uspallata valley, the level road winding among numerous hills of no great elevation. Stopping at a very small spring to refresh ourselves, and await the arrival of our baggage, Don Frederico gave me a farther insight into his character, by producing the sealed letter of the Captain of the Guard, in which our arrival, and the character of our baggage, was announced to his superior in Mendoza, and attempted to read it by opening it as far as he could without breaking the seal. He would, I believe, have even proceeded to that extremity, had I not entered my protest against such a breach of trust being committed in my presence. Very much to my surprise Astorga, with whom my short intercourse had favourably impressed me, made no objections; and when I conversed with him afterward, found that his views upon this subject did not coincide with my own, and that the fact of the letter having an immediate relation to its bearer, and being official, he seemed to believe gave him a right to obtain a knowledge of its contents. This may be the code of morality in this country, and may be generally conceded, in which case, of course, it would be unfair to judge individuals by our own severe standard.

About noon we arrived at the Paramillo, an elevated tableland, from whence we had a distant view of the Pampas, which, seen through the haze, strikingly resembled the ocean. A strong breeze appears to blow at this point at all seasons of the year, at least so I was informed by my companions, and find their statements corroborated by former travellers. Gold mines are wrought with advantage at several points on this plateau.

<sup>1</sup> When, upon our arrival at Uspallata, I congratulated myself upon having overcome the descent and attained the level of the Pampas, I was very much mistaken, as leaving the Paratillo we descended by a steep declivity into a narrower ravine (Cajon of Villa Vicencio), and continued to descend without intermission for the next ten miles, until our arrival at Villa Vicencio. This ravine was very picturesque, and is undoubtedly the finest pass in the whole route, though wanting the massy grandeur of the mountain scenery above Uspallata. After travelling about forty-five miles, we arrived at Villa Vicencio about six o'clock in the evening, and made our arrangements to pass the night. Its ostentatious name and place on the map would have induced me to expect at least a village, had not "Darwin's Journal of a Naturalist" informed me beforehand that it consisted of a single hut. It had a local celebrity for the Hot Springs in its neighbourhood, to which invalids in former times resorted for the benefit of the waters. They are now unfrequented, either because they have lost their reputation, or because of their inaccessibility and distance from Mendoza. They are some distance from the house—about a league, I believe, and I did not see them. No one alluded to them in my presence, and I had ridden forty-five miles since morning, and the last ten down hill, and I was tired; so lying down in front of the house on my *sarape*, smoking a pipe in lieu of a cigar, and attempting at intervals, though not very successfully, to make friends with a domesticated *guanaco* which belonged to the establishment, I forgot entirely that my previous reading had ever made me aware of their existence. It was only upon my arrival in Mendoza that I was reminded of them by some inquiries which were addressed to me on the subject. It thus frequently happens that the descriptions of travellers vary so much as to induce a notorious incredulity among readers; but because something is unmentioned by a more recent traveller which had been noticed by a former one, is no evidence of its non-existence. Darwin gives a long description of these Springs, which I had read more than once, and I did

not see them, while I observed the Hot Springs at the Puente del Inca, which, I think, he passed entirely unnoticed, even when speaking of the bridge. The good wife gave us our *casuela* by candle-light, and we were not tardy in retiring, each one, even the women and children, making their beds in front of the house in the open air. Having observed this community of sleeping apartments with some surprise upon turning in—retiring, though more elegant, can scarcely be considered appropriate under the circumstances—I was somewhat startled upon finding that I had a bedfellow when I awoke during the night. Cautiously reconnoitering, I discovered that it was only the *guanaco*, which, attracted doubtless by the warmth of my covering, had laid himself down close alongside of me. Being fond of animals, and pleased with his confidence, and flattering myself that he had discovered by my countenance that I was a good-natured fellow, I did not disturb him.

*March 6.*—Don Frederico being now near home, and anxious to see the misguided little woman who, in an evil hour, had a few weeks before consented to become his bride, roused us out a little after midnight; but owing to the delays of Bertoldo, who had not entirely recovered from his jolification, and had probably no especial motive to hasten him, being either an unmarried man or an old married man, we did not start until about 2 A.M. We soon cleared the Cajon, or ravine, after which we descended gradually through a dry and consequently sterile country to a line of hills of a moderate height, apparently the banks of the sea or a great lake in a former geological period, and at present the boundary of the extensive plains which reach the Atlantic. At daylight I found that we had by some means picked up a travelling companion, a good-natured elderly *guacho*, but where he joined us I never learned—whether at Villa Vicencio or in the Cajon before it was light; but of one fact in connection with him I am well assured, that without his assistance we should have made a sorry breakfast.

Having reached the edge of the plain we met a young *guacho*

on his return from Mendoza, who was found to be the possessor of two loaves of bread, which my companions jestingly demanded, and he willingly gave them when he learned that we had not breakfasted. I offered money to pay him for the bread and his trouble, and to reward his charitableness, but found the greatest difficulty in prevailing on him to accept it. He appeared to think himself fully compensated by being permitted to observe the ravenous manner in which we devoured the loaves which he had carried some thirty miles, and which he perhaps intended as a present to his sister or sweetheart.

Although dry bread is a rarity and a luxury to these rude inhabitants of the plains, we found it without water by no means savoury, and no little satisfaction was expressed by the whole party when the old *guacho*, who had this morning joined us, produced from a leather bag a quantity of *charqui*, or jerked beef, pounded into a sort of coarse flour. The *charqui* and our morning ride gave such a rare flavour to our bread, that we made an excellent breakfast, and I can honestly recommend the use of it to any traveller, as being at the same time one of the most nutritious and portable articles of food that I have met with during my various journeys.

Between us and Mendoza lay a barren plain or *travésia* of some thirty miles without water. Stones, stunted bushes, and dry sand were its staple productions, and it seemed as if its bed of sand had formerly been under water, and the receptacle of the stones brought down by the mountain torrents.

As the heat was great, the view uninteresting, and the necessity for sparing our animals less urgent than heretofore, we travelled rapidly, being especially incited thereto by the impatience of Frederico. During our transit, Astorga availed himself of the fact of our being alone to consult with me relative to taking up our quarters at Frederico's house, or rather that of his father-in-law, which he had also been invited to do. He expressed his dislike and suspicion of his good faith, upon which I informed him of the result of my own experience. It was then



determined that we should both refuse and go to a *fonda*. From this judicious determination we were not persuaded but absolutely forced, in the sequel, being positively informed that there was no place of public entertainment in the city, and were finally obliged to take up our quarters in conformance with the pressing invitation. There we remained together for three days, when, much to my regret, Astorga set out for his native city of San Juan, urging upon me at leave-taking, notwithstanding my repeated refusals, the acceptance of his two heavy blankets, the possession of which I envied him so much during the cold nights we had passed in the Cordillera. As the weather in the plains at this season is mild, I really did not wish to be troubled with his handsome present, but finding I could not refuse any longer without wounding his feelings, I finally accepted them, and gave them to the courier upon my arrival at Buenos Ayres. Throughout my whole association with this gentleman, I found him kind, urbane, generous, and obliging, and should be most happy to have an opportunity at some future time to return the kindness in my own country which I invariably received from him in mountain and plain, where he always stood as a wayside companion, in glaring relief to the man who had been recommended to me, and to whose honour I had confided my interests, and who, according to the principles of hospitality, as understood and practised by even the most barbarous people, ought to have sacredly guarded them instead of taking the lead in petty impositions.

In the suburbs of the city we stopped at a hut to drink water, of which we were much in want, as there is, as I have already stated, none on the road after leaving Villa Vicencio. We also ate some water-melons, which here attain great perfection. The woman who waited upon us, as also the remainder of the family, the young children only excepted, suffered from the disgusting deformity produced by the *goitre*—a disease, as we afterwards discovered, pervading every class of society in Mendoza. Our hostess, Don Frederico's mother, was rendered hideous by a *goitre*,

while the swelling neck of his young and otherwise pretty wife displayed it in its incipency. Mendoza, the "City of the Plains," presents from the distance an unimposing appearance, being on perfectly level ground, and so surrounded by poplars that scarcely a habitation is seen until its streets are entered.

The surrounding barrier once passed, its suburbs are pleasing, each cottage being shaded by trees and surrounded by a garden filled with fruit-trees, or planted with clover as a pasturage for their animals. The luscious green of this grass was a most pleasing relief to the eye after dwelling on the barren rocks of the Cordillera, or the parched and arid *travesia*; and I could not but inwardly express the hope that if, like the old Babylonian king, Nebuchadnezzar, I should ever be turned out to grass, that my lot might be cast in such clover patches as abound in the suburbs of Mendoza. Advancing into the city it became more populous, better built, and better paved, and about 2 P.M. we dismounted in the courtyard of Don Frederico's father-in-law, where we were received with courtesy, and a room assigned for our joint accommodation during our sojourn.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### MENDOZA.

*March 7.*—Rose early, when, after taking my "*matte*," I was informed by Don Frederico and his father-in-law, that I must visit the police-office to have my passport *visced*, and that as a preliminary step I must mount the red ribbon, the *devisa* of the dominant party, on my hat, and in the button-hole of my coat. To this I stoutly objected, but finding that my host was becoming alarmed for his own safety in the event of my refusal, and that without these badges I could not obtain access to the government house, I submitted, and marched off with Frederico, as patriotic a federalist to all appearance as might be seen in the streets of Mendoza. The entrance to the police office, which with other government offices opened upon an area, was guarded by armed men. Soldiers, I cannot call them, as they had neither uniform, drill, or discipline, and were altogether, the most brigandish looking wretches I have ever met in South America or elsewhere. The troops of her Majesty Ranavalano, the reigning queen of Madagascar at the period of my visit in 1844, were well-disciplined troops and mild-mannered gentlemen in comparison. After displaying my passport to the chief of the police, himself a rude and brutal personage, I enquired if he were satisfied, and receiving an affirmative reply, pointed to my *devisa*, and asked him whether I had been rightly informed and would be obliged to wear it. He answered in the affirmative, when I informed him that I looked upon these badges as evidences of partizanship

that this was the device of the federal party, and that blue was worn by the *Unitarians* as also by the *Montevideans*, with which republic the Argentine Confederation was at war. . At the same time the United States held amicable relations with the republic of Monte Video, and would not consider one of their officers justified in adopting any party or national device. To this plain exposition of facts I added the opinions of divers learned commentators on public law ; but his answer to all my arguments, that foreigners, and Americans among others, wore it at Buenos Ayres, and that it was a regulation with which I must comply, convinced me that he had no more respect for authorities than for my individual rights. I had before determined on my course of conduct, and quietly removing the badges from my coat and hat threw them on the floor of his office, and requested that he would make out my passport for Chili, from whence I would represent through our *Charges des Affaires* at Buenos Ayres to General Rosas, that an American, in violation of treaty stipulations and the comity of nations, had been prevented from traversing the Argentine territories. His tone instantly changed, and he informed me that the wearing of the badge would not be exacted, but advised me to do it for my own personal safety, as seeing me without it, I might be assaulted by the lower classes. This peril, which I did not consider a great one, as the common people are by no means so enthusiastic as the government officials wish strangers to believe, I determined to risk, and was the only person in Mendoza, young or old, male or female, who was permitted to appear in the streets without the red ribbon, or with an entire beard "*Barba Cerrada*," which is supposed to resemble the letter *U*, the initial letter of the obnoxious *Unitarians*.

Upon the occasion of an interview with Mr. —, a resident political agent of Rosas, who shares the influence of his chief over the authorities of this remote province, he assured me that he would speak to the governor, and that I might safely dispense with the *devisa*, and that my beard should likewise be respected,

after which assurance I whisked the latter about the streets of Mendoza as fiercely as did the veteran Kildermeister his three feet queue tied with an eel skin, which has been so happily rescued from oblivion, and immortalized in connection with Peter the Headstrong, and General Van Poffenburgh, by the graphic and faithful pen of Diedrich Knickerbocker.

Notwithstanding the victory I had achieved, I found that there was a limit to my prerogatives, which I did not however consider of sufficient importance to warrant a further negotiation, as my stay in this city would be limited to a week. Without a *devisa*, I could not enter a government office, which I felt as an inconvenience, owing to the fact that the post office at which I expected letters from Chili was situated in the hollow square of the public buildings.

But at the door stood two cut-throat-looking sentinels, with their dirty red caps, *ponchos*, and spurs, supported on their muskets, which they were too lazy to shoulder, and watching carefully that no improper person should pass within; that is, that no person without a *devisa*, myself namely, as I was the only person in the city thus distinguished. While awaiting in the street one day the return of a friend whom I had requested to inquire for letters within, I had an opportunity of observing how rigid were the regulations respecting the wearing of this magical emblem of patriotism or partizanship, the brightness of which is considered an evidence of good faith and fidelity to the existing state of things. A *peon* or labourer, with a *poncho*, attempted to pass the guard, and although the red ribbon was plainly distinguishable on his hat, the presented bayonet of the sentinel prevented his passing, until by raising his *poncho* he showed that it was worn in accordance to law, or regulation for such cases made and provided, in the button hole of his jacket. In this particular instance the unfortunate *peon* had it on the right, and consequently according to usage on the wrong side, and was obliged to transfer it before the savage looking *guacho* allowed him to pass.

*Vive la Republique*, or in the language of the country, success to the Argentine Confederation and death to its enemies. I was now fairly quartered in Mendoza, though by no means agreeably, as in their domestic habits the people at home are far from our standard of cleanliness either in their dress or the service of the table. At the house of my host it was by no means uncommon to sit down with several men in not very tidy shirt sleeves, while the dining-room was filled with very dirty children belonging to the family, who rolled about the earthen floor with the mangey dogs, and half-naked children of the negro servants.

Near the dining-room was a bed-chamber, the door of which was invariably open, and though I consider myself an old traveller and not over nice, I could never eat with any "gusto" until my back was turned upon the uninviting unmade bed and its appurtenances. Neither was the food of such a quality or served in such a manner as to provoke the appetite, it being coarse and badly cooked, and served up in a mass which frequently left a pleasing doubt as to its original elements.

It is pleasing, however, to record the fact that there appears to be a progressive improvement, as the younger portion of the population are much more nice in their dress and habits than that which is passing away. At meals—cheap Spanish wine, or that of the country is generally used, although *Cañá*, or Brazilian rum appears to be the favourite beverage among the old men. The ceremonial of drinking healths, which is so burdensome in Brazil, appears to have never found its way to this city, or to have been abandoned. Although we find no temperance societies, or few who practice total abstinence, examples of excessive drinking are very rare.

Owing I presume to the rarity of the atmosphere, due to the elevation above the sea level in this city as well as in Santiago, the effects of excessive or even what would in our country be termed moderate drinking, is so hurtful to the nervous system as to break down even the strongest constitution in a few years. Whether this effect, of the existence of which there cannot be the

slightest doubt, is entirely attributable to the causes just alluded to, I am unable to decide, and have been informed that in some parts of Bolivia at a much greater elevation than either Santiago or Mendoza, spirits are used in great quantities with impunity. The custom which was at one time common in our own country of drinking raw spirits before breakfast, yet exists in Mendoza, and in fact in almost all parts of South America. Our morning dram was generally termed an *antifogmatic*, an appropriate term in our moist climate. In the table lands of Brazil and Mendoza where fogs are rare, it is termed "*Matta Bicha*," insect killer.

The principle involved is precisely the same, and the names given in each case may obscure but do not conceal the true motive in resorting to stimulants. Neither do the house-keepers of Mendoza devote greater attention to the cleanliness of their bedrooms and their dining-rooms, as that occupied by Astorga and myself was never once swept during our occupancy of a week, nor did our bed receive the slightest attention from any member of the household during that period. His *peon Jacinto* not only made our beds when it became absolutely necessary, but brought water to wash, cleaned our boots, and in short performed all the duties which in other countries pertain to the household servants.

The principle which seems to govern the householders of this country, as well as the great majority in the interior of Brazil, is to cleanse the bed-room upon the arrival of a guest, and perchance again at his departure, so won to those who remain long in the same house without a *peon* of their own, who among the multifarious accomplishments required of a traveller's servant should also understand the art of washing bed-linen.

Notwithstanding, however, the inconveniences of this system to the traveller, it has obvious advantages to the householders of a country where the paucity of hotels make private hospitality a matter of necessity, as it will inevitably prevent a longer stay than is absolutely necessary. It frequently occurred to me during my journeys in South America and my sojourn in some seaports of Mexico, that while the wealthier classes import French modistes,

music and dancing masters, they would do well to obtain a few housewives from Holland, or some portion of the world inhabited by the Anglo-Saxon race, who might indoctrinate them into the mysteries of domestic economy and cleanliness.\*

The attendance at the table and the bringing of a cup of *matté* to the bedside in the morning by a female servant, is all the service rendered by the domestics to a traveller or a stranger.†

Hoping to better myself by a change, I stole out one day to take a look at the only *posada* in the place, and upon entering called for some refreshment, which was brought me by a dirty-looking *peon*, whose foul poncho covered, but did not conceal still fouler linen, and whose enormous rattling spurs upon his bare feet, an evidence of gentility among the rude people of the Pampas, as in former times among the refined knights of Europe, might have induced the opinion that instead of being a servant, he was but a temporary sojourner in the house. It is no exaggeration that the *guacho* considers himself at home only while on horseback, and his bow legs is an evidence that he is spoiled for a graceful pedestrian.

A single glance at the *fonda*, convinced me that I should not better my condition by exchanging my quarters, which I intended to do in the event that I should find greater attention to cleanliness. Though I can live on little of the coarsest food, I have a predilection of its having at least the appearance of cleanliness, in which I had found all South Americans whom I have visited, except the *Chillians*, remarkably deficient.

Being essentially an inland town, Mendoza presents few attractions to the passing traveller. There are no public buildings dis-

\* As dirty as a *mantel*, (table-cloth,) being a popular comparison, will give a fair idea of the domestic economy of this city.

† Lest any one should infer that I have violated the sacred rites of hospitality in setting forth the peculiarities of the internal economy in the house of my entertainers in this city, I will only remark that I paid most liberally for my right to criticise. I had business transactions of which my entertainment formed a part, and I was *taken in*.



tinguished either for size or architecture ; their churches being inferior to those of any of the Chilian towns already described. The city contains about twelve thousand inhabitants,\* and, as is almost invariably the case in South American cities of Spanish origin, is regularly laid out in squares.

The houses, which are seldom more than one story high, are for the most part built of *adobe*, or large unburnt brick, the better class being white-washed and tiled, while the others remain the naturally sombre color of the clay, and are covered with grass, or a sloping bed of clay, which, in the dry climate of the table lands, affords a sufficient protection. In a few isolated instances the roofs are flat and terraced, as in Vera Cruz and Havana. Even the largest houses present a small front on the street, where they have a "*porte calle*," or large door, through which horses, and occasionally carriages, may be driven. Those of this class generally enclose a neatly tiled square, communicating with a garden where the horses are frequently pastured.

In the centre of the principal square stands a dusty sun-burnt erection of stone, once a fountain, and said to have been constructed during the revolution, and when the province was governed by the famous San Martin. The water which supplied it was brought from the direction of the Andes, distant at this point about fifteen miles. The aqueduct having been injured, or rendered temporarily unserviceable, there is no longer sufficient enterprise or security to warrant its repair. The inhabitants are now supplied from the mountain torrent, which, under the appellation of the River Mendoza, passes through the city, and from wells which are generally brackish. Allusion has been already made to the rarity of the *goitre* in Chili, near the western slope of the Andes, when compared with the city and its vicinity, where every person seems more or less affected. Were the ancient European theory, which was founded on its prevalence in Switzer-

\* Sixty thousand has been erroneously stated by some travellers, which is about the entire population of the whole province, according to the Government returns.

land, received as conclusive, it ought to be met most frequently in Chili, where the cold snow water is in general use; which is not the case in the Argentine Provinces. A tradition in Chili, already alluded to, makes its appearance cotemporary with the introduction of the Italian poplar from Mendoza, since which time it is said to have gradually increased. If this be true, it would not appear improbable that it may be contagious, and may have been propagated in Chili after the revolution had made the intercourse between the two slopes of the Andes more common. In all parts of the world where this disgusting disease exists it is popularly attributed to the peculiar composition of the water; yet, a theory founded upon its saline qualities in Mendoza would crumble like the snow water theory of Switzerland, before the numerous examples of its prevalence which we have observed in the table lands of Brazil, where the waters of a granitic region appear remarkably pure. In Brazil, as in certain regions in Hindostan, where it prevails extensively, snow is unknown.

The boast and ornament of Mendoza is its *alemeda*, or promenade, shaded by several rows of ancient poplars, and cooled by a murmuring brook which runs along its margin. In times past it was perhaps equal, if not superior, to the beautiful *Cañada* of Santiago, but now its trees are untrimmed, its walks unswept and deserted, and it remains only as a monument of the taste and enterprise of a former generation.

Why it should be thus neglected when a little labour would make it a magnificent promenade, I do not know, but presume it is attributable to the progressive indolence produced by an enervating climate, the cessation of the fictitious prosperity which built up this city at a point which possesses few natural advantages, and to the fact that the more wealthy possess *chacras*, or country houses, to which they resort during the excessive heat of the summer. During the colonial times frequent importations from Europe, of a more hardy and enterprising race, could with ease build those monuments which their indolent Creole descendants have not the energy to keep in repair, a fact which has been

painfully illustrated in every portion of South America except Chili. The description of the life of the Creoles of Mendoza, by Sir Francis Head, is a gem in its way, and so graphic and characteristic of the inhabitants of all these cities of the plains that I will quote it entire, as, having been written full thirty years ago, it has been overwhelmed and almost forgotten in the mountain of ephemeral literature which the age of progress has heaped upon it.

"Provisions are cheap, and the persons who bring them quiet and civil; the climate is exhausting, and the whole population indolent. *Mais que voulez vous ?* How can the people of Mendoza be otherwise. Their situation dooms them to inactivity. They are bounded by the Andes and by the Pampas, and, with such formidable and relentless barriers around them, what have they to do with the history or improvements, or the notions of the rest of the world? Their wants are few, and nature readily supplies them. The day is long, and, therefore, as soon as they have had their breakfasts, and have made a few arrangements for their supper, it is so very hot that they go to sleep; and what could they do better?"

As irrigation can be easily effected in the immediate neighbourhood of Mendoza, the country is made comparatively productive. Wheat is raised in quantities sufficient for domestic consumption, and a surplus might easily be added for exportation, did not the distance from a market make the transportation too expensive. Bounded by the Andes and Pampas, an extraordinary demand alone could make so bulky an article pay for its cultivation and transportation, and its principal wealth consists of its mines, which are by no means successfully wrought, its cattle, and the fruits of the orchard. Among the latter, grapes and peaches are the most prominent, and when dried are transported to Buenos Ayres. Of the former a sort of brandy is manufactured, which is extensively used in the provinces, but is not exported. As an evidence of the impracticability of advantageous exportation of any save the most valuable products of the earth, it may be

well to mention the mode of transportation to the nearest seaports, and the general price exacted on freight. To Valparaiso the distance is about three hundred miles, and mules only can be employed; the price for transportation of freight being from three to five reals—from thirty-seven and a-half to sixty-two and a-half cents—per *arroba* of twenty-five pounds, according to the season; the journey, late in the autumn, or early in the spring, being both painful and dangerous.

Merchandise to and from Buenos Ayres is transported in carts carrying about one hundred and fifty *arrobos*, and drawn by twelve oxen, and the freight is generally one hundred and fifty dollars for each cart toward the seaboard, and sixty dollars returning. The danger of being intercepted by the Pampa Horse Indians, who ravage the provinces of San Luis, a portion of Cordova, and Santa Fé, almost at pleasure, doubtless contribute to keep up the price of transportation. In view of the remoteness of a market and the difficulty of transit, the attention of the more intelligent Mendozinos has been called to the introduction of some commodity of sufficient value to pay for its transportation, and thus re-instate the prosperity of the province, which has retrograded since the decline in the more valuable metallic productions. An ex-Governor, whose acquaintance I made in Mendoza, has endeavoured, and with some success, to introduce the culture of the mulberry tree, and the manufacture of silk, among his countrymen. As the soil and climate appear favourable, it will probably be attended with success. The exports of the silk in cocoons amounted, at the time of my visit, to about seventy *arrobos* (1750 lbs.) per annum, and, as the mulberries are rapidly increasing, this culture promises finally to meet the views of the intelligent gentleman who proposed its cultivation, as the only available article which could pay for transportation to the seaboard.

The public revenues of this province, which are derived from duties upon importations, land tax, and tithes, amounts to about fifty or sixty thousand dollars a year, according to the statement of a high official personage in Mendoza. From the same source

I learned that the import duties were seven per cent. and that the current expenditures were from sixty to seventy thousand dollars per annum. The population of the province numbers from fifty-five to sixty thousand souls, the national guard or militia to seven thousand, and the regular army of the province to eight hundred men. The inhabitants of the city may be divided into four classes: officials, merchants, idlers, mechanics, and peons or labourers. Those of the country into farmers or landowners, and *guachos* or herdsmen. The third class in the enumeration of the denizens of cities is one which, fortunately, has not become, as yet, very numerous in our country, whose inhabitants possess an industry inherent to their race, and fostered by our temperate climate. It is composed of young men connected with respectable, and sometimes wealthy families, who possess a limited amount of showy education, ride well, dance well, dress unexceptionably, in the street or abroad, and supply the young ladies of Mendoza with that necessary component of society, known in all parts of the civilized world as beaux. As to their ultimate destiny I know about as little as did Mr. Samuel Weller of that of post boys and donkeys, to the latter of which animals, in an allegorical sense, they assimilate, but presume that those who are not provided for by an advantageous marriage, eventually merge into the class of inferior office holders.

My week's stay in Mendoza passed without many incidents worthy of note, and the description of one day's occupation would serve for that of my whole stay. In the morning, at about eight o'clock, a female servant brought Yerba or Paraguay tea in a small silver mounted gourd, and which I was expected to imbibe through a silver tube, at a temperature a little, but not much below two hundred and twelve Fahrenheit; the same gourd and the same tube, the former having been replenished, were then handed to Astorga, my room-mate, when it again returned to me, and so on, "*mutatis mutandis*," until we had both pronounced ourselves satisfied. After *matte* we were then allowed to rise or renew our sleep at our own discretion, as by no chance could we

expect our breakfast before 10 A. M. When it appeared it consisted generally of roast mutton, wine and bread, with the preliminary glass of *caña*, "*Para matar los animalculii*," and terminated with a cup of tea. We were then free to go where we pleased until two, when our dinner of nearly the same material, was served, with this difference, that a cup of black coffee was substituted for tea, which was served at breakfast.

The interval between breakfast and dinner I generally employed at the house of an Englishman, who, by some means, had found his way into this city, where, with the customary good fortune of his race, he had formed a matrimonial alliance with a wealthy and respectable lady, and was the possessor of a small store or shop, and sundry ox carts, with which he conducted an advantageous traffic with Buenos Ayres in the transportation, sale, and exchange of dried fruits. Another house where I passed several agreeable mornings was that of a Scotch physician, who, after wandering through various parts of South America, had established at Mendoza, where he practiced his profession, and gave his attention to a grazing estate, which he had in the vicinity. He was an intelligent and highly educated man, had acquired property, and, having formed no ties by marriage in the province, it was and is a matter of surprise that he can consent to dole out a miserable existence in a place where he can find so very few congenial spirits. His kind and hospitable reception of me was an evidence of his gratification at meeting one who, though not a countryman, could converse in his own language, and could discuss with him subjects which must, but for the arrival of a chance traveller, remain for ever buried in his own thoughts, as an unexchangeable commodity in that region. Another friend, a native, to whom I had letters of introduction from Santiago, also assisted me to while away the mornings, which, but for the kindness of the three persons here mentioned, must have hung heavily upon my hands.

After dinner the streets are deserted, shops and doors generally closed, and willing or unwilling, the traveller, who may not be

supplied with books, must occupy the intensely hot hours of the afternoon in a *siesta*, during which the city appears like Stockholm, or St. Petersburg, on an arctic summer's night, bating the difference of temperature. After the *siesta*, and when the declining sun and the afternoon breeze have made the temperature somewhat more bearable, I frequently rode in the suburbs, which are highly cultivated, and being shaded by trees, covered with vegetation, and abounding with vineyards, whose vines bent beneath their luscious loads, was really a delightful *pasco*. In these rides I sometimes called at a country house, where the richer denizens of the city had retired for the summer, and enjoyed the liberal hospitality of the owners, drinking a glass of *caña* with the father, smoking a cigarito with the ancient matrons, whom I astonished by the "*length of my beard, and the extent of my travels,*" and listening to the wild, though pleasing and plaintive songs of the señoritas, who, accompanying themselves on the guitar, sung without being pressed, and without the array of maudlin excuses, so common in some other countries boasting a higher degree of social refinement, and rightly considering that they were conferring upon me a favour for which I ought not to be expected to importune them. Returning from my ride, I visited some families with whom I had become acquainted, and was almost invariably entertained with music, tea, and cigars. No excuse, apology, or invitation is considered necessary, should the guest during his visit wish to smoke. He simply takes out his cigarito, and either striking a light with the flint and steel, with which every one is provided, or receiving one at the hands of one of the family, puffs away as if it were a matter of course. The older ladies will frequently join him, or, perhaps, take the initiative; but the younger ones seldom smoke, at least in company with strangers, being aware that it is not considered "*comme il faut,*" in all parts of the world. Among the more refined in the city, it is necessary to ask for a national song to have it sung, as Italian operas have banished them almost entirely from the drawing-rooms, and I have been surprised to hear cari-

*liras* and *arias* from even the most recent operas, in this remote city, where so few other elements of European refinement have found their way. French and Italian dances and songs are as familiar as household gods, where the substantial improvements of the Anglo-Saxon race are considered almost in the light of pleasing pictures. While in the country, the same ladies who would accompany the music of Bellini, Rossini, or Donizetti, on the piano, will take up a guitar, and sing their Spanish songs without a special request, thus shewing an appropriateness to time and place, which does not always distinguish musical amateurs. The Spanish voice I cannot consider musical, as there is almost invariably something harsh in their tones, whether due to the character of the indigenous music, or some peculiar construction of the larynx, I am not able to pronounce, though on account of its universality, I am inclined to the latter opinion. Among the ladies with whom I became acquainted in Mendoza, were some fair specimens of the *mezzo-soprano* voice, and one, particularly, sung the beautiful Baccarole from *Marino Faliero*, with a taste and execution I have seldom heard surpassed. My evenings were generally passed at the house of the Ex-Governor, Don Tomas Godoy Cruz, to whom I have alluded as distinguished for his attempts to introduce the culture of silk, and who gives *tertulias* every evening, to which his acquaintances, male or female, come or not at their discretion, invitations once given being considered as extending "*ad infinitum*," an arrangement which possesses its peculiar advantages for the few strangers, who may find themselves in Mendoza. On Sunday evening the rooms are generally full, while any evening there is enough to get up a quadrille or polka in the drawing-room, while Don Tomas entertains his male guests in his sanctum adjoining, with *caña*, cigaritas, and cake.

His wife and daughter, the latter an interesting, pretty, and intelligent little girl, played and sung well, and music formed a prominent part of the evening's entertainments. The two pianos which adorned the two parlours, were handsome and expensive instruments, and alike an evidence of the taste and wealth of the



owner of the mansion. The older male members of the community, or those, who, like myself, were not skilled in the terpsichorean art, generally congregated in the sanctum, where through the open doors we could witness the dancing, and hear the music, while we discussed our cigars, *caña*, and the state of the world at large, and the ultimate destiny of California, which was then the prevailing topic of conversation, in particular. Being the first person who had ever arrived in Mendoza from El Dorado, I was the oracle of the day, and I confess my patience was so severely tried, that I would have been willing to have consigned that rich mineral region, with all its gold, to the dignified insignificance which it enjoyed when in the course of my service I first visited its shores. When in Santiago, I first saw in a Valparaiso Journal, a translation of the decree from General Persifor Smith, prohibiting foreigners from occupying the public lands in California, and knowing from the dissatisfaction there expressed, that it would be highly displeasing to the people of Mendoza, many of whom were preparing to start in search of a speedy fortune, I was careful to make no allusion to it, and hoped most ardently that I might be allowed to depart before the news could be transmitted to Mendoza. In this, however, I was disappointed, as a Journal containing the decree arrived about three days before my departure. The torrent of complaints and questions now showered upon me, at the evening *tertulia* of Don Tomas, were overpowering, and I was compelled to seek the society of the ladies for protection. Indeed, I seriously thought of attempting to dance, in order to save myself from the persecutions of my inveterate tormentors. The alleged want of liberality of the Government of the United States was boldly attacked, and this decree was pronounced more tyrannical than any of the edicts of the sublime Porte, or the Czar of all the Russias. Finding escape impossible, and becoming somewhat roused by the unmerited abuse of our liberal institutions, I turned upon my assailants, and if I did not substantiate my position, and that of my government, by arguments, I silenced them by carrying the war into Africa, and

showed them how little right they had to speak of tyranny, when they themselves, nominally a republic, did not dare to venture into the streets without the badge of servitude to the dictator Rosas, who, under the title of Governor only of the Province of Buenos Ayres, encharged with the foreign relations of the Republic, ruled with a rod of iron the remotest point of the Confederation; that while they allowed their citizens and even their officials to be shot and deported at the discretion of the Dictator, whose espionage even at this remote point, and beyond his nominal and legal jurisdiction, struck terror into every heart, and silenced every tongue. These retaliatory arguments, which were addressed principally to a shopkeeper, the poet and savan of the city, who made himself peculiarly officious, were effective, and he was silenced, as with the badge of servitude on his breast and hat, he did not dare deny the truth of my assertions, especially, as his denial might perchance have been construed into treasonable language by any one present, whose interest it might have been to denounce him. This is not the only instance, nor is Mendoza the only city, where men groaning under tyranny at home which they fear to denounce, revenge themselves on it as an abstraction by exclaiming against it as it exists in some remote point, thus incurring no danger or responsibility.

I understood perfectly well the school in which the Mendocinos had formed their opinions relative to mines and metals, and could appreciate perfectly their views and prejudices, so after silencing the declamation of the oracle, whose bad taste suggested vituperative abuse of my country in my presence, I condescended to explain to others who were more reasonable, that the Spanish mining laws upon which their opinions were based were neither universal or in accordance with reason. That the wealth of all countries, which had flourished permanently, was founded on agricultural and manufacturing industry, and not upon mineral wealth. That to give the landowner the security necessary for the development of its resources, a man who came groping about upon it in search of mines, instead of being encouraged by the

government, would probably be indicted for a trespass, and that should he haply discover and "denounce" a mine upon the land pertaining to another person, so far from legally possessing it, and having the privilege of using any materials pertaining to the owner of the land at a low price established by law, as would be the case under the Spanish mining regulations, he would enjoy no benefit whatever from his discovery unless it were conceded to him by the liberality of the land owner. I explained, further, that our laws were established for the benefit of the agriculturist and not the speculating miner; and while we were so illiberal as to prevent adventurers from extracting metals from other persons' land, that we also extended our illiberality so far as to prevent any free and independent citizen from undermining his neighbour's house, or digging a hole in his garden, simply because he had declared his belief that there existed mineral wealth below, which he might do under the Spanish law. After explaining to my astonished audience that the ownership of the surface of the earth was supposed to extend to an infinitesimal point at its centre, I took occasion to revenge myself upon my assailants, who had certainly little to expect from me on the score of international courtesy, after an unprovoked and somewhat discourteous attack, by drawing a vivid picture of the difference between the prosperity of North and South America, taking care to merge all other considerations, and attribute it solely to the difference between our common laws for security of property and the mining laws of Spain and her colonies. Whether convinced or not, they were silenced; and, I doubt not, should the melancholy-looking poet and savan whose unsparing denunciations first aroused me, ever gratify the world by a publication on political economy, that I shall receive the compliment of having some of my ideas upon landed tenure and mines dressed up into sonorous and dignified Spanish. I learned one lesson, however, from the occurrence, and took measures to prevent its being generally known afterwards that I had visited California, which not only saved me a world of trouble, but may have saved me from being

robbed of my small stock of money under the erroneous impression that I was a millionaire.

Among others whom I met at the *tertulias* of Don Tomas was Mr. Iregoyen, formerly Secretary of Legation to Chili, and for some years doomed to a sort of honourable exile as diplomatic agent of Rosas, to watch the proceedings of this remote frontier province. Having been educated in Buenos Ayres, and had much intercourse with the world, he possessed the intelligence and refinement which characterizes the well-selected foreign agents of Rosas' astute government. To this gentleman's politeness I owe much of the information which I obtained relative to this province, and much of the pleasure which I enjoyed during my visit. His charming lady, a *puritana* or native of the province of San Luis, would be an ornament to any society.

According to a preconcerted arrangement, I was to await the arrival of Señor M——, whose acquaintance I had made in Chili, and with him to cross the plains on horseback to Buenos Ayres. After awaiting him with anxiety for some days, I learned on the evening of the 12th, through a mutual friend, that he had arrived the night before, when I immediately called upon him at the *fonda*, and received some letters which had been committed to his charge in Chili. He made no apology for not notifying me of his arrival, and could not specify the time of his departure, and in truth was somewhat dictatorial and arrogant in his bearing. Our interview was short, and to me unsatisfactory, as his conduct was by no means distinguished by the same courtesy which I had received from him in Chili. I was in short treated in the patronizing manner which seemed to indicate that during our future association to hear would be to obey, as he would en-charge himself with the thinking which might be necessary for the consummation of our views. The same evening I met him at the house of Don Tomas, where he set himself up for an oracle upon all subjects, was particularly patriotic, and alluded frequently to his intimacy with Rosas and his interesting daughter. His accent and mode of speaking Spanish had before sur-

prised me, as though a man of liberal education, so far as I was enabled to judge during our brief acquaintance, he spoke Spanish with the peculiar intonation, and adopted the dialect which is found in no part of the world where the Spanish language is spoken, except in the city of Buenos Ayres, and not even there among the most refined. The assurance and pretensions of the man, as well as the deference paid to him, almost alarmed me, and I determined to fathom the mystery before committing myself to his tender mercies, and accordingly called early next morning upon a friend, who briefly sketched his history. By birth he was supposed to be a Peruvian, and was formerly master of a small trading vessel, and having some claim for damages on account of the seizure or employment of his little craft by the Chilian authorities, which was so doubtful in character, that it required a strong government to back it, he suddenly became an Argentine, and not only an *Argentine*, but a *Porteño*, as the inhabitants of the city of Buenos Ayres proper are termed. Hence his pronunciation, which was more conspicuous than it would have been in a native, and by which he intended to support the useful fiction of his being entitled to the powerful protection of the Argentine government in the enforcement of his claim against Chili. His importance in Mendoza was attributable to his supposed influence with Rosas, and to the suspicion which I believe to have been well founded, of his being a secret agent of the dictator. Having informed myself upon this man's history, I called again upon him to learn his determination about starting, when he composedly informed me of his intention to postpone *our* departure for a few days, kindly promising, however, to give me timely notice. He also condescended to inform me that he had changed his determination, and that *we* would cross the plains in a carriage with post horses, and finally, without asking me to be seated, assured me, that though busy at the time, he would be glad to see me at dinner at four, after which I was dismissed by a bow, too utterly surprised by his modest assurance to articulate a word.

Arriving at the house of a friend, I asked for pen and paper, and politely informed Don Francisco, that the mode of travel which we had selected was different, and that instead of enjoying the pleasure of his society during his transit across the plains in a carriage, I would depart early on the following morning with post horses, in company with the government courier. Since that time, I have never met him, and upon my arrival in Buenos Ayres, after repeated enquiries, I found him only recognized by the landlady of a hotel, she having, perhaps, remembered him for reasons sufficiently well known to herself. Upon enquiry of the family of Rosas, his name was not recognized, and I believe I narrowly escaped a ride of nearly eleven hundred miles in disagreeable society, and with the probability of having to pay roundly, as in my journey from Santiago to Mendoza, for the honour and protection which the light of his countenance might afford me. Having been shaved so recently and effectually by my protector and friend, Don Frederico, I was taught by experience, and had become somewhat shy, and the next time the reader will find me in the light of a dupe, it will be as a protector and patron and not as the *protégé*. The man Don F——, was certainly one of the most gentlemanly, well informed, and imprudent pretenders I have met out of my own country, and here only have met his equal among government contractors, who have influence with the departments at Washington, or those whose employment is the honourable and lucrative office of log rolling the contracts through Congress, which they afterward dispose of to the highest bidder.

To carry out my suddenly formed determination of setting out with the courier, I had now to hasten my preparations. My first movement was to see the courier, and which was effected through Mr. Gonzalez, who knew him well, and who urged him to show me the utmost kindness and attention, and holding him personally responsible for my safety and comfort. It was stipulated that I should join him at the house of Mr. Gonzalez at sunrise the following day, and that I

should pay him forty-five dollars, for which sum he was to transport me by post to Buenos Ayres, paying the charge for horses and food. I considered the price very reasonable, as he himself would be obliged to pay to the post masters about twenty dollars, which would leave him twenty-five for his trouble and for the payment of my food, which I presume cost him about five dollars.

This introduction and compact having been satisfactorily arranged, I set about my other preparations, and provided myself with new reins to my bridle, such as were in use in the country, a pair of holster pistols, and a pair of *chifres* or bullock horns, which suspended over my saddle under the worsted mat, were useful for carrying either water or some spirit to be used as a corrective for the same during my journey. Having all my preparations completed, and having promised to take a parting dinner with my friend the Scotch doctor, at eight o'clock, I returned home, and announced my hastily formed determination to my entertainers, and proceeded to take leave of the acquaintances whom I had made during my stay. My friend Don Frederico made not the slightest allusion to the return of my money, which, with as good a grace as possible, I now gave up for lost. My very indifferent mules too, which he had the goodness to sell me in Chili at a very exorbitant price, had disappeared upon my arrival, and to them he made not the most distant allusion. I understood his game perfectly, and saw that he intended that they should revert by default to him upon my departure. In this, I determined, that he should not succeed, as I felt already sufficiently indignant at his conduct, but awaited patiently to see whether he would, trusting to my ignorance or diffidence, retain his position of "masterly inactivity." As the public offices were closed at the time, I had concluded to depart in the morning. I was obliged to call upon my kind friend Mr. Iregoyen, who obligingly obtained for me a special passport from his Excellency the Governor. All having been satisfactorily arranged, and my baggage transferred to the house from which it was my intention to start before dinner, which had been kindly

postponed by my friend the doctor to suit my convenience, I went about nine p. m., to take leave of my *ci-devant* fellow-traveller and entertainer. Now for it, thought I, if he offers me the money or makes even a graceful apology for not paying, to save myself trouble, he shall have the mules, otherwise, the expensive animals must be forked over. Upon my arrival, I found that Don Frederico was very ill, and in bed, with fever and a shocking bad headache, which, however, did not prevent my obtaining access to him. Our leave taking was far from tender on my part, as I could ill affect regret at parting from a man who had skillfully availed himself of my confidence to impose upon me. My *adieux* were speedily made, and I had reached the door, when he remarked something about the mules, which were then several leagues off in the country. Oh, yes, said I, cogitating, those mules, and catching at an idea, the only one which suggested itself to me as a means of preventing further imposition, you will be so kind as to send them to Dr. Dow, with whom I shall leave them. And so down fell his airy vision of obtaining fifty-two dollars for two mules which were worth about thirty-four, and afterwards retaining the animals. My leave taking of his pretty little wife was far more cordial and affectionate, as I had the kindest feeling toward her, on account of her unvarying amiability and gentleness, and sympathy for her misplaced affection for him. I thought, in taking her hand, for the last time, my poor girl, you also have dealt in animals with Don Frederico, but unfortunately, you will, when you discover the fraud, find it more difficult to dispose of your bargain, than I have done in getting rid of my mules. Divorces are not recognized by the Roman Catholic Apostolic Church. Upon my return to the house of the Dr., I gave him an order for the mules, which I begged him to accept as a token of my esteem, and warning him at the same time against that one which attempted to murder me in the Cordillera. This order he sent immediately to Don Frederico, that it should be accepted before my departure, thus displaying his lack of confidence in his half-blood countryman. All my pre



parations now having been completed, I sat down with relish to my long delayed dinner, which possessed the peculiar virtue of being got up in a cleanly style, varying in this respect from anything which I had seen elsewhere in Mendoza. In my different journeys in South America, during which it has been my good or evil fortune to partake of bread and salt with men from almost every part of Europe, I have always observed that the English and Scotch are the least likely to fall into the slovenly habits of the people among whom they may reside. The French, Italians, Germans, Irish, and even our own countrymen, are prone to assimilate their customs to those of their associates; but John Bull and his half-countryman, Sawney, carry with them their national customs and national habits of cleanliness, and their tables and domestic arrangements will be found as nearly as they can be made, a *fac simile* of what they were accustomed to at home. This fact is another evidence of their devotion to their country, in which I believe they excel all other nations, and from which they are only driven by a stern necessity, and to which they always look as the *home* to which they will return to enjoy their hard-earned gains acquired during their involuntary exile. Neither of the other European nations above alluded to, possess much love of country, and while successful in their newly acquired homes, seldom look forward to a return to the land of their birth, and are speedily merged in the native population among which they may be established. Even my own countrymen, the lineal descendants of the English, notwithstanding what our truckling journalists and demagogues who live by flattering the foibles of the people, assert to the contrary, do not by any means possess the same attachment to their native soil that we find among our progenitors. What is frequently termed the enterprise of the American people, in which we excel all others, is at times but another name for a disregard to the ties of country and the place of our birth; and there is no new country with an ample field of production, which has so many citizens spread

through the world in search of fortune.\* The English, like the Chinese, only go abroad when the density of population and superabundance of labour and capital make it difficult to obtain a comfortable subsistence at home.

The legal fiction embodied in English common law that the crown cannot lose a subject by expatriation, is founded upon the character and genius of the people. After dinner the hours fleetly glided by in conversation, until actual inspection informed us that a fearful inroad had been made into the small hours of the night, and advertised me of the necessity of obtaining some rest prior to next day's journey, which attempt, however, was eloquently resisted by the doctor, who let go the only link which associated me in his own mind with home with the utmost reluctance, and producing a new batch of cigars, insisted on finishing the night, as the time for starting had so nearly arrived.

Sharing in his feelings, I allowed myself to be persuaded, and early daylight found us cosily seated at his table. No longer delay could now be asked or conceded, and we left his house for that of Mr. Gonzalez, he first throwing over my shoulders a

\* I suppose I may express my opinions on such a subject with impunity, being myself "to the manner born." I remember once attending the anniversary of the Brazilian Historical and Geographical Society, at which the emperor presided in person, and though somewhat familiar with the liberty of speech enjoyed in that empire, was not a little surprized to hear the orator of the dead, an artist, while pronouncing a well-merited eulogium upon some of the members lately deceased (and who numbered among them the best statesmen and patriots which the country had produced), reflect severely not only upon the emperor, but upon his father Don Pedro and his grandfather Don Joas III. Meeting him afterward, I enquired the reason of this attack, when the orator informed me that he had thus written it, because in the first place it was the truth, and in the second, from a desire to show the numerous foreign officials present, that the Emperor of Brazil was willing to hear even a disagreeable truth from his own subjects. "There is a divinity that doth hedge in a king," and no where is the sanctity so obstinately insisted upon as by the many-headed sovereigns in a republic, who are frequently unwilling to hear a disagreeable truth, even from one of their fellow sovereigns.

valuable *Vicuña poncho*, of native Peruvian manufacture, of a beautiful texture and great rarity, which he insisted upon my accepting as a token of his esteem, and as a remembrance of my brief sojourn in Mendoza.\*

Arriving at the house of Mr. Gonzalez, we found that my baggage had been carefully packed in the portmanteau containing the mails, my horse ready saddled, pistols loaded, the courier and postilion awaiting only my arrival; so putting on my spurs, and taking an affectionate leave of Mr. G. and the Doctor, whose kindness I shall ever remember with gratitude, I mounted my horse, and at a rapid gallop soon left behind me the ancient and loyal city of Mendoza. *Gallop, gallop*, now I had really commenced my journey! and dashing over the pampas with the cool breeze of the morning fanning my face, I felt that I had entered upon a new and more exhilarating existence.

\* Since writing the above I met an English gentleman who visited Mendoza a few months after my departure, and by whom I was informed that my kind and warm-hearted friend the Doctor was dead, having been assassinated by some unknown person while in his bed.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### A GALLOP ACROSS THE PAMPAS.

*March 14.*—About a league from Mendoza we obtained regular post horses, those upon which we left having been obtained only for our conveyance to this point. Having speedily effected the change, we were soon off again at a rapid pace on our route, which led us through a country well watered, fertile, well cultivated, producing various fruits, and presenting a striking contrast to the barren *travesia* extending between Villa Vicencio and Mendoza. The trees were all exotic, consisting principally of the apple, peach, and the invariable poplar, while everything gave evidence that the luxuriance of vegetation was attributable to the efforts of man. Our party now consisted of three persons, the government courier who accompanies the mail from Mendoza to Buenos Ayres; a man of about fifty years, tall and well-formed, though apparently somewhat heavy for his long monthly rides at a furious pace across the plains, which had been his employment for some eighteen years. His dress was jacket and trousers, which he occasionally varied by adopting the *Chiripa*, a piece of square red flannel, which is secured round the loins, thus covering a portion of the legs, and worn over white cotton drawers fringed with lace at the bottom. The *Chiripa* is a favourite dress in the province of Buenos Ayres, though not worn so generally in Mendoza, San Luis, or San Juan, and is supposed to possess peculiar advantages in the way of coolness in

riding. In my own opinion, which the courier's experience corroborated, it has disadvantages for which the coolness by no means compensates. His hat was a Panama, which is very generally worn in these provinces, and round his waist he wore a cartridge belt secured by Mexican dollars in lieu of buttons, and was further ornamented by some sixteen others. His poncho, holster, pistols and silver-sheathed knife which was stuck inside of his cartridge belt behind, in addition to his enormous jingling spurs, completed his equipment. The dress of the postilion whom we exchanged with the horses, was similar to that of the courier, but much inferior in quality. His duty was to return with the horses and to carry the mail portmanteau, which, *sub rosa*, contained all the spare clothes with which I thought it desirable to encumber myself. I have frequently smiled at their astonishment at its weight, and their various opinions as to what the Mendoza government was communicating to Buenos Ayres, which made it the heaviest mail which had traversed the country since the last Unitarian pronunciamiento had carried consternation through the provinces. The two blankets presented me by my friend Astorga, were also carried by the postilion upon his saddle, and in addition to my *serape*, formed my bed at night.

My own dress and accoutrements, I found convenient, and will describe them for the benefit of future travellers. My hat was of slouched felt, of the style called *Genoa*, of a light colour, and sufficiently thick to prevent the rays of the sun penetrating. My coat was a thin woollen frock of a light colour, and well supplied with exterior pockets, grey lancer trousers foxed, and worn with leather straps over boots of medium thickness fitted with box spurs. A *poncho* and pair of holster pistols completed my equipments, the most satisfactory I have yet found after making various experiments. My *serape* was between the saddle blankets, where it would not become wet with perspiration, and caused the saddle to sit more lightly on the horse. In consideration of being a passenger, and a gentleman who had forked up liberally, and who had been committed to the charge of the courier by his

friend Señor Gonzalez, I was not expected even to carry the *chifres* containing the spirits, which were born either by Don Antonio or saddled upon the poor postilion, who, perched upon my thick blankets, almost concealed by the mail bag, which, perhaps, may have contained *one pound* of letters in addition to my holiday coat, divers trowsers, shirts, etc., and surrounded by the numerous articles he was called upon to make room for, reminded me of a flying Santa Claus, as he dashed over the plains at a shurt gallop. A gratuity of a real or medio, or a glass of grog from the *chifres* generally compensated him, though my conscience did not exculpate me so freely for the imposition upon the uncomplaining animals. By the way, it is somewhat astonishing that among the numerous philanthropic movements of the present age, when so many hundreds of thousands are annually expended for the conversion and benefit of various portions of the human race who have happily succeeded by extirpating the tail, in removing the only tangible difference between them and the genus *simia*, that no societies are established for the amelioration of the condition of the noble and generous horse who gives his last breath under the saddle of his hard taskmaster. In our philanthropy and morbid sympathy for those who do not ask or require it, we forget and maltreat the useful animals who have assisted so powerfully to elevate our race. When it becomes generally known that the benighted Hindoos are in advance of us in this particular, I have little doubt that our philanthropists will rapidly make up for lost time, and it would be no cause of surprise if even the existing generation should witness the establishment of hospitals for dyspeptic alligators, or asylums for superannuated grizzly bears, with whose virtues and wants the progress of southern and western emigration is daily making us more familiar. Should any of the chosen vessels act upon the suggestion which with due humility I submit to their consideration, I have little doubt that their claims could be as fully substantiated as those of the slave-hunting negroes on the African coast, and the interesting cannibals of the Pejee Islands, who have for some

time been excellent sinking funds for the spare cash of the credulous.

But as our friend Don Walter, the author of "Deck and Port," frequently inquires after an episode, "What has all this to do with doubling Cape Horn?" what has this to do with crossing the pampas? The echo answers nothing. So to use a time-honoured quotation which has perhaps appeared at least once in every popular book of travels during the present century, "*Revenons à nous monton*," which in my particular instance will translate—Leaving philanthropists, grizzlies and alligators, as also the Fejes and negroes whom the advocates of the unity would fain libel us by saddling upon the high caste Caucasian, we will return to our horse.

A few hours' ride and Don Antonio and myself were sworn friends, a desirable state of things, to which my gift of a poncho before starting, and my two thick blankets at our journey's end in perspective, I have no doubt contributed, though I am willing to do justice to his many generous and noble traits, which I had frequently occasion to admire during my journey. During the morning he dropped alongside me and defined our respective positions, which was perfectly satisfactory to both parties. He supported his own dignity as a government officer by declining to call me *patron*, master, or employer, but would call me *compañero* or companion. I was, however, to have, under all circumstances, the second best horse, the first out of the *roast*, the first drink at the *chifre*, and was not to have the trouble of saddling or bridling my own animal, which was to be done as an understood favour by either the postilion, the courier, or by one of his numerous *compadres* whom we afterward encountered at every post-house. In conclusion, it was thoroughly understood between the two high contracting parties that Don Antonio could not delay the mail if I should become sick or fatigued, but that there should always exist between us a certain sympathy, magnetic or galvanic, probably the latter, as it was originally con-

ducted through a metallic medium, so that he would always be sick or fatigued at the same time.

Whip and spur, whip and spur, and we dash over the plains, marking our progress with a column of dust, which hung heavily in the air long after we passed. The country was still well irrigated and cultivated, though none of the golden fields of wheat so characteristic of a Chilian landscape were visible on this side of the mountains. About mid-day we crossed at two points a small river with shingle beaches, and soon afterward arrived at the house of a friend of Don Antonio, who humanely suggested that being the first day, it might be well to indulge in a *siesta*, which would leave us ample time to finish our day's journey in the cool breeze which almost invariably accompanies the declining sun. Not having slept during the previous night, of course I was not averse to the proposition, and, after eating some fruit which the family brought me, I threw myself on a bed and was speedily revelling in the arms of Morpheus, though not until I heard my friend Don Antonio expressing his fears *salto voce* to our host that his *compañero* could not endure the journey to Buenos Ayres. "Veremos," we shall see, Don Antonio, thought I; to-day is scarcely a fair test, as I must confess I have seldom felt more like sleeping and less like travelling on horseback, and with that I incontinently indulged my fatigued senses in that sort of repose which none but a thoroughly tired and drowsy man can appreciate. I learned afterwards that during my *siesta*, which lasted some three hours, a sort of coroner's inquest was held over my senseless body, in which it was decided that it would be impossible to carry me much farther at the rapid rate which Don Antonio was obliged to travel, and when I had again mounted, no anxious wayfarer ever examined more intently the withers and wind of his horse than he did the expression of my countenance, the state of my eyes, and the bend of my back. The result appeared satisfactory, as he shouted the cry of the courier, *Pega fuego al campo*, "Set fire to the plain," an equivalent to our "fire up," and



dashing spurs into his horse's flanks, we dashed off across the plains at rapid gallop, our faces cooled by the evening breeze, and our eyes cheered by the signs of cultivation on either side of the road, and by the rivulets which brought fertility. Cottages were scattered along the roadside, and the graceful poplars showed the attention which had been bestowed upon reclaiming the land which, without their shade and the irrigation, would be a desert waste. An hour before sunset we dashed into the little scattering village of Retama, with our horses still comparatively fresh, and dismounting at the post-house, the courier announced his intention of awaiting the rising of the moon before proceeding farther. The post-master was also a magistrate, and having some legal case to decide, his court-yard was filled with *guachos*, with their long spurs, ponchos and dogs, though I looked in vain for the ferocity of expression which I had seen among the soldiers in Mendoza, and which I had been led to expect among the denizens of these plains. The post-mistress, a quite good-looking, matronly personage, having heard my rank and titles from Don Antonio, her esteemed *compadre*, in whose hands my importance did not suffer in the least, and heard considerably more than he knew of my past history, kindly invited me into the garden to eat grapes, which hung in luscious clusters in several avenues more than one hundred yards in length. With the native kindness and good taste of most southern women, she also plucked and presented me with a bouquet of flowers when we returned to the house. In passing through one of the rooms to obtain a light for a cigar, I saw a pair of pretty señoritas, and learned that there was strong probabilities of a fandango that evening, for which I determined to prepare myself by a short nap in the piazza on my *serape*. But alas for the weakness of human nature. When I was restored again to consciousness, it was not by the soft hand of the fair señoritas who had visited me in my dreams, but by the rough shake of Don Antonio, who informed me of three interesting facts—viz. : that the moon, had risen, that it was after midnight, and that he only awaited

my *serape* to complete the saddling of my horse, and my rising, to set out on our journey. I have read of men compounding with the evil one for a few more years of life; I have seen the time when I would have almost paid for hours of sleep in years of life, and this was one of the occasions; I had lost, too, the *fandango* and supper, to which Don Antonio would not allow me to be called. I was never again to see the pretty brunettes, whose appearance had charmed me the evening before. Boot, boot, and to saddle, and as we galloped out of the court yard, on our midnight journey, the noise of our horses' hoofs, perchance, awakened the fair sleepers, who may have remarked with a yawn and a snore, "*Se va el Gringo.*"\* The gringos off, "*sic transit.*" The traveller remains not long enough in one place to make a lasting impression, or to merit a more profound expression of regret at departure.

March 15.—Our fresh horses soon carried us beyond the village of Retama, and as the roads were good, we seldom broke in upon our short post horse gallop, which our horses could better endure during the night than in the sultry heat of the day. For about three leagues our road conducted us through a country tolerably well cultivated, after which, it led through a *travesia*, without water or cultivation, for the remaining distance between the two posts. At early daylight, we had accomplished about twelve leagues, and arrived at the post of Santa Rosa, where a pretty stream of water and cultivation took the place of the barrenness which had preceded. While we drank our *matté* and discussed a cigar, the *peons* were bringing in the horses, which were speedily saddled and ready for the journey. Mine in this particular instance was a noble-looking beast, in fine condition, and by his impatient stamping and neighing, showed that he had not long been subjected to the discipline of the bridle and spur.

\* I must take the liberty of differing from the talented and witty author of *Los Gringos*, as to his translation of this word, as the English expression green-horn, does not cover the ground. The term is never applied to natives, however green they may be, and I think a more correct definition would be "outside barbarian."

While two men held him, I mounted, and giving him the rein to the courier's cry, "*fuega al campo*," started off like the wind over the level road, which for some time accompanied the stream. Among the many horses which I rode during my journey, I never met one equal to this, for speed, easiness of gait, and generosity. To the spur he was evidently yet unused, and so sensitive and alive to the indignity of the whip, that did I but raise my hand to secure my hat more firmly upon my head, he would bound forward with a suddenness, which at times nearly left me behind him upon the plain. From post to post, a distance estimated at thirteen leagues, though in reality, I should suppose, more than forty miles, he carried me at a bounding gallop, without my drawing rein, or applying whip or spur, a feat which may seem almost incredible to those who are unacquainted with the endurance of the *pampa* horses. It is true that the road was nearly level, and as smooth as a race course, and that the post was concluded before the heat of the day, and while the plains were cooled by the morning breeze. One cannot help feeling an admiration, approaching to regard, for anything which performs well the part assigned to it, whether it be machinery, man, or the lower animals; and I confess I felt more respect for the noble steed, which I thus accidentally encountered, than I have frequently done for many of the stolid and equally soulless specimens of humanity whom I have met, particularly among the uneducated portions of the human race, who claim to have been created in God's own image, and have accorded, at least in part, with the wise king of the Jews, Sooltan Soliman, that *certain* men "have no pre-eminence over the beast." For all is vanity. Had it been practicable to have conveyed this horse home, I would have become his possessor, which would have involved an outlay of about four dollars, when his back should never have been profaned with a whip, or his flanks with a spur. As it is, he has been destined to carry the couriers, Guachos, and the passing travellers, unknown and undistinguished from the vulgar herd, above which, even my heart-felt eulogium will be unable to raise him.

Our route led through a cultivated country for the most part, though not so thickly inhabited as that traversed on yesterday. Between eight and nine o'clock, we arrived at Dornida, the end of the stage, which we intended to pass without breakfasting, but were prevented by another arrival soon after our own. The post house, which was constructed of *adobes*, contained three or four rooms, had ground floors, and a scanty furniture, the bedsteads rude in construction, with strips of green hide to receive and support the sleeper, and supplying for most part, the deficiency of chairs and stools. The women, though not pretty, were tidy, and like the majority of our hostesses on the road, kind and communicative, and on particularly intimate terms with Don Antonio, whose responsibility must be immense, if *god-father* to half the children of the women who on his extensive beat call him "*compadre*."

While awaiting the horses which had already been sent for, a new party arrived, also on post horses, but coming from the opposite direction. As they entered I was not long in identifying their nationality, and while the courier opened upon the German, whose knowledge of the language indicated a lodge residence in the country, I commenced a series of inquisitorial proceedings against the other, whom I recognized in an instant as a countryman. He bore my questioning with a good grace, and answered as well as he could with his limited knowledge of Spanish, and his surprise was unbounded when I, at length, announced myself, also, as an American; it being, to judge from his manner, the last place where he would have expected to meet a member of the universal Yankee nation, and last of all, an officer in the navy. Of course we fraternized—men speaking the same language, are prone to do so in remote regions; and having all determined to breakfast sociably together, we sat down to enjoy a cigar, and give each other accounts of the road which each of us had traversed. I speedily learnt to my annoyance, that my countryman was an agent for the sale of Brandreth's pills, and almost felt inclined to consign Brandreth and pills to the great

unmentionable, wishing his gentlemanly representative a better profession. Confound Brandreth's pills, thought I, after hearing the announcement.

During my journeys in the interior of Brazil, in 1843 and '44, by dint of considerable expenditure of money, immense fatigue, and divers risks of life and limb, I penetrated the wilderness of St. Paul's, far beyond all former travellers, having reached the region inhabited by undomesticated Indians, and beyond all civilization; but upon returning to the settlements with the complacency of a man who had performed some extraordinary and meritorious achievement, found I had not advanced one hundred and fifty miles beyond my adopted countryman, Brandreth's pills, and now to find not only the pills, but the agent, the representative of the venerable Brandreth himself, in the interior of the Province of Mendoza, where I expected to find the ground sacred to enterprising travellers, who travel for the cause of science, or for love of adventure, it was too great a disappointment. I doubt whether a full dose of the pills in question, could have exercised so powerful an effect upon my nervous system. With fear and trembling, I enquired where Brandreth's pills had not and would not travel, intending to mark down that country for my next long shore cruise, but received no satisfactory reply. They are in effect *ubiquitous*; so, hereafter, when any voyager informs the public that he has advanced beyond them, I shall instantly set him down in my own mind, as an enterprising man and a great traveller. Notwithstanding this disappointment an hour passed agreeably while awaiting our breakfast, and while I gave my countryman a letter to Dr. Dow, at Mendoza, he reciprocated by giving me letters to Buenos Ayres; and so rejoiced was I to meet a countryman, that I verily believe while the four of us were cozily eating *casuela* out of the same earthen pot, that if Dr. Brandreth himself had appeared in *propria persona*, and wished to add a fifth spoon, and his efforts to putting its contents out of sight, that I should have raised no objection, and would have, probably, forgiven him all the annoyance he had caused me, and

the injury he had done my reputation as a traveller, and have fraternized. The chicken broth having been finished, and the bones effectually picked, we had breakfasted, and felt obliged to mount and continue our respective journeys. Our companions, at breakfast, were obliged to ride the stage which we had just passed over, on the same horses which brought us, though we were not obliged to receive their tired animals. This is one great advantage of travelling with the courier, as the Government exacts for him and his companions, fresh horses at every stage. I really felt sad when I saw my countryman, the agent, mount the horse which had carried me so gallantly, that morning, over the same ground which it had now to retrace, with a heavier weight and in the heat of the day. The splendid maxim, "the merciful man is merciful to the beast," is unknown, at least, to the laity in South America, and as they have upon them naught but the selfish checks of self-interest, little mercy can be expected toward the animal whose market value is very little greater than the fare paid by a passenger from post to post. I have never thought ill of the Catholic priesthood for prohibiting the reading of the Bible to the vulgar, as there is, indeed, much which the untutored mind cannot reconcile, and as the whole fabric of the religion is based upon *faith*, that faith may well be extended to an implicit reliance in the interpretations of the church, and the injunctions of their ghostly advisers; but I have always seen the want of a collection of its best maxims, such as that quoted above, which ought to be universally disseminated among the people, in order to form a "*proverbial religion*." The Mahometans, in this respect, are better supplied than the Christians; and though comparatively few are able to read the Koran, all are acquainted with its most beautiful texts, as well as the sayings of the prophet which tradition has handed down to them. All good Mussulmen, whether learned or unlearned, know that Mahomet anathematized the man, "who sold a slave, injured a fruit-bearing tree, or made lime of chiselled marble," that "a day passed in the administration of justice was worth seventy years of prayer," and

"the ink of the wise man was more valuable in the eyes of Allah than the blood of the martyr." But as Don Walter would say, what has the ink of the wise man to do "with doubling Cape Horn?" So mounting our horses and taking an affectionate leave, and promising to report each other's progress at the respective sea-ports on the Pacific and Atlantic, which was in due course of time fully accomplished, as I have learned from several sources, the word was *Adios, adios "fuego al campo,"* and off we went on our respective routes, never, perhaps, to meet again in the broad *pampas* of life. The country, though a nominal plain, was now broken up somewhat by ravines, and was covered with low bushes, which inequality, added to the heat of the day, made our journey over the next stage slower than the two which had preceded it. However, we arrived at Coro Corto, the end of the stage, about 3 P.M., finding the latter part of the route more thickly inhabited and better watered. As we had journeyed about ninety-six miles, according to the computations generally received, we determined to tarry for the night, especially as the next post house held out, according to Don Antonio, but few inducements in the way of food and lodging for a night's stay, and was, moreover, liable to an incursion of the Pampa Indians, who were, at the time, ravaging some settlements a few days' journey in advance. The post of Coro Corto consisted of three houses, built on three sides of a square of the invariable *adobes*, and one story in height. The floors were clay, but there was an appearance of cleanliness about the premises, which augured favourably for our supper, in which we were not disappointed; as at dark we sat down to a nicely cooked *casuella*, and enjoyed, moreover, the somewhat unusual luxury of a dish, spoon, knife and fork, for each individual present. After supper, we made our beds in the cool air of the court yard, using our saddles for pillows, and by the time we finished our cigar, were perfectly prepared to consign ourselves to the rest so essential after a hard day's journey, with a more tedious one in perspective for the morrow.

March 16.—At about 2 30 the indefatigable Don Antonio had

aroused me with the intimation that it was time to saddle up, as the moon had risen, and we must make our stage by sunrise, else we could not reach San Luis, owing to the great heat of the day, and the bad quality of the horses. Saddling up, and fortifying our stomachs with a little *matte*, and smoking the invariable cigarito, we mounted, and, taking leave of our entertainers, who had all risen to prepare our *matte* and see us off, we were upon our route at 3 A. M. The country was now somewhat broken by ravines, though it could not be considered hilly, and was strewn with loose round stones and sand, giving it the appearance of an ancient bed of the sea, or some vast inland lake. A stunted growth of hardy bushes was all the sterile plains could produce in the absence of all moisture. At sunrise we crossed the river Disaguadero, the line of demarcation between the provinces of San Luis and Mendoza, and near the banks of which is the miserable post house bearing the same name. This river, which is deep but narrow, is the outlet to one of the salt lakes of the interior. The water is extremely brackish and bitter, while the banks are covered by saline incrustations. The clay of the ravine through which this river passes has a horizontal stratification, and the whole topography, as well as the geology of this region, would leave us to infer that a portion of the country is yet in the state of transition between the bed of a salt lake, or the ocean and dry land.

The post house at which we soon arrived after crossing the river, was the most miserable I had yet seen, being constructed of wattles covered with clay, and roofed with coarse grass. One room was all the hovel contained, and the many openings in the wall precluded the idea of anything like privacy. The only inmates of this house appeared to be an old woman, a ragged *peon*, who was to be our postilion through the next stage, and a nut-brown girl of some sixteen summers. The latter was dirty in the extreme, and wore but a single garment, which obscured without concealing her charms, and, as she was preparing our humble repast of beef-bone broth, which we devoured out of the



same dirty-looking earthenware vessel, I could not help speculating on the change which, in a few years, could be made in her by transplanting her to a civilized community, and giving her the advantages of education and a French *m odiste*. Women are proverbially quick in attaining a certain degree of refinement, and there is little doubt that but a short time would elapse before this slovenly, bare-legged girl could be transformed into a reigning belle, even in a large city. Our breakfast was in keeping with the appearance of the house, and even the water was so brackish as to be scarce potable. After some delay the horses arrived, and my spirits fell incontinently at their forlorn and half-starved appearance.\*

The courier was evidently prepared for the apparition, and only indulged in a prolonged and melancholy whistle as he proceeded to saddle up. As the horses were ill able to bear the weight of the riders, we obtained a spare one to carry the so-called mail bag, the legitimate contents of which might have been carried in my pocket. When we started it was without enthusiasm, and, for the first time, Don Antonio did not indulge in his cheering cry of "*Prende fuego al campo.*" In the neighbourhood of the Disaguadero a strong disagreeable wind was blowing during our stay, as I was informed was almost invariably the case, which afforded me a clue to names frequently given on Spanish maps to certain localities, as the "*Paramo*," the desert or the windy spot. This wind, which blew in gusts resembling those which we observe in our country on the day prior to a rain or storm, appeared to be quite local, and confined to the ravine through which the river flowed, and its immediate vicinity. The whole aspect of this locality was *triste* in the extreme, and the only relief which the eye and mind found in dwelling upon it was the distant view

\* I learned from Don A. that this family, notwithstanding their miserable mode of life, owned some five thousand cattle, and eight hundred brood mares. Perhaps the insecurity attributable to the occasional incursions of the Indians discouraged them from accommodating themselves with better quarters.

of the blue mountain of St. Luis, which now appeared above the horizon, and which was to be the terminus of the day's ride. Our journey, commenced under disagreeable auspices, was less agreeable even than we anticipated, and our road led us through a dreary and barren country, where the heat soon became intense. After progressing about four leagues I found it impossible to obtain a gallop from my poor horse, with the limited powers of my European spurs, and was obliged to exchange with the postilion. The change, however, involved little improvement, and four leagues from the next post house, the horse carrying the mail-bag was completely worn out, and had to be left on the road side, while the postilion took it upon his own horse, where his cruel spurs could goad even a dying beast into exertion. Houses were occasionally found by the road side during the first part of the journey, where brackish water, filled with animalcule, could be obtained from stagnant pools, but the last four leagues was a barren *travesia*, and utterly without water. The heat of the sun, toward mid-day, was intense, and my legs became perfectly worn out with incessant spurring, and my arm with the use of the whip, while my conscience smote me at every leap of the poor jaded horse, whose panting breath, reeking sides, and bloody flanks, shewed how cruelly he suffered. I could not, however, but push on at all hazards. I had embarked on a devil's drive, and I must need follow my leaders, who were spurring and whipping in advance, little recking how much the poor beasts suffered, or even if they lived longer than the time sufficient to finish the post. Within some two leagues of the next post we caught a view of the level plain extending to San Luis, and abutting upon the mountain beyond it, and which, viewed through the haze occasioned by the intense heat of the sun beating upon the dry plains, appeared from the partial elevation on which we were riding, like a vast expanse of water. To add to our annoyance our thirst became excessive, promoted alike by the heat, and the brackish water which we had drank during the day, added to the almost superhuman exertion, mental and physical, of spurring our jaded beasts;

and when we rode into the post, which we did for the first and only time during the whole journey, at a slow trot, the entire party, men and animals, were dead beat. I look back to that stage with no pleasure, but with pain and regret. Of my own sufferings and those of my companions I take no account. In three hours we were restored, and I have thriven upon my annoyances and deprivations, but my sympathies were strongest for the miserable horses, who I very much fear never posted a traveler over the same or other route again. Being now within thirty miles of San Luis, with the prospect of good horses over the next stage, we felt authorized to indulge in a *siesta*; so, after eating some peaches, and drinking as much, indeed more, stagnant water than we thought prudent, we laid down in company with about a dozen lazy, dirty, reckless, but gentlemanly *guachos*, and perhaps twice as many dogs, the former and latter being alike kept by the owner of the post and grazing farm, to watch his cattle and afford them protection against the marauding savages, who occasionally visit the neighbourhood. The reader may perhaps smile at the solecism of a *dirty, lazy and reckless gentleman*, but I assure him that there is, under all the roughness of guise, ignorance of book-learning, and the more refined customs of society, an intrinsic politeness, ease, unassuming independence, conjoined with a courtesy and kindness to those who require it which would distinguish the rude herdsman of the plain as having all the more necessary attributes of gentility. The learned geologist, Darwin, had his attention called to this peculiarity of the *guachos*, during his journeys on the eastern border of these plains, and remarks, in his "Journal of a Naturalist," that, though a *guacho* may rob you, or cut your throat, he always appears to be the gentleman. The probability of cutting throats, or even robbery, I look upon as extremely remote; for, though cruel to animals, and to his enemies in battle, particularly in the civil wars which have so frequently prevailed in this unfortunate country, he will seldom murder, and still more seldom rob. In personal quarrels they use their knives, which is, notwithstanding the opinions of our bull-dog progenitors,

more respectable and more gentlemanly than their mode of defacing God's image with their fists, the art of doing which with perfect impunity is absurdly styled "the noble science of self-defence." When men have in reality injuries to avenge, let it be done with deadly weapons, which will prevent the necessity of frequent recurrence to it; and no skill in the use of the knife or pistol can give rise to so great an inequality as exists between the practiced pugilist, and the tyro, whose sufferings, however great, only excite the mirth of a brutal mob in that country to which this *noble art* is almost exclusively confined. During my journeys I met very few knaves who were not foreigners, or who had not foreign blood in their veins, and I would infinitely rather trust my life or property in the hands of the *guacho* of the plains than in the hands of the same number of Mr. Darwin's countrymen or my own, chosen from the same walk in life. After an hour's *siesta*, we mounted, about 3 p.m., to finish our day's journey, and prosecuted it with renewed vigour in the cool evening breeze, and with well fed horses under saddles. The country was generally covered with bushes, the soil sterile and occasionally sandy. Until near our journey's end we saw but two habitations, both of them sufficiently miserable in appearance. At one I stopped and asked for water, which was served me in the shell of a cocoa-nut by a young girl, quite as lightly clad, as dirty, and yet as pretty as she whom we met in the morning at Disaguadero. Our landmark was still the peak of San Luis, and having approached to within a few miles of it we suddenly discovered the steeple of the church as the sun was setting. It was just growing dark as we galloped through the street to the *fonda*, having accomplished in three stages about one hundred and five miles.\* As we expected to remain over one day I determined to live at the *fonda* in preference to residing at the domicile selected by friend Antonio, who I was fearful might look more closely to economy than to cleanliness and comfort, though, by so doing I incurred the expense upon my own account.

\* One hundred and fourteen, according to Sir Francis Head.

Although I had been led to expect something better than usual from the San Luis Ponda, I was agreeably surprised at the superior cleanliness and comfort to anything which I had seen on this side of the mountains, a difference perhaps attributable to the fact that the owner, who was now absent, was a Frenchman. The house was well-built of *adobes* and whitewashed, having a paved court-yard within, on which the rooms of the guests were situated. As is almost invariably the custom, a *pulperia*, or grog-shop, formed a part of the establishment, and faced upon the street, which, in addition to a rickety billiard-table, kept the public rooms filled with idlers until a late hour of the night. Having been shown to my room, and given an affirmative answer to the inquiry as to whether I would sup, I called upon the old *Tizcaino*, who superintended the establishment, for water, and obtained, to my great satisfaction, a goblet filled with some as sweet and clear as if drawn from a mountain stream, and entirely free from saline taste. This was the first really good water I had drunk since leaving Villa Vicencio; and those only who have subsisted some ten days upon water which always had a taste more or less brackish, can appreciate how I revelled in the luxury. In connection with the quality of water, invariably associated by the vulgar with disease, it may not be inappropriate to mention that I saw no instance of *gaitre* in San Luis. After my supper, which consisted of pieces of beef roasted in that peculiar form, known as *junks* by our maritime fellow-citizens, and the almost constant *casuela*, I retired to my room to solace myself in quiet with the traveller's staple, a cigar, but soon found myself interrupted by a half dozen of visitors, who hearing of the arrival of a stranger travelling post—who always possesses a certain amount of consequence in a small town—came to pay their compliments. Among these were three foreigners, a German, an Italian, and a Spanish Basque; the former was the principal spokesman, and taking the initiative, informed me that he had come out from Europe as a superintendent of a glass work to have been established in Santiago, but which failed on account of

the want of action on the part of the Chilean government. He also stated that he had recently visited California, and little suspecting that I had just arrived from that part of the world, unsuspectingly answered my questions, and gave an elaborate description of places which never existed except in his fertile imagination. He and the Basque were about to visit Buenos Ayres, on the horses of the latter, from whence he had promised to obtain funds from divers commercial houses, and return the favour by transporting the latter to the land of gold.

With the intention of giving the Basque an insight into his true character, but without openly proclaiming him an impostor, by letting it be known that I had been in California, I questioned him so closely that he avoided me ever after during my stay in San Luis.

When I saw him again, some weeks had elapsed, and some hundreds of miles been traversed by each of us, and he was flying from the same Basque, whom he had cheated of his money and robbed of his horses.

## CHAPTER XV.

### SAN LUIS.

March 17.—Breakfasted about 11 A. M., and finding the heat too great for a comfortable walk, I remained in the *fonda* until evening, when I called at the government house to have my passport "*reseed.*" The troops stationed at the door had neither the brigandish air of those of Mendoza, nor were they so uncivil and exacting. I passed in freely without a *derisa*, to which no allusion was made during my stay, and I even saw a man with a full beard, a strong evidence of the liberality of the authorities. The officials, the most important of whom was the Minister, or Secretary of State of the province, were courteous. Having performed this duty, I took a walk through the city to observe it and the people, who were generally seated at their doors enjoying the cool air of the evening. It is regularly laid out in squares, the houses of one story, in some cases tiled and whitewashed, but more generally thatched, and the natural colour of the *adobe*. As in Mendoza, gardens are generally attached to the houses, which being surrounded by a sombre clay wall, gives to the streets a dry and arid appearance, not out of character with the temperature of the place. The floors of the houses are of pounded clay, or half-burnt tiles, productive alike of coolness and dirt. The sidewalks of the more conspicuous streets are rudely paved, while the centre is deep with dust or mud, according to the hu-

midity of the atmosphere. One church, the barracks, government offices, and prison, insignificant edifices, are all the public buildings which San Luis contains. It has numerous small shops for the supply of its inhabitants and people of the adjoining country, which have an average capital, as I was informed, of about one thousand five hundred dollars, although their display would seldom indicate a stock of more than two hundred dollars. The number of inhabitants is about one thousand, and that of the Province twenty-five thousand. The latter contains some mines of copper, and washings of gold, neither of which appear to be productive, and although horned cattle and horses are as abundant as usual in these plains, the principal source of wealth and almost the only export is wool, which is exchanged in Buenos Ayres for European goods and specie. What dried fruits are to Mendoza, wool is to San Luis. The price of wool is about four reals per arroba, and its transportation to Buenos Ayres, where its average price is about two dollars, is about five reals. The hire of a cart to the same place is one hundred dollars, or fifty dollars less than from Mendoza. The merchants or shopkeepers are not only the *élite*, but almost the only capitalists. Little wholesale or retail business is done on credit.

The people of San Luis are less religious than in Mendoza, which is the only city in South America where I have seen the shops generally closed on Sunday. There are no doctors, and the health of the people is generally good. Whether the want of medical men is a cause or effect, I will not pretend to decide. In the course of the evening I made the acquaintance of a tolerably intelligent *Cordobese*, the owner of a shop and dealer in wool, who had formerly lived in Buenos Ayres, and was one of the few in the city who had a definite idea of the country to which I belonged. The people of the "great model republic" will not perhaps feel much complimented when told that in the interior of South America, in the heart of those republics to which we have given birth by our example, the body of the people are not aware of our existence, and the nearest approach to attaining a recog-



nition of our nationality is to be termed *Americanos Ingleses*, or English Americans.

This gentleman passed the evening with me and gave me a portion of the information here transcribed, the accuracy of which I have no reason to doubt, as much of it was substantiated by others.

March 18.—Unable to set out, as the courier was detained by the governor in order to convey dispatches to Buenos Ayres, and my movements were of course governed by his. I confess I was somewhat restive, but unfortunately there was no remedy, and I resigned myself with as good a grace as possible to the unutterable dullness of a South American inland town. To-day, I met a *peon* in the *Pulperia*, who informed me that he had been hired by a countryman of mine to convey him from Mendoza to Valparaiso the year before, and was loud in his eulogiums upon his endurance, good nature, enterprise, the extent of his scientific knowledge and his generosity; he pronounced him to be *un joven muy guapo*.

In the evening my Cordovese friend called again and kindly offered to introduce me to some of the *haut ton* of San Luis, an offer which in my utter want of occupation, I of course did not decline. The house which we first visited, though pertaining to a leading fashionable family, was by no means richly, or even comfortably furnished. The bare walls of a large room scantily colonized by a few rickety-looking chairs, which I shrewdly suspected of being countrymen, though I had too much tact to recognise them in their misfortunes, presented by no means a "brilliant *tout ensemble*," for a fashionable residence. In addition to the furniture already specified, there was a small table, on which were placed a pair of tallow candles, whose faint and flickering light gave a gloomy and cavernous air to the whole apartment, which was made more obvious instead of being relieved by a small piece of carpet which covered the tiled floor immediately in its vicinity. The cheerless aspect of the room, however, was soon relieved by the entrance of the two ladies of

the family, sisters, who were well-dressed, well-bred, showy, and tolerably good-looking. It was proposed to visit some other families for the purpose of introducing me, and in setting off, I inadvertently made a mistake by usurping the place of the husband, when I thought I had the unmarried sister, which error the lady herself corrected. Customs vary, thought I, as I changed with him, and returned him his wife, whose society he appreciated the more as he had just been released from six months' imprisonment, and was still confined to the limits of the city for the share he had taken in a recent revolution. The philosophical and good-natured manner in which he alluded to it showed that his punishment had fallen lightly upon him, or that he had extraordinary command over his feelings.

At the first house we visited, we found a gentleman with his wife whom he had recently married at the village of Achiras, and her sister, the wedding party having tarried here on their way to Mendoza, where he resided. It was not until I had been some time in conversation with him, that I learned he was an American, and a native of New York, whence he had strayed off into this remote region with a recklessness to the ties of country to which I have had occasion to allude before as too characteristic of our countrymen. His career is not an uncommon one. He was a printer, and went to the coast of Peru in one of our sloops of war, where he left, as he says, with the permission of the captain, and established a small printing press. He prospered for the time, but losing his money, eventually found his way to Mendoza, where for a time he was employed in the peculiarly national occupation of teaching a school. Having made himself useful to the authorities as a printer, he again got in advance of the world, sent home for some inferior printing presses which he disposed of advantageously to the Provincial governments, and was now sufficiently wealthy to indulge in the luxury of a wife.

Leaving my countryman and his newly acquired family, for it appears that maiden sisters are appendages also on the plains, we visited another house where we found two young ladies who grati-

ried us with some music, accompanying themselves on the guitar. The songs were all national, and so peculiarly plaintive that I could almost imagine it a dirge over their unfortunate and distracted country. There are no pianos here, and no Italian music; refinement in that respect as well as some others has marched through San Luis, on its way to Mendoza, without halting. The standard cause of complaint among the ladies here as elsewhere in the Argentine Provinces, is want of *beaut*; war, and its attendant proscription, and emigration, having thinned off the young men. On this subject I obtained from my lady friends statistics upon which the reader may confidently rely. In the city of San Luis, containing one thousand inhabitants, there are only ten eligible young men! And ladies "*oh Dios ay muchas!*" which would certainly make it a somewhat desirable place to hang up one's hat, as political economy teaches that commodities are valued less in proportion to their intrinsic value than their scarcity. At a late hour we returned whence we had started with our lady friends, and after hearing from them a song or two, I retired to my *fonda* with the pleasing consciousness of being able to number among my acquaintances some of the *haut ton* of San Luis.

*March 19.*—Courier still delayed, which I resented by abusing the Provincial Government of San Luis most heartily, without heeding the warning shrugs of my acquaintances. Another stupid day in this stupid village. It was really too provoking, and though quite as patient a man as the patriarch Job, (see the account given by his biographer,) I was annoyed exceedingly with this additional delay and fear. I expressed my impatience in a manner which was neither complimentary to San Luis, its governor, or its inhabitants. There was no remedy, however, but to murder the day by eating, drinking, smoking, and the eternal *siesta*, which lasts longer in this city than in others which I have visited during my journeys. Captain Marryatt defining the word *siesta* in one of his novels, speaks of it as a short nap after dinner, and makes the difference between a *siesta* and a

snooze to consist in the first being a nap enjoyed by the rich or refined, and the latter that of a poor man. As a *siesta* is taken in San Luis, the word snooze or nap will by no means give a fair and correct idea of the luxury, for instead of throwing oneself carelessly down to catch a few moments' refreshing repose, beds are brought out into the most airy situations, clothes are taken off, houses and stores are closed, and for some three hours the whole city is like one of the dead. Even dogs, cats, horned cattle, and horses, seem to take the infection, and doze away quietly the warmer hours of the day. In San Luis, during *siesta*, the only sign of animal activity is displayed by those incorrigible domestic tormentors, the house-flies, and I prayed at times most heartily that the rod of Somnus might bewitch them also into the universal lethargy. After the world in San Luis had awakened from their *siesta* of this afternoon, my friend Mendoza the Cordovese came to invite me to a *tertulia* to be given by the relatives of the ladies with whom we had passed the previous evening; an invitation not to be refused, as my acceptance would serve not only to while away the tedious hours of my stay, but would also give me a still better insight into the state of society in this primitive little city.

Upon our arrival at the house, which was a short distance out of town, we found the party, which consisted of some twenty-four or thirty women, and about half as many men, assembled, and received, not only from the host and hostess, but from the guests generally, a cordial welcome. The young men present belonged either to the army or national guard, and wore all dressed in red jackets and white trousers, which gave a lively air to the assemblage. Contrary to what would be the custom in our own country, this gayety of apparel was confined exclusively to the sterner sex, as a more plainly and indeed worse-dressed set of women I have never met elsewhere. The mantua-makers, like the musicians, on their way to Mendoza had evidently made no tarry in San Luis. Though not accustomed generally to observe very closely the raiment of the fair sex, and still less—heaven fore-

sond—to criticism, there was something irresistibly comic in the short waists and consequently long skirts, the round shoulders and flat chests, in producing which there was evidently some mechanical agency. Their whole appearance suggested the idea of a *stag* dance, and the impression that the ladies were so many troopers in disguise; and more than once I found myself instinctively trying to catch a glimpse of their feet, expecting, perchance, to see a boot and spur beneath their long skirts. Wherever it has been my fortune to wander, I have never found women less gracefully dressed, except, perhaps, among the Sandwich Islanders, who have abandoned their native costume and adopted the European. Among the whole company assembled, there were no beauties, and very few who could be even called good-looking. Some few pairs of fine eyes; but that was all, and my kind chaperons of the previous evening, though they did not by any means look so well in the bright glare of the tallow candles as they had done in the dim twilight in which I had before viewed them, were by odds the prettiest women in the house. As a stranger I was kindly received and the lion of the evening, the men individually and collectively insisting upon pledging me in *cana*, while some of the damsels—the proposition having originated with the other sex—offered to indoctrinate me into the mysteries of a minuet and the mazes of the waltz. The music was a guitar, frequently accompanied by the voice, while the dances consisted of *minuets*, in capital keeping, by the way, with the short waists and long skirts, contra dances, waltzes, and occasionally the national *Sama Cueca* and the *Gato* (cat.) In dancing the latter, castanets were frequently imitated by the fingers, and added not a little to the exhilaration of the amusement. Between each dance the men generally indulged themselves in a little *cana*, which was invariably shared with the uninvited guests collected around the door, and enjoying an outside view of the festivity.

As it began to wax late, I thought the effects of the *cana* became somewhat obvious, not to intoxication, but to exhilaration; and before breaking up, some one proposed the dances of the

*viejas*, (the old women,) and with a shout each man jumped forward, and selected as a partner the oldest woman he could find, the older in such case the better. For some minutes it was one of the most diverting scenes I have witnessed, and though some resisted stoutly, especially those who were very fat, the music was loudly called for amid shouts of laughter, and after another attempt to escape, in which, however, none were successful, up struck the guitar, accompanied by the voices of nearly all the young men in the room, off went the persecuted old ladies, who laughing at each other's antics, soon forgot the compulsion, and capered away with as hearty a good will as if it were not an amusement which they had abandoned some thirty or forty years before.

This dance, and accompanying jests, finished the evening's amusements, and we set out for home, the ladies being escorted by the gentlemen in a mass to their domiciles, and preceded by female servants with lanterns. On our way I was entertained by a long dissertation from the ladies upon the general want of gaiety in San Luis, which was attributed, by them, to the character of the governor, who held all kinds of festivity in utter aversion. The men prudently said little, although they doubtless acceded in the views of the other sex, thus showing that in this country, as in many others, there is a greater license for the female tongue than the male.

March 20.—Still delayed by the Governor. Breakfasted, dined, and took a *siesta*, the only occurrence worthy of note being that of having breakfasted on some fresh fish which were brought during the night from the Bevedero, a lake some twenty-five leagues south of San Luis. At dusk, the arrival of a traveller with a *peon* and baggage mule, broke into the ordinary routine of the *fonda*. The influence of provincialism is very great, as even I felt some curiosity to know who he might be, and for the attainment of information upon the subject, I sent for the Major Domo, who was quite as ignorant as myself. He could not be any great thing, however, was the sage remark of this personage, as he

had little luggage, and came on mules little larger than rats. Among all the arbitrary distinctions which society makes amongst men, I had never before known a man's consequence to be measured by the size of his mule, although, I doubt not, it is quite as rational as many others more in vogue.

March 21.—With no small satisfaction, I learned we would certainly leave on to-morrow morning, as independent of being perfectly bored by my protracted residence in a small town, I was somewhat fearful that I might arrive in Rio too late to meet the "Lexington." After breakfast, the Major Demo informed me that my fellow traveller was a Pole, and a *fire-king*, who had come to San Luis for the purpose of giving its inhabitants an exhibition of his powers in that line, as, also, in feats of strength. Learning that he spoke English, and being a *fire-king*, moreover, *myself*, I determined to call upon him and learn how he had wandered into this remote region, and what was the course of travel he had marked out for the future. I found him a man very like those of his adventurous class, all the world over, and really felt my heart warm toward him, when I learned that he had not only passed several years in the United States, but had even in the course of his wanderings passed some days in my own little town, Springfield, Ohio.\*

Community of language in a strange country soon makes men singularly confidential; and before we had been acquainted an hour, he informed me that his finances were at dead low water mark; in fact, that he had not one real in the world, and that he owed, beside, an ounce to the *peon*, who had brought him and his scanty baggage from San Juan. I gave him sufficient money to relieve his immediate and pressing necessities, when he left me to ask permission from the Governor to perform in the city. In the evening, about dusk, I again met him, and, although, he had obtained the necessary permission, he was by no means sanguine of success; and having entered into some abstruse mathematical

\* On shores unknown, in distant worlds, how sweet

The kindred tongue, the kindred face to meet.—LUSIAD, Book 7.

calculations upon the subject, had arrived at the conclusion that the population of San Luis was insufficient to pay the necessary expenses of the entertainment, and liquidate the expenses already incurred. The truth of his premises I could not deny, and having received his solemn assurance that he could ride well, was hardy, and accustomed to fatigue, offered to pay his liabilities, and take him with me to Buenos Ayres, where he assured me that a single performance would enable him to return the money, or, indeed, that he could obtain an advance from the manager of the theatre. As it was now dark, and our time limited, I stopped his protestations of gratitude, and making him accompany me, called in person upon the Governor, an ignorant, good-natured old man, and asked him as a favour, that a passport should be expedited, which he, after some abortive attempts at a joke upon the profession of my *protegé*, ordered the Secretary of State to make out. For this, coming as it did directly from head-quarters, no charge was made, but, unfortunately, while it was being written, the *Administrador* of the *Correo* (postal establishment) came in and claimed his bonus of a quarter of an ounce for the privilege of travelling post. As I had not been obliged to pay this sum, I made some objections, and even attempted to awaken the dormant generosity of the official, by informing him of the fire king's want of finances, in which I was signally unsuccessful, as he understood perfectly, that if he had no money I would be obliged to pay; and looking upon me as a fool quite willing to part with my money, had no intention of losing his share. I next visited my friend and companion, Don Antonio, informing him that I had taken a new travelling companion, whose food and horse hire I would pay for, while I trusted to his liberality toward a destitute man in a strange country, to make no charge for the privilege of accompanying him on the journey. He conceded with a very bad grace; and with divers ominous shrugs and shakes of the head, declared that I was only too kind-hearted, and would be certain to be imposed upon. As, however, I was a good customer, had paid liberally down on the nail, was



a tolerably good companion on the road, and owned two very fine blankets of which he held a sort of prospective possession, he could not well refuse, but gave his consent under a formal *protest*, which he put on the ground of regard for my interests, and not his own, though, I presume, the latter were those which were most closely considered. Every thing now being arranged for an early departure, I returned to the *fonda*, and after paying the *peon* who had brought my *protegé* to this place, called for my own bill with a gusto which shewed how much rejoiced I was to move my head-quarters from his respectable but quiet city. The keeper of the *fonda*, however, appeared determined, also, to share in the plunder of the "*Griego*," and upon giving in his bill made divers charges for imaginary articles, for which I briefly told him that I would not pay one single *quartillo*. He also charged me for board at the rate of one dollar a day, while the regular price was seventy-five cents, a fact to which the Pole called my attention, and upon enquiry as to the reason of this difference between the latter and myself, there not having been the slightest difference in our fare or rooms, he informed me that his charges were *conforme*—conformable—to the rank and position of the individual, and that he could not think of charging a gentleman who travelled post, only the same price that he exacted from a wandering mountebank who rode on little rats of mules, and they hired at that. Not feeling in the most amiable mood, I refused to recognize the force of this logic, although tolerably well accustomed to its practice in my intercourse with tailors and others in my own country. I was resolute in "cutting the account," as the Chinese call it, and generously paid him the difference in advice, with which, to tell the truth, I interlarded an occasional good old Anglo-Saxon imprecation, by way of relieving my mind.

The annoyances and responsibilities of the day having terminated, I retired to my bed, advising the Pole to follow my example, which, however, he did not see fit to do so, as I learned in the morning that he had spent the night in the profitable employ-

ment of gambling with the *peon*, which convinced me that he had either deceived me, at first, as to the amount of his funds, or that in collusion with the *peon*, he had deceived me as to the amount due to the latter. The prospects were certainly not auspicious, but my only chance to have my money returned was to continue my protection, and, if possible, get him to Buenos Ayres.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### A GALLOP ACROSS THE PAMPAS.

March 22.—Soon after daylight, I was called by the courier, who had brought up the horses, and soon after the Fire-King entered with an expression of countenance which indicated a sleepless night, with an accompaniment of some potent excitement, either that of gambling or cana, and probably both. I was now in for it, however, and concealing my annoyance, quietly mounted my horse, affecting not to observe the knowing winks of Don Antonio, who rejoicing in his superior sagacity, was now enjoying a triumph over his extensively travelled and better educated, but credulous *compañero*. It is thus, too frequently, that credulous liberality is made the butt of a pretended sagacity which has its origin in an intrinsic want of noble sentiments; yet a person imposed upon, his philosophy and better convictions to the contrary notwithstanding, feels almost as much mortification at the ridicule which may result from his amiable credulity, as if he were accused of a dishonorable action.

Such was the tenor of my thoughts, and such my feelings as I avoided the furtive and sly glances of Antonio and the postilion while riding through the yet deserted streets of San Luis. For a mile or two, the ground was somewhat broken and covered with brushes, but after crossing a stream of clear water, which had its origin in the mountains, now close to us on our left, we emerged into the open plains, where I again heard the cheering cry, "Fuego al Campo," and in the excitement attendant on being once more

on my way, at a rapid gallop, soon forgot my vexation, and could almost forgive Antonio and the mountebank all the annoyances which they had caused me. Our pace was sufficiently rapid, and I saw plainly that the horsemanship of the latter was under test, a circumstance which I regretted the less as I felt that if unable to proceed, the sooner I became aware of it the better. A few leagues only brought him some miles behind, and at about half-way to the next stage, we were obliged to stop and await his coming up, which he did eventually, tolerably well blown, and in no very agreeable humour. We did not give him much time to rest, but warning him that he *must* keep up, set off again, the rest of us arriving at the end of our stage about 11 o'clock, he being out of sight astern. Determining to give him a chance to recuperate, we ordered breakfast, and awaited his arrival, which, at length, took place, when we found him nearly dead beat, and in a most captious mood at the results of his attempts to ride post. Like all persons similarly circumstanced, he wished to put the blame upon any one but himself, and was loud in his invectives against the horse, the postilion, and Don Antonio, whom he had observed looked upon him with no partial eye. He declared at once his inability to proceed, and threw himself doggedly on the floor of the hut, and in reply to my question whether he had not assured me that he could ride, answered pettishly that so he could; but what man in his sober senses ever heard of travelling fifteen leagues at a gallop? For his comfort I hinted that dispensing with his excesses of last night, he would have been fresher this morning, and that we would give him some three or four hour's rest, as we had only one more stage of nine leagues to make before sleeping, but that if he were not ready to depart at that time, I would leave him where he then was and give myself no farther concern about him. The latter hint was not without its effect, and after about four hour's rest, during which Don A. and myself had our usual siestas, and our breakfast of *casuela*, which he refused to partake, he announced himself, though certainly not in the most cheerful manner, as ready for the next stage.

The post at which we stopped was that of Rio Quinto, so called from a clear and pleasant stream of good water which flowed near it, after passing which, and filling our *chifres* in anticipation of some nine leagues without that necessary beverage, we ascended a swell in the Pampa, from which looking over a flat, and apparently perfectly level plain, we obtained a view of the mountain of San Jose de Moro, which was to be the terminus of our day's journey. We were now in a portion of country subject to the "raids" or forays of the mounted Indians, where it was necessary to keep a bright look out during the day, and by no means safe to sleep, except in the mud forts which protect the greater number of the post houses. In the morning the courier had advised me of the probable danger, as the savages were known to be in the vicinity of the settlements, having made a descent in this immediate neighbourhood some two weeks before, and asked me to notify him of every living object which I might, with my superior powers of vision, discover on the horizon. He also enlightened me as we galloped along, upon some of his hair-breadth escapes, which might perhaps have produced some anxiety, had the narration taken place at night; but who could feel fear in the broad light of heaven, with a good horse, a pair of good pistols, and a visible horizon of several miles? When Indians are discovered in the plains, the probabilities of escape depends upon the fleetness of the horses, as the traveller attempts to reach the nearest town or post house, where if the latter be walled, as is generally the case, he is comparatively safe. Suppose we are surprised or overtaken, was my very natural enquiry of Don Antonio. We will be killed if we resist. And if we do not, how then? We will also be killed; as these Indians seldom save any except women, who are carried off as prisoners. To my surprise I learned that resistance was rare, and that when escape was impossible, it was the custom to say their prayers, if time were allowed, and be butchered peaceably. Now this is all very well for the Spanish and their descendants, as they stand hanging, shooting, garroting, and having their throats cut, with a resigna-

tion and calmness exceeding that of all other nations, civilized or savage, but it did not, I confess, so fully accord with my Anglo-Saxon temperament and views. The time for prayers I was willing to merge, and informed Don Antonio that though willing to save my life by abandoning my property, I had no idea of losing both without resistance, and supported my intentions so eloquently that he agreed to my proposition, and it was solemnly compacted between us, the compact being ratified by shaking hands at full gallop, that we should sell our lives as dearly as possible, and not in concert for the attainment of this end. As the postilion only accompanied us from post to post it would have been useless to have included him in our arrangement, and to my proposition that we should extend it to the Pole, Don Antonio expressed so little confidence in his courage or conduct, that I too abandoned the idea. That in case of necessity the old man would have fulfilled his part of the compact, I have no doubt; and if before our conversation he would have allowed himself to be quietly butchered, it would not have been for want of physical courage, but because it was the "*costumbre del pais*," custom of the country. It was about an hour after dark when we arrived at the little village or fort, at the foot of the mountain of San Jose de Moro, whose name it bears, and as there was a mud fort and garrison of some two hundred soldiers to keep the Indians in check, we felt perfectly secure; and after satisfying our hunger on some beef hastily roasted on the embers, we made our beds in the open air in front of the post house, and were soon oblivious to all danger from Indians, and all the inconveniences of the road.

The Pole, though complaining, had borne the afternoon ride better than I had anticipated, and having now brought him some seventy-two miles under unfavourable circumstances, I anticipated no difficulty in conveying him to Buenos Ayres.

*March 23.*—At an early hour the indefatigable Don Antonio roused me from my pleasant slumbers to enjoy my *matte*; but delayed, as it appeared to me, unnecessarily, the hour of starting. In answer to my queries on this subject, he acknowledged himself

averse to leaving the post until the night patrol of cavalry had returned to report the *Pampas* clear of Indians, who in South as well as North America, faithful to their tactics or instinct, generally make their attacks about daylight, when civilized and enlightened men in all countries are generally enjoying their soundest repose. Anxious to proceed when once aroused, I prevailed upon him to saddle up, and at early daylight, mounted on spirited and fresh horses, we galloped out of the village of San Jose de Moro before the cornets of the garrison had sounded the *reveille*. The next stage being but seven leagues, we did not spare our horses; and at an hour still early, as compared with my habits as I transcribe this narrative, arrived at the post of Portozuelo, so called from the fact that at this point the road tends through a very narrow valley, bounded on each side by hills of moderate height, through which the rock cropped out over the thin stratum of soil which partially covered it. On our way we met several lancers, who were slowly returning from the post which they had occupied as videttes during the night, to watch against a sudden attack from the Indians, whose recent visit had caused an unusual vigilance on the part of the garrison.

While changing horses we conversed with several *guachos* and their wives and daughters, who for some reason had thus early collected at this post, and the conduct of the former having been so friendly in assisting to select and saddle my horse, I would have returned their hospitality by "entreating them kindly" through the medium of my *chifre* of *Aguardiente*, had not the prudent Antonio with that knowing wink common to all languages, reminded me that we were already on the confines of the province of Cordova, which in exercise of its authority, as a sovereign and independent state, (the only instance of its exercise which ever came under my notice) had prohibited the sale of spirits within its borders.

So mounting my horse with a *Vayanse con Dios, señores*,\* my blessing, I departed with the full locomotive energies of a fresh horse, though I doubt me greatly whether with such cordial good

\* God be with you, gentlemen.

wishes from the party, as if I had carried my first intention into effect, and given them a spiritual, instead of a verbal blessing.

A short distance of stony road, an antique *ranch*, which had been deserted on account of danger from Indians, and a small rivulet of good fresh water, alone marked the transition from the independent Federated Province of San Luis to that of Cordova. The village of Achiras was distant from Portozuelo about five leagues, and the heat was already great before we reached its neighbourhood, where we exchanged our horses in a fine garden filled with fruit trees, and cooled by a small stream which irrigated it.

The family to whom this charming shady retreat and the adjoining ruined hut belonged, were present in the garden to collect the fruit, though fear of the Indians prevented their remaining there during the night. Having refreshed ourselves with a breakfast of milk, fruit, and cheese, and saddled up our new horses, we set out, and in a few minutes arrived at the village of Achiras, a curious place after its kind, and meriting at least a cursory description. It consisted of some fifty or sixty habitations built of clay, not whitewashed, and surrounded by a wall of the same material, about twelve feet high. The streets were at right angles, and being unusually free from the incursions of the unclean beast and the dog, were comparatively clean and well kept. The wall which surrounded this snug and isolated village was built, as nearly as I could estimate, on a square; and as the houses rose a little above it, performed an important part in giving character to the village. A huge wooden gate fronting the road would have been bolted had it been evening, when the inhabitants of Achiras, feeling within their *adobe* walls a security against the predatory savage, who frequently ranges their plains, can peacefully smoke their cigaritos, drink their *matte*, and enjoy each other's society.

It was in this small village that my friend, the American printer, whom I encountered in San Luis, had married. I availed myself of the acquaintance to visit the house, and found, that though the



bride and her sister were not particularly beautiful, everything pleasing or desirable had been removed from the domicile. As I sat for a minute on an earthen seat, which the ingenuity of the architect had constructed in a corner, and peered curiously through the darkness at the bareness of the mud walls without ornament, the mud floors without covering, the rooms generally more innocent of furniture than dirt, my thoughts recurred to the boasts made by my friend of his ancient Knickerbocker origin, and wondered what would be the impressions of his thrifty and tidy mamma, *Der Goote Fraue*, could she see the hovel from which he had chosen his wife. However, *similia similibus curantur*, and he will doubtless be cured of all disagreeable remembrances by keeping a house of his own in the same *negligé* and untidy manner; for, as I have before had occasion to remark, our countrymen abroad rapidly assimilate themselves to the customs of the country which they inhabit.

A ten minutes' stay sufficed me; and I again mounted and pursued my journey, though ill at ease from the combined effects of the milk, jolting on horseback, and the heat of the sun. I shrewdly suspected that the unusual weight upon my stomach, and heaviness of head, was produced by the milk under this churning process, having always been told as a boy that *butter was unhealthy*. Changing horses at Barranquita ojo de Agua, and Arroyita de Lagunitas, we arrived about 9 p.m. in the city of Rio Cuarto, having travelled some ninety-six miles since our departure from Mono. Upon reaching the post-house, we were obliged to assist the Pole to dismount, he having almost entirely lost the use of his limbs from riding. As the evening approached his denunciations and groans became louder and deeper, until his only ambition was to reach the end of the stage, after which he invoked the devil to fly away with him if he ever undertook to ride post again with a *crazy courier* and a *hair-brained naval officer*, who had neither of them the fear of God or a *proper* respect for the comfort and safety of their own limbs before their eyes. Neither were we unwilling to part company, having already

found him to be a decided incubus. Upon entering the principal room in the post-house, we found it already occupied by several travellers, who were laudably comforting themselves with beef and brandy after the fatigues of the day; one, who immediately recognized me, was the Basque whom I had met at St. Luis, and who had proved, as I anticipated, the dupe of the designing German in whose company I met him; the latter having suddenly decamped with two of his horses, and leaving sundry small debts for board and advances of money unpaid. Room was speedily and courteously made for me at the table, where I found myself "check by jowl" with an American mechanic, who, after passing several years in Buenos Ayres, was incited by the desire to better his fortune by seeking El Dorado of the nineteenth century, which had suddenly become a portion of his own country. The evening passed in cheerful conversation, when my countryman and myself spread out our saddle clothes and ponchos, so as to form a double bed; and thanks to our long ride and freedom from care, soon fell asleep, notwithstanding the trumpeting of the dozen persons, who conjointly with us occupied the apartment, and the piteous groaning of the Pole, who, with the versatility of his nation, was bitterly cursing his fate, pressing into service with that object all the expletives known to modern European languages.

*March 24.*—Having a letter of introduction to an Englishman who kept a small store in Rio Cuarto, I determined to deliver it, in order to effect some arrangement by which to dispatch my Pole to Cordova, where his feats of strength and faculties for eating fire might enable him to recruit his finances. The arrangement was speedily effected, as the distance to Cordova was not great, and I took a passage for him in an ox-cart, giving him also a sufficiency of money to pay his expenses during the journey.\*

\* It is scarcely necessary to remark that the same two-and-a-half ounces which I expended for the "distressed Pole," was not paid to the American consul according to promise. It is, however, a satisfactory reflection that I was neither the first, or by any means the last person imposed upon by unfortunate individuals of that peculiarly unfortunate Slavonic race

In the public square were some cavalry, practicing with broadsword, in which they displayed no great skill. The garrison of the place is about six hundred, and the population some two thousand souls. After breakfast the band of the battalion came to the door of our *fonda*, and saluted us with a few wild and noisy airs adapted to their instruments, which were trumpets without keys. Their object was attained, as on the same principle that we pay organ grinders, our trumpeters were liberally bought off. By virtue of some private arrangement with Don Antonio, the *Basque* now joined our party, and continued with us to Buenos Ayres. At about 11 A.M., taking leave of my countryman, who wished to reach Achiras that evening, and our *ci devant* companion, the Pole, who forced me to go through the superfluous formality of taking a receipt for the money I had advanced to him, we set out on our journey, and after riding nearly one hundred miles, stopped short of the post-house of Tres Cruces, where we intended to have stopped, and turning in from the road, slept outside of a hut, which was known to the postilion.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### THE PAMPAS.

For divers reasons most satisfactory to myself, I have determined, at this point, to conclude my itinerary narrative; firstly, because I cannot hope that its continuance would particularly interest any amiable or credulous person, who through kindly feeling toward the author, or vague hope of obtaining amusement or valuable information, may be tempted to the perusal of my production. Secondly, because having given an account of the mode of travel in the plains, and a cursory sketch of their inhabitants, there is little of interest to add, as I have been always the most unfortunate among travellers in freedom from adventurous and startling incidents; and thirdly, because I have lost the scanty notes which I made at the time, and, although, I have a list of the post houses, upon examination cannot make them *quadrate*, as a notorious naval commander of my acquaintance once expressed it, with my own recollections. In general terms, therefore, I will in this chapter give a succinct account of the Pampas, and the remainder of my journey across them.

Passing from the province of Cordova, we entered Santa Fé, where as danger existed from the Indians, we slept, whenever it was possible, at a fortified post house. The defensive arrangements of these establishments merits special notice from their singularity. The house being in the centre of a square, is surrounded by a ditch, inside of which is planted, one, two, and sometimes three rows of *cactus*, which forms a protection against the foraging

savages, who will never dismount from their horses to remove any formidable obstacle. The square is approached by a draw-bridge, while the house supplied with loop holes, overtopping the wall of *cactus*, enables the inhabitants to fire upon the assailants. Thus the Indians are generally repelled in their attack upon any fortified house, and their successful attacks are generally made on isolated houses, which are not defended by either walls of unburnt bricks, or *cactus*. The next day, after leaving Rio Cuarto, we breakfasted at Fraile Muerto, a town of some two thousand inhabitants. On the same afternoon, we met the government courier on his way to the Westward, who informed me that a post carriage was following behind, containing a Brazilian and Frenchman. The Brazilian, I was informed, was a Mr. Guimaraes, and having an intimate friend, as well as very pleasant casual acquaintance of that name, near Rio de Janeiro, I had strong hopes that the stranger might prove to be one or the other. We quickened our pace, and instead of the short gallop, which was our usual gait, indulged ourselves in a run, in order to compensate for our expected delay when we should meet the strangers. At length, in the distance, we saw the cloud of dust which almost invariably marks and distinguishes the post coach, and its four galloping horses, but before we met, I was destined again to renew my acquaintance, much against my will, with our common mother earth, as my horse stumbling in a *Bizcacha* hole, upon recovering made the sudden leap peculiar to *guacho* trained horses, to escape the cruel rowels, which invariably punish a mishap of this kind. The projectile motion I was almost always prepared for while riding across the plains, and successfully resisted in this instance; but quicker than thought, I was left face to heaven, and back to the sod, by the unexpected movement which succeeded it. My *guache* bridle, whose long plaited thong serves also for a whip, served me well in this emergency, as I still retained the end of it in my hand, and was thus enabled to secure my horse. Not having been hurt, and anxious to avoid the sly railery of my friend, Don Antonio,

I immediately attempted to remount, but the saddle turning, I was obliged to girth it afresh, and thus found myself some miles behind my companions, whom I overtook by hard riding before we met the coach. A knowing smile and remark upon my dusty apparel, showed that I was discovered, and Don Antonio would never concede, afterward, that I was exactly, what he called a *ginete*, or perfect horsemen, though he did me, perhaps, more than justice in informing many persons in Buenos Ayres, after our arrival, that he had never had a *compañero* before, who was not a *guacho*, who was so hardy as his friend, Don Isao.

At length, the carriage drew up alongside of us, and, although I had not the satisfaction of meeting the friend I expected, I had a pleasant conversation with a gentleman of Rio, who shared with me many agreeable acquaintances. He informed me, that his friends had been very apprehensive for his safety in making this journey, having heard much of the dangers from Indians, and begged I would call at a certain direction which he gave me, and inform them of his safety, and of his having traversed the most exposed Province of St. Fé. Although I afterward lost the address, by dint of inquiries at Rio, I found the proper person, whose appreciation of this act of common civility, was evinced by divers acts of hospitality during my stay. While conversing with Mr. G——, I had an opportunity of examining a *Pampa coach*, the first I had seen, and which I would be glad to describe, were it not utterly indescribable; a daguerrotype of one ought to make the exhibitor's fortune in these degenerate times; and failing in a description, I will leave the filling up to the imagination of the reader, giving him a clue by suggesting as a prototype, a vehicle which might have conveyed the family of the patriarch Noah to the ark, prior to their embarkation. The harness was quite as primitive, and if simplicity and strength be acknowledged to combine all necessary qualifications, it was perfect. As regards the former, the reader's imagination will be much assisted by a visit to Norfolk, where the harness and accoutrements of the market carts is even

an exaggeration of that of the Pampas ; but should he have no other object in view, I would not by any means compromise myself by advising the trip, as I fear greatly, that, however satisfactory might be the result, as far as an elucidation of my own description is concerned, that the *entire* result would not compensate for the pains and time employed, unless he should be particularly partial to *naval officers, oysters, and Hag-fish*. In regard to strength, unlike the Norfolk harness already alluded to, there was no deficiency, as it was of green hide of the stoutest kind, but secured in the loosest manner to the carriage, neither reins, breast straps, or stretchers being used, while the traces were single pieces of hide rope secured to the saddle of the postilion, who was required for each horse in the absence of reins and other appurtenances, to which we are accustomed in countries which have made greater progress in the mechanic arts.\*

This mode of conveyance through the plains possesses advantages for those who are unaccustomed to riding on horseback, or to the privation of comforts by the way side, as many conveniences not otherwise attainable, in addition to bedding, which is seldom found on the road in South America, may be stowed in the carriage. It is, however, slower than riding post, though not so much so as might be expected, as the horses are ridden at full gallop, and changed as frequently as those of the courier, while the time lost at the post house in waiting for horses is no greater, as when one is brought in from the plains it is as easy to bring in one hundred. The expense is much greater, however, as four horses and as many postilions are required, who must be paid at the rate of a single one. An upset in a coach is a much more probable occurrence than a fall from a horse, my own recent experience to the contrary notwithstanding, while there is danger of attracting the Indians by the sight of the cloud of dust which hangs over the route of a post coach. Single horsemen make little dust, and when in the vicinity of Indians, avoid that danger

\* Sir Francis Head recommends this mode of harnessing for Light Artillery.

by keeping off the partially beaten track, and riding on the grass. After encharging each other with such messages to the shores of the respective oceans, as might be expected from men supposed to be embarked in a dangerous enterprise, we took a kindly leave of each other, and amid the spurring, cursing, and yelling of the postilions, whose uncoupled horses, at starting, expended their force in every direction except the right one, our courier shouted his old cry, "*Fuego al Campo*," and before the carriage had got fairly under headway, we had galloped more than a mile on our journey. Santa Fé, in addition to the danger from Indians, is also subject to rains, which caused us to lose the greater part of three days, as the courier, notwithstanding my assurances that his dispatches were perfectly protected by my clothing, could not be induced to take the road. In all the provinces, immense numbers of cattle were seen daily; and at times, particularly in Santa Fé and Buenos Ayres, we rode for miles through herds of horned cattle and horses, extending as far as the eye could reach in every direction. It was only after several days' experience in these two provinces that I began to realize the probability of a statement which had been made to me by a very intelligent Buenos Ayrian official, that in one year 10,000,000 of hides had been exported from Buenos Ayres. Considering that, according to the census of 1840, the whole number of cattle in the United States was not greater than fifteen millions, this statement appears almost incredible, but it did not appear so to me, after crossing the plains; and considering that the immense number, the millions and millions of cattle which I saw from the road, were but a tithe of the vast number contained in these extended pastures. The amount of game which I saw was not equal to my expectations. It is true I saw many deer and ostriches, but not so many as I expected; whereas, in smaller game, such as hares and partridges, it fell infinitely short of the Plateau of Brazil. The most level of the Provinces which I traversed was Buenos Ayres, and after that Santa Fé, but I saw nowhere the dead sea level which has been described by some travellers and



geographers. In the latter provinces, and as we approached the Atlantic, a great improvement was observable in the habitations, and much more refinement among the people. During the last day's journey, we even found some families who resided alternately in the city. We passed through the towns of Arco, Arrieñis, and Luxan, none of which merit especial mention, even if my opportunities had been sufficient. The number of ox trains which are met on the plains are very considerable, as may be imagined, when it is considered that by such conveyance all the commerce of the plains and interior cities is conducted. The carts are extremely rude in their construction, being composed of a body, tongue, and two solid wooden wheels. Little or no iron is used in their construction, all bands being composed of green hide, which, put on wet, by contraction becomes nearly as strong and hard as metal. The covers are straw and green hide, and occasionally canvas. The teams consist of six pairs, the yokes being invariably secured to the head and horns of the animals. Suspended from the roof of the cart is a long pole reaching to the leading yoke, through which projects a spike, by which the oxen are goaded according to necessity or the caprice of the driver. A second spike within the first, is adapted to the necessities of the second yoke, while a short hand goad is used for inciting those attached to the tongue. The number of carts in a troop, is generally twelve, and as they never grease the wooden axles, or the inner circumference of the wooden wheels, the sounds produced are anything but musical, and by no means an agreeable accompaniment to a long march on a summer day. This creaking sound is heard at a very great distance, and points out their position to the Indians, who generally make their forays at night or early in the morning, when the ox-carts commence their journey. These trains are the principal objects of their attack, as those which are bound inland are loaded with such merchandise as they consider most valuable, and hence it is, that the traveller who may be on horseback, if acquainted with the fact, always avoids passing the night in their vicinity.

I remember one night at the post house of Cabeza del Tigre, where I had insisted on stopping against the maturer judgment of Don Antonio, for what I could not but consider several valid reasons—that it was late at night—that we were tired—that a substantial supper was in preparation, and nearly ready, and that there was among the members of the household a pair of pretty *señoritas*—that my companion went to bed growling bitterly, because of a train of ox-carts which he assured me would bring the Indians down upon us before morning. I slept, however, none the less soundly on account of his predictions, having determined to trust to luck or destiny, which has befriended me often before and since. In all my journeys across the plains, I seldom slept in a house, although immediately in their vicinity, as I preferred the pure air and accommodations afforded by my own travelling bed, to the closeness of the houses, and the not remote probability of my being thoroughly excoriated by fleas, which in this country attain a size and ferocity which is really formidable to the uninitiated. The people of the country I found invariably kind and courteous, and as a stranger I always had the best of everything which their humble habitations would afford, even when there was no seat in the *rancho*, save the solitary skull of a bullock that was the prerogative of the "*Gringo*," who had also the first cut at the roast beef when brought on a spit from the embers, and was entitled to the largest or the only spoon when joining a party of perhaps half a dozen, in eating *casucla* out of the same pot.

I mention these facts in justice to the gaucho character, which I do not think has been fairly described by either Sir Francis Head, or by Darwin.\* The former remarks that he always cocked his pistols when he met gauchos. Whereas, I as invariably had my "*chifres*" unslung, and prepared to give them a drink and chat with them upon the character of the road ahead, and the wealth and resources of the surrounding country. The difference,

\* The *montañeros* or robbers, alluded to by former travellers, appeared to have disappeared entirely, as I neither saw or heard of them.

perhaps, may be a national one. Sir Francis Head was an Englishman, and I an American.

A general description of these interesting plains will not be inappropriate nor do I believe unacceptable to the reader. The first region, travelling from the westward, and embracing the greater portion of the Province of Mendoza, produces a growth of low trees, or shrubs, and a long coarse grass. During the year there is little apparent change, as the trees seldom lose their leaves, and the grass always preserves the dingy green by which it is characterized in temperate climates. The second region, which extends over St. Luis, Cordova, and Santa Fé, and a portion of Buenos Ayres, produces a high grass, less coarse and better adapted for pasture than that which precedes it. The third region, comprising a portion of Buenos Ayres, is the most remarkable, and produces clover and thistles. The changes in vegetation in the year are marked and singular, but having traversed it at a time when the most curious phenomena did not present themselves, I will transcribe for the benefit of my readers the graphic description of Sir Francis Head, which agrees precisely with that which was given me by the natives of the country, especially by my friend and *compañero* Don Antonio, the courier. I might, it is true, give the same description in language of my own, but I have an inherent respect for those who are first upon a field, as pioneers of travel, and consider it almost in the light of a literary theft to follow in the footsteps of others, and by clothing the same fact or idea in different language, escape the direct imputation of plagiarism and obtain credit under false pretences. The intelligent reader will not regret my conscientiousness, as there is at times a rare beauty in the style of this author which I should in vain attempt to imitate.

"The first region, or that lying nearest the Atlantic," says Head, "varies with the four seasons of the year in a most remarkable manner. In winter the leaves of the thistles are large and luxuriant, and the whole surface of the country has the rough appearance of a turnip field. The clover in this season is

extremely rich and strong, and the sight of the wild cattle grazing in full liberty on such pasture is very beautiful. In spring the clover has vanished, the leaves of the thistles have extended along the ground, and the country still looks like a rough crop of turnips. In less than a month the change is most extraordinary; the whole region becomes a luxuriant wood of enormous thistles, which have suddenly shot up to the height of ten or eleven feet, and are all in full bloom. The road, or path, is hemmed in on both sides; the view is completely obstructed; not an animal is to be seen; and the stems of the thistles are so close to each other, and so strong, that independent of the prickles with which they are armed, they form an impenetrable barrier. The sudden growth of these plants is quite astonishing; and though it would be an unusual misfortune in military history, yet it is really possible, that an invading army, unacquainted with this country, might be imprisoned by these thistles before they had time to escape from them. The summer is not over before the scene undergoes another rapid change. The thistles suddenly lose their sap and verdure, their heads droop, the leaves shrink and fade, the stems become black and dead, and they remain rattling with the breeze one against another until the violence of the *Pampero*, or hurricane, levels them to the ground, where they rapidly decompose and disappear, the clover rushes up, and the scene is again verdant."

The variation of climate is not very great. In the region of grass and trees the atmosphere is dry, in that of thistles and clover it is moist, while the middle region, or that of grass, though generally dry, assumes the characteristics of the thistle region on its borders. This is peculiarly the case in Santa Fé, where we were detained a part of three days by rains, as had been predicted by the courier even before we left St. Luis. The climate is healthy although the dews are very heavy. There is seldom a dead calm on the Pampas, and the breeze rises in the afternoon similar to the sea breeze on tropical coasts.

¶ The *Pampero*, as its name indicates, is the characteristic wind,

and blows violently across the plains from the Andes. Its healthful influence is measurably counterpoised by the prejudicial effects upon commerce, as the republic possesses no good ports.

Sir Francis Head, who was employed in these provinces as an agent for some English mining companies, at one time crossed the plains from Mendoza to Buenos Ayres in eight days, which is the shortest time in which I have authentic information of the journey having been performed. My own transit in twelve days, was considered a fair average for the government courier, who had eighteen years' experience on the route; yet we were detained by rain when he would not travel, and still longer by having to wait at the post houses till the horses could be *corralled* and *lassoed*. Head, in speaking of travelling on the Pampas, remarks, "It is of course a hard life; but it is so delightfully independent, and if one is in good riding condition, so rapid is the mode of travelling, that I have twice chosen it, and would always prefer it; but I recommend no one to attempt it unless he is in good health and condition. When I first crossed the Pampas I went with a carriage, and although I had been accustomed to riding all my life, I could not at all ride with the peons, and after galloping five or six hours, was obliged to get into the carriage; but after I had been riding for three or four months, and had lived upon beef and water, I found myself in a condition which I can only describe by saying, that I felt no exertion could kill me. Although I constantly arrived so completely exhausted that I could not speak, yet a few hours' sleep upon my saddle on the ground so completely restored me, that for a week I could be upon my horse before sunrise, could ride till two or three hours after sunset, and have really tired ten and twelve horses a day. This will explain the immense distances which people in South America are said to ride, which I am confident could only be done on beef and water."

The Pampa Indians I was so fortunate as not to meet, and consequently cannot be expected to give a description of them. Had I met them, probably the result would have been the same,

as they seldom if ever allow males who once fall into their power to escape. I cannot believe them to be very numerous, as their regular roaming grounds are confined to a very limited region, but their predatory habits, the rapidity of their movements, and the uncertainty of the object of their attack, makes them extremely formidable to the inhabitants, and exercises an important influence upon the commerce of the plains. They are in fact on the plains what the piratical cruisers were in former times to the commerce of the seas and the unprotected coasts, which is here represented by the ex trains and the frontier habitations. As piracy was suppressed by the employment of men-of-war, equally fast sailers, better manned and armed, so must the piracy of the plains be suppressed by light irregular cavalry, who can follow the Indians to their haunts and exterminate them when overtaken, and destroying their villages, killing their cattle, and carrying off their women and children as hostages, force them into the making and keeping of a treaty of peace. In certain seasons of the year, when the grass does not have a distinct trail, bloodhounds might be advantageously employed, and with their assistance, I feel assured that a very small force such as I have suggested might soon put an end to the forays of these savages, whose only mercy, if it may be so called, is shown toward the young and pretty women, whom they appropriate, and whose incursions keep the whole frontier and route to Mendoza and Cordova in a constant state of fear and excitement.\*

\* Our philanthropic progenitors would doubtless express themselves horrified by such a proposition when it comes from an American, notwithstanding their own antecedents with the marooning negroes in Jamaica, and even in later times, if we believe Chambers' paper on Australia and Van Dieman's land. "Two hundred and forty (convicts) were at the penal settlement of Port Arthur, on a barren peninsula connected with the main by a narrow neck of land. Across this runs a line of posts guarded by savage dogs, and some soldiers to prevent the escape of the culprits. Nevertheless, some do evade even the vigilance of the brute watchers; and we have heard of several men, who clothing themselves in the skins of kangaroos, and imitating the motions of the animal, thus contrived to escape." *Chambers' Australia and Van Dieman's Land*, vol. vi.

It is the opinion of some writers, among whom Head is the most conspicuous, that the Indians, with fire-arms, would exercise an important political influence in South America, and that those who roam the Pampas, united with the warlike Araucanians, and mounted on the horses brought to oppress their forefathers, might rush from the cold region to which they have been driven, with an irresistible fury, and trample under foot the descendants of Europeans. This is an impossible contingency. The Pampa Indians already have fire arms, which they lay aside for the lance, which for their purposes is a more appropriate weapon. They never dismount during their forays, which are made suddenly, and they are even checked by a house slightly fortified by a hedge of cactus. Their object is to escape from and not to attack bodies of armed men, and fire arms would render them less formidable by impeding their rapidity of movement. The whole number of undomesticated Indians now in South America, in its whole extent, would be too small to make them formidable to the permanent settlements.

Any one acquainted with Indian character, will readily appreciate the improbability of different tribes uniting for a common cause; as contiguity makes them, generally, more inimical to each other than to their common enemy. The Araucanians derive their passive power from the position which they occupy in the fastnesses of the extreme south of the Chilian territory; and, removed thence, they would cease to be formidable; moreover, they are not horsemen, and would rather embarrass than assist the operations of the Pampa Indians. As occurs with many philosophical writers, Head attributes too great an influence to the effects of climate, when he anticipates a conquest of

It is certainly a desirable object to retain the convicts within the limits prescribed by the authorities. Yet it is incommensurate with the object to be attained by the inhabitants of the Pampas and those employed in the transportation of merchandize. With them, their life as well as property depends upon keeping within bounds the excursions of the merciless and ferocious savages.

the existing establishments in South America, from the "colder regions" of the south or north.

From a distance, the appearance of Buenos Ayres is by no means prepossessing, and possesses none of the picturesque beauty of Santiago, Lima, Rio de Janeiro, or, indeed, the great majority of the South American capitals. After a long ride through the city, I arrived at the Hotel de Provence, which had been highly recommended to me, and dismounting, hastened to extract my baggage from the mail bag, in order to allow my friend Don Antonio to make his appearance at the Post Office, which he dared not do, with its existing contents. Anxious for his speedy liberation, as delay might compromise him, I took no heed of my own affairs, and having deposited my scanty wardrobe on a piazza, on an inner court, I learned, upon enquiry, that I could not be accommodated with a room, as the city was at that time extremely full of strangers. The courier had made his hasty adieux when this disagreeable announcement was made to me by a servant, and, considering that it was raining, and this my first visit to the city, my position was very far from being an enviable one; and, seeing a very pretty French woman within, whom I was informed was—not mine hostess—but she whom I wished to officiate in that capacity, I determined to avail myself of the supposed greater susceptibility of the sex to pity, and entreated that I might have a room, however unpretending.

It was utterly impossible—utterly—she wished that Monsieur could only see the extremes to which she herself was compelled to resort, in respect to sleeping apartments, and he would be convinced of the impossibility of my being accommodated. She suggested, however, that her mother kept an hotel in another part of the town, and might, possibly, be able to accommodate me. So, thanking her for the interest she had displayed in my affairs, which I would scarce have troubled myself to do, considering the very slight nature of the obligation, had she not been so exceedingly pretty, and committing my baggage to her care, during my absence, I threw on my *poncho*, and wading through the several



inches of water which invariably distinguishes a heavy shower in this city, eventually discovered the house of Madam Mere, where I had the inestimable good fortune to secure a room without a window, and with the slight drawback of being obliged to share it with three German merchant captains. *Necessitas non habet*, &c., &c.—every one knows what necessity has not. So I transported my baggage to this point, and attempted to imagine myself perfectly contented, which, in truth, I found somewhat difficult, under the circumstances. There is a loneliness, as I experienced upon this occasion, in the large city, which I had never felt, either in mountain or plain, each of which I regretted, as I found myself houseless among a crowd of strangers, each of whom had their domiciles, so that I had not even the satisfaction derived from companionship in misery. In the evening, however, matters brightened and improved. At the table d'hôte I met an old acquaintance, and, afterward, our Consul, *Charge des Affaires*, and other countrymen, who wished to extend to me hospitality and civility. In lieu of my uncomfortable quarters, a wealthy countryman who owned the best house in the city, placed its accommodations at my disposal; and the gloomy prospects which dimmed my first arrival, were speedily dispelled by kindness received on every side. Meeting, in the course of the evening, with Captain Clarke, an American in command of a brig about to sail for Rio de Janeiro, he kindly invited me to take passage with him, an offer I gladly accepted, and in four days from my arrival in Buenos Ayres, I had embarked and was on my way to Brazil.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### BUENOS AYRES.

THE city of *Buenos Ayres*, the capital, and only important seaport of the *Argentine Confederation*, has been so frequently described by travellers and voyagers, that more than a passing reference would be superfluous in this place.

Its appearance is by no means imposing when viewed from a distance, as its site is too level to display at all advantageously. The streets, as usual in Spanish cities, are laid out at right angles, are of sufficient width, tolerably well paved, and clean except during the heavy rains, when its drainage is so defective that many of them are flooded with water. The most important are appropriately named after the neighbouring Republics, as *Calle de Chili*, *Bolivia*, *Peru*, &c. The style of architecture is the *Moresco*, resembling that found in Havana and Vera Cruz. Unlike all the cities of Brazil and Chili, its houses have flat terraced roofs, to which the inhabitants resort in the mornings and evenings of the hot season. Houses are found in the principal streets of two and three stories, although the greater number have but one. There are no chimneys, and as the climate is quite cool during the winter, much discomfort is experienced by all classes from cold. Even were the houses provided with fire places, the scarcity and expense of fuel would place it beyond the reach of the great majority of the people, and hence, although the climate is not sufficiently rigorous to produce much actual suffering, I

have no doubt more inconvenience is felt from cold than in any of the northern cities of our country.

The religious architecture is respectable, though not remarkable for its beauty or extent, while the public edifices are generally substantial and well adapted to their destination. A new palace which is being built under the direction of General Rosas, is an extensive and well constructed edifice, covering a large space near the centre of the city. The port is notoriously exposed, and ill adapted for the purposes of commerce, the water being so shallow that large vessels cannot anchor within six or eight miles of the beach, while the coasting vessels lie at nearly half that distance. A small frigate, or even a large sloop-of-war, when anchored as near as practicable, are hull down from the city.

The shallowness of the water, and the frequent and violent *Pamperos* which during the winter interrupt communication with the shore, renders this city an extremely inappropriate locality for a great commercial depôt, and the fact that its commerce is really so extensive, displays the importance of the products of the country, which have enabled it to triumph over so many disadvantages. The landing on the beach is inconvenient, and conducted somewhat ludicrously by means of small high-wheeled carts, which drive through the shallow water to a point at which the boats can arrive. A boat with many passengers is immediately surrounded by these carts, and the passenger is fortunate, if in the emulation of their respective drivers, he be not as thoroughly soured as if he had waded on shore without availing himself of their assistance. He may, however, escape the mud which abounds in the greatest profusion along the beach. At the time of my visit the road was filled with vessels awaiting cargoes of hides and tallow, which the removal of the blockade had made available as a supply for the deficiency felt in Europe and the United States. It was on account of the number of vessels, whose captains generally lived on shore, that I was refused admittance at the *Hotel de Provence*, and that I was compelled to share accommodations with the Dutch captains.

The character of the Government of Buenos Ayres and the question of hostilities between the Argentine Republic and Montevideo, as connected with the English and French intervention, are subjects which have attracted very general attention throughout America and Europe, and my sketch will be doubtless considered incomplete without an exposition of what I deem to be the facts of the case, and an expression of my opinion as to its merits. Be it known, however, that I approach this subject not without fear and trembling, as conflicting testimony makes it the most difficult subject to decide, while General Rosas has in more than one instance shewn himself so much alive to the influence of the press, that he resents, officially, an honest expression of opinion on the part of any traveller who may comment upon his administration, especially when such comments are made by persons holding an official position.

My means of information might, under ordinary circumstances, be considered ample, having served in the river *La Plata* in 1841 and '47, having had frequent opportunities of conversing with partizans of both the Buenos Ayrean and Montevidean Republics, disinterested persons holding divers opinions, and having carefully and laboriously studied the able articles which have appeared from time to time in the *Archivo Americano*, and *Gaceta Mercantil*, the organs of Rosas, and the *Commercio del Plata*, of Montevideo, the exponent of the views and opinions of the antagonistic party. Notwithstanding so many mis-statements have been made by each party, that it is the most difficult imaginable task to arrive at the merits of the case, and I would fain avoid the subject, did I not deem it essential as a termination of my sketch.

After the attainment of independence of Spain, the various provinces, excepting Paraguay, formed a confederation known in the family of nations as the United Provinces, or the Argentine Confederation, and for many years was governed by various chiefs, who replaced each other in rapid succession, in the same manner of which we have a happy exemplification in the neighbouring

Republic of Mexico. The country might be considered as divided into two great parties, known as *Unitarians*, or *Centralists*, who wished to consolidate the Government after the manner of the United States, and the *Federalists*, who wished the perfect independence of the provinces. The difference was, that between our own country, under the articles of Confederation, and under our present Constitution. The frequent insurrections and changes of Government continued with little intermission until April, 1835, when for the second time (he was first inaugurated in 1828) the present Governor of Buenos Ayres obtained the control. General Rosas has been frequently represented as a *guacho*, or man of the people, whose talents and enterprise had elevated him to his present position. This is an incorrect view, as Rosas, although a *Haciendero*, or owner of grazing farms, had every advantage which could be derived from education and from association, as his family was one of the most distinguished in the Province; his grandfather, as has been heretofore mentioned, having been the Spanish Viceroy of Chili. His wealth was great, and being exceeding shrewd and of a bold, daring disposition, and one of the most skilful horsemen in South America, he acquired great influence among the *guachos*, who, owing to the division of parties and cliques in the principal cities, had become the most influential class. A successful campaign against the Pampa Indians, brought about his election in 1828 as Governor of the Province of Buenos Ayres. Subsequent civil commotions caused him to be recalled to the Governorship, which, however, he refused to accept, until he was endowed with such powers as would enable him to crush any attempt at rebellion against his authority. This was finally conceded, and Rosas inaugurated for the second time, in 1835, since which time he has governed not only the Province of which he is really the Governor, but the entire Argentine Confederation, with a rigidity never excelled, if ever equalled, by the Spanish Viceroys. Neither has his administration been undistinguished by barbarities, for which even his most ardent admirers cannot but hold him responsible, as if they were

not done by his order, they might have been prevented had he exerted the power which he certainly wielded. In Buenos Ayres, some distinguished citizens who were inimical to him were assassinated, while at a later period one of his most violent and talented opponents, the editor of the *Commercio del Plata*, of Montevideo, was removed in the same manner. A question arose with Bolivia, in which the minister of that republic, having shown a disposition to thwart the Dictator, was soon after found stabbed in the streets, with all his money and valuables on his person. In a city where the police, public and secret, is very numerous, and in a high degree vigilant, these assassinations are, to say the least, singular coincidences, and the fact that the perpetrators were never discovered, gave a certain degree of plausibility to the suspicions which they excited. Those who believe that Napoleon sacrificed Pichegrue, and Lieut. Wright of the R. N., in prison, will find it difficult to avoid falling into the opinion expressed by the enemies of the Dictator. The year 1836 was distinguished by the blockade of Buenos Ayres, enforced by the French on account of some supposed aggressions upon the rights of their citizens, and by the civil war in Buenos Ayres, which brought the power of Rosas nearly to an end, as Lavalle, the leader of the Unitarians, then the most numerous party, with an imposing force, advanced to within a few miles of Buenos Ayres. Previous to this misunderstanding with the French, Rivera had been President of Montevideo, but Oribe having been elected to fill the executive chair, the former took command of the army. To the French, who were preparing for hostile operations against Buenos Ayres, the city of Montevideo as a depôt, and the co-operation of the people, was very desirable, and they accordingly endeavoured to make a treaty with Oribe to secure him to their interests. In this attempt they failed at the time, owing to the loyalty of Oribe to his friend, but the commercial rivalry which for many years had existed between these two outlets to the commerce of the plains, aided probably by French influence, and the desire of the late President to regain his power, soon effected

what was desired. Oribe was deposed, and hostilities commenced against Buenos Ayres, by an attempt of Rivera to co-operate with Lavalle, by marching an army toward the Argentine territory, by way of Entre Rios. These hostilities on the part of Montevideo, are attributable, in a high degree, to the influence of the Buenos Ayrian refugees, who, driven from their country by Rosas, had sought safety from his persecution in that Republic, where they had denounced his cruelties in such unmeasured terms, that he was considered by his new opponents as an enemy to the human race, and a crusade against him in the light of a religious duty. Oribe, upon his deposition, having taken refuge on board one of our vessels of war, retired to Buenos Ayres, where he was kindly received by Rosas, and placed in command of his forces employed against Lavalle, who was eventually defeated and shot, either in cold blood or while attempting to escape from his pursuers.

The organization of the Unitarian party in Buenos Ayres having been destroyed, and peace having been established with the French, who appear not to have made due provision for their weaker allies, Rosas considered himself enabled to punish the hostile disposition shown by the Montevideans, and commenced operations by sending an army into that Republic under the command of Oribe, the deposed President, blockading at the same time the port of Montevideo, with a small squadron. Rivera took the field against this invasion, in 1841, while strenuous efforts were directed by Commodore Coc, an American in the service of Montevideo, to equip a fleet to raise the blockade.

I witnessed the commencement of the hostile operations on the river, which were opened by a general battle between the two flotillas, consisting of nine sail of small vessels, immediately in front of Montevideo, and which terminated, in the course of the year, with the total annihilation of the defensive squadron, and the disbanding of its officers and men. The resources of Montevideo were unequal to a naval war, especially as their antagonists had already a disposable naval force, which, taking the in-

initiative by a close blockade, prevented them from obtaining vessels or warlike munitions from abroad.

In December, 1842, Rivera having been driven from the field, the siege of Montevideo, which has not yet terminated, was commenced by Oribe, whose flag has been constantly within sight of the inhabitants.

Besieged by land, and blockaded by sea, the commerce of the *Banda Oriental* was paralyzed, to the detriment and ruin of the foreign as well as the native merchants. The former asked, on the part of their respective governments, an intervention in the affairs of the two republics, in order to end a war, which, while utterly ruinous to them, could, eventually, lead to no beneficial results.

Brazil, perfectly alive to the danger of allowing the influence of Rosas to cross the La Plata, took the initiative in a negotiation, whose object was to bring about an armed intervention by France and England; but, perhaps, fearing the result of a war which might dismember the Empire in the then disturbed state of the southern province of Rio Grande, took no active part in the subsequent events, in which, however, their interests and sympathies were identical with those of the Montevideans. As the two combined naval powers could not obtain the terms which they demanded from Buenos Ayres, they sent a force to assist in the defence of Montevideo, and commenced hostile operations by the capture of the island of Martin Garcia, which commands the entrance of the upper waters of La Plata, and accompanied by a large convoy of merchantmen, forced a passage up the Parana, the navigation of which had been obstinately refused by Rosas. This incursion led to the battle with the batteries at Obligado, which were abandoned by the Buenos Ayreans after a creditable—(heroic is the Buenos Ayrean term)—resistance. The greater portion, if not all the Buenos Ayrean squadron, which was utterly insignificant, when compared with that of either of their gigantic antagonists, had been captured even before the ascent of the Parana.



The English, whose signal defeats upon the occasion of an attack upon Buenos Ayres in 1806, and another in 1807, did not encourage them to attempt land operations, soon became lukewarm in the cause of the intervention, and after a protracted and unsatisfactory negotiation with France and the Government of Rosas, removed their blockading squadron in 1817, and their garrison from Montevideo in the succeeding year, at which time their armed intervention, which had been for some time previous, merely nominal, ended, and their suspended commercial relations with Buenos Ayres were practically renewed.

The French raised their blockade about the end of the year 1848, when this famous intervention, which promised, at its commencement, to exercise a powerful and lasting influence on South American politics, terminated in a manner utterly disgraceful to the political and military character of these two nations, who not only did not attain a single avowed object for which they had interfered, but appeared too happy in being permitted to recede silently and ungracefully from the lofty position which they had at first assumed. This interference in a contest between two independent states was formed into a powerful political capital by the astute Dictator of Buenos Ayres, and his able, though servile crowd of writers, who, while railing at the lawlessness of an European intervention in the affairs of the two countries, appear to have treated, that every one else might remain ignorant of the fact, that the avowed object of the war waged by Buenos Ayres against Montevideo was to reinstate at the head of the government his partizan, Oribe, who had been deposed and ejected by the people; whose original term, for which he had been elected, had long since expired, and who, meanwhile, had borne arms in the service of their enemies, against themselves and their allies.

The blockade of Montevideo, as it has never merited the name of a siege, in the military signification of the word, still continues. To the inhabitants, the present state of affairs has become a matter of custom, while their enemies have turned their cantonments into a city which is beginning to rival Monte-

video. The party of Oribe have also a port of entry near the city, to which commerce has been measurably diverted, and through which the limited products of the country are principally exported.

This, in a few words, is the history of the hostilities which have so long injured the prosperity of the republics of the La Plata, as I understand it, and which gave rise to the famous intervention of the English and French, which powerful nations, like the French king of yore,

"Marched up a hill and then marched down again ;"

having been outwitted by the diplomacy and by the sturdy obstinacy of the so-called Gaucho Governor of Buenos Ayres.

There has been, also, since the death of Francia, a *quasi* war with Paraguay, which republic Rosas insists upon as an integral portion of the Argentine Confederation, an honour to which the rulers and people do not aspire, and having an army of some twenty or 25,000 men, insist upon their independence. The argument of the Paraguayans is, in my opinion, unanswerable, although it has been obscured by the sophistries of Rosas, and the able writers in his service. After the independence of the colonies, a Congress was held, which formed the confederation known as the *United Provinces*. To this Congress Paraguay sent no deputies, preferring her independence, which she has done up to the present time, carrying it, during the Dictatorship of Dr. Francia, to a system of entire isolation, unheard of previously among nations, and equalling that now practised in Japan. These facts prove that Paraguay, after throwing off the Spanish yoke, had *de facto*, preserved her entire independence, and secondly, that she never was a member of the United Provinces, now known as the Argentine Confederation. A claim which Rosas has set up that Paraguay must be a member of the Confederation, because Buenos Ayres assisted in the achievement of her independence, is utterly futile. The provinces were at war with Spain, and made

common cause against a common enemy; and any military operations which diverted or weakened the power of the mother country, was alike advantageous to each and all. On the same principle, Buenos Ayres might claim the Chilean territory, which their forces under San Martin aided in wresting from the Spaniards, while the Columbians and Chilians might substantiate a like claim upon Peru.

A case somewhat similar to the relative positions of Paraguay and the Provinces of the Confederation, was presented in our own country after the general adoption of the present Federal Constitution. By an inherent provision in that instrument, a majority of two-thirds of the states were required to give it validity. This majority immediately concurred, but the assent of two states, Rhode Island and North Carolina, was for some time withheld. Until their accession, they were considered as foreign and independent States, and no efforts were made to coerce them, because the remaining eleven states had contributed largely to their independence.

Another question of much general importance has been mooted, during and previous to the European intervention in the affairs of the La Plata republics, and one in which all nations are more or less interested, and the Empire of Brazil in an especial manner. This, in relation to the right to the free navigation of the river Paraguay and its tributaries, which Rosas, holding as has been already suggested, the key, by the possession of the fortified island of Martin Garcia, has refused to concede to foreign flags. That nations have a perfect right to preclude foreigners from a participation in their internal navigation, and their coasting trade, has never been disputed, but when more than one nation has territory upon the banks of the same river, the case is entirely different. Each nation whose territories border upon it, have an undoubted right to the use of what ancient (Roman) writers on public law have appropriately considered as "common property."

Modern writers have termed this an imperfect right in its gen-

eral acception, but no one with whom I have met denies the actual existence of the right in a case similar to that of Brazil. The Roman writers declared rivers to be public property, and that the necessary use of the banks was incident to that of the water. "Public jurists apply this principle of the Roman civil law, to the same case between nations."\* The right to the navigation of the Scheldt was in 1648 renounced by the Belgic Provinces in favor of the Dutch. In this, as was in another instance urged by the latter, both parties were probably influenced by the fact that the navigation was in great part artificial, the river having been diked and made navigable by Hollanders. By the treaty of Vienna in 1815, the commercial navigation of rivers flowing through, or bounding different states, was declared free their entire course, subject only to an uniform system of police regulations. The rivers thus opened were the Rhine, Scheldt, Neckar, Mayne, Meuse, Moselle, Elbe, Vistula, and Po.

As, however, Rosas has pretended to sustain American principles, and American policy, the determination of our own government upon one occasion of the discussion of a similar question, cannot but be instructive and useful, especially as the natural position of the United States was nearly identical with that of Brazil in the question involving the navigation of the Paraguay, and free egress for her *fluvial* commerce.

The United States, while subject to Great Britain, were secured in the free navigation of the river Mississippi, by the treaty of 1763, between France, Spain, and the mother country, and subsequently, after the achievement of their independence, by the treaty of Paris, 1783. Spain having afterward obtained possession of both banks of that river at its mouth, and a considerable distance above, claimed the exclusive navigation, which was stoutly resisted by the government of the United States. The question was finally adjusted by the treaty of 1795, in the following words.

"Article 4.—And his Catholic Majesty has likewise agreed

\* Wheaton, Law of Nations, page 213.

that the navigation of the said river (Mississippi,) in its whole breadth, from its source to the ocean, shall be free only to his subjects, and the citizens of the United States, unless he should extend this privilege to the subjects of others powers by special convention.

*Article 22.*—And in consequence of the stipulations contained in the 4th Article, his Catholic Majesty will permit the citizens of the United States for the space of three years from this time, to deposit their merchandize and effects in the port of New Orleans, and to export them from thence, without paying any other duty than a fair price for the hire of stores. And his Majesty promises either to continue this permission, if he finds, during that time, that it is not prejudicial to the interests of Spain, or if he should not agree to continue it, then he will assign to them, on another part of the banks of the Mississippi, an equivalent establishment."

In 1803 it came to the knowledge of the government of the United States that the Governor of New Orleans had withdrawn the right of deposit, upon which a series of resolutions were introduced into the United States Senate, which may be considered a fair representation of American sentiment upon this subject.

*Resolutions of Mr. Ross, read by the Vice-President of the United States, in the Senate, on the 23d of February, 1803.*

"1. *Resolved*, That the United States have an indisputable right to the free navigation of the river Mississippi, and to a convenient place of deposit for their produce and merchandise in the island of New Orleans,

"2. That the late infraction of such, their unquestionable right, is an aggression hostile to their honour and interest.

"3. That it does not consist with the dignity or safety of this Union, to hold a right so important by a tenure so uncertain.

"4. That it materially concerns such of the American citizens as dwell on the western waters, and is essential to the union,

strength, and prosperity of these states, that they obtain complete security for the full and peaceable enjoyment of such, their absolute right.

"5. That the president be authorized to take immediate possession of such place, or places, in the said island, or the adjacent territories, as he may deem fit and convenient for the purposes aforesaid, and to adopt such other measures for obtaining that complete security as to him in wisdom shall seem meet.

"6. That he be authorized to call into actual service any number of the militia of the states of South Carolina, Georgia, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, or the Mississippi Territory, which he may think proper, not exceeding fifty thousand, and to employ them together with the military and naval forces of the Union for effecting the objects above mentioned.

"7. That the sum of five millions of dollars be appropriated to carrying into effect the foregoing resolutions; and that the whole, or any part of that sum be paid, or applied, on warrants drawn in pursuance of such directions, as the president may from time to time think proper to give to the Secretary of the Treasury."

These resolutions were most ably debated until the 28th of February, when they were rejected by a vote of fifteen to twelve, and a resolution *unanimously* carried that the President should be authorized, when he deemed it expedient, "to call out, arm, and equip, according to law, and to hold in readiness to march at a moment's warning, an army of 80,000 militia, and that an unspecified sum be appropriated to carry out the foregoing purposes during the recess of Congress, and that money be considered as appropriated to enable the president to establish one or more arsenals on our western waters."

If these resolutions, as proposed, and as finally carried, without a dissenting voice, be not considered sufficiently indicative of the American feeling upon this mooted question, the forcible arguments

of one of the orators, (Mr. White of Delaware,) may perhaps more fully exemplify it.

"You had (said that gentleman) as well attempt to dam up the mouth of the Mississippi, and say to its restless waves, ye shall cease here, and never mingle with the ocean, as to expect that they (the Western people) will be prevented from descending it. Without the free use of the river, and the necessary advantages of a deposit below our line, their country is not worth possessing; their produce must be wasted in the fields or rot in their granaries. \* \* These are rights not only guaranteed them by treaty, but given to them by the God of Nature, and they will enforce them with, or without the authority of the Government."

In relation to this discussion, the ablest modern commentator on public law remarks, that the claim of the United States was "rested by the American government on the sentiment written in deep characters on the heart of man, that the ocean is free to all men, and its rivers to all their inhabitants. This natural right was found to be universally acknowledged and protected in all tracts of country united under the same political society, by laying navigable rivers open to all their inhabitants. When these rivers enter the limits of another society, if the right of the upper inhabitants to descend the stream was in any case obstructed, it was an act of force by a stronger society against a weaker, condemned by the judgment of mankind."\*

In the instance just cited, an appeal to arms, to support the natural rights of our citizens, by the United States, did not become necessary, as the deposit was immediately restored, and the final purchase of the territory of Louisiana from France, into whose hands it had fallen through the mutations of the times, has set the question forever at rest, so far as the Mississippi is concerned.

A brief inspection of the map of South America, will explain the views which I have taken, and will elucidate the perfect right

\* Wheaton on the Law of Nations, page 249.

of Brazil, possessing vast and fertile territories upon the Parana and the upper and navigable branches of the Paraguay, to a free outlet to the ocean through the La Plata. Without it, these rich lands are almost valueless, owing to the distance from the sea, to attain which, a land journey of nearly four months is required, and the enormous expense attending land transportation through an uninhabited country, intersected only by mule paths.

The geographer and economist would doubtless have expected that a free and cheap transit to the ocean must have been secured prior to the establishment of the towns and cities found in the hydrographic basin of the Paraguay. Such is not the case. These towns, as Guyaba, the capital of Matto Grosso, were established at an early period in the colonial history of Brazil, in the vicinity of gold washings locally as productive as those recently found in California. Gold and diamonds would easily remunerate for even a tedious land transportation, but now the washings having become unproductive, these fertile frontier posts find themselves completely isolated from the sea, and the remainder of the empire, without exchangeable productions.

Judging from my own experience, attained while travelling in Brazil in 1843 and '44, and by the information obtained from persons who have visited these regions, I have no doubt that with a free outlet, they would speedily become the richest portion of the interior of the empire. A *Fluvialile squadron* is now stationed by the Imperial Government in the waters of the Upper Paraguay, as a check against the Indians and Bolivians, who have made some encroachments in that direction. But even this national force is not allowed to pass through the La Plata, and their having descended as far as Assumption in 1847, was made a subject matter of complaint by the petulant and aggressive government of Buenos Ayres. The right of egress to Paraguay is equally good as that of Brazil. Bolivia has also claimed it with justice, I cannot but think, although her case is not so clear as that of the two countries already specified.

I have been thus explicit in treating upon this subject, as much



obscurity has been thrown upon a matter perfectly clear and incontestible, by the voluminous and sophistical writers of Rosas; and as he pretends to have placed himself at the head of a party purely American in its principles, I am most happy to place before any of his partizans, who may meet this sketch, a brief account of what has been the action taken in a similar case by the greatest nation of the new world, and which must of necessity take the lead of any so termed continental party. The events of the last few years have proved too clearly how little would be, at the present day, respected by our countrymen, a pretension similar to that set up by the Governor of Buenos Ayres.

GOVERNMENT.—Allusion has already been made to the existence of two distinct political parties in Buenos Ayres, the Unitarian or Central, and the Federal. The former party is considered the most intelligent and liberal, and is composed of the educated inhabitants of the cities, while the latter is composed principally of ignorant *guachos*, of whom Rosas may be considered the leader, but not the representative. It is not, however, because this chieftain had any objections to centralizing the powers of the government, that he is not in name the Centralist, but because he availed himself, as not unfrequently occurs in representative states, of the name and physical force of the opposing party to attain power and influence.

In regard to the division of population into political parties, there is an antagonism in the position of things in the two republics of Buenos Ayres and Montevideo, which tends to elucidate the absence of a general principle in the actions of the government of the former. Oribe is, or was in Montevideo, the organ of the Conservative party, while Rivera represented the masses; yet Rosas himself, elevated by the power of the latter, has waged a tedious and cruel war to destroy in a neighbouring country the influence of the very party, to which, in Buenos Ayres, he owed his own elevation.

In 1841, by the defeat of Lavalle, the Unitarian party was

virtually destroyed, and its principal members now wander in foreign countries, to which they have been driven by the power of the Dictator. In lieu of the badge of that party, nothing is now seen in Buenos Ayres but red waistcoats, red hat bands, and devices of the Rosista party. It must not, however, be imagined that this unanimity in reality exists. It is far from being the case, and the uniformity in device and emblem is a matter of stern necessity. Many stories are told of the cruelty and outrage by which the wearing of this badge was enforced by a club of ruffians, who, in 1840 and 1841, intimidated the oppressed people of that unfortunate city. Severe corporal punishment in the street, was the result of appearing without the device, and from this punishment even women were not exempt. In 1841, I met in Montevideo, a beautiful and accomplished girl about eighteen years old, who was said to have been whipped with a leather thong on the bare back, by some members of this atrocious club, for appearing in the street without a red ribbon in her hair. That Rosas controlled and directed this club of ruffians, is asserted not only by his enemies; that he could have suppressed it at any moment, no unprejudiced person, acquainted with the power which he has at all times wielded since his accession, can possibly doubt. That he is cruel and stern beyond precedent in modern times, or that he is the tool and representative of a most savage and barbarous constituency there can be no question.

There is truth in some, if not all the imputations against him, and we are little disposed to be incredulous, when crimes and acts of tyranny and oppression are charged upon a ruler, who obliges his subjects to wear a uniform to mark their adherence to his party; who obliges men without distinction of class to wear red vests, hat-bands, and red ribbons in their button-holes, with the inscription, "Huzzah for the Argentine Confederation: Death to the savage, ruthless Unitarians;" obliges women to wear ribbons of the same color in their hair, or head-dresses, and who sanctioned the shooting a pregnant woman for adultery, not-

withstanding all efforts which were made to obtain reprieve when pardon had been refused.

In addition to these barbarisms, which disgrace the century in which they are chronicled, the sentries of Rosas, in passing the watch-word, on their posts, during the French blockade in 1838, added, "Death to the French and Admiral Le Blanc." All official documents, correspondence, and newspaper advertisements are premised by an anathema upon the unfortunate Unitarians. For example, rooms to let are thus advertised—"Viva la Confederacion Argentina Mueran los Salvages Unitarios. Rooms to let, Calle ——— No. 18." We can pity the extremes into which the creatures of the first French revolution, themselves the instruments and victims, were led by the impulses of popular frenzy; but when despotism is driven to such shifts as those enumerated, it is sufficient evidence of the barbarism of either the ruler or the ruled.

The people of the Provinces I found invariably civil and kind; and cannot but consider this anomaly of the times, as a part and portion of the system of terror and charlatanism which has distinguished this government.

The Unitarian party being, as I have already mentioned, virtually extinct, and their system crushed, we have to treat only of that established by Rosas, by courtesy termed the federal.

The Argentine Confederation, as now constituted, consists of thirteen Provinces, each nominally governed by a Provincial Assembly, and a Governor elected by the people. Of this confederation Buenos Ayres is a constituent part, and according to the constitution of the government, has no control over the internal affairs of the remaining provinces, which are deemed entirely independent. In theory, therefore, the Argentine Confederation is essentially Federal; but between the theory and practice, there is a marked and curious difference. By some understanding, rather implied than expressed, as I understand it, Rosas has been encharged with the exterior relations of the Confederation; and upon the strength of this position, he not only conducts without question or responsibility

the external intercourse, but rules the federal and independent provinces with a rigidity, which is equalled by no other modern despotism. It would be amusing to observe the difference between the professions of the Government of Buenos Ayres, which have deceived so many foreigners, and the facts as they really exist, were it not a melancholy spectacle to see a nation so perfectly submissive to the illegal exactions of one man in possession of a physical and moral force of which he has at no time shown an indisposition to avail himself. The descendants of the Spaniards in America, are generally factious and revolutionary; but in the Argentine Provinces their spirit seems utterly crushed by oppression; and that liberty, in whose name were in former times committed so many outrages in this beautiful land, they dare no longer invoke, even in their prayers, fearful that the spirits of the air, may translate it to the jealous ears of their stern rulers.

In accordance with the theory of the federal constitution, all the states of the confederation possess equal rights, while their rulers possess equal power and dignity. That this is not the case is proved by all the official acts of Rosas. As the inhabitants of all the provinces consume foreign products, they pay, of course, a duty proportionable to the amount consumed, and their governments are entitled to a just proportion of such duties to contribute to their support. In the face of this self-evident principle, the Buenos Ayrean government appropriates to its own use all the duties received through this, the only commercial port of the confederation. So far, therefore, as commerce is concerned, they are independent states cut off from the sea-board by a foreign power. On the other hand each province must support its government from resources within itself, which accounts for the transit duties so ruinous to commerce, which are levied on merchandise in passing from one to the other. To pretend that the provinces agree to this arrangement, is like the assumption that all the people of Buenos Ayres, many of whom even now lament slain and exiled kindred, are all admirers of Rosas and

his policy, because they wear *red vests* and the *divisa*. They have the knife at their throats, and cannot help themselves.

The Buenos Ayrean government appears to believe that bloody anathemas against the Unitarians has also chained the spirit of investigation among all people, and that the sophistries of which it avails itself to convince the ignorant brute power, which is the machinery by which they control, and the servile crowd who have been persecuted into an involuntary submission, will be considered equally valid among foreigners. All the diplomatic correspondence in which the government appears advantageously is carefully published in the Spanish, English and French languages, and most assiduously promoted. The message of Rosas, in English, was presented to me in Santiago, during my stay, by an admirer or agent of the Dictator, who appeared to have a large supply of similar documents.

I regret exceedingly that now, having arrived at this point of my sketch, I should not be able to lay my hands upon this curious paper in order to compare contradictory statements on its face, and enable the reader to appreciate the force of my assertion, "out of thine own mouth do I condemn thee."

In one portion of the message the Governor congratulates the representatives upon the utter extinction of the Unitarians, whose remnants are lingering out a miserable existence in foreign countries.\* And afterward, in referring to dissatisfaction in some of the Provinces, he attributes it to the intrigues of the "ruthless Unitarians." Alluding to a revolution in Mendoza, he informs the representatives of Buenos Ayres that he had disapproved the conduct of the Governor of San Luis, for not sending troops to the assistance of the Governor of that Province, and approved that of San Juan, which did so. And again, upon the occasion of an attempted revolution in San Luis, the Governor of Mendoza received a similar reprimand. Rosas had determined to destroy the organization of the Society of Jesus, and did in effect banish

\* It will be recollected, that quoting from memory, I do not pretend to give the exact words, but only the sense of the points to which I refer.

them from Buenos Ayres. Two retired to Cordova, where the influence of Rosas followed them, and a document reached the Government, suggesting in that impressive manner which characterizes an arbitrary authority, that they should be banished. The latter submissively replied, that it was its desire to anticipate the wishes of the Government of Buenos Ayres, and that measures had already been taken, and the Jesuit fathers had secularized; and that being *old men*, it was hoped that the action already taken would be deemed sufficient in the premises. It did not prove so, and this he was informed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Rosas—for, be it known, he never condescends to correspond directly with his fellow Governors—and in reply, His Excellency of Cordova, with numerous protestations, assures the Dictator that the superannuated Jesuits had been banished from his Province and from the territories of the Confederation.

I mention these incidents in the message from recollection, and merely to show the difference which exists between the *professions* and the *acts* of the Governor of Buenos Ayres.

The civility extended to foreigners in Buenos Ayres, especially those holding official positions, has blinded too many of them to the faults and weaknesses of Rosas' Government. Many, too, while acknowledging that it is an unmitigated despotism, contend that the people being naturally factious, require a severe ruler. This argument I will not attempt to refute. The experience of the South American Republics, with the exception of Chili, has been most unfortunate, and others can decide for themselves whether the freedom from absolute anarchy is compensated by the rule of a single tyrant, whose personal views have brought about a continual state of war, which in a high degree retards the development of the resources of the country.

In regard to the war with Montevideo, Rosas is doubtless influenced by a desire for the advancement of his own country, as well as by a desire for the security of his own life and position, which depends upon his retaining the *prestige* and physical power which accompanies sovereignty. The rival city of La Plata is

the natural and convenient outlet of the products of the Pampas, and its prosperity is coterminous with the retardation of Buenos Ayres. A rivalry has for this reason always existed between them. Possession of that city would be less advantageous to Rosas than to blockade either by land or sea; whereas the existence of war between the two republics affords him a valid excuse for keeping on foot an army of some ten thousand men, available to support his authority against the attempts of his numerous internal enemies.

Of Rosas I know nothing personally; but his acts prove him in a high degree astute and cunning, while his obstinacy and power of endurance is wonderful.

Of his private character little can be known, owing to his general habits of seclusion; but it would appear that among his adherents, and even in the presence of foreigners, he is familiar and playful, even to buffoonery, and delights in playing ludicrous tricks upon his guests and confidants. It is also equally certain that this buffoonery, which appears ill placed and undignified in a person of his age, to say nothing of his exalted position, frequently masks deep-laid and important designs. In brief, it is my opinion that while his career has been a mixture of cruelty, outrage, charlatanry and imposture, he is one of the most, perhaps the most remarkable man of his age.

In what I have written, I am far from being actuated by a spirit of pique or personal hostility.

Rosas I have never seen, while from many of his employées I received kindness and attention, of which I have a most grateful remembrance. Yet this fact I do not consider a reason, why in pretending to write a sketch of a country, I should gloss over or suppress the faults of administration and imposture which are presented to the world, and are consequently liable to criticism.

Too much delicacy has been already shown by travellers and others towards this Government, which employs numerous and able writers in almost every country to denounce its enemies and laud its own measures; and I believe that those who wish correct

information, will consider that little forbearance in criticism is merited by a Government whose official acts go forth with the anathema,

“DEATH TO THE SAVAGE UNITARIANS!” \*

\* The above Chapter was written when Rosas was in the zenith of his prosperity.

He has since fallen, and opinions relative to his conduct and administration may be fearlessly expressed, yet I feel disinclined to add to what has been already written.

Any deficiency which may be felt will doubtless soon be supplied, as there will be no want of writers to assail the dead Lion.



## ERRATA.

- Page 15, line 15, for "they" read "he."  
Page 47, line 4, for "Valdina" read "Valdivia."  
Page 80, line 27, for "ereole" read "creole."  
Page 91, line 24, comma (,) for colon. (:)  
Page 102, line 17, for "these" read "their."  
Page 107, line 33, for "Boliva" read "Bolivia."  
Page 113, line 2, for "Danvin" read "Darwin."  
Page 199, line 25, for "of," read "for."  
Page 206, line 9, for "*pasco*," read "*paseo*."  
Page 222, line 9, for "*reveuons*," read *revenons*."  
Page 224, line 27, for "was" read "were."  
Page 256, line 25, for "Mono" read "Moro."

