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**Additions And Corrections To The Former Editions Of Dr.
Robertson's History Of America**

Robertson, William

London, 1788

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A D D I T I O N S
AND
C O R R E C T I O N S
TO
THE FORMER EDITIONS
OF
Dr. ROBERTSON'S
HISTORY OF AMERICA.

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

TO

THE FORMER EDITIONS

OF

Dr. ROBERTSON'S HISTORY of AMERICA.

[*These Additions refer to the QUARTO EDITION printed in 1778.*]

VOL. I. Page xvii. line 4, at the End of the Preface, add,

SINCE this edition was put into the press, a History of Mexico, in two volumes in quarto, translated from the Italian of the Abbé D. Francesco Saverio Clavigero, has been published. From a person, who is a native of New Spain, who has resided forty years in that country, and who is acquainted with the Mexican language, it was natural to expect much new information. Upon perusing his work, however, I find that it contains hardly any addition to the ancient History of the Mexican empire, as related by Acofta and Herrera, but what is derived from the improbable narratives and fanciful conjectures of Torquemada and Boturini. Having copied their splendid descriptions of the high state of civilization in the Mexican empire, he, in the abundance of his zeal for the honour of his native country, charges me with

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having



ADDITIONS, &c. TO DR. ROBERTSON'S

having mistaken some points, and with having misrepresented others, in the History of it. When an Author is conscious of having exerted industry in research and impartiality in decision, he may, without presumption, claim what praise is due to these qualities; and he cannot be insensible to any accusation that tends to weaken the force of his claim. A feeling of this kind has induced me to examine such strictures of M. Clavigero on my History of America as merited any attention, especially as these are made by one who seemed to possess the means of obtaining accurate information; and to shew that the greater part of them is destitute of any just foundation. This I have done in notes upon the passages in my History, which gave rise to his criticisms.

COLLEGE of EDINBURGH,
MARCH 1st, 1788.

VOL. I. Page 242, line 4, at the Word America, add the following Note:

M. CLAVIGERO censures me for having represented the Spaniards who sailed with Cordova and Grijalva, as fancying, in the warmth of their imagination, that they saw cities on the coast of Yucutan adorned with towers and *cupolas*. I know not what translation of my History he has consulted (for his quotation from it is not taken from the original), but I never imagined that any building erected by Americans could suggest the idea of a cupola or dome, a structure which their utmost skill in architecture was incapable of rearing. My words are, that they fancied the villages which they saw from their ships "to be cities adorned with towers and pinacles." By *pinacles* I meant some elevation above the rest of the building; and the passage is translated



lated almost literally from Herrera, Dec. ii. lib. iii. c. 1. In almost all the accounts of new countries given by the Spanish discoverers in that age, this warmth of admiration is conspicuous; and led them to describe those new objects in the most splendid terms. When Cordova and his companions first beheld an Indian village of greater magnitude than any they had beheld in the islands, they dignified it with the name of *Grand Cairo*. B. Diaz, c. 2. From the same cause Grijalva and his associates thought the country along the coast of which they held their course, entitled to the name of New Spain.

VOL. I. Page 276, line 13, delete the paragraph beginning the Islands of this New Archipelago, &c. and insert in its room,

THOUGH the islands of this New Archipelago have been frequented since that time by the Russian hunters, the court of St. Peterburgh, during a period of more than forty years, seems to have relinquished every thought of prosecuting discoveries in that quarter. But in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-eight, it was unexpectedly resumed. The Sovereign, who had been lately seated on the throne of Peter the Great, possessed the genius and talents of her illustrious predecessor. During the operations of the most arduous and extensive war in which the Russian empire was ever engaged, she formed schemes and executed undertakings, to which more limited abilities would have been incapable of attending but amidst the leisure of pacific times. A new voyage of discovery from the eastern extremity of Asia was planned, and Captain Krenitzin and Lieutenant Levassheff were appointed to command the two vessels fitted out for that purpose. In their voyage outward they held nearly the same

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course



course with the former navigators, they touched at the same islands, observed their situation and productions more carefully, and discovered several new islands, with which Behring and Tschirikow had not fallen in. Though they did not proceed so far to the east as to revisit the country which Behring and Tschirikow supposed to be part of the American continent, yet, by returning in a course considerably to the north of theirs, they corrected some capital mistakes into which their predecessors had fallen, and have contributed to facilitate the progress of future navigators in those seas.

VOL. I. Page 278, line 3, delete from the word vanish, to the end of the paragraph, and insert as follows:

WHAT could be offered only as a conjecture when this History was first published, is now known to be certain. The near approach of the two continents to each other, has been discovered and traced in a voyage undertaken upon principles so pure and so liberal, and conducted with so much professional skill, as reflect lustre upon the reign of the Sovereign by whom it was planned, and do honour to the officers entrusted with the execution of it.

OUR knowledge of the vicinity of the two continents of Asia and America, which was very imperfect when I published the History of America in the year 1777, is now complete. Mr. Coxe's Account of the Russian Discoveries between Asia and America, printed in the year 1780, contains many curious and important facts with respect to the various attempts of the Russians to open a communication with the New World. The history of the great Voyage of discovery, begun by Captain Cook in 1776,
and

and completed by Captains Clerke and Gore, published in the year 1780, communicates all the information that the curiosity of mankind could desire with regard to this subject.

AT my request, my friend Mr. Playfair, Professor of Mathematics in the University of Edinburgh, has compared the narrative and charts of those illustrious navigators, with the more imperfect relations and maps of the Russians. The result of this comparison I communicate in his own words, with much greater confidence in his scientific accuracy, than I could have ventured to place in any observations which I myself might have made upon the subject.

“ THE discoveries of Captain Cook in his last voyage have confirmed the conclusions which Dr. Robertson had drawn, and have connected together the facts from which they were deduced. They have now rendered it certain that Behring and Tschirikow touched on the coast of America in 1741. The former discovered land in lat. $58^{\circ} 28'$ and about 236° east from Ferro. He has given such a description of the bay in which he anchored, and the high mountain to the westward of it, which he calls St. Elias, that though the account of his voyage is much abridged in the English translation, Captain Cook recognized the place as he sailed along the western coast of America in the year 1778. The isle of St. Hermogenes, near the mouth of Cook's river, Schumagins Isles on the coast of Alashka, and Foggy Isle, retain in Captain Cook's chart the names which they had received from the Russian navigator. Cook's Voy. vol. ii. p. 347.

“ Tschirikow came upon the same coast about $2^{\circ} 30'$ farther south than Behring, near the Mount Edgecumbe of Captain Cook.

“ WITH



" WITH regard to Krenitzin, we learn from Coxe's Account of the Russian Discoveries, that he sailed from the mouth of the Kamtschatka river with two ships in the year 1768. With his own ship he reached the island Oonolashka, in which there had been a Russian settlement since the year 1762, where he wintered, probably in the same harbour or bay where Captain Cook afterwards anchored. The other ship wintered at Alashka, which was supposed to be an island, though it be in fact a part of the American continent. Krenitzin, accordingly, returned, without knowing that either of his ships had been on the coast of America; and this is the more surprising, because Captain Cook has informed us, that Alashka is understood to be a great continent both by the Russians and the natives at Oonolashka.

" ACCORDING to Krenitzin, the ship which had wintered at Alashka had hardly sailed 32° to the eastward of the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul in Kamtschatka; but, according to the more accurate charts of Captain Cook, it had sailed no less than $37^{\circ} 17'$ to the eastward of that harbour. There is nearly the same mistake of 5° in the longitude which Krenitzin assigns to Oonolashka. It is remarkable enough, that in the chart of those seas, put into the hands of Captain Cook by the Russians on that island, there was an error of the same kind, and very nearly of the same extent.

" BUT what is of most consequence to be remarked on this subject is, that the discoveries of Captain Cook have fully verified Dr. Robertson's conjecture, " that it is probable that future navigators in those seas, by steering farther to the north than Behring and Tschirikow or Krenitzin had done, may find that the continent of America approaches still nearer to that of Asia." Vol. i. p. 277. It has accordingly been found that these two continents, which in the parallel of 55° , or that of the southern extremity of Alashka,
are

are about four hundred leagues asunder, approach continually to one another as they stretch together toward the north, until, within less than a degree from the polar circle, they are terminated by two Capes, only thirteen leagues distant. The east cape of Asia is in latitude $66^{\circ} 6'$, and in longitude $190^{\circ} 22'$ east from Greenwich; the western extremity of America, or Prince of Wales Cape, is in latitude $65^{\circ} 46'$, and in longitude $191^{\circ} 45'$. Nearly in the middle of the narrow strait (Behring's Strait) which separates these capes, are the two islands of St. Diomedé, from which both continents may be seen. Captain King informs us, that as he was sailing through this strait July 5, 1779, the fog having cleared away, he enjoyed the pleasure of seeing from the ship the continents of Asia and America at the same moment, together with the islands of St. Diomedé lying between them. Cook's Voy. vol. iii. p. 244.

“BEYOND this point the strait opens towards the Arctic Sea, and the coasts of Asia and America diverge so fast from one another, that in the parallel of 69° they are more than one hundred leagues asunder. Id. p. 277. To the south of the strait there are a number of islands, Clerk's, King's, Anderson's, &c. which, as well as those of St. Diomedé, may have facilitated the migrations of the natives from the one continent to the other. Captain Cook, however, on the authority of the Russians at Oonolashka, and for other good reasons, has diminished the number of islands which had been inserted in former charts of the northern Archipelago. He has also placed Alashka, or the promontory which stretches from the continent of America S. W. towards Kamtschatka, at the distance of five degrees of longitude farther from the coast of Asia than it was reckoned by the Russian navigators.

“THE geography of the Old and the New World is therefore equally indebted to the discoveries made in this memorable voyage;



voyage; and as many errors have been corrected, and many deficiencies supplied, by means of these discoveries, so the accuracy of some former observations has been established. The basis of the map of the Russian empire, as far as regarded Kamtschatka, and the country of the Tschutzki, was the position of four places, Yakutsh, Ochotz, Bolchereft, and Petropawloski, which had been determined by the astronomer Kraffilnicow in the year 1744. Nov. Comment. Petrop. vol. iii. p. 465, &c. But the accuracy of his observations was contested by M. Engel, and M. Robert de Vaugondy; Coxe Append. 1. No. 2. p. 267, 272; and the former of these geographers ventured to take away no less than 28 degrees from the longitude, which, on the faith of Kraffilnicow's observations, was assigned to the eastern boundary of the Russian empire. With how little reason this was done, will appear from considering that our British navigators, having determined the position of Petropawloski by a great number of very accurate observations, found the longitude of that port $158^{\circ} 43'$ E. from Greenwich, and its latitude $53^{\circ} 1'$; agreeing, the first to less than seven minutes, and the second to less than half a minute, with the calculations of the Russian astronomer: a coincidence which, in the situation of so remote a place, does not leave an uncertainty of more than four English miles, and which, for the credit of science, deserves to be particularly remarked. The chief error in the Russian maps has been in not extending the boundaries of that empire sufficiently towards the east. For as there was nothing to connect the land of the Tschutzki and the north-east point of Asia with those places whereof the position had been carefully ascertained, except the imperfect accounts of Behring's and Synd's voyages, considerable errors could not fail to be introduced, and that point was laid down as not more than $23^{\circ} 2'$ east of the meridian of Petropawloski.

tropawloski. Coxe App. i. No. 2. By the observations of Captain King, the difference of longitude between Petropawloski and the East Cape is $31^{\circ} 9'$; that is $8^{\circ} 7'$ greater than it was supposed to be by the Russian geographers.—It is probable that this interesting portion of geographical knowledge will, in the course of a few years, receive farther improvement. Soon after the publication of Captain Cook's last voyage, the great and enlightened Sovereign of Russia, attentive to every thing that may contribute to extend the bounds of science, or to render it more accurate, formed the plan of a new voyage of discovery, in order to explore those parts of the ocean lying between Asia and America, which Captain Cook did not visit; to examine more accurately the islands which stretch from one continent almost to the other; to survey the north-east coast of the Russian empire, from the mouth of the Kovyma, or Kolyma, to the North Cape; and to settle, by astronomical observations, the position of each place worth notice. The conduct of this important enterprise is committed to Captain Billings, an English officer in the Russian service, of whose abilities for that station it will be deemed the best evidence, that he accompanied Captain Cook in his last voyage. To render the expedition more extensively useful, an eminent naturalist is appointed to attend Captain Billings. Six years will be requisite for accomplishing the purposes of the voyage. Coxe's Supplement to Russian Discoveries, p. 27, &c."

VOL. I. Page 402, line ult. after the words against them, add,

IN consequence of this, he feels the knowledge which he possesses, and the efforts which he makes, and either in deliberation or action rests on himself alone.

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VOL. I. Page 423, line 9, after Senegal, p. 176, add,

THE Periplus of Hanno has been translated, and every point with respect to it has been illustrated, with much learning and ingenuity, in a work published by Don Pedr. Rodrig. Campomanes, entitled, *Auligüe dad Maritima de Cartago, con el Periplo de su General Hannon traducido è ilustrado.* Mad. 1756. 4to.

VOL. I. Page 448, line 5, after feet, add, no less than seven thousand one hundred and two feet above the highest mountain in the antient continent.

VOL. I. Page 466, line 6, after Introd. p. 26, add,

M. DOBRIZHOFFER, a Jesuit, who resided eighteen years in Paraguay, and who had seen great numbers of the various tribes which inhabit the countries situated upon the Straits of Magellan, confirms, in every point, the testimony of his brother missionary Falkner. Dobrizhoffer enters into some detail with respect to the opinions of several authors concerning the state of the Patagonians. Having mentioned the reports of some early travellers with regard to the extraordinary size of some bones found on that coast, which were supposed to be human; and having endeavoured to shew that these bones belonged to some large marine or land animal, he concludes, "de hisce ossibus crede quicquid libuerit, dummodo, me suasore, Patagones pro gigantibus desinas habere." *Historia de Abissonibus*, vol. ii. p. 19, &c.

VOL. I. Page 471, line 10, delete the sentence beginning I have observed, &c. and ending in their make, line 12.; and insert in its room,

DOBRIZHOFFER, the last traveller, I know, who has resided among any tribe of the ruder Americans, has explained so fully the various reasons which have induced their women to suckle their children long, and never to undertake such as were feeble or distorted, and even to destroy a considerable number of their offspring, as to throw great light on the observations I have made, p. 298. Hist. de Abissonibus, vol. ii. p. 107. 221.

VOL. II. Page 32, line 3, delete from With this view, &c. to the words, royal authority, line 17, and insert in its room,

WITH this view he persuaded the magistrates of the colony at Vera Cruz to address a letter to the king, the chief object of which was to justify their own conduct in establishing a colony independent on the jurisdiction of Velasquez. In order to accomplish this, they endeavoured to detract from his merit, in fitting out the two former armaments under Cordova and Grijalva, affirming that these had been equipped by the adventurers who engaged in the expeditions, and not by the governor. They contend that the sole object of Velasquez was to trade or barter with the natives, not to attempt the conquest of New Spain, or to settle a colony there. They assert that Cortes and the officers who served under him had defrayed the greater part of the expence in fitting out the armament. On this account, they humbly requested their sovereign to ratify what they had done in his name,

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and



and to confirm Cortes in the supreme command by his royal commission. That Charles might be induced to grant more readily what they demanded, they gave him a pompous description of the country which they had discovered; of its riches, the number of its inhabitants, their civilization and arts; they relate the progress which they had already made in annexing some parts of the country situated on the sea-coast to the crown of Castile; and mention the schemes which they had formed, as well as the hopes which they entertained, of reducing the whole to subjection.

IN this letter it is asserted, that though a considerable number of Spaniards had been wounded in their various encounters with the people of Tabasco, not one of them died, and all had recovered in a very short time. This seems to confirm what I observe in p. 263, concerning the imperfection of the offensive weapons used by the Americans. In this letter, the human sacrifices offered by the Mexicans to their deities are described minutely, and with great horror; some of the Spaniards, it is said, had been eye-witnesses of those barbarous rites. To the letter is subjoined a catalogue and description of the presents sent to the emperor. That published by Gomara, Chron. c. 29. seems to have been copied from it. Pet. Martyr describes many of the articles in his treatise *De infulis nuper inventis*, p. 354, &c.

VOL. II. *Page 54, line 18, for Tezeuco, read Tepeaca, and add the following note:*

I AM indebted to M. Clavigero for correcting an error of importance in my description of Mexico. From the east, where Tezeuco was situated, there was no causeway, as I have observed;



and yet by some inattention on my part, or on that of the printer, in all the former editions one of the causeways was said to lead to Tezeuco. M. Clavigero's measurement of the length of these causeways, differs somewhat from that which I have adopted from F. Torribio. Clavig. ii. p. 72.

VOL. II. Page 92, line 6, at the word country, add the following note:

M. CLAVIGERO has censured me with asperity for relating this gallant action of the two Mexicans, and for supposing that there were battlements round the temple of Mexico. I related the attempt to destroy Cortes, on the authority of Her. dec. 2. lib. x. c. 9. and of Torquemada, lib. iv. c. 69. I followed them likewise in supposing the uppermost platform of the temple to be encompassed by a battlement or rail.

VOL. II. Page 114, line 4, for Tezeuco on the east side of the lake, read Tepeaca on the north side of the lake.

VOL. II. Page 128, line 6, delete from But for some reason, &c. to the words, two years, line 25, and insert as follows:

BUT as his general would not grant his suit, and he expected greater justice from his sovereign, whom he knew to be a good judge and a generous rewarder of merit, he quitted India abruptly, and returned to Lisbon. In order to induce Emanuel to listen more favourably to his claim, he not only stated his past services, but offered to add to them by conducting his countrymen



men to the Molucca or Spice Islands, by holding a westerly course; which he contended would be both shorter and less hazardous than that which the Portuguese now followed by the Cape of Good Hope, through the immense extent of the Eastern Ocean. This was the original and favourite project of Columbus, and Magellan founded his hopes of success on the ideas of that great navigator, confirmed by many observations, the result of his own naval experience, as well as that of his countrymen in their intercourse with the East. But though the Portuguese monarchs had the merit of having first awakened and encouraged the spirit of discovery in that age, it was their destiny, in the course of a few years, to reject two grand schemes for this purpose, the execution of which would have been attended with a great accession of glory to their reigns, and of power to their kingdom. In consequence of some ill-founded prejudice against Magellan, or of some dark intrigue which contemporary historians have not explained, Emanuel would neither bestow the recompence which he demanded, nor approve of the scheme which he proposed; and dismissed him with a disdainful coldness, intolerable to a man conscious of what he deserved, and animated with the sanguine hopes of success peculiar to those who are capable of forming or of conducting new and great undertakings. In a transport of resentment, Magellan formally renounced his allegiance to an ungrateful master, and fled to the court of Castile, where he expected that his talents would be more justly estimated. He endeavoured to recommend himself by offering to execute, under the patronage of Spain, that scheme, which he had laid before the court of Portugal, the accomplishment of which, he knew, would wound the monarch against whom he was exasperated in the most tender part. In order to establish the justness of his theory,



theory, he produced the same arguments which he had employed at Lisbon; acknowledging, at the same time, that the undertaking was both arduous and expensive, as it could not be attempted but with a squadron of considerable force, and victualled for at least two years.

VOL. II. Page 271, line 23, at the words Spanish writers, add the following note:

IN the first edition, I observed that in consequence of the destruction of the ancient Mexican paintings, occasioned by the zeal of Zummaraga, whatever knowledge they might have conveyed was *entirely* lost. Every candid reader must have perceived that the expression was inaccurate; as in a few lines afterwards I mention some ancient paintings to be still extant. M. Clavigero, not satisfied with laying hold of this inaccuracy, which I corrected in the subsequent editions, labours to render it more glaring, by the manner in which he quotes the remaining part of the sentence. He reprehends with great asperity the account which I give of the scanty materials for writing the ancient history of Mexico. Vol. I. Account of Writers, p. xxvi. V. II. 380. My words, however, are almost the same with those of Torquemada, who seems to have been better acquainted with the ancient monuments of the Mexicans than any Spanish author whose works I have seen. Lib. xiv. c. 6. M. Clavigero himself gives a description of the destruction of ancient paintings in almost the same terms I have used; and mentions, as an additional reason of their being so small a number of ancient paintings known to the Spaniards, that the natives have become so solicitous to preserve and conceal them, that it is "difficult, if not impossible, to make them
part



part with one of them." Vol. I. 407. II. 194. No point can be more ascertained than that few of the Mexican historical paintings have been preserved. Though several Spaniards have carried on enquiries into the antiquities of the Mexican empire, no engravings from Mexican paintings have been communicated to the public, except those by Purchas, Gemelli Carreri, and Lorenzana. It affords me some satisfaction, that in the course of my researches I have discovered two collections of Mexican paintings which were unknown to former inquirers. The cut which I published is an exact copy of the original, and gives no high idea of the progress which the Mexicans had made in the art of painting. I cannot conjecture what could induce M. Clavigero to express some dissatisfaction with me for having published it without the same colours it has in the original painting, p. xxix. He might have recollected, that neither Purchas, nor Gemelli Carreri, nor Lorenzana, thought it necessary to colour the prints which they have published, and they have never been censured on that account. He may rest assured, that though the colours in the paintings in the Imperial Library are remarkably bright, they are laid on without art, and without "any of that regard to light and shade, or the rules of perspective," which M. Clavigero requires, Vol. II. 378. If the public express any desire to have the seven paintings still in my possession engraved, I am ready to communicate them. The print published by Gemelli Carreri, of the route of the ancient Mexicans when they travelled towards the lake on which they built the capital of their empire, Churchill, Vol. IV. p. 481, is the most finished monument of art brought from the New World, and yet a very slight inspection of it will satisfy every one, that the annals of a nation conveyed in this manner must be very meagre and imperfect.



fabrick. As they were both at Madrid in their public character, when the first edition of the History of America was published, I thought it improper at that time to mention their names. Did their decision concerning a matter of taste, or their testimony concerning a point of fact, stand in need of confirmation, I might produce the evidence of an intelligent traveller, who, in describing the royal cabinet of Madrid, takes notice that it contains "specimens of Mexican and Peruvian utensils, vases, &c. in earthen-ware, wretched both in taste and execution." Dillon's Travels through Spain, p. 77. As Gage composed his *Survey of New Spain* with all the zeal and acrimony of a new convert, I have paid little regard to his testimony with respect to points relating to religion. But as he resided in several provinces in New Spain, which travellers seldom visit, and as he seems to have observed their manners and laws with an intelligent eye, I have availed myself of his information with respect to matters where religious opinion could have little influence. Correal I have seldom quoted, and never rested upon his evidence alone. The station in which Ibagnez was employed in America, as well as the credit given to his veracity by printing his *Regno Jesuitico* among the large collection of documents published (as I believe by authority) at Madrid, A. D. 1767, justifies me for appealing to his authority.

VOL. II. Page 319, line 11, after the word commodious, add as follows:

IT was a capital object of Roman policy to open a communication with all the provinces of their extensive empire, by means of those roads which are justly considered as one of
the



the noblest monuments both of their wisdom and their power. But during the long reign of barbarism, the Roman roads were neglected or destroyed; and at the time when the Spaniards entered Peru, no kingdom in Europe could boast of any work of public utility that could be compared with the great roads formed by the Incas.

VOL. II. Page 429, line 17, delete the sentence beginning *But notwithstanding this general corruption, &c. and ending American dominions, line 24, and insert in its room,*

BUT notwithstanding this general corruption in the colonies of Spain, and the diminution of the income belonging to the public, occasioned by the illicit importations made by foreigners, as well as by the various frauds of which the colonists themselves are guilty in their commerce with the parent state, the Spanish monarchs receive a very considerable revenue from their American dominions.

VOL. II. Page 432, line 28, delete from *The salaries, &c. to the end of the paragraph, and insert what follows:*

THE salaries fixed by law are indeed extremely moderate; that of the viceroy of Peru is only thirty thousand ducats; and that of the viceroy of Mexico, twenty thousand ducats. Of late they have been raised to forty thousand.



VOL. II. Page 476, line 3, delete from But his catalogue, &c. to the words ignorant captors, page 383, line 5, and insert in its room,

BUT his catalogue of Mexican maps, paintings, tribute-rolls, calendars, &c. is much larger than one could have expected. Unfortunately a ship, in which he had sent a considerable part of them to Europe, was taken by an English privateer during the war between Great Britain and Spain which commenced in the year 1739; and it is probable that they perished by falling into the hands of ignorant captors.

VOL. II. Page 479, line 6, after c. 19, add as follows :

EVEN M. Clavigero acknowledges that all the Mexican temples were solid structures, or earthen mounts, and of consequence cannot be considered as any evidence of their having made any considerable progress in the art of building. Clavig. II. 207.

VOL. II. Page 482, line 1, after landed there, add as follows :

THIS reasoning is just. If the number of victims in all the provinces of New Spain had been so great, not only must population have been prevented from increasing, but the human race must have been exterminated in a short time. For besides the waste of the species by such numerous sacrifices, it is ob-
6 fervable,

fervable, that wherever the fate of captives taken in war, is either certain death or perpetual slavery, as men can gain nothing by submitting speedily to an enemy, they always resist to the uttermost, and war becomes bloody and destructive to the last degree.

VOL. II. Page 492, line ult. after the word people, add as follows :

IT is remarkable that Torquemada, who wrote his *Monarquia Indiana* about the year 1612, reckons the inhabitants of Mexico at that time to be only 7000 Spaniards and 8000 Indians. Lib. iii. c. 26.

VOL. II. Page 502, line 24, after the words penes me, add as follows :

M. CLAVIGERO has contradicted what I have related concerning the ecclesiastical state of the Indians, particularly their exclusion from the sacrament of the Eucharist, and from holy orders, either as Seculars or Regulars, in such a manner as cannot fail to make a deep impression. He, from his own knowledge, asserts, " that in New Spain not only are Indians permitted to partake of the sacrament of the altar, but that Indian priests are so numerous that they may be counted by hundreds ; and among these have been many hundreds of rectors, canons, and doctors, and, as report goes, even a very learned bishop. At present, there are many priests, and not a few rectors, among whom there have been three or four our own pupils." Vol. II. 348, &c. I owe it therefore as a duty to the public,



public, as well as to myself, to consider each of these points with care, and to explain the reasons which induced me to adopt the opinion which I have published.

I KNEW that in the Christian church there is no distinction of persons, but that men of every nation who embrace the religion of Jesus, are equally entitled to every Christian privilege which they are qualified to receive. I knew, likewise, that an opinion prevailed not only among most of the Spanish laity settled in America, but among "many ecclesiastics (I use the words of Herrera, dec. ii. lib. ii. c. 15.), that the Indians were not perfect or rational men, and were not possessed of such capacity as qualified them to partake of the sacrament of the altar, or of any other benefit of our religion." It was against this opinion that Las Casas contended with the laudable zeal which I have described in Books III. and VI. But as the Bishop of Darien, Doctor Sepulveda, and other respectable ecclesiastics, vigorously supported the common opinion concerning the incapacity of the Indians, it became necessary, in order to determine the point, that the authority of the Holy See should be interposed; and accordingly Paul III. issued a bull A. D. 1537, in which, after condemning the opinion of those who held that the Indians, as being on a level with brute beasts, should be reduced to servitude, he declares that they were really men, and as such were capable of embracing the Christian religion, and participating of all its blessings. My account of this bull, notwithstanding the cavils of M. Clavigero, must appear just to every person who takes the trouble of perusing it; and my account is the same with that adopted by Torquemada, lib. xvi. c. 25. and by Garcia, Orig. p. 311. But even after this decision, so low did the Spaniards residing in America rate the capacity of the natives, that the first council of Lima (I call it by that name on the authority
of

of the best Spanish authors) discountenanced the admission of Indians to the holy communion. Torquem. lib. xvi. c. 20. In New Spain, the exclusion of Indians from the sacrament was still more explicit. Ibid. After two centuries have elapsed, and notwithstanding all the improvement that the Indians may be supposed to have derived from their intercourse with the Spaniards during that period, we are informed by D. Ant. Ulloa, that in Peru, where, as will appear in the sequel of this note, they are supposed to be better instructed than in New Spain, their ignorance is so prodigious, that very few are permitted to communicate, as being altogether destitute of the requisite capacity. Voy. I. 341, &c. Solorz. Polit. Ind. I. 203.

WITH respect to the exclusion of Indians from the priesthood, either as Seculars or Regulars, we may observe, that while it continued to be the common opinion, that the natives of America, on account of their incapacity, should not be permitted to partake of the holy sacrament, we cannot suppose that they would be clothed with that sacred character which entitled to consecrate and to dispense it. When Torquemada composed his *Monarquia Indiana*, it was almost a century after the conquest of New Spain; and yet in his time, it was still the general practice to exclude Indians from holy orders. Of this we have the most satisfying evidence. Torquemada having celebrated the virtues and graces of the Indians at great length, and with all the complacency of a missionary, he starts as an objection to what he had asserted, "If the Indians really possess all the excellent qualities which you have described, why are they not permitted to assume the religious habit? Why are they not ordained priests and bishops, as the Jewish and Gentile converts were in the primitive church, especially as they might be employed with such superior advantage to other persons in the instruction of their countrymen?" Lib. xvii. c. 13.

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IN answer to this objection, which establishes, in the most unequivocal manner, what was the general practice at that period, Torquemada observes, that although by their natural dispositions the Indians are well fitted for a subordinate situation, they are destitute of all the qualities requisite in any station of dignity and authority; and that they are in general so addicted to drunkenness, that, upon the slightest temptation, one cannot promise on their behaving with the decency suitable to the clerical character. The propriety of excluding them from it, on these accounts, was, he observed, so well justified by experience, that when a foreigner of great erudition, who came from Spain, condemned the practice of the Mexican church, he was convinced of his mistake in a public disputation with the learned and most religious Father D. Juan de Gaona, and his retraction is still extant. Torquemada, indeed, acknowledges, as M. Clavigero observes, with a degree of exultation, that, in his time, some Indians had been admitted into monasteries; but, with the art of a disputant, he forgets to mention that Torquemada specifies only two examples of this, and takes notice that in both instances those Indians had been admitted by mistake. Relying upon the authority of Torquemada with regard to New Spain, and of Ulloa with regard to Peru, and considering the humiliating depression of the Indians in all the Spanish settlements, I concluded that they were not admitted into the ecclesiastical order, which is held in the highest veneration all over the New World.

BUT when M. Clavigero, upon his own knowledge, asserted facts so repugnant to the conclusion I had formed, I began to distrust it, and to wish for farther information. In order to obtain this, I applied to a Spanish nobleman, high in office, and eminent for his abilities, who, on different occasions, has permitted me to have the honour and benefit of corresponding with him; and I requested my respectable friend Mr. Liston, the British Minister
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at the court of Madrid, to make what inquiries he judged proper with respect to this point. From the former, I have been favoured with the following answer. "What you have written concerning the admission of Indians into holy orders, or into monasteries, in Book VIII., especially as it is explained and limited in Note LXXXVIII., of the quarto edition, is in general accurate, and conformable to the authorities which you quote. And although the congregation of the council resolved and declared, Feb. 13, A. D. 1682, that the circumstance of being an Indian, a mulatto, or mestizo, did not disqualify any person from being admitted into holy orders, if he was possessed of what is required by the canons to entitle him to that privilege; this only proves such ordinations to be legal and valid (of which Solorzano, and the Spanish lawyers and historians quoted by him, Pol. Ind. lib. ii. c. 29. were persuaded), but it neither proves the propriety of admitting Indians into holy orders, nor what was then the common practice with respect to this; but, on the contrary, it shews that there was some doubt concerning the ordaining of Indians, and some repugnance to it.

"SINCE that time, there have been some examples of admitting Indians into holy orders. We have now at Madrid an aged priest, a native of Tlascala. His name is D. Juan Cerilo de Castilla Aquihual Catehute, descended of a Cazique converted to Christianity soon after the conquest. He studied the ecclesiastical sciences in a seminary of Puebla de los Angeles. He was a candidate, nevertheless, for ten years, and it required much interest before Bishop Abren would consent to ordain him. This ecclesiastic is a man of unexceptionable character, modest, self-denied, and with a competent knowledge of what relates to his clerical functions. He came to Madrid above thirty-four years ago, with the sole view of soliciting admission for the Indians into the colleges and seminaries in New Spain, that if, after being well instructed and tried, they should find an inclination to enter into the ecclesiastical state, they

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might embrace it, and perform its functions with the greatest benefit to their countrymen, whom they could address in native tongue. He has obtained various regulations favourable to his scheme, particularly that the first college which became vacant in consequence of the exclusion of the Jesuits should be set apart for this purpose. But neither these regulations, nor many similar ones inserted in the laws of the Indies, has produced any effect, on account of objections and representations from the greater part of persons of chief consideration employed in New Spain. Whether their opposition be well founded or not, is a problem difficult to resolve, and towards the solution of which, several distinctions and modifications are requisite.

“ ACCORDING to the accounts of this ecclesiastic, and the information of other persons who have resided in the Spanish dominions in America, you may rest assured that in the kingdom of Tierra Firmé no such thing is known as either an Indian secular priest or monk; and that in New Spain there are very few ecclesiastics of Indian race. In Peru, perhaps, the number may be greater, as in that country there are more Indians who possess the means of acquiring such a learned education as is necessary for persons who aspire to the clerical character.”

FROM Mr. Liston, owing to some incidents which it is unnecessary to specify, I have not yet received an answer to my queries. If the intelligence, which from my experience of his obliging attention I certainly expect, shall differ materially from that which I have already received, I will not fail to communicate it to the public, and will, without hesitation or reluctance, make whatever alterations may be necessary in my narrative. Meanwhile, in Vol. II. p. 386. l. 28. instead of *no Indian is either ordained a priest*, it will be more proper to read, *very few Indians are ordained priests*.

T H E E N D.









