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CHILE

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Medium 8vo, Cloth, 21/-

THE ANDES AND THE AMAZON

LIFE AND TRAVEL IN PERU

By C. REGINALD ENOCK, F.R.G.S.

With a Map and numerous Illustrations

LONDON: T. FISHER UNWIN

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CHILE

ITS HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT NATURAL FEATURES, PRODUCTS, COMMERCE AND PRESENT CONDITIONS

BY

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

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ILLUSTRATED

LONDON

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MCMVII

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GRATEFUL acknowledgment must be made to the following for kind permission to reproduce the illustrations referred to :—

The French MINISTÈRES DE LA MARINE ET DE L'INSTRUCTION PUBLIQUE (pp. 16, 328), from "Mission Scientifique du Cap Horn";

Messrs METHUEN & Co. (pp. 53, 244), from Mr Fitzgerald's "Highest Andes";

Messrs G. BARRIE & Co. (pp. 104, 168, 232, 308), from Mr Robinson Wright's "Republic of Chile";

and also to the Authorities at the Chilian Legation, London, for the loan of several photographs and for aid in the correction of proofs.

INTRODUCTION

ATAHUALPA, the great Inca, who had welcomed the white "Children of the Sun" as demi-gods, had been cruelly done to death for the yellow dross after which his captors yearned; Cuzco, the sacred city of his royal race, had yielded up to the fervent soldiers of Spain a richer treasure than had ever dazzled the eyes of man since the days of Solomon, and the far-spread empire of Peru, despoiled of its surface wealth, was already proving too small for the insatiable greed and ambition of its conquerors. Pizarro, the forceful, clever swineherd, had stolen more than one march upon his partner Almagro, the bluff old soldier who found himself relegated to a second place in authority and in the division of the spoil. Bad enough it was to suffer this at the hands of Francisco Pizarro himself, but that Pizarro's intriguing brothers should dare to oust him from the territory the Emperor had granted to him as Supreme Governor, turned Almagro's blood to fire, and the old chief mustered his faithful followers, determined to wrest from the hands of the younger Pizarros the city of Cuzco, that he claimed, even though by Christian, Christian blood was shed in the midst of the pagan empire, which in five short years had been conquered in the name of Christ.

Francisco Pizarro arrived from the north in the nick of time to prevent the fratricidal strife. A mere handful of white adventurers, far from aid and support, in the midst of a vast population of savages whom they had betrayed, oppressed, and despoiled, dared not fly at each other's throats; and Francisco Pizarro was ready to make present concessions to his colleague, for the sake of gaining time

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and opportunity for ridding himself of a rival by a safer method than open combat in an enemy's country. To the south, he said, there were regions as yet virgin, and teeming with wealth richer than that of which Peru had been plundered. Almagro's government of 600 leagues in the south of Peru should be respected; but why not add to it and to the territories of Spain a still vaster domain, of which Almagro would be the unquestioned chief, with wealth beyond compute? The Indians had told them that across the mountains and the great desert on the south, there lay the land of Chile, reaching beyond the ken of man; no great united empire this, though some portions of it had owed light fealty to the Incas, but a land of separate tribes easily subdued, and gorged with mineral treasure.

So, early in 1535, the fiery spirits came flocking from Panama and the north to join Almagro's standard, and to undertake another of those heroic, daredevil marches into the unknown world, which faith and greed allied could alone inspire. Almagro's expedition of nearly 600 Europeans and 15,000 Indians started from Cuzco in 1535, to find and occupy the promised land of Chile.

To have descended to the coast and thence march by the lowlands would have been the easiest way, but it was the longer, and the adventurers were as impatient to reach their goal as the Pizarros were to see them gone: so Almagro marched straight along the Inca road, past Lake Titicaca, across part of Bolivia and what is now Argentina, and then over the Andes. Daring and difficult as some of the Spanish marches had been, none thitherto had had to encounter the hardships that faced Almagro on his Andean progress. Cold, famine, and toilsome ways killed his followers by thousands, and to the frost and snow of the mountain sides succeeded hundreds of miles of arid deserts, where no living thing grew, and no drop of water fell.

At length, with but a small remnant of his host, Almagro found himself in a well-defined region, consisting roughly of a vast valley running north and south, the giant chain of the Andes enclosing it on the east with

foothills and spurs projecting far into, and in some places almost intersecting, the narrow plain, and a lower range of mountains bordering it upon the west, and shutting it off from the sea, except here and there, where a break in the chain occurred. The valley was relatively narrow, so narrow that in many places the hills on either side were clearly visible, but the adventurers as yet knew not that this curious strip of broken plain between two mountain ranges extended with its immense line of coast for well-nigh 2,000 miles, and was destined to become, from its natural formation, the first maritime nation of South America.

Almagro found the sturdy, skin-clad tribesmen of the mountain slopes and elevated plains far different foemen from the soft, mild slaves of the Incas in the tropical north. Their very name of Chile came from the word meaning cold; and their temperate climate had hardened them and made them robust. Gold and silver, it is true, they had in plenty, and held them in no very high esteem, but they fought with a fierceness of which the Spaniards had had no experience in America in defence of their liberty and right to live. This, it was clear, was to be no easy conquest, and Almagro, learning that the Peruvians of the north had risen in a mass against the Spanish oppression, abandoned Chile, and marched back to Peru to fish in troubled waters, and in due time to meet a felon's death at the hands of vengeful Pizarro.

But the tales of the rich and fertile land of the south had whetted the greed of the victor, and when old Almagro was finally disposed of, Pizarro set about adding Chile to his own vast domain, held for Charles the Emperor and King of Spain, with the sanction of Holy Mother Church. The news of Almagro's formal annexation of Chile to the Spanish Crown, as usual in such cases, set the hungry courtiers of Madrid clamouring for a share of the spoil and glory, and an incompetent nonentity called Pedro Sanchez de la Hoz was sent out from Spain to complete the conquest of the new domain in the name of the Emperor. Pizarro knew well how to deal with such folk, and whilst appearing to respect the

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imperial orders, really stultified them. What he needed to do his work were iron soldiers, dour Estremenians, like himself, who knew neither ruth nor fear, and one he found after his own heart in Pedro de Valdivia, who in the five years since he had joined the chief in Peru, had proved that he possessed all the qualities for repeating in Chile the success of Pizarro in the empire of the Incas. Sanchez de la Hoz, nominally the leader, promptly became the cipher that nature had intended him to be, and Valdivia took the lead.

This time, in 1540, the safer way by the coast desert was taken, and with a mere handful of 150 Spanish soldiers, but accompanied by a great host of Indians, Valdivia marched through the interminable valley, carrying with him rapine and oppression for the gold he coveted. A great pitched battle for a time, early in 1541, decided the supremacy of the white men, and Valdivia, with superhuman energy and cruelty unexampled, set tens of thousands of Indians to work washing auriferous sand, delving in mines, cutting roads that still exist, and clearing the way for the advance of the Spaniards southward. In a lovely, fertile, elevated plain, with the eternal snow-capped Andes looking down upon it, Valdivia founded the Capital of his new domain, the city of Santiago, on the morrow of his victory in February 1541, and from the height of St Lucia above, upon the spot where the conqueror overlooked the building of his city, his gallant figure in bronze still dominates the fair scene of his prowess.

Fighting almost constantly for years, Valdivia, with ever-growing forces, pushed further south. Valparaiso was founded in 1544 as the main seaport for the Capital, and two years afterwards the conqueror crossed the Biobio river and entered the fertile, agricultural, and pastoral country of the Araucanians. Refined and cultivated as the Incas of the north had been, these stalwart Indians of the temperate south surpassed them in the sterner virtues, and in the arts of war. Tales of their lofty stature and their mighty strength grew with the telling, and the Spaniards acknowledged that at last they had met in

America a people who were more than their match. Concepción, Talcahuano, Imperial, Valdivia, one city after the other rose in this land of forests and fighters, to be destroyed again and again, only to be rebuilt. Gold in abundance, surpassing the visions even of the Spaniards, was to be had for the digging or washing, but the Indians would only dig or wash the metal whilst a white man with a harquebus stood over them, and not always then. Poison and treachery were common to both sides, and cruelty surpassed itself. In one battle Valdivia cut off the hands and noses of hundreds of Indian prisoners and sent them back as an object lesson, and the Araucanians, with devilish irony, killed the Spaniards by pouring molten gold down their throats.

The lands through which the Spaniards passed were teeming with fertility, and tilled like a garden, and the sands of the frequent rivers abounded in gold; but the people were hard to enslave, and the leader that at last aroused them for a final successful stand was Valdivia's own Araucanian serf, Lautaro. The Christian chief fell into an ambush led by him in 1553, and though Valdivia begged and bribed hard for his life, vengeance sated itself upon him. His heart was cut out, and the Indian arrows soaked in his blood, the heart itself, divided into morsels, being afterwards eaten by the braves, whilst his bones were turned into fifes to hearten the tribesmen to resist the invaders.

For well-nigh a hundred years the fight went on in the country extending from the Biobio to the archipelago of Chiloé, and it ended at last in the formal recognition of the independence of this splendid race, who had withstood in turn the Inca and the white man. Even then the struggle was not over, for the Spaniards could ill brook the presence of an independent Indian people in their midst as civilisation and population grew in South America. But what force and warfare could never compass, time, intermarriage, and culture have gradually effected, and in our own times the Araucanians have become Chilian citizens. The 500,000 of them who existed in the days of Valdivia have dwindled to less than a tenth

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of that number. The race dies hard. It still keeps up its proud old customs, bears its old names, and holds its primitive lands. But into the pastoral and agricultural country that once was theirs, there pours now a continual stream of immigrants—German, English, and Chilian—and the proximity and vices of the white man are killing the unconquered people more surely than the cruelty, lust, and greed of the conquistadors could do at their worst. Still, in the new nation that is rapidly being evolved from the heterogeneous admixture of the races that are now populating Chile, the sturdy, high-minded Araucanian is contributing blood that should endow it with qualities different, and in their way superior, to those of any other South American people. The establishment of a homogeneous Chile, extending from the frontier of Peru to the Straits of Magellan, with a well-defined boundary, has in recent times started a new volume in the life of the Republic. The peculiar geographical formation of the territory, extending, as it does, in a narrow strip hemmed in by mountains, and embracing every variety of climate from the rainless Atacama to the rainy Magallanes, marks it out as the future dominant sea-power of South America. Its fine bays and harbours, its abundant coal supplies, and, not least, the ideal conditions of the south for producing a hardy, sea-faring race, ensure the perpetuation of the tradition that Chile is to be the mistress of the Southern Seas in the ages yet to come. But its vast, fertile plains, where every product of the temperate clime grows luxuriantly, its immense herds of cattle, its abounding mineral wealth, as yet hardly touched, the vast, stretching, virgin forests upon its mountain slopes, its inexhaustible fisheries, and, above all, its laborious, hardy population, destine it to attain national greatness and wealth on land as well as on sea.

Like other South American countries it possesses the disadvantages of its history. But yesterday, counting by the lives of nations rather than by the lives of men, it was conquered, as we have seen, by brutal greed and rapine, to be made the appanage of an obscurantist despotism which was intent only upon wringing from it its abundant

wealth to be squandered elsewhere. A prey for centuries to official corruption, galling subservience, and blighting religious methods, it is not strange when the bonds were at last broken and Chile became free, that in a people inexperienced in self-government and led in most cases by doctrinaires in a hurry to ape more ancient nations, in form if not in spirit, violent changes and periods of anarchy should occur. But in the case of Chile these have been extremely few and of short duration. The almost Anglo-Saxon solidity of the governing classes, owing partly to the peculiar racial admixture they represent, and the steady laboriousness of the peasants, have prevented Chile from falling a prey for any length of time to lawlessness; and the country is now perhaps the most stable and hopeful of the South American nations. The vicissitudes through which it has passed in the process of attaining this position are related fully in this book, and its present conditions and prospects are described by an author who is fully qualified to speak of them from personal knowledge. All that Chile needs is time and peace to become one of the great nations of the world, and the almost aggressive patriotism of its citizens, even those whose blood is alien to the soil, proves that they, at least, have faith in the future of their country.

The Chilians have a right to hold up their heads proudly, for no sooner was the trumpet blast of liberty sounded in 1810 than Chile threw off the yoke. The yoke, in very truth, was falling of itself. Ferdinand the King was an exile from Spain, a grovelling sycophant at the feet of Napoleon, who had made such cruel sport of his house, and had usurped the ancient Spanish throne. A chaotic revolutionary government in Cadiz was competing in the name of Ferdinand with Joseph Bonaparte for the allegiance of the American colonies. It was clear that Spain, itself at close grip with the invader, was too weak now to coerce the great territories upon which its greedy satraps and their myrmidons had battened so long. The Chilians were driven to make cannons of tree trunks, and to fight with the instruments of the field against the well-

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armed Spanish garrisons ; but there was no shrinking from the fight, and the initial struggle ended in their favour.

But with the end of the Peninsular War reaction showed its head in South America, and Chile had again to fight for its freedom. O'Higgins, the half-Irish Chilian patriot, was the hero of the struggle. Besieged by the Spaniards in Rancagua in 1814, he held out until the last hope was gone, and then, charging his guns with coin for grapeshot—the only projectiles he had—he fired a last volley, set fire to the place, and, with the remnant of his men, cut his way through the besiegers, and led his little band of 300 men—all that was left of an army—to the shelter of Santiago, where for a time he was safe. But the patriots of Buenos Ayres sent an army under San Martin across the Andes to aid their Chilian neighbours ; and O'Higgins, who became first Director of Chile in 1817, finally secured the independence of his country at the great battle of Maipú in April 1818. O'Higgins on land and Cochrane on sea made of Chile thenceforward one of the most powerful national factors in the final liberation of the rest of South America, and from that day to the present the Republic has been in the van of South American progress.

Events move apace, and already the fate of the Pacific looms great with possibilities for the near future of the world. The maritime rise of Japan, the impending construction of the Panama canal, and the exterior ambitions of the United States, will profoundly affect the position of all the Pacific powers. But whatever may befall, one thing is sure—that the natural position and advantages of Chile as a seafaring country must of necessity give it a large share of the increased commercial and maritime activity which may accrue from the rise of the Pacific in importance to the world.

MARTIN HUME.

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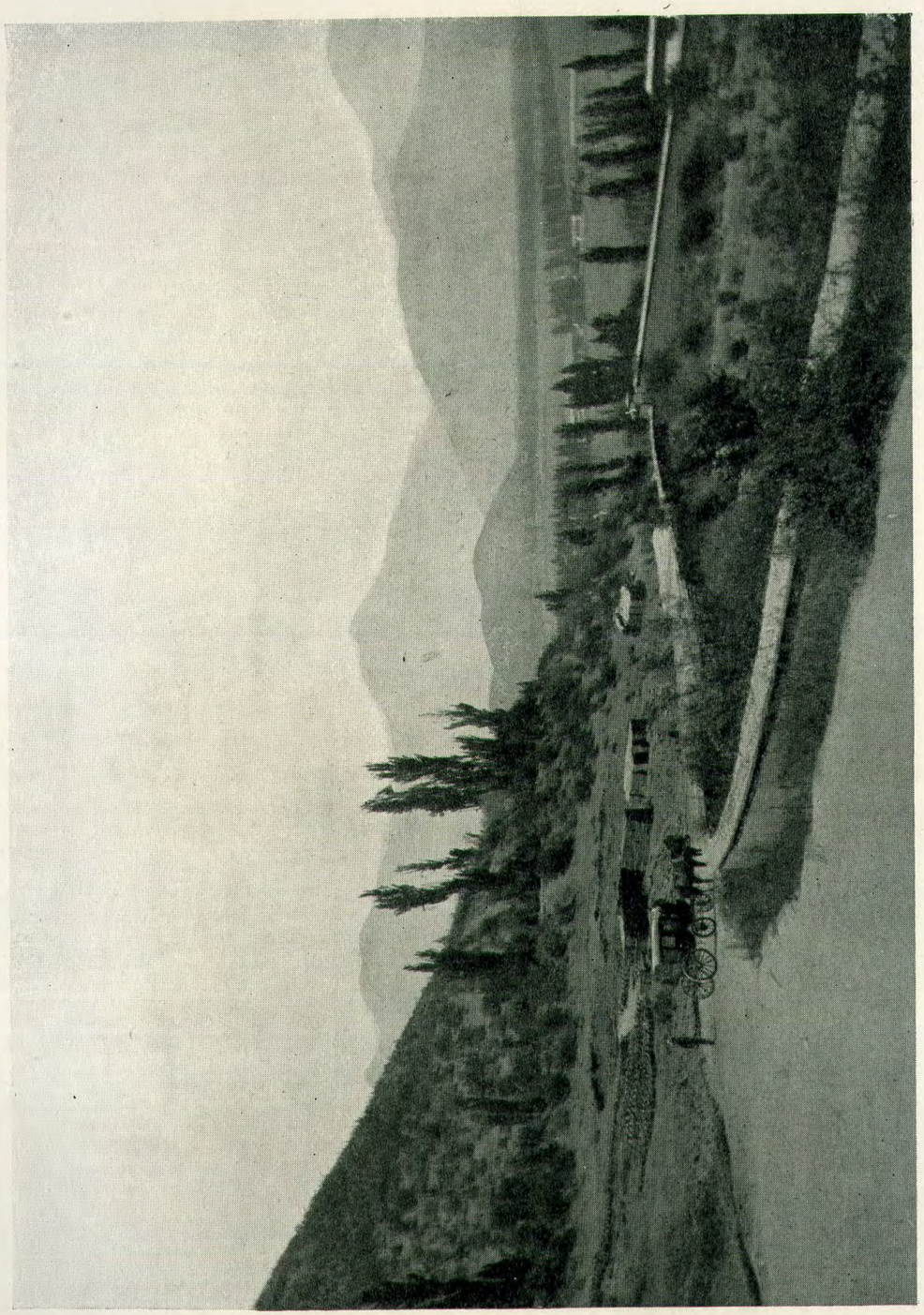

A CHILIAN VALLEY.

Frontispiece.

CHILE

CHAPTER I

PHYSICAL HISTORY OF CHILE

Extent — Geological history — The formation of the Andes — Gold and other minerals—Rich alluvials—Deserts—Climate—Winds, rain, and rivers — Differences of rainfall — Climatic regions — Santiago, Concepción—Daily wind—Timber district — Straits of Magellan and West Coast.

CHILE may be described as the Western or Pacific Slope of the Andes, from Cape Horn northwards to Tacna in 17° 17′ S. lat.

Of course this description is not accurate, for the Andes are seldom a single mountain range—more often consist of two or three parallel ridges—yet it gives a general idea of the Republic of the South.

The geological history of the country is full of interest. In the very earliest pre-Silurian period there were no Andes. All that existed of Chile consisted of what is now known as the Cordillera of the Coast, a series of hills and mountains, parallel and close to the sea-shore, and which are but the denuded and worn-down remnants of a great mountain range (as shown in Sketch No. 1 over leaf).

To the eastward, there then stretched the great Pampean sea which covered what is now the Argentine Republic, and extended to the hills about Montevideo. There were islands in the Pampean which now form the Ventana and Tandil Sierras, but no Andes existed.

Between the Silurian and Carboniferous (or Coal) periods

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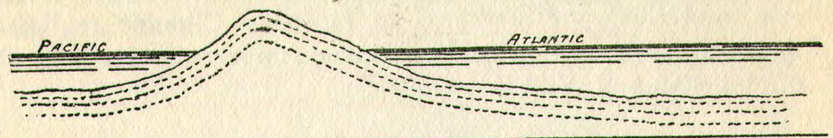
the sea-floor to the east of the coast mountains was disturbed and upheaved by submarine volcanoes, which threw up masses of basalts, porphyries, and other rocks. Then followed a long interval of time, during which first sand (now red sandstones of Permian age), then gypsum (lower Cretaceous or Chalk period), and finally limestones were laid down over these older volcanic basalts and porphyries. The valley of Chile must have been at that time a deep submarine depression, for the minute creatures whose shells form the limestones could not have existed except in very deep water.

The next stage in the history of Chile was the appearance of the cordillera of the Andes. A great fold of the

No. 1.



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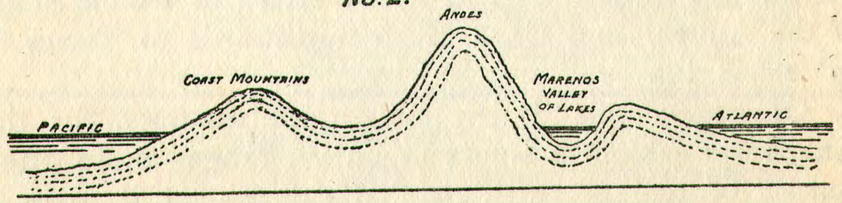

earth's crust was forced upwards, leaving on each side of it two long parallel (roughly north to south) valleys, of which the one between the cordillera of the coast and the Andes forms the central Chilian valley, which lay, as it does now, between the cordillera of the coast and that of the Andes (No. 2).

When did this happen?

The older authorities—and it must be remembered that Darwin and Pissis were exceedingly able geologists, and thoroughly explored Central Chile—say that it was towards the end of the Cretaceous period. Don Ramon Lista, however, makes it happen in the Miocene; Dr Hatcher puts it still later in the Pliocene, whilst Dr Moreno seems

to think that human beings may have witnessed the later stages of the process. It is quite likely that the Andes have gradually emerged, and that different parts of these giant mountains appeared above the sea at different ages.[1]

The Lakes valley or Moreno's valley, on the Eastern side of the Andes, belongs for the most part to Argentina, and does not come within Chilian history.

The next stage in the development of the country resulted from further volcanic disturbances or great earth movements. Transverse (roughly east to west) mountain ridges broke up the Western or Chilian valley into separate stretches. At the places where these cross mountain ranges encountered the older sedimentary limestones, gold, silver and other minerals are now to be found.

Chile is very rich in minerals, and for many years her gold and silver attracted and kept the Spanish conquistadors, who would otherwise, almost certainly, have left the country to its savage Indian inhabitants. Just as Spain was in early times explored by the Phœnicians and Carthaginians for its minerals, so Chile was occupied by Spanish settlers during the first one hundred and fifty years.[2]

To return to the geological story, the great Andean rivers soon began to cut into and wear away the hills. They brought down great quantities of gravel, sand, and mud, which soon began to fill up the Chilian valley with exceedingly rich alluvial material.

This process is still going on. In front of the foothills, where such a river as the Rio Aconcagua leaves the gloomy ravines of the mountains and deploys its waters, there are glaring white expanses of shingle often a mile or two in width, or immense deposits of sand and mud.

The soil in these flat alluvial valleys is incredibly rich. It is blended and mingled together out of all the infinitely varied rocks and deposits of the Cordillera. Lime, due to some minute marine animal whose fossils have been

[1] The Andes diminish in height from north to south. Aconcagua, 23,080 feet; Lanin (39° S. lat.), 12,041 feet; San Valentin (47°), 12,697 feet; Agassiz (50°), 10,597 feet, and Sarmiento in Fuegia is only 6,910 feet.

[2] Cf. "The Spanish People," Martin Hume.

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elevated from thousands of feet below the sea to nearly 20,000 feet on the top of the Andes, is mixed with fine mud ground out of volcanic rocks by the water-worn boulders and shingle stones varying in size from that of a man's head to a pigeon's egg.

It is because of this fertility of the Central valley that Chile exists to-day. In the dark days of Valdivia's first few years, the infant Spanish colony was saved by its abundant harvest. Ovalle has the following remarks on this point:—

"Fundó el Autor de la Naturaleza la fecundidad de los Chilenos campos en esta cordillera en quien depositó su riqueza para asegurar el anual tributo de tantos i tan copiosos rios, fuentes i arroyos con que los fertiliza i enriquece."

"It is upon the cordillera that the Author of Nature has based the fertility of the Chilian fields. It is the mountains that ensure an annual tribute from all those so copious rivers, springs, and rills, that fertilise and enrich the pastures." ("Historica Relacion del Reyno de Chile, 1646.")

This geological history also makes Chile exceedingly beautiful.

When travelling south from Santiago, one may chance to notice a sudden softening, a transient flush of poetical romance, in the face of one's fellow-passenger opposite (probably a German commercial traveller). Then you turn to the window and you see, far away in the distance, beyond the rich pastures or scattered thorn-trees, *first*, a row of graceful poplars, then low ranges of forest-clad hills, and above them, high and clear against the blue and cloudless sky, the jagged, rocky outline of the Andes, with perhaps the glittering snow[1] of one of the dominant peaks.

[1] At Llullaico the snowline is 5,980 m. (24° 41′ S. lat.)
,, Potro ,, 5,200
,, Pinguiro ,, 4,170
,, Peteroa ,, 3,080
,, Antuco ,, 2,189
,, Osorno ,, 1,560
,, Straits of Magellan ,, 500-600

The appearance of the Andes from the Central valley is always imposing, grandiose, and magnificent. They are unique; it is worth while crossing half the world to see them. The dry, stimulating air and the beautiful, cloudless sky in themselves provoke enthusiasm.

But to return to the history. The next interesting occurrence was the growth of a forest of which the remains form the brown lignite coal which is of considerable commercial value. It occurs at Quiriquina Island near Concepción, at Lota, Coronel, and at intervals apparently to Punta Arenas as well as at places on the eastern side of the Andes. But so much of the country is unexplored, that it is not possible to give its exact distribution. Enough is known to show that Chile was at that time able to grow trees exactly in those places where forests exist now, or existed in Spanish times.

This particular part of the earth's crust has remained disturbed, restless and vacillating from the pre-Silurian age of submarine vulcanoes to the Valparaiso earthquake of 1906.[1] Two very important disturbances have affected the Chilian valley. In the north beyond Copiapó, the great nitrate deserts of Tamarugal and Atacama are due to the elevation of a large portion of the Chilian valley. In the south, the transgression of the sea, aided by a depression of the land, has "drowned" a considerable part of it. A glance at the map will show how the Chiloé Islands, and others along the extreme western seaboard, continue the line of the coast cordillera right down to Cape Horn.

The Chilian valley is also continued by a complicated series of sounds, landlocked harbours, etc. The Andes are similarly in continuation with the range of high mountains which disappears below the sea in Staten Island.

The climate of Chile is exceedingly different at various latitudes. There is, however, a perfectly simple explanation of these differences. It was suggested by Charles

[1] Cf. Stübel, Petermann's "Mittheilungen," Bd. 48, 1902, p. 1, and Dr Goll's complete list of earthquakes in Chile till the year 1879, Munchener Geograph. Studien, "Die Erdbeben Chiles," 1904.

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Darwin, and can be easily understood by reference to a physical atlas (such as that of Bartholomew). The Chilian rainfall depends almost entirely upon the Pacific, and is brought by winds from the westward. Atlantic rain affects Tierra del Fuego only. (This island possesses good sheep pasture, chiefly on account of Eastern or Atlantic moisture.)

On the extreme south of the west coast, there prevails an almost eternal succession of furious westerly gales, which appear to chase one another in an unending procession round and round the Southern Pole. The full force of these westerly storms falls upon the western slope of the Andes from Fuegia to Valdivia. Enormous quantities of rain are therefore deposited upon the mountain sides. In one of the valleys, Dr Steffen records fifty days of torrential rain, during which it was impossible to leave camp. As a result of this, the Pacific rivers from Valdivia downwards are roaring, tumultuous torrents, which have cut into and worn away their valleys to such an extent that many of them have penetrated the main axis of the Andes, and robbed the Atlantic rivers of much of their water-supply. Thus they have caused great trouble to the Boundary Commissioners, for the watershed does not at all coincide with the line of the highest Andine peaks.

A little of this rainfall seems to drift through the valleys, and keeps green and fresh the valleys and slopes about the great lakes of Moreno's valley. Therefore these eastern valleys and slopes are covered in places with luxuriant grass, and form excellent pasturage for cattle. Further east, where the effect of this rain begins to vanish, sheep can still find pasture, but still farther eastwards, the Patagonian desert plateaux are too dry and arid to support anything but the guanaco and the ostrich.

Thus there is (1) a sheep and cattle temperate country on the eastern side of the Andes.

But on the west coast the entire country from Cape Horn to Valdivia is occupied by either forest or boggy peat or moss-covered rock. There is not, apparently, one

single town or even a village from Cape Horn to the south of Chiloé Island. The climate may be divided into (1) the above Eastern valley, (2) the Antarctic ice age of the western end of Magellan's Straits to as far as 50° S. lat., and (3) the Timber country of the western valleys from Temuco to Valdivia, Chiloé, and so far south as 50° S. lat. This district may be compared to that of the Lakes of Westmoreland or Seathwaite in Cumberland during a particularly rainy season. Yet it is not *always* raining, and *there are* days without a violent storm.

But as one proceeds northwards from Valdivia, a change in the average direction of the winds begins to be perceptible. They are (as can be seen from a physical atlas) no longer from the west, but shift to the southward. They are at first south-west but, always proceeding along the coast to the north, the direction soon becomes south-south-west, then south, until the region of the regular south-east trade-winds is reached. If one compares the trend of the coast-line, it is at once obvious that no Pacific rain can reach the northern part of Chile, for these winds are parallel to the coast or off-shore.

Thus from Valdivia northwards the climate rapidly changes. (4) A Mediterranean climate, or rather what English people understand by that term, prevails in Middle Chile from Temuco to Concepción, Santiago, and as far north as Serena.

Snow never falls north of 36° S. lat. except at altitudes of 200 to 300 metres.[1] But Northern Chile beyond Serena possesses (5) a Desert climate. Atacama and Tamarugal are more "desert" than the Sahara, and it is just because of the absence of rain that these districts are so rich in nitrates.

The rainfall returns fully bear out what one would expect by considering the usual direction of the prevalent winds. The rainfall varies from about 286 cm. at 40° S. lat. to 42 cm. at 33° S. lat., and nothing at all between 24° and 27° S. lat. The change is

[1] Synopsis Estadistica i Geografica de la Rep. de Chile in 1897.

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a gradual one and there are great variations in different years.[1] (See Diagram.)

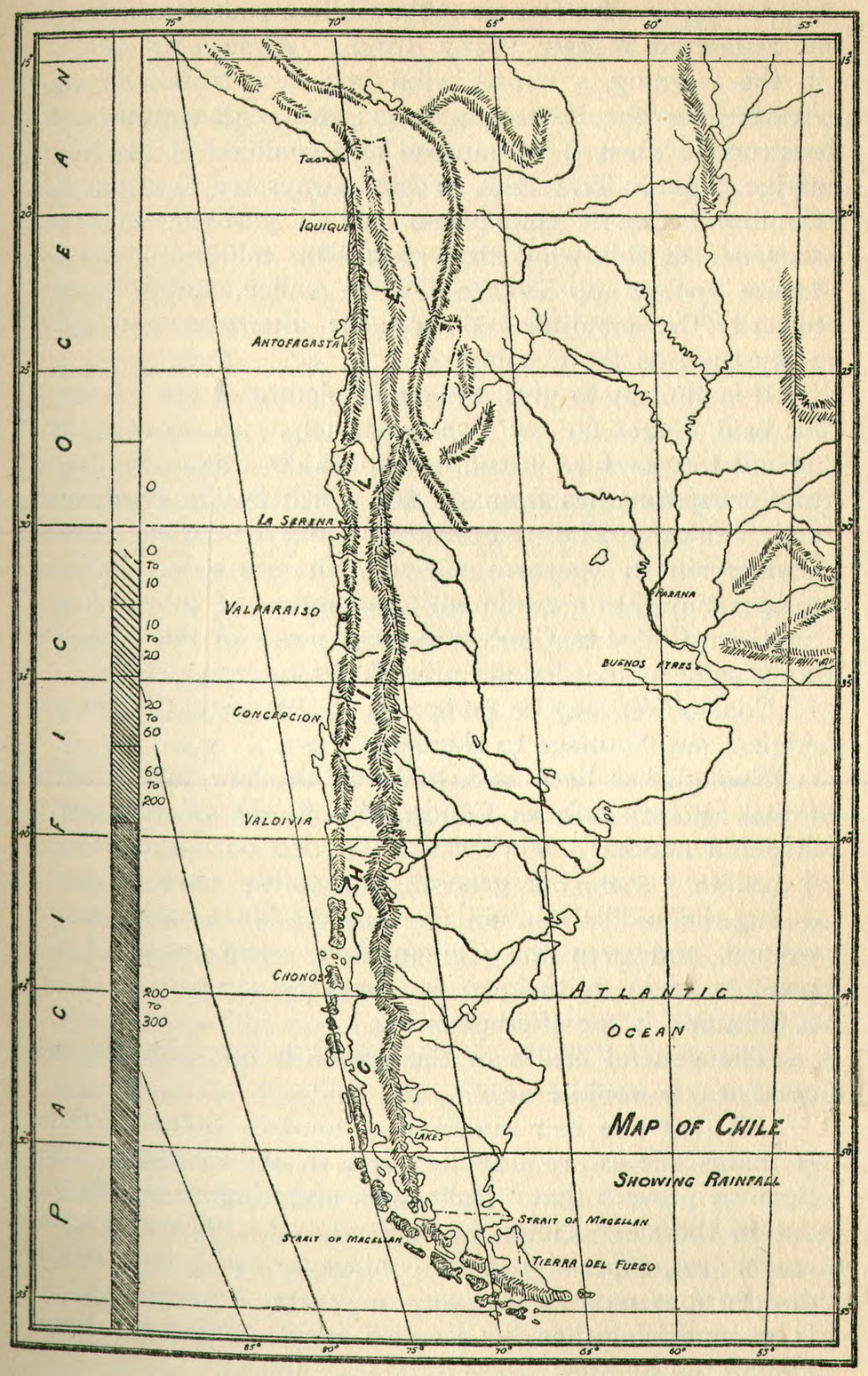
Concepción is said to have had 70 inches of rain in three months, and Valparaiso, which generally has 20 to 30 inches, occasionally receives less than 5 inches in the year.

But the reader must be specially asked to bear in mind the extraordinary difference between the various latitude zones, for Chile has been affected by these climatic differences at every stage in her history from the days of the Incas to those of the last Peruvian war.

Chile would no doubt have been a province of Peru under the Incas and also under the Spaniards, but grave danger and difficulties involved in crossing the deserts isolated her, and gave her some chance of independent development.

But our fourth climate, that from Serena and Valparaiso to Concepción is, at any rate during the summer-time, entirely charming. It reminds one of Greece, Egypt, or Spain. There is the same cloudless blue sky which is very seldom overcast. The air is dry and exhilarating, not heavy with moisture and oppressive, as in an English summer. Showers fall occasionally, but they are seldom long-continued, and their effect is very soon imperceptible.

[1] According to Pissis ("Historia Geográfica de Chile," 1866), there is no rain for many years in succession from about 24° to 27° S. lat. Between 27 to 29° there is generally rain every two years. From 29° to 32° there is rain at least once a year, whilst at about 33° there is 41.9 cm. of rain annually, and at 40° S. lat. about 285.9 cm. Bartholomew's Physical Atlas gives at 31° 12′ under 10 cm. of rain, at 33° 36′ under 20 cm., at 36° under 40 cm., at 36° 48′ under 60 cm. of annual rainfall. Schimper gives 20 cm. of rain at 32° 48′, 60 cm. at 35° 12′, 130 cm. at 35° 36′, and about 200 cm. at 36° 48′. It is of course at once apparent that those figures do not in the least agree as to the facts. That, however, need not occasion any surprise, for it is the habit of meteorological observations never to agree with one another. Suppose a Chilian meteorologist to be investigating the climate of Britain and to have only two rainfall stations, one at Seathwaite in Cumberland and one at Dumfries not many miles away, he would find 150 inches of rain recorded at Seathwaite and about 34 inches at Dum fries.



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A very peculiar feature of the Chilian valley in summer is a certain regular, daily wind. About 10 or 11 in the morning, a strong wind begins to blow over the Andes from the Eastern plateau; this is dangerous and destructive when it is cramped and confined in the high alpine passes. Travellers, in fact, always try to cross the Cumbre before it commences. It is probably in consequence of this wind that soon after midday a strong breeze springs up in the Chilian valley, which blows towards the mountains during the afternoon, and dies away towards the evening.

It is difficult to give any exact picture of the climate, for bald figures do not give much help. So far as mean annual temperature is concerned, Middle Chile (Santiago to Concepcion) has from 55°-60°, which is like Bordeaux and Venice. The temperature sinks to 50°-55° from Concepción to Southern Chiloé. The sea-water (surface temperature) has a minimum temperature of 40°-50° from Southern Chiloé to Concepción, but north of this point it is the same as that found in the Mediterranean (50°-60°).

Concepción may be compared to Bayonne, Chillan to Algiers, and Santiago to Naples.

Enough has been said, however, to show that Middle Chile, as far south as Concepción, is one of the most favoured nations. Work can be carried on indoors from 9 A.M. to 5 P.M., but generally very little work is done during the middle of the day. Insects, birds, beasts, men, women, and even the Chilian boy, seem, when it is possible to do so, to keep at home and sleep from 12 or 1, till 4 or 5 in the afternoon.

The general health of the people is not, however, so good as one would expect.

All that one can say from a tourist's point of view is that Chile is wonderfully blest in its weather. The Spanish proverb that "Only dogs and English people go out in the sun," should be remembered. There is also much dust, especially on the railways. Still, four rainy days in four months is a very moderate allowance, and it is not surprising that few English people settled out there exhibit the slightest desire to return "home."

But there is undoubtedly a distinct danger of the country becoming too dry and arid for comfort or cultivation.

Every evening, from the gates of every village in the Central valley, troops of morose little grey donkeys plod upwards and disappear in the recesses of the hills, where firewood is still to be obtained. They return a day or two afterwards laden with the spoils of the forest. At the small town of Los Andes, I estimated that at least seventy loads of firewood were brought in every day. This means a daily destruction of at least a thousand well-grown shrubs. Probably a square kilometre of wood is regularly destroyed every year to keep Los Andes in firewood. But in addition to this, there is an enormous waste due to the household fires, and the grazing animals of every "inquilino" cotter, and to the charcoal-burner.

It would not be a difficult matter to prevent this destruction by a regular system of plantation, which might indeed be a very remunerative business.

It is quite impossible definitely to limit off the fourth or Mediterranean, from the third or Timber district. The Biobio river, along the frontier between Spaniard and Araucanian, might be taken as the most convenient boundary of climate. Yet the forest certainly extends further north than the Biobio. Woods occur along the sea-shore so far as the Itata river mouth, and in the sixteenth century, Valparaiso district had sufficient forest for Valdivia to set about building a ship there.

Moreover, it is every day rapidly vanishing. Along the railway line and near every German settlement, the forest is being cleared away, and will be replaced, as it has been in England, by arable land and permanent pasture.

When seen in its natural condition (near Temuco, *e.g.*) it is dense and thick, sometimes tangled together by the Chilian bamboo. In many places the trees are neither tall nor close together, but the ground between them is not firm but rather a slimy, peaty ooze of horrible appearance, and impossible as a basis of agriculture.

When the first German colonists landed in Southern

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Chile, and a party started through the forest for Llanquihue, two of them were lost on the way, and were probably swallowed up by the fathomless mud beside the track. This sort of ground also made the Chiloé colony a total failure.

Yet there is plenty of forest-covered mountain-side and rich alluvium even in the timber districts. They are essentially "backwoods" country of a temperate character. The annual temperature is like that of London or Paris (50°-55°); the minimum surface temperature of the sea resembles that of the west coast of Britain (40°-50°). The maximum is 50°-60°.

The west coast from Southern Chiloé becomes rapidly colder, more inhospitable, and more tempestuous until one reaches the Straits of Magellan. The mean annual temperature sinks to 40°-45° (Christiania, Stockholm), but there are no regular observations, because there is no settled, civilised population between Southern Chiloé and the Island of Fuegia and Sandy Point. Snow falls from the middle of May to the 15th September. The thermometer may go down to −9° in Fuegia and −12° at Punta Arenas.

On entering the Straits of Magellan, the first object of interest is a wreck, and the second a lighthouse. During the whole passage from Cape Virgins to Coronel, there is scarcely any sign of man's handiwork except the occasional shipwrecked steamer. Lighthouses, on the other hand, are exceedingly rare.

If it should so happen that the weather is fine when traversing the Straits (and this may be the case at least once in thirty voyages), even then it is cold and inclement at the very height of summer. Glaciers occur here and there.

"Looking inland up the numerous channels . . . one often beholds snowy areas, great gathering grounds of snow, drained by glacier tongues which sometimes terminate in the water."—Conway.

But even in fine weather the narrow passage, with its precipices of bare, forbidding-looking rocks and intricate

island systems is in no way attractive. The savage character of the climate can be plainly traced in the dwarfed, gnarled, and distorted little beech trees, which cling to the wind-sheltered gullies and ravines. The higher slopes can produce nothing but green moss, or tussocky grass. It is a land of furious storms, and squalls of rain.

As a rule, nothing whatever can be seen in passing through the Straits beyond Cape Forward. The steamer usually plods steadily onwards in the teeth of one of those regular westerly gales that blow almost eternally in these Antarctic latitudes. And besides the regular storms, which are infuriated by their confinement in the narrow passage of the Straits, there are horrible little whirlwinds, or "Wulliewas," produced by the cold of the snowfields above, and the intricate valley systems. These originate suddenly, rush down into the Straits, and zigzag about with incredible violence.

Generally, no land is visible; one can only see blinding rain, or storms of sleet and snow for four or five hours at a time, and the intricate passage has to be followed by compass and log without any land view whatever. Yet this is the corresponding latitude to that of Dublin! But in our days the passage is easy enough. It was a very different story in the sixteenth century.

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CHAPTER II

PREHISTORIC HISTORY OF CHILE

Yaghans — Alakalufs — Chthonos and Chiloé Indians — Onas — Araucanians—The Inca conquest—Its failure—Pizarro and Almagro—Almagro's invasion of Chile—His defeat and return to Peru—Death of Almagro and of Pizarro.

A COUNTRY so diversified and varied as Chile can never be occupied by one people in the same sort of way. Either different races, or the same race, living under quite different conditions, will be found therein.

But Chile is particularly interesting for, before the Spaniards arrived, it contained type specimens of almost every kind of South American civilisation.

In the extreme south, in that western part of Fuegia which is still essentially in the great ice age of the Antarctic, the Yaghans were, and are still living. They are so badly provided with weapons, so feeble and backward, that they are obliged to live close to the sea-shore, where alone they can obtain mussels, shell-fish, crabs, fish, and occasionally sea-birds' eggs. They have no domestic animal except the dog.

They have in all probability been pushed southward along the sea-shore from Behring's Straits, where they were, if not the very first, at any rate one of the earliest immigrants by the pressure of later and better developed peoples. They may be related to the Esquimaux.[1] At any rate, they are almost at the earliest stage of

[1] Dr Moreno thinks that there are no living descendants of the original *dolichocephalic* (or long-headed) Brazilian stock. He considers the Yaghans to be *mesocephalic* (neither long nor short-headed), but anthropologists are entirely at variance on this point.

development comparable to that of the river-drift man in Europe.

Mr Barclay has given a vivid picture of the Yaghan—"naked in his frail bark canoe, braving the savage seas of the Horn." If there be a calm sufficiently promising to chance the passage to new hunting-grounds, the family will start on their dangerous voyage.

The man crouches in the bow, on the look-out for prey. The women (usually two) paddle the canoe from the stern. Along the shore run one or two dogs to sniff out and turn any lurking otter or sea-bird. The only household goods of the Yaghan are smouldering fire-brands, which he carries on a slab of shingled turf in his canoe to each fresh halting-place. He owns no faith, religion, or tribal tie other than that of the family, which huddles together for food and sustenance. Should the canoe be overtaken by a storm, he will, very sensibly, throw his wife and children overboard if it is necessary to lighten the craft.

On arriving at a favourable place, a few sticks are gathered to form a shelter, and the family disperse to seek a meal. The women are often required to moor the canoe to the long seaweed or kelp (*macrocystis pyrifera*), and then in the icy cold water swim ashore. Though excellent and fearless sailors, the men are said to be unable to swim. The fire above alluded to (and from which the name Tierra del Fuego was derived) is very carefully preserved.[1]

On shore the great anxiety of every day begins. Some sort of food must be obtained. Crabs, mussels, shell-fish of all kinds, sea-birds' eggs, dead fishes, half-decayed seals, and fungi from the dripping beechwoods are industriously sought for, and brought to the few hurriedly collected boughs which is the "home." When a more or less permanent occupation was possible, the shells and other *débris* of their feasts become mounds of some size, or "kitchen-middens." One such accumulation on Elisabeth Island is 100 feet long and 12 to 15 feet high; another has been described as being nearly a mile in length, with a mean thickness of 4 feet, and covered with 24

[1] Cf. *Geographical Journal*, January 1904.

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to 28 inches of marine sand. This has been held to prove that the savages who produced it must have lived there *before the land was submerged*, and then again raised to the present level. There is nothing impossible in this theory, for the Yaghan lives like the people of the Pleistocene.

In appearance, they resemble a degraded type of the ordinary American savage. Their bodies and arms are strong and well developed; they have wide mouths, thick lips and nostrils; their hair is lank, black, and coarse. It is said that they soon die if they wear clothes, and especially trousers. That they have a "blubberskin," as seems to be generally believed at Punta Arenas, is at least doubtful. They have trained hunting dogs, and take great care and show considerable skill in breeding them.

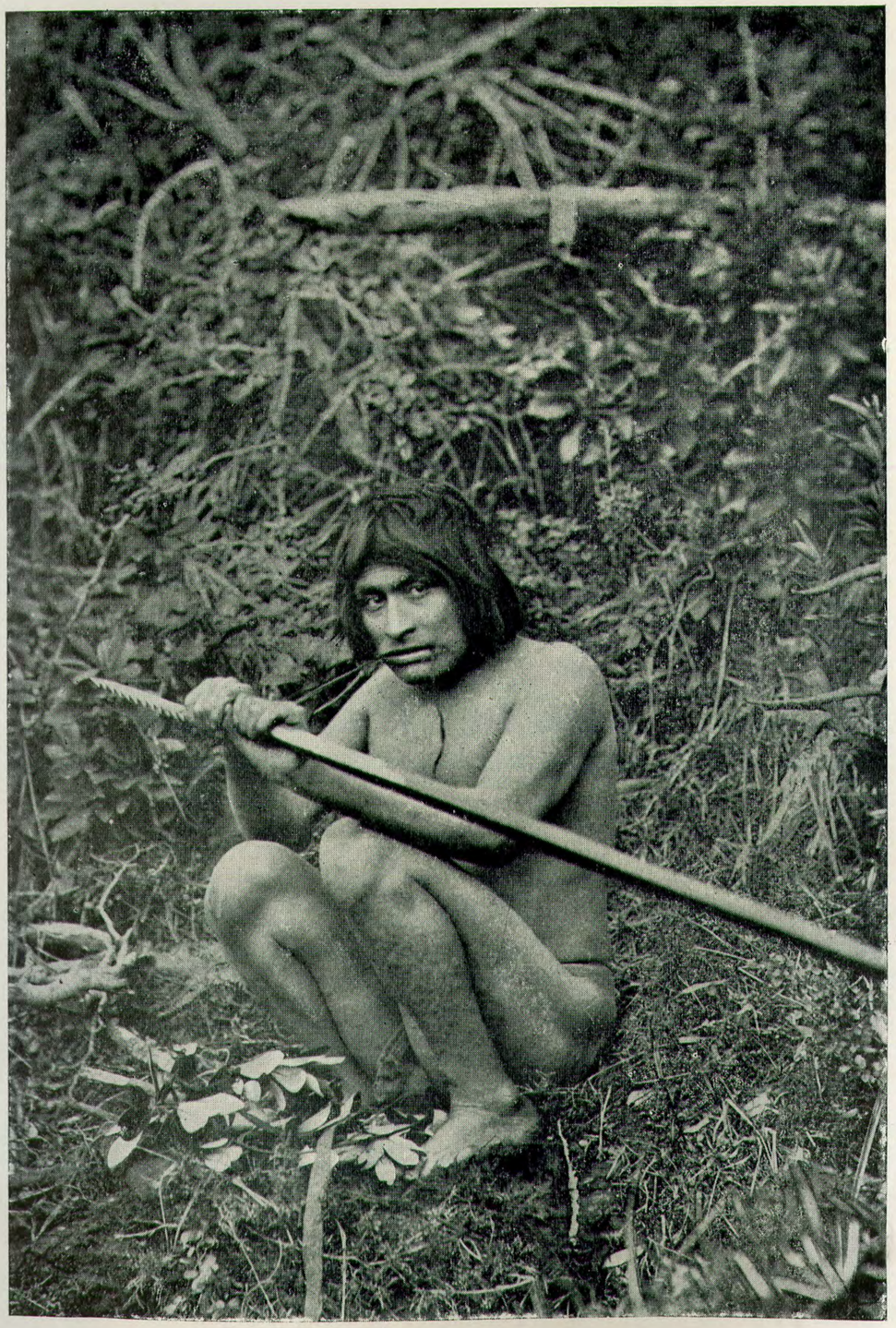
In seasons of famine they strangle the old women, and keep the dogs alive—"doggie catch otter, old woman no!" Malformed children and incurably diseased persons are always strangled.

There is absolutely no room for sentiment in that savage climate! Nor is it wonderful that they have diminished "from 2,500 to a bare 200 in thirty years' time." They are "drunken, lazy, and incorrigible liars."

These people are now confined to the western seaboard of Tierra del Fuego. To the north, the western end of Magellan's Straits, as well as the sounds and channels of the archipelagos and mainland, are inhabited by the Alakalufs, a fishing and hunting tribe, which are said to number about 800.

They are on a much higher grade of civilisation. Their canoes are larger and capable of holding twenty or thirty people. These canoes are made either of beech logs or in some cases of strips of bark, or planks sewn together by a creeper (*Campsidium Chileuse*) and caulked with moss or Winter-bark. They have regular huts—"haycocks of boughs covered by skins, or by bark strips."

They are not an attractive people—"a sullen, crafty, and treacherous race"—yet they have some sort of incipient tribal organisation, and occasionally combine to attack



A YAGHAN ATTACHING THE HEAD OF HIS HARPOON TO THE SHAFT.

From "Mission Scientifique du Cap Horn" (Hyades and Deniker).

To face p. 16.

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shipwrecked crews. Their manner of life can be best gathered from Coppinger's "Cruise of the *Alert*" and Byron's "Loss of the *Wager*."

The unfortunate midshipman, afterwards Admiral Sir John Byron, relates how he was saved from starvation by the women (one of them "young and very handsome for an Indian"), who "came in, trembling with cold, and their hair streaming with water, and brought two fish, which, having broiled, they gave me the largest share." The same woman, taking a basket in her mouth, jumped overboard (in 8-10 fathoms of water), and diving to the bottom, continued under water an amazing time. When she had filled the basket with sea-eggs (sea-urchins), she came up, and, after having taken a short time to breathe, went down and up again with the same success, and so several times for the space of half an hour. The fishing was done with nets, held by two Indians, "who get into the water; then the dogs, taking a large compass, dive after the fish, and drive them into the net. The dogs are a cur-looking animal, but very sagacious. Though in appearance an uncomfortable sort of sport, yet they engage in it readily, seem to enjoy it much, and express their eagerness by barking every time they raise their head above the water to breathe."

The Alakalufs are about 5 feet 1 inch in height. They have dark, close-set eyes, a thin, curved upper lip, and broad cheek-bones. They are said to be lighter in colour than most American Indians ("öchrey colour").

The Chonos Indians and Chiloé islanders, farther to the north, have been so much affected by civilisation, by Spanish missionaries, attempts at colonisation and the like, that they are not so interesting from an anthropological point of view, but they are a valuable folk. Dr Steffen speaks of them as very expert in the management of canoes and in river work. They are excellent lumbermen and foresters. These people are, however, more probably half-castes, and not pure Indians.

Turning from these fishing and canoe Indians, who inhabit or rather explore the intricate western coast-line from Puerto Montt and Chiloé to Cape Horn and

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Magellan Straits, there is a hunting tribe of Indians—the Onas—who inhabit the grass-covered undulations and the more open bush of eastern Tierra del Fuego.

These people lived on the guanaco, migrating as it changed its feeding grounds. They are active and athletic, good hunters, and specially expert in stalking and tracking. They paint or daub their faces and hands with earth of different colours, so as to be less conspicuous in approaching game. The very children will stay perfectly quiet, squatting behind a bush like a partridge, for hours at a time.[1] They can hit a mark with their arrows at 120 yards. Indeed, a favourite game with them is to shoot arrows at one another: the person aimed at is so quick in jumping aside that he is seldom or never hit.

There is a certain vagueness about their religious ideas. It is true that the women and children believe in a multitude of diabolic gods and goddesses, who wander about at night.

Then there is *Hach'i* — the spirit of the moss and lichen-coloured stones. He wears horns, and is painted slate colour, with daubs of red and yellow clay. Also *H'alpin*—the spirit of the clouds and mist. This is a woman dressed all in white, and with a very long head.

The men do not believe in anything, but sedulously foster the faith of the women, who are thereby encouraged to remain at home at night. "New women" who penetrate these mysteries, and "feminists" who tell their wives about them, are understood to have but a very short life amongst the Onas.

When an Ona boy is about fourteen years old, he passes through certain severe tests of manhood and endurance.

"A pine splinter is inserted in the flesh of the arm or thigh, and set on fire. The flame must be extinguished by his roasting flesh. He is supposed to be cheerfully unconscious of this, and to talk and laugh during the process."

Then he is turned out of the tribe to find a living for himself, and only allowed to rejoin in two years' time.

[1] Barclay, *l.c.*

If he wishes to marry, he may "propose" by offering his *inamorata* his hunting-bow. If she returns it by her own hand it is "Yes," upon which he commands her to follow him to his own camp. She may, indeed, refuse (by sending back the bow by another messenger), but this is a little dangerous, for the disappointed lover is quite likely to shoot an arrow into the calf of her leg, which is "the especial vanity of the Ona belle."

When sheep were introduced, the Onas naturally supposed that sheep were a remarkably innocent and toothsome sort of guanaco and ate them. This, of course, led to disputes with the shepherd, which ended in an irregular warfare. The Onas have now learnt not to meddle with either sheep or shepherd. There are said to be still some 600 of them left. It is sincerely to be hoped that a tribe with such valuable characters will not die out.

Can they adapt themselves to new conditions? Lovisato has the following remarks on this point:—

"I Fueghini hanno poca intelligenza; pochissima memoria nessuna ritentiva. La loro abilitá puo essere per alcuni rispetti comparata agli istinti degli animali perchè non è migliorata d'all esperienza."

Now bottle-glass was quite unknown amongst the Fuegians before the white men came. But in Coppinger's time they made their arrows of bottle-glass. He even describes the process. In the right hand was a large, blunt-pointed iron nail in a stout, wooden handle. This was forced by steady pressure against the fractured edge of the glass, held in the left hand and rigidly supported against the chest. The whole strength of the wrist was applied on the edge of the glass.

According to Barclay, the Onas to-day use chisels of guanaco-bone, pieces of pumice-stone to grind and polish the point, foxes' skins for polishing, dust, goose feathers, guanaco sinews and dust. It is therefore obvious that they *can* profit by experience, that they are capable of learning and even of inventing at any rate new weapons.

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The savages who inhabited that part of Chile which lies between the Biobio and Puerto Montt were hunting tribes of a higher type. Some of them, notably the Araucanians, did cultivate the soil, though in a half-hearted sort of way, but all of them depended chiefly upon the guanaco for food and clothing.

One of the best descriptions of this interesting and extraordinary beast is that given by Pigafetta, who wrote "Magellan (Magalhanes) Voyages," and who, though undoubtedly gifted with literary skill, credulity, and imagination, occupied upon his ship the not too exalted position of cook's mate. "It has the head and ears of a mule, the body of a camel, the feet of a stag and the tail of a horse." It resembles the camel also in features, for it has a morose, cynical, and dyspeptic expression. It is, however, not nearly so tall, being only about the height of a yearling colt.

Some stories about it are not true. An aged guanaco, if it feels that it is going to die, does *not* forthwith travel at full speed to some remote Andine valley—which is the national death-bed of the whole guanaco race—and there give up the ghost. But herds are sometimes destroyed by drought or by big Indian hunting parties, and hence in certain valleys many guanaco skeletons are to be found.

The guanaco is said, on good authority, to resort regularly to certain places[1] which remain always green in the dry and desolate steppes. This creature, migrating with the seasons, was followed everywhere by the aboriginal hunting tribes of Chile. They lived on its flesh, clothed and shod themselves with its skin, and used its sinews for bow-strings.

Of these tribes the Araucanians, so often mentioned in this history, may be taken as a type. Unfortunately, very little can be said about their original state. They were so clever, so adaptable in picking up such civilisation as the Spaniards possessed that they became, sociologically, entirely mixed up by the time that good observers studied them.

[1] Donde el guanaco arroja sus escrementos.

Their character is so clearly expressed in the following chapters that we shall only quote here some descriptions from Rosales.

At their war assemblies a lama was brought in and killed by two blows, one in the head and the other over the loins. When it fell, the live, palpitating heart was taken out, and the Toqui called out: "Satisfy us, thou arrow of blood; thou, Toqui, drink; satisfy ye yourselves of the blood. As this sheep fell dead, so may our enemies fall." The whole assembly had to eat of it so that they might have one heart and one will.

Then the whole of the warriors danced, stamping on the earth together so as to make it tremble, and all shouting together, "Ou! Ou!"

They used at times poisoned arrows from the juice of the Coliquai (*Colliquaya odorifera ?*).

They took eight days of hard training and physical exercises before beginning the war.

Farther north, between the Biobio and the Maule river, the country was semi-civilised. There was a large population. They grew crops of maize and potatoes, as well as various beans and other vegetables.[1] They had the Peruvian sheep or lama. But these people had been subjugated and civilised by the Incas of Peru.[2]

About the year 1475 the great Tupac Inca Yupanqui led an army into Chile. What happened may be reconstructed from what is known of the ordinary routine of the Incas in such expeditions.

This army, selected from the most hardy and warlike races in Peru, would advance in a leisurely manner along the great road. This was often 20 feet wide, and built

[1] Hancock says that they also grew magu, guegan, and tuca, and had domesticated a rabbit.

[2] The origin of the Incas has been much debated. Most unfortunately we cannot claim them as Englishmen, for *Inca Manco Capac* cannot, however ingeniously, be forced into *Ingasman Copac*, which translates "a blooming Englishman." Nor can any calm, reasonable Irishman believe with Frenzel (Der Belus oder Sonnendienst auf der Anclen Leipzig 1867) that they were Irish. There is much to be said in favour of a connection with China in very early times, but many leading anthropologists consider the Incas to be of indigenous South American origin.

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of heavy flags of freestone carefully fitted together: it was carried over great stone viaducts and bridges. In some places there were suspension bridges 200 feet long, made of thick cables of the "maquey" or osier.[1]

Occasionally the army would pass along an earth embankment defended by a mud wall. Sometimes

"trees and odoriferous shrubs were planted along the margin, regaling the senses of the traveller with their perfumes and refreshing him by their shades so grateful under the burning sky of the tropics."

The weary soldier would count the milestones set up at intervals of a league or so. At night he would reach a "tambo," or a sort of caravanserai or fortified barrack, where ample provision of grain, etc., was awaiting him. He was severely punished if he trespassed or looted on the march. When the army reached the great deserts of sand, over which a road was impossible and unnecessary, huge piles driven into the ground marked the route, and prevented any danger of losing the way.

The soldiers, armed with bows and arrows, spears (tipped with copper), and slings, were protected by a shield or buckler as well as by a close tunic of quilted cotton. Each man marched under the banner of his Company, whilst "the imperial standard, high above all, displayed the glittering device of the rainbow."[2]

What chance had the little settlements of hunting tribes scattered along the river-sides at Coquimbo, Copiapó, and Northern Chile, against an organised army of this kind? They fell, one after another, into slavery and subjection.

They were no doubt kindly treated. A characteristic remark of an Inca prince is as follows: "We must spare our enemies or it will be our loss, since they and all that belong to them will soon be ours."

[1] Rosales, "Hist. Jen." mentions, "houses and walls of trenches and forts made of rough stone," which are apparently of Inca date. These are "on the road which starts from the valley of Aconcagua."

[2] Prescott, "Conquest of Peru."

But further south, probably between the Maule and the Biobio, the stately progress of Inca annexation was sharply checked.

The Pencones and Cauques fought a battle, which lasted for four days, against the great Peruvian general, Linchi Rocca, and probably defeated him thoroughly.

No doubt certain of the more obstinate native defenders were ruthlessly slaughtered, others might be deported to some temperate part of Peru and their places filled by Peruvian Indians of proved loyalty. But when the Emperor of the Incas, the Child of the Sun, returned in triumph to Cuzco, he left administrators of noble blood to develop his newest province.

The territory conquered by the Incas ended at the Rio Maule but this northern part of Chile seems to have settled down quite contentedly under their control.

The conquest by the Inca Guasca is said to have been about the year 1425. According to Rosales, Aconcagua, Quillota and Mapocho were conquered. There are forts at Itata and in Culacoya, five leagues from the city of Concepción where a pyramid made of six stones was discovered.[1]

The first step would be to introduce improved methods of agriculture, and especially of irrigation.

It is true that the Spaniards understood irrigation. Yet as both in Spain and in Peru they have certainly allowed many aqueducts and irrigating canals made by Romans, Moors, or Indians, to fall into decay and become useless, it certainly seems more probable that it was some Inca noble, not Almagro or even Pedro de Valdivia, who first initiated those wonderful canals in the Central valley.

The Incas were past-masters in irrigation. No nation has ever showed such extraordinary enterprise and skill in work of this kind. One aqueduct, made at Condesuyu, was 400 or 500 miles in length. Some of them were made of large slabs of freestone nicely fitted together; others were cut or tunnelled in solid rock; they were provided with sluices, and the discharge of the water was carefully

[1] These points are given by Rosales, "Hist. Jen."

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regulated by special officials appointed for the purpose. The land was manured with guano, or two sardine heads were planted with each grain of Indian corn.[1]

Probably the Incas introduced Indian corn and the potato (though this may have been a native of Chile); the large bricks of adobe or mud which one sees in Chile to-day seem to have been regularly employed in Peru. The houses, built of such mud walls, were roofed with reeds, as they often are in modern Chile.

The importance of this Inca conquest of Northern Chile does not seem to be appreciated by most historians, yet the difference in character of the Indians north of the Rio Maule and south of that river (especially beyond the Biobio) is one of the leading clues to Chilian history. The Spaniards easily, comparatively speaking, conquered North Chile, but scarcely made any progress beyond the Biobio during the whole colonial period.

Thus about 1530, Chile was inhabited so far as the Rio Maule by a peaceable, industrious, semi-civilised people under the control of the Incas.

From the Maule to Puerto Montt were many, wild, brave, and vigorous hunting tribes. Along the west coast were fishing Indians, Chthonos, Alakaluf, and Yaghans, and in eastern Tierra del Fuego were the guanaco-hunting Onas.

This state of things was to be entirely upset by the advent of the Spaniards.

On the 10th March 1526, in Panama, three men met together, and with sublime audacity divided the great Peruvian Empire between them. One was the handsome, prepossessing, and untrustworthy Pizarro, who was the illegitimate son of a poor woman and an officer. He was a Spanish soldier of fortune, of indomitable energy, but at that time miserably poor. Another, also a soldier, Almagro, was a foundling, a short, stout man, not pleasant to look upon, yet honest, gallant, impetuous, and of a generous nature. The third was the inevitable, astute ecclesiastic (Father Luque), who risked nothing save

[1] "Travels of Pedro de Cieza de Leon," A.D. 1532-50. Markham, London, 1364.

certain monies entrusted to his care, but who, of course, gained a fat sinecure.

The contract was of the most solemn character. The Commanders Pizarro and Almagro "made oath in the name of God and the Holy Evangelists sacredly to keep their covenant," and divided a consecrated wafer between them.

Six years afterwards (16th November 1532), the city of Caxamalca was completely in the hands of Pizarro and his handful of mail-clad adventurers. They had captured the great Inca, Atahualpa himself, by gross treachery, and after the massacre of 2,000 to 10,000 of his unarmed attendants.

Of course, the solemn contract between Pizarro and Almagro broke so soon as there were any spoils to divide. In spite of the loyal support given by Almagro, the share of the latter was quite disproportionate. But Almagro had friends in the Court of Spain, and eventually obtained a royal licence to explore and annex the vast territory lying to the south of Cuzco and including what is now Chile.

Almagro, the Marshall (as he was usually styled), started for the south in 1536. He marched at first along the royal Inca road to Jujuy and Salta, and did not at first encounter any very serious difficulties.

But when the expedition started to cross the Andes, which was in winter, and without any proper provision for so vast an undertaking, Almagro soon found himself in the most deadly peril. The party consisted of 500 Spaniards and 15,000 Indians. Very soon they finished their provisions, for the route lay across the uninhabited and desolate Despoblados. They had not even firewood, for not a shrub grows in these arid plateaux. Many horses were frozen to death; some of the men died of mountain-sickness; others lost their fingers by frostbite; others again were blinded by the glare of the sun on the glittering fields of snow. It seemed as if the whole expedition would perish of hunger, of thirst, and of fatigue in this wilderness of precipitous ravines and storm-vexed summits.

Then Almagro himself, with a few of the strongest

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men, pushed on to the green valley of Copiapó, when provisions were sent back to the people starving in the passes. This passage of the Andes seems to be one of the greatest military feats ever accomplished. So far as is known, the route lay by the Rio Santa Maria, San Francisco, Quebrada de Juncal, Paipote, and Copiapó.

The losses were heavy, for 156 Spaniards, 10,000 Indians, and 40 horses, lost their lives in the passes.

Almagro took some 15,000 ducats in gold from the Copiapó Indians, and immediately distributed these amongst his followers. He then commenced to take part in their politics. He deposed an usurping chief, and set up his own nominee in his place, thus ingratiating himself with the Copiapans.

After this, he despatched certain Peruvian nobles, and especially Paullo Topu (a brother of the Inca Manco), and Villac Umu the high priest, towards Chile. These messengers were successful, and Almagro penetrated without difficulty into the fertile and thickly peopled districts which had been brought under Inca control.

Yet though the country was beautiful, fertile, and prosperous, the Spanish soldiers were utterly disappointed. They found no gold. Probably they were deceived by the Indians, for Chile is exceedingly rich in gold and silver. Almagro did his best. He marched as far as the Rio Claro, but there was no sign of improvement.

Moreover, he met with the savage Promaucaes Indians who had driven out the Incas. At the first onslaught, these savages utterly dispersed Almagro's Peruvian friendlies. Then the Spanish cavalry attacked, but could gain no decisive advantage, though the battle lasted till nightfall. The Promaucaes appeared again next day ready to renew the struggle. But Almagro decided to retreat. By this time he had heard of a Royal decree, according to which he could claim an empire in Peru independent of that occupied by Pizarro. Both his followers and he himself believed that his share included the royal city of Cuzco.

It was obviously more promising to take Cuzco and its known riches, in preference to a land seemingly without gold, and inhabited by savages more fierce than any

which had yet been met with in the whole of South America.

On the way back to Copiapó, the natives captured two marauding Spaniards and killed them. Almagro, in revenge, is said to have burnt alive twenty-six Indians and three chiefs who were accused of the murder.

He went back by way of the Atacama desert, wherein many of his people perished from hunger, thirst, and fatigue.

On his return, he seized Cuzco, and put the brother of Pizarro in prison. He did not execute him, though he could easily have done so.

Of course civil war between Almagro and Pizarro was inevitable, and the end was not long delayed.

At the bloody battle of Las Salinas, Almagro, long past seventy years of age and sick and infirm, watched from his litter the irremediable defeat of his faction. He was then imprisoned, and finally executed, or rather murdered in his prison. His body, exposed as a show to the dregs of the population, was rescued and reverently buried in the Church of La Merced by a negro who had formerly served him.

This was the miserable end of the gallant, generous, and brave Almagro. Nor did his great rival, the resolute and indefatigable Pizarro, who discovered, explored, and enslaved the whole empire of Peru, long survive his murder. The great Pizarro was massacred by the men of Chile not very long afterwards.

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CHAPTER III

THE STORY OF PEDRO DE VALDIVIA

His work in Peru—Receives a concession—Preparations for his journey—Pedro Sancho de Hoz—Copiapó and the first fights with the Indians—Founding of Santiago—Is appointed Governor of the Cabildo—Rebellion of the Indians—Burning of Santiago—Monroi leaves for Peru—Valdivia's letter to Charles V. on their sufferings—Adventures of Monroi—State of Peru—Encomiendas—Araucanians—Peruvian troubles—Valdivia's deceit as regards the emigrants — Rebellion of De Hoz — Villagran governor — Valdivia's work in the Peruvian revolution—Starts with reinforcements and returns to take his trial in Peru—Serena destroyed—Expedition to the Biobio—Battle of Tarpellanca—Surprise of the camp — Andalien — Talcahuano — Founding of Concepción—Attack by 40,000 Indians—Founds Imperial and other forts—Attack on Tucapel—Its destruction—Lautaro—Battle at Tucapel—Death of Valdivia—His character.

Of course when a mere handful of soldiers had seized and conquered Peru, it was inevitable that quarrels would arise over the division of the spoils.

A deadly struggle between the adherents of Pizarro and those of Almagro was inevitable. So soon as it happened, the patient, biddable Peruvians (who were treated with atrocious cruelty and worked *literally* to death in the mines) saw their opportunity and rose in a general insurrection.

It was in this campaign that Pedro de Valdivia first distinguished himself. He was at this time in the prime of life.[1] He had fought at Pavia (the Waterloo of the sixteenth century); he had served under Colonna as well as under Pescara and others the greatest captains of his time.

[1] Valdivia was born in 1501 at Castuera in La Serena de Estremadura, so that he was at this time about thirty-five years of age.

Arriving in Peru at exactly the right moment, he was at once appointed by Hernando Pizarro, Master of Camp. He took a prominent part in the battle of Las Salinas, where the Almagrists were defeated, and afterwards in subduing the Indian rebellion.

Valdivia was not only a skilful tactician and a fine soldier, as brave, as hardy, and as determined as any of his contemporaries, but he also possessed a delicate tact, a rare judgment of men and great skill in dealing with that somewhat difficult personage the Spanish Conquistador. He was extremely pious (in a sixteenth century way), but he was not burdened by conscientious scruples of any sort or kind. In that matter he was neither better nor worse than his contemporaries, and it is quite absurd to judge his behaviour by nineteenth-century standards.

At the end of the Pizarro, Almagrist, and Indian troubles, Valdivia had been richly rewarded by a landed estate, with the usual Indians to work it. But he was not satisfied; he wanted an empire for himself. He obtained without much trouble a commission as Lieutenant-Governor of Chile. That is, Valdivia was graciously permitted to go and conquer, at his own expense, a country over which the Spaniards had no authority whatever. The grantor, the Governor of Peru, Francisco Pizarro, lost nothing in any case. He stood to gain if Valdivia made anything out of the adventure, and at any rate a somewhat powerful personality like Valdivia's might have been a little disturbing in Peru, and was distinctly better removed.

Valdivia's personal credit was quite insufficient to provide the horses, arms, and other expenses, so that he was obliged to take a sort of sleeping partner. This necessary evil appeared in the shape of a Spanish merchant, Francisco Martinez, who had newly arrived, and appears to have been what is called in North America a "tenderfoot," or "new chum."

With this person's money as well as his own, Valdivia got together a small force of men, with horses, armour, Indian servants, domestic cattle, pigs, poultry, and the seeds of many European plants.

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Everything was ready in December 1535, when there arose an unexpected difficulty which no one but Valdivia could ever have surmounted. The Emperor Charles V. granted practically the same concession to a certain Pedro Sanchez de la Hoz. This man, one of the first companions of Pizarro, had succeeded in getting together enough riches to return to Spain. There he had squandered his newly-acquired wealth in the course of two years. Moreover, he was a trusted and intimate friend of Pizarro.

The difficulty seemed insuperable. In the end, Valdivia was obliged to saddle himself with another associate. He got rid of him, however, for the time, by a contract in which Sanchez de la Hoz undertook to buy 50 horses, 200 cuirasses, and 2 ships, which, when equipped and furnished with other necessaries, were to follow after Valdivia.

At last, in January 1536, he started with a force of 150 Spaniards and 1,000 Indians, chiefly carriers. The march was conducted with extraordinary skill. It was no ordinary feat to lead this expedition, which included women and children, across such deserts as those at Arequipa, Moquegua, Tacna, and Tarapacá. They rested in the various oases, and in the end did not lose a single man through sickness or desertion.[1]

When Valdivia arrived at the port where Sancho de Hoz and his ships were expected, they had not arrived. The latter had been quite unable to fulfil his engagements. Instead, he very foolishly started in pursuit of Valdivia, accompanied by a certain Antonio de Ulloa and a few other adventurers. His plan was very simple: merely to arrest Valdivia and to substitute himself as chief!

One evening in June, when the expedition was peacefully resting before starting to cross the Atacama (the last desert), Sanchez de la Hoz arrived and immediately rushed to Valdivia's tent. But the chief had gone with an advance party to arrange about the next camping-ground. On his return, Sanchez de la Hoz was at once

[1] In fact a few extra soldiers were picked up on the route, and especially three, who afterwards became famous Chilians (namely Villagran, Aquirre, and Quiroga).

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A CHILIAN HARVEST.

To *face* p. 31.

imprisoned. Ulloa joined the expedition, but the other three were sent back to Peru.

The next difficulty was the usual mutiny. The soldier who "crabbed" the expedition was hung that same evening; another mutineer was condemned to death, but eventually pardoned on condition that he became a monk. After two months of rest and preparation they again started to cross the Atacama, taking with them the unfortunate Sanchez de la Hoz, who renounced his pretensions, *in writing and formally*, and thereafter served as a simple soldier.

The desert was successfully traversed again without the loss of one man, and they reached the valley of Copiapó.

The Indians concealed their provisions, and attacked the Spanish detachments, but Valdivia discovered their hiding-places, and conquered them with the loss of only some forty carriers and two or three Indian auxiliaries. He then formally, as soldier and servant of the King of Spain, took possession of the whole valley.

Further south, the Indians tried to persuade him to retreat by appearing in rags with stories of starvation and distress, which so worked on the feelings of the auxiliaries that nearly half of the latter deserted. But Valdivia proceeded calmly on his way, and soon reached the more fertile and densely peopled part of the Chilian valley.

In the beautiful, well-watered valley of the Mapocho, he fixed on a site for the future city of Santiago,[1] just where the rock of Santa Lucia afforded an impregnable refuge.

It is not easy to-day to recognise the spot where Valdivia encamped. The rough and rugged rock of Santa Lucia is entirely covered by pink-tinted stucco restaurants and other buildings, with a profusion of gilt railings, rococo balconies, and artificial gardens, whilst in every

[1] The ceremony of founding the city took place on 12th February 1541. It had at first ten streets east to west, and eight from north to south. The Cabildo, a sort of glorified town council with very extensive legislative powers, was founded on the 7th March.

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direction around stretches the huge metropolis with its 334,538 inhabitants.

Valdivia's Santiago was a miserable little hamlet of straw-roofed huts built on a sort of island formed by two branches of the Mapocho river. Having left his *impedimenta* under guard in the infant city, Valdivia divided his cavalry into four parties, and with these scoured and reconnoitred the country in every direction.

He managed to arrange a conference with the Indian chiefs, most of whom had taken refuge in the neighbouring woods, during which he informed them that he had come to stay and to take possession of Chile. There is a peculiar gift of silence in the South American Indian: the chiefs said nothing, and Valdivia supposed this meant submission.

Valdivia induced the Cabildo, by false news of the death of Pizarro and of a Peruvian revolution, to nominate himself as governor. He indeed refused four times to accept the nomination, but the proceedings were a farce, for Valdivia was determined to be not merely the nominee of Peru, but the real master of this new country. He started gold mines at Malga-malga (worked by 1,200 men and 500 women), and also began the building of a brigantine at the mouth of the Rio Aconcagua. (At that time the country was covered by forest, so that there was an abundance of timber.) Small escorts of soldiers were placed in charge of these works. Whilst absent upon these proceedings, a rebellion broke out in Santiago. Valdivia took horse, and at once seized the six principals, of whom five were promptly hung.

By this time (August) the Indians had gathered in their harvest, and the astute Cacique, Michimalonca, had arranged his plans for a general revolution. By the story of a rich gold mine, and the production of a bowl of gold dust, they induced the soldiers at Malga-malga to follow them into an ambuscade where all were killed except one soldier and a negro slave. The Indians then burnt the ship and killed the Peruvians and other Spanish hangers-on.

Valdivia collected provisions, seized six of the local chiefs, and fortified the city. But though his tiny force was seriously diminished by the loss of twenty-five soldiers and ten horses, he boldly sallied out to attack the Indians in their native woods.

His lieutenant, Monroi, was left to defend Santiago with 50 men. On a Sunday morning (11th September 1541), three hours before dawn, an army of 8,000 or 10,000 Indians suddenly attacked the city. They swarmed over the palisades, and fighting with the utmost fury, set fire to the houses and fortifications. Very soon the whole town was burning furiously; the Spaniards were driven by the fire and by the enemy to take post in the open plaza[1] or square. Valdivia's mistress, the beautiful Ines Suarez, the only Spanish woman in the colony, played a heroine's part in the defence. She assisted in patching up the wounded so that they might return to the fight. She then hurriedly brought out the six Indian chiefs from their prison, and with her own hand she struck off their heads, and had them flung into the ranks of the besiegers. The fight had lasted all day, and in the afternoon or evening matters became desperate. The Spaniards had been driven into the precincts of the fort. They formed themselves into a close squadron of cavalry, with Ines Suarez, clad in a coat of mail, in their midst. They then furiously charged out of the fort into the dense masses of the enemy. The carnage was horrible, and finally the Indians fled in terror. That night was passed in the smoking ruins of their capital in momentary expectation of a fresh attack. Though but four Spaniards were killed, almost every man was wounded, and in the fire, houses, provisions, clothes, and stores of all kinds, had been absolutely destroyed. Of their animals and seeds, there only remained two young sows and a boar, a cock and a hen; amongst the ruins they also discovered a few handfuls of wheat.

It was in such moments as these that Valdivia and his Spaniards were entirely admirable.

[1] South American towns generally possess a large square or plaza, which is situated in the centre of the place.

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No time was lost: armed bodies were sent forth to crush out every vestige of armed rebellion. The whole population was set to work, sowing wheat and rebuilding the fortifications.

Alonso de Monroi and five soldiers were despatched to Peru in quest of reinforcements and other stores, and Santiago settled down to two years of starvation and distress, varied by Indian fighting and other calamities.

They lived on rats and all sorts of abominations; they dug up the roots of wild plants for food. The first year's harvest of wheat and maize was saved for seed. Valdivia, writing to Charles V., describes their proceedings as follows:—

"The Christian that obtained 50 grains of maize every day did not consider it a small amount: any one who had a handful of corn did not grind it to take out the bran. So we have lived: the soldiers being content with such rations, lived in their houses, but it was agreed to keep in the field all through the winter some thirty to forty men on horseback: when they had finished their provisions they returned and others went out. . . . The Indians called us *cupais*, the name which they give their devils, because at every hour when they came to look for us (and they know how to attack at night), they found us awake, armed, and, in daylight, on horseback."

They had no wine, no clothes, except what they wore on the night of the fire, and such skins and Indian cotton as they could obtain.

Monroi, who, as it will be remembered, had been despatched to find succour in Peru, passed through the most extraordinary adventures.

First, he was attacked by the Indians, who killed four of his companions; Monroi and one other (Miranda) managed to gallop off and save themselves. Then they were taken prisoners by another Indian cacique. It is not clear why they were not promptly killed. A fair Indian princess is said to have interceded for the good-looking Spaniards. According to another account, Monroi's companion won golden opinions by his skill in playing the flute. At any rate, they were so far advanced in

favour that they were allowed to go out, and to give the cacique riding-lessons. During one of these rides they seized their opportunity, knocked off the cacique, killed his companions, mounted the horses, and fled for their lives. Then they eventually reached the borders of Peru, only to find civil war in full blast, and with Almagro's faction temporarily predominant in the South.

As Valdivia was a bosom friend of Pizarro, his emissaries would certainly have been imprisoned (probably killed) if they proceeded. Monroi therefore crossed the Andes, and eventually reached certain Spanish settlements at Porco, where friends of Valdivia were to be found.

In order to give some idea of the riches of the country, the horses had been shod with golden shoes, and Monroi was provided with golden stirrups, as well as letters and documents of all kinds. Most of these valuables had been, of course, lost, but Monroi, who was undoubtedly both ingenious and intelligent, seems to have found little difficulty in persuading a Portuguese priest to lend him a considerable sum in gold. Soon afterwards, the Almagro faction was finally crushed, and Monroi approached the Governor of Peru (Vaca de Castro). He obtained permission to raise money and to advertise the expedition by drums and clarionets, and eventually some sixty well-armed men and 5,000 pesos were obtained.

Another friend of Valdivia's despatched a ship laden with clothes, arms, iron, wine, etc., to Valparaiso. The cargo (valued at 10,000 or 12,000 pesos) was to be paid for when Valdivia "quisièse i tuviese" (could, and desired to do so). The arrival of this ship in September 1543 saved the situation in Chile. Other reinforcements followed. By this time the danger of famine had been averted, for in the second year there were abundant harvests of wheat and Indian corn. The swine and poultry also had thriven and multiplied exceedingly.

The following years (1544-1546) were spent by the indefatigable governor in taking complete possession of Chile north of the Rio Maule. This part of the country had been previously conquered by the Incas, and Valdivia's army of some 200 men proved sufficient to

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colonise and hold it. The Indians lost hope and settled down practically as slaves in the *encomiendas*: these latter were landed estates to which so many Indians were attached. One might translate the phrase as "livelihood." *Tener que comer* meant to obtain such an estate with the Indians attached. The nature of these encomiendas has been fully described by Barros Arana and others. Such estates grew into the modern *inquilino* system of Chile; it might be described as the original Inca system of land tenure, modified by Spanish feudalism and distinguished by an entire want of forethought and humanity in the treatment of the Indians. In consequence of these latter qualities, especially as exemplified in work at the gold mines, the Indian population seriously diminished in numbers.

There were not enough estates for the soldiers, and in consequence, the conquest of new lands and the enslaving of new Indians were essential points of early Spanish policy. Valdivia founded the city of Serena in the north, and determined to explore the south. He despatched a ship along the coast, and himself marched by land with a force of some seventy cavalry as well as Indians. It was in this expedition that the Spaniards encountered the Araucanians for the first time.

They were attacked whilst on the march, and drove off the enemy, but the very same evening their camp was assailed furiously. For two hours the Indians continued fighting, and with a furious courage and determination which astonished the Spaniards. Nowhere else in South America had they met with such resistance.

In fact, Valdivia retreated, for, leaving his camp fires burning, he withdrew cautiously one evening and returned in safety to Santiago.

To conquer these people, it was clearly necessary to obtain money, arms, and men, both from Peru and from Spain. The colonists were obliged to contribute towards this end, and Monroi, Antonio de Ulloa, and others, were despatched to Spain by way of Peru.

But this latter country was again in a horrible state of disorder and civil war. This time it was a rebellion

of almost every Spaniard in Peru against the Emperor's viceroy. Antonio de Ulloa first took the side of the rebels, and wasted all Valdivia's money in their cause. Then, when his side was triumphant, he prepared a force to march to Chile with the view of deposing Valdivia. and substituting himself. But he was obliged to return to assist the revolutionary party; then he turned traitor and joined the viceroy.

Thus, during two whole years, Valdivia was quite ignorant of what had happened to his messengers. It was absolutely necessary to get money, and the method adopted by Valdivia was certainly an ingenious one.

He first gave out that all who wished to do so could leave Chile. Every one who had gathered a little gold promptly hastened to Valparaiso, and hurried on board ship, in order to put their gold and other property in safety. Valdivia then invited them all to a farewell banquet on shore.

Whilst this feast was going on, Valdivia slipped away and went on board the vessel. He was going himself to Peru, and intended to take the gold and other savings without being bothered by the proprietors, who were all left, furious, on the shore. He drew up a list of their valuables and did, as a matter of fact, repay at least some of them.

Their rage cannot have been in any way diminished by the sight of Valdivia's ship, which remained quietly in the bay until the temporary governor, Francisco de Villagran, could assure him that Santiago was in good order.

There was an abortive attempt at rebellion, but Villagran was prompt and resolute: a negro slave cut off the head of Pedro Sanchez de la Hoz, who had been foolish enough to lead the rebels; another turbulent cavalier was hung. Valdivia, seeing that Villagran was firmly seated in the viceregal chair, sailed away to Peru, leaving the would-be emigrants lamenting on the shore.

His journey was not without some small excitements. There was a general revolution in Peru. When he touched for provisions at any port, his men had to be

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very wary, and dash for their boats if the port happened to be in the hands of the rebels. But, with his usual good fortune, he arrived at exactly the right moment. The viceroy, Pedro de la Gasca, was about to attack the celebrated Carvajal, who had shown extraordinary military ability. Valdivia, with his Italian and Chilian reputation, was very warmly welcomed.

The rebellion was not so formidable as had been expected. Peru was exhausted and disgusted by this incessant warfare. The civil war was ended by the great battle at Jaquijahuana. Valdivia had charge of the Royalist line, and brought about a complete victory. He came before La Gasca, bringing the terrible Carvajal prisoner. Then La Gasca, in the name of Charles V., hailed Valdivia as Governor of Chile.

Possibly the latter supposed that his difficulties were over; at any rate, he set about raising men and getting stores with his usual indefatigable energy. But his troubles were only beginning; his enemies were hard at work attempting to destroy his credit with La Gasca, and bringing all sorts of charges against him. Valdivia only hurried on his preparations. After incredible difficulties, he had got together a small force and started on his journey. He did get as far as the town of Atacama, which was the last desert to cross on the way to Chile, when he was given La Gasca's order to return to Peru to stand his trial. Valdivia's soldiers were faithful. They were ready to support him, and La Gasca's officer had but very few men. Yet Valdivia preferred to remain loyal, and returned to be tried.

No doubt some of Valdivia's proceedings were a little highhanded and arbitrary even for that generation (notably the death of Sanchez de la Hoz and the forced loan exacted from the would-be emigrants), but it was fully demonstrated that Valdivia was loyal, that he had expended every penny for the public good, and the death of a Sanchez de la Hoz or so was an ordinary daily necessity in the South America of those days.

Valdivia was therefore allowed to proceed to Chile, where he arrived in April 1549. During his absence the

Indians at Serena had risen, massacred the Spaniards, and absolutely destroyed that settlement. The Santiago Indians were also threatening a general rising. Francisco de Villagran, however, cruelly punished the Indians of the north,[1] and a fort was subsequently erected which prevented any further trouble.

Valdivia was now in a position to carry out his cherished scheme of further conquest in the south. His force consisted mainly of cavalry; they were fully armed in coat of mail, and carried swords and long ash spears. The infantry had cuirasses, helmets, and sometimes also complete armour. The fire-arms of the period were clumsy arquebuses, fired from a wooden support by the aid of a fuse only kept alight with great difficulty, but at that time the Spanish infantry was the best in the world.

A force of 200 men started in January 1550. Valdivia, suffering from the gout, was at first borne in a litter, but he afterwards recovered sufficiently to mount his horse.

They marched in order of battle, preceded by advanced guards and with their baggage in the centre. In this way they arrived at the Rio de la Laya (or Nivequeten), which they crossed probably near Tarpellanca. The water came up to the stirrups of the horsemen.

Whilst in the act of crossing, 2,000 Indians attacked them, but were put to flight by a charge of the vanguard cavalry. The Spaniards passed on to the Biobio river, where they encamped. That night the Indians swam across the river and surprised the camp; they were repulsed. But it would obviously have been sheer madness for the Spaniards to try to pass the river on "balsas" (inflated hides) in the face of such enemies: they therefore turned eastwards. After marching two leagues, they were again attacked, and so it went on for the next eight days. Always repulsed, the Araucanians, never discouraged, returned to the attack in spite of the Spanish horses and fire-arms, which were, of course, quite unknown to them. Valdivia crossed the Biobio, but found such

[1] They were killed by hundreds at a time. Some were burnt alive, and the population was decimated.

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hosts of enemies that he returned. In a plain between the Biobio and the Andalien river he rested for two days. A small freshwater lake guarded one side of the camp, but, nevertheless, during the night half the men, fully armed, remained on guard for six hours whilst the others slept.

It was just as well that they did! For (it was the night of the 22nd February) the camp was suddenly overwhelmed by a furious onslaught made by some 20,000 Araucanians. The confusion was terrible. The advanced posts of the Spaniards were driven in utter rout back upon the main body. No orders could at first be heard amidst the din and clamour of Araucanian war-cries. Compact masses of Indians surrounded the Spaniards; the horses were clubbed, and in the darkness of the night the Spaniards lost most of their advantages.

According to the confession of the commander-in-chief himself, defeat seemed inevitable. Valdivia gave orders to his men to dismount, and, under the protection of their shields, to charge the enemy with their spears.

The Indians could not defend themselves against such an attack by, it must be remembered, the best infantry in Europe; they were probably worn out with fatigue, and finally fled, leaving the ground covered with the bodies of their comrades. Every Spanish soldier was wounded. This bloody battle of Andalien has always been considered one of the decisive fights of the two hundred and fifty years of fighting that followed it.

Valdivia pushed on to the beautiful bay of Talcahuano, one of the finest harbours on the west coast of South America. There, at a spot called Penco, he founded the famous city of Concepción, building a strong fort where he could safely leave his sick and wounded men.

Yet even here he had to keep a third of his men always on guard. At Penco, on the 12th of March, he was again attacked by some 40,000 warriors. The whole host was thrown into inextricable confusion by the charge of some fifty Spanish horse. The slaughter was terrible, and especially in the pursuit, during which over 1,000 Indians were killed.

But the Spaniards were inspired with full confidence that they were fighting for the Catholic faith. They even believed that the Virgin Mary and St James actually helped to repulse the wretched Indians!

After the victory Valdivia exercised the most atrocious cruelty. There were some 400 Indian prisoners, and, by way of pacifying the country, he ordered that the right hands and noses of these unfortunates should be cut off. They were then set free, and allowed to spread fear and horror throughout Araucania.

The winter was passed at Concepción, and in the spring (October) Valdivia called together a meeting of Indian caciques, at which peace was arranged.

In February 1551 Valdivia started on a fresh expedition to the south, leaving a small force of fifty men to guard Concepción. He was not opposed in his march through the forests, which then stretched as far as the rapid little river, Cautin. At the junction of this stream with the Rio de las Damas he founded a new city (or rather wooden palisade), called by the proud title of Imperial. Here he left a garrison of forty men under Pedro de Villagran, and then returned to Concepción. This was the first of many similar forts or blockhouses.

Every writer and every historian severely criticises Valdivia's Indian policy, which consisted in the formation of such small forts throughout the Indian country. But it must be remembered that until the native chief Lautaro appeared upon the scene, no Spaniard had ever been killed by the Indians in any of these desperate battles.

The Indians seemed to have sullenly acquiesced in their defeat, and Valdivia, with the precedents of all other parts of South America, did not realise that the Araucanian was quite unlike any other South American savage.

Moreover, he had no choice in the matter. Each soldier had to be paid by a grant of land carrying the usual number of Indian slaves. The soldiers of the period were of a fierce, intractable character, and it was difficult to keep any sort of discipline even in the best of times. Thus Valdivia was obliged to establish a chain of small fortified posts all over Southern Chile, by means of which

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he hoped to hold the country permanently and to give out "livelihoods." It is unnecessary to follow his journeys in detail or the story of the various exploring expeditions which he despatched towards the south. The forts, however, must be mentioned, as their names occur frequently in history. The southernmost and best known was Valdivia, named after himself and upon the river of the same name (founded in February 1552). Villarica, in the Central valley, was near the beautiful lake which supplies the river Tolten. Arauco was close to the sea on the way to Imperial from Concepción. Osorno was near Lake Ranco. Tucapel[1] and Puren were respectively on the western and eastern sides of the coast cordillera, not far from Angol, where another post, Los Confines, was established.

Concepción, Imperial, and Valdivia were to be the three central cities; the others were detached posts along the road connecting them.

Valdivia's forces had been dangerously weakened by this system of division and subdivision. The Indians soon began to realise that every man of every tribe was doomed to perish, either in slavery at the mines, or of starvation and hunger. They met in a national parliament, and elected as cacique a young warrior, called Caupolicán, whose reputation for prudence and bravery was known to all of them. Before this there had been disquieting and ominous reports.

Diego de Maldonado and five men had been attacked on the road between Arauco and Tucapel. He and another saved their lives by flight, but their companions were killed. Next, the Governor of Tucapel was in great danger. The Indians were obliged to supply him with a daily allowance of firewood and forage. One morning they entered the fort as usual, bearing these supplies. After placing them on the ground, the Indians suddenly produced their weapons, and fiercely attacked the soldiers. Although taken at a great disadvantage, the Governor Ariza rallied his soldiers, and drove out the invaders,

[1] Fifty to fifty-five kilometres south of Arauco and five kilometres north of Cañete (Asta Buruaga).

subsequently putting to flight another large body, which then attacked the fort.

His losses were, however, severe, and being shut up in a small blockhouse without supplies, he found it necessary to abandon the place, and to fly by night to the nearest stronghold—that of Puren.

Tucapel was immediately destroyed. Valdivia at once set forth to crush the rebellion. He first visited his gold mines (said to be near Coronel or Lota), and made a small fort to guard them; then he proceeded to Arauco and Tucapel with a force which amounted to about fifty Spanish cavalry and a number of friendlies.

The Indians were holding a general assembly and arranging their plans. They were, of course, well aware of every movement made by the Spanish Governor. All the tribes were, for the first time, represented, and many Spanish slaves had fled from their masters to take part in the great struggle.

Amongst these was a groom, formerly in the service of Valdivia, and who was only eighteen years of age. This youth, Lautaro, of dominant personality, and with a genius for war, at once took his rightful place as Commander-in-Chief.

He at once selected as the best place for the battle the terrace-like tableland on the eastern side of the cordillera, upon which lay the smouldering ashes of Fort Tucapel. The mountain-sides were precipitous, craggy, and covered by intricate and tangled forest. The river Tucapel falls from the mountain near the fort, and winds through the valley below it. In some places it flows through difficult ravines. But there is a gradual and gentle slope leading to the fort itself, so that it was quite easy of access.

Lautaro's dispositions were very skilful. Detached parties were concealed in the woods along the road by which the Spaniards must approach. They were ordered to drive back the scouts, and to be ready to attack any fugitives from the battle. The main body was massed in several divisions. These were hidden on the woody

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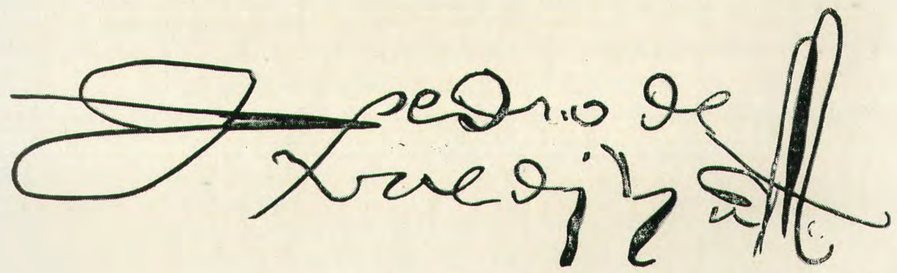
flanks of the mountain, and were to attack successively and independently. Each division when beaten was to take refuge amongst the ravines and crags, where the horses could not follow. Lautaro kept a strong reserve under his own orders. This was concealed on the flank of the proposed battle-ground, and between it and the river.

Valdivia started from Arauco on 30th December, marching towards the south, but inclining a little to the east. The road, over broken ground, covered with forest, and interrupted by rivers, was some 16 leagues, and required about two and a half days to traverse. He, on the second day, despatched five or six scouts in advance, but they did not return. Next morning the severed arm of one of them was discovered on the track. Valdivia began to realise the rashness of his undertaking, and held a council of war. Undoubtedly it was just as dangerous to retreat as to advance, and Valdivia decided to yield to the bold enthusiasm of his gallant cavaliers, and to go forward.

They arrived on the tableland, in sight of the still smoking ruins of Tucapel, without seeing an enemy. Then the front of the column was furiously attacked by the first Araucanian division. Valdivia ordered his leading troop to charge. The cavalry trampled the Indians under-foot, and cut down with their swords those that remained standing. The Indians fought heroically, and the Spaniards were almost all wounded. Moreover, every man and every horse was exhausted by this first onslaught. The first division of Indians, however, fled to the hills, and a second body of Araucanians advanced to the attack. These offered an obstinate resistance, and Valdivia was obliged to throw almost the whole of his force into the battle. Finally, the second division of Indians was beaten, and again took refuge amongst the hills.

Then new and fresh bodies of Indian warriors took up the fight. Valdivia gathered all his men together, and opposed them. But his exhausted soldiers began to fall fast, and it was obvious that the dense Araucanian masses could not be dispersed. Valdivia sounded his





PEDRO DE VALDIVIA.

From Barros Arana's "Historia Jeneral de Chile."

To face p. 44.

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trumpets for a moment's pause, and asked: "Caballeros qué hacemos?" "What shall we do, gentlemen?" "What does your Excellency expect of us, save to fight and die?" answered the Captain Altamirano.

Valdivia ordered one more desperate charge, but this was of no avail. The Spaniards could not drive back the dense masses of enemies, and the trumpets sounded the retreat.

This was Lautaro's opportunity. As the wearied soldiers were retiring, they were charged on the flank by new bodies of Indians (Lautaro's reserve), who had not been engaged, and who now saw victory and vengeance within their grasp. The Spaniards fought as long as they could stand, then turned to fly. But flight was impossible: the horses were scarce able to walk, and the forest swarmed with Indians.

Not one single Spaniard escaped. Those most fortunate perished on the field. A few were taken prisoners, and cruelly tortured to death. Valdivia had attempted to escape, but his horse broke down. He then confessed himself to the priest who accompanied him. Naked and bound, he was dragged through the forest to the assembly of Indian chiefs. The manner of his death is too horrible to quote.[1]

So died Pedro de Valdivia, perhaps the greatest Spaniard in Chilian history.

"Valdivia, when he died, was fifty-six years of age. He was a man of good stature, of a cheerful countenance, with a large head like his body. He was then somewhat corpulent, broad-shouldered, broad-chested; though unpolished in words, he was a man of keen intelligence and both generous and gracious in thanks. After he became governor, he delighted in giving presents, and was generous in everything. He loved to go about in magnificent clothes; he was partial to his attendants, and delighted in good cheer and fine wines; he was

[1] Aunque los indios tenian las espadas i dagas que habian quitado a los vencidos, prefirieron usar las conchas marinas que usaban como cuchillos. Con ellas cortaron los brazos i despues de asarlos lijeramente los devoraron a su presencia. Others say that they filled his mouth with molten gold.

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affable and humane to everybody. But two things obscured the greatness of his character. He detested noblemen, and he was generally plunged in a disgraceful intrigue with some Spanish lady."

The above description gives some idea of the character of the first Governor of Chile.

His faults were very great. But Valdivia was a man of his time and generation. It is better to think of his undaunted spirit, his tireless energy, his keen insight into human nature, and his skill both in administration and in diplomacy. These qualities were all his own, and whatever his faults may have been, Chile was founded by Valdivia and remained much as he left it for at least one hundred and fifty years. He left no heirs, and of his wealth but little ever came to the hands of his widow.

CHAPTER IV

THE COMPANIONS OF VALDIVIA

Villagran is elected governor—Evacuation of forts—Defeat near Mariguenu — Evacuation and destruction of Concepcion — Disputes between the governors — Second destruction of Concepción — Lautaro's invasion of the Santiago district — Surprise and death of Lautaro—Mendoza governor—Nearly shipwrecked on the way to Concepción—Attack on his camp—Victory at Lagunillas and Millarapue—Rebuilding of forts—Attack on a convoy — Capture and death of Caupolicán — Mendoza's recall — His government — Villagran appointed — Priests dishearten the Spaniards—Puren taken—Illness of the governor—death of his son at Mariguenu—Retreat from Cañete — Death of Francisco Villagran—Heroic defence of Arauco — It is abandoned — Siege of Concepción — Pedro de Villagran governor, but replaced by Quiroga — Takes Mariguenu and defeats the Indians at Talcamavida — Mercado's victories—Taking of Chiloé—Brava de Saravia appointed—A peace policy —Saravia's campaigns — Defeat at Catirai — Earthquake in Concepción—Disgraceful affair near Puren—Saravia's difficulties —His resignation—His character—Quiroga governor—Earthquake of 1575 [1]—Victory of Hualqui, of Colcura and of Guadaua —Drake's expedition—Its effect on Chile—Death of Quiroga.

AFTER the death of Pedro de Valdivia, misfortune followed misfortune. It was, of course, impossible for small garrisons to remain isolated in a country seething with victorious savages. Concepción, Imperial, and Valdivia indeed held out, but all the other posts were abandoned. Francisco de Villagran hurriedly returned to Concepción. He was elected Governor by the cabildo of Concepción, and at once prepared to crush the rebellion before it gained a still more dangerous development.

[1] A letter from Quiroga to the King in the Archivos de las Indias Seville (in Gay's Documentos) gives an interesting account of his troubles.

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He crossed the Biobio with 180 of the best soldiers in Chile, and proceeded southwards along the narrow belt of flat land between the coast cordillera and the sea. At Mariguenu[1] or Laraquete, two mountain spurs run downwards from the main range to the sea-shore, where they end abruptly in a sort of escarpment. Between them is the narrow valley of the little river Chivilingo, which widens out towards the sea. These broken hills were all covered by dense woods and tangled thickets. No Indians had been seen as far as this point, and on the line of march they had abandoned their houses and crops.

The Spaniards encamped in the Chivilingo valley, where they destroyed the growing crops. No sign of the enemy was perceived during the night, though 5,000 or 6,000 Indians under Lautaro occupied the surrounding woods, and were indeed busy all that night in forming palisades and cutting down trees which they placed across the rugged and difficult paths by which the Spaniards had come. The retreat of the Spaniards was therefore cut off.

Next morning the Spaniards began to mount the second spur. They were quite unsuspicious of any danger, and arrived safely at a sort of small terrace some way up this spur. Then a dog barked and immediately masses of Indians began to appear. Reinoso, with the vanguard, possessed some rude cannons, which were discharged and did some execution. A charge of cavalry was more efficacious and drove off the first divisions of Indians who took refuge in inaccessible ground.

New bodies of fresh Indians were appearing, however, at every point, and matters became extremely serious. Besides their clubs and arrows, the Indians brought nooses and lassos made of creepers, with which they dragged the riders from their horses. A new force appeared on the first hill in rear of the Spaniards, and Villagran called together a council. The Indians drew off and ate their provisions; then, suddenly and unexpectedly, they charged from all sides, took the cannon and drove the retreating Spaniards down into the valley. The latter were quite worn out with fatigue, and the retreat,

[1] This lies on the road from Lota and Colcura to Arauco.

relentlessly pressed by the Indians, became a disastrous flight. They hurried back up the hill in rear, still pursued by the Indians, and there suffered an even more disastrous defeat. Some fled along a path to the sea-coast and were pushed over the steep and broken promontory, to perish amongst the rocks. A few fled back in small parties and reached the Biobio, but there found that their Indian servants had burnt the boat by which they had crossed. Fortunately, they discovered a few dug-out canoes, and the survivors managed to reach Concepción in safety. Villagran, who escaped, lost ninety-six men in this disastrous defeat at Mariguenu, but he had lost also all chance of withstanding the Indians. He decided to abandon Concepción. The women and children were sent to Valparaiso by sea, whilst Villagran and the remnants of the army prepared to retire to Santiago with all those who were able to march. The Indians utterly destroyed Concepción.

Thus the whole country appeared to be destined to utter ruin. One of the most dangerous features in the situation consisted in there being no recognised governor. Valdivia's will nominated in the first place Jeronimo de Alderete, who was in Spain; in the second, Francisco de Aguirre (who was then far away in Tucuman), and in the third, Francisco de Villagran. The latter was nominated by the cabildo of Concepción. But the cabildo of Santiago had in the meantime met, and legally appointed Rodrigo de Quiroga as interim governor. The situation became complex to the last degree, when Aguirre hurried back from Tucuman and appeared with a strong force in the neighbourhood of Santiago. Neither Villagran nor Aguirre intended to give way.

Emissaries despatched to Peru for help, found the country again plunged in a horrible civil war, and neither able nor willing to give the slightest assistance.

Perhaps this was the most dangerous time in the whole history of Chile.

Villagran eventually managed by a sort of *coup d'état* to get himself appointed. Fortunately for the Spaniards, the Indians were unable to profit by the situation. Their

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crops were destroyed, and they were perishing by starvation ; a pestilence followed which carried off large numbers of them. Villagran traversed the Indian country in 1554-1555 carrying on a war of extermination and destruction. Concepción was again established towards the end of 1555, and surrounded with a palisade, but Lautaro attacked the place unexpectedly, and adopted a new and peculiar method. His men carried large pieces of timber, which they arranged in front of them so as to form a temporary protection; from behind this they used their nooses and lassos. The Spanish cavalry were beaten back with severe loss, and by a furious charge of the Indians, driven towards the palisades. A scene of the most horrible confusion followed. Some tried to fly to the ships in harbour, most retired northwards towards Santiago, pursued by the Indians, who had blocked all the paths leading north. But most of them managed to escape, for the Indians returned to plunder and destroy Concepción for the second time.

Next year Lautaro carried the campaign across the Rio Maule and threatened Santiago itself. He laid waste the country, whilst the Spaniards and their allies fled before him. He formed a strong encampment at Peteroa in a part of the Mataquito valley. His front was covered by a ditch and a system of deep pits which prevented any attack by cavalry. A small force of some forty Spaniards was utterly defeated in an attempt to take this post, but Lautaro withdrew after his victory.

This, however, was only to seek fresh and more formidable forces, with whom he returned to take up the same strong position at Mataquito. Francisco de Villagran returned from the south to find Santiago in a most dangerous position. A frontal attack on Lautaro's camp was too dangerous, therefore Villagran made a long detour, and reaching the mountains in rear of it, managed to surprise the Indians from a quite unexpected quarter. Some of the latter were asleep, some drunk, and all had laid aside their arms. The result was a complete victory for the Spaniards, who are said to

have killed 600 Indians. But the brave Lautaro, the most skilful and ingenious of Indian leaders, was killed, and with him perished the hopes of the Araucanians. Under his leadership they had gained every battle, killed one governor, destroyed Concepción (twice) as well as every other fort south of the Maule except Imperial and Valdivia. After his death they suffered defeat after defeat, as will appear later on.

It is necessary to turn to the political developments. In Spain, Jeronimo de Alderete had been appointed Governor, but died before he landed in Chile. The Viceroy of Peru then exercised his powers and appointed as governor his son, Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza, who was only twenty-two years of age though already a good soldier and man of affairs.

He belonged to one of the noblest families in Spain, and was accompanied by a brilliant suite and strong reinforcements. His coming marked a new era, for it is no longer the country of the rough, quarrelsome, and ambitious Conquistador, but a Spanish colony, suffering like any other from the luxury of a nobleman-viceroy.

The first acts of Mendoza were to throw both Aguirre and Villagran into prison after receiving them in a flattering and confidential manner. The governor in other ways soon showed himself to be unscrupulous, tyrannical, overbearing, and ungrateful towards those who had borne the burden and heat of the day. He was a fanatical Catholic, and established the power of the Church in Chile. He seems also, like some of the Chilian clergy, to have believed that a system of kindness and sermons would soon dispose of the Indian difficulty.

He at once proceeded by sea towards Concepción, though it was the worst season of the year, and very nearly perished in a violent storm. Landing in the little island of Quiriquina, his party suffered great privations, using lignite coal as there was no firewood. They fortified their camp on the site of Concepción. The Indians were pleased with gifts, and took great interest in the drills and manœuvres of the soldiers. Six days afterwards Caupolicán led his armies to the attack of their

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fortifications. The battle lasted six hours, and ended in the repulse of the Indians, yet it was by no means a great victory, for the Spaniards were unable to pursue. When the cavalry arrived from Santiago, Mendoza started on his campaign. His force consisted of 600 men, 1,000 horses, and 6 guns. He had plenty of arms and ammunition. On the march scouts were sent in every direction; then came the vanguard, preceded by a procession of priests bearing the cross. At first he issued orders that no damage was to be done to the crops and other possessions of the Indians; he also treated prisoners with a certain amount of humanity, but this did not last for very long.

At Lagunillas the Spaniards drove off the Indians after a desperate struggle. The vanguard cavalry charged prematurely and were beaten, but a difficult advance of the pikemen, who waded through marshes and water up to their waists, drove off the Indians and decided the day.

Again, a few days later, at Millarapue, the camp was attacked at dawn. Three strong bodies of Indians advanced simultaneously against the front and against both the right and left flank. They carried long poles which they drove against the horses' faces, making them unmanageable. A cavalry charge failed disastrously.[1] Mendoza, however, turned his cannon against the left attack; the discharge opened a way for the cavalry, which once inside the serried masses of Indians, threw them into utter confusion, leaving 1,000 dead upon the ground. Yet the battle had lasted from dawn till nearly two o'clock. Amongst the prisoners taken was a chief whose hands had been cut off by Valdivia. All the chiefs taken were hung.

After these defeats, the Indians adopted a harassing system of guerilla warfare. Small parties were ambushed, stragglers cut off, but they would not submit. Caupolicán sent a message. "He would go on fighting though but three of his men remained alive."

Mendoza like most of his successors, copied Valdivia's

[1] The Araucanian was an apt pupil in war. "The Indians maintained as close and serried a line of pikes as if they had been expert German infantry."

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ACONCAGUA, NEAR THE ROAD FROM SANTIAGO TO MENDOZA.

From "The Highest Andes," by E. A. Fitzgerald, by permission of Messrs. Methuen & Co.

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Indian policy in every detail. He rebuilt Tucapel, Arauco, Angol, and Osorno, and founded a new fort at Cañete. Here he remained for a long time; until, indeed, provisions began to be very scarce. When the army had been forty days without any meat, Avendaño was despatched to Imperial to obtain supplies. He returned towards Cañete with some 1,500 swine and large supplies of grain. The governor by this time had begun to know his Araucanians, and on receiving an unexpected message from them expressing friendship and respect, promptly despatched a strong body to look after the convoy. The support arrived just in time, for Avendaño had been attacked by overwhelming forces as soon as the convoy was engaged in a difficult and dangerous defile (Cayucupil). When the men, wounded, wearied, and worn out, returned to camp, they had lost most of the provisions.

The garrisons in the forts were in constant danger. Soon after this, Cañete just escaped capture. But Mendoza was successful in an attack on the Indian camp at Quiapo, and also succeeded in capturing Caupolicán himself. The latter was cruelly tortured to death.

This period (1557 - 1561) was one of exploration and discovery. Tucuman, Cuyo, and Mendoza were founded. Several attempts were also made to explore the coast line from Concepción southwards.

Juan Ladrilleros, in particular, succeeded in making a survey of the Straits of Magallan with an accuracy that is astonishing considering the difficulties which he met with. The expedition of King and Fitzroy in 1826-1836 were the first to go over and check some of his surveys. It is said that when Ladrilleros returned home with his survey, he only brought back one seaman and a negro out of the whole ship's company.

Early in 1560, Mendoza received a curt epistle from King Phillip II., ordering him to leave Chile for Peru, and to hand over the government to Francisco de Villagran. Mendoza had established churches, monastic orders, tourneys, the game of Pelota, magnificent shows and spectacles, but he had not in reality much improved on Valdivia's methods, though he had spent enormous

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sums of money. This money he obtained by simply annexing the funds in the royal treasury of Peru and by levying contributions from all and sundry. He was arbitrary, cruel, and merciless, insulting and beating with his sword even various high officials and noblemen who presumed to oppose his will. After he left Chile, he was impeached on two hundred and fifteen charges, and the court recommended that he should be put in prison. But he had already sailed for Spain, and apparently family influence and court favour prevented his suffering any penalty whatsoever.

Though the new governor, Francisco de Villagran, had been one of the stoutest and hardiest of the old Conquistadors, he returned to Chile a worn-out invalid, approaching old age and shattered in spirit. His government (1561-1563) proved to be a series of misfortunes. Mendoza had left a pernicious legacy in certain loquacious and wrong-headed priests and friars, who unnerved the soldiers by denouncing the Indian wars as "methods of barbarism." At a time when the settlers in Southern Chile were suffering the pangs of hunger and fighting daily for bare existence, these priests preached about the wickedness of fighting against Indians "rightly struggling to be free."

The result was a series of disasters set off by a few not very magnificent victories.

The first outbreak was at Puren, where Pedro de Avendaño with four soldiers was hacked to death by the axes of his Indian slaves. Cañete was again attacked. Reprisals were attempted. The invalid governor was carried about in a litter, visiting all the forts, but he was useless as governor, and rather a hindrance than a help. He arrived at Valdivia, took a ship for Concepción, but drifted to Chiloé, where he and his party were nearly massacred. Finally, he returned to Concepción, where, stretched on a sick-bed and incapable of aid, he listened month after month to tales of disaster and bereavement.

A strong body was sent against an Indian camp near the Biobio. They took the camp and dispersed the Indians, but suffered heavy losses in killed, wounded, and horses,

for the Indians were already beginning to make themselves fine and expert horsemen.

Next followed an attempt upon an Indian entrenchment near Mariguenu. It was a stout palisade, with in front a series of pits concealed by branches and leaves. Pedro de Villagran, the governor's son, and other impetuous youths charged the position, and fell into the pits. After this the attack became hopelessly confused, and the Indians sallying forth slaughtered forty of the Spaniards, including Pedro de Villagran. The Indians, delighted with their success, charged the Spaniards, who were obliged to disperse and fly.

This disaster led to the abandonment of Cañete. Both Angol and Arauco were besieged, and both were in great danger. The defence of Arauco was of a most heroic character. An Indian warrior managed to set fire to the straw roofs of the houses, producing the most terrible confusion in the garrison. Horses stampeded, wounded men were burnt to death, and most of the stores were destroyed.

Yet they beat off the Indians, put out the fire, and found they could hold their own for three days. The enemy retired: they generally did so after a victory, which was always celebrated by feasts and general drunkenness. Colocolo, the Indian chief, returned on 26th May and strictly besieged Arauco. Provisions and especially water grew scarce. Every drop of water had to be obtained by a sally in force. Then the savages polluted the water with dead bodies, etc., and finally dug a new bed and diverted the stream. Lorenzo Bernal de Mercado and his men still held out, although the Indians paraded the heads of Spaniards on pikes, and declared that Concepción had fallen. A small ship was despatched from Concepción with stores, and a few men landed at Santa Maria. These were promptly killed by the islanders, and the ship returned to Concepción.

Then the veteran governor lost heart and died. By his will, his cousin Pedro de Villagran was appointed governor. The first order of the new governor was to abandon Arauco: Lorenzo Bernal, with his heroic hundred

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men, on a cold and wet night, marched across the forest-clad cordillera to Angol, whilst the Indians burnt the fort which they had so nobly defended.

Next the Indians of the district between the Itata and Biobio rivers rose in revolt, and cut communications between Santiago and Concepción. A detachment from Angol returning to Concepción was thoroughly defeated at Andalien and driven back. When they reached Santiago they caused the greatest alarm. But the heroic colonel, Bernal de Mercado, successfully attacked the forces besieging Angol and horribly punished them. Some of the bravest Indian chiefs and warriors perished in this battle.

The governor was besieged for two months in the city of Concepción by a force said to consist of 20,000 men. Then the Indians retired to sow their crops, and a momentary breathing-space followed. This was soon disturbed by the usual squabbles amongst the Spaniards. In January 1565 the governor pacified the district lying between Maule and Biobio, and opened up communications with Concepción.

In fact, Pedro de Villagran was a distinct success. And then Rodrigo de Quiroga was appointed governor in his stead, whilst Pedro de Villagran, fortunately for himself, managed to escape to Peru.

Rodrigo de Quiroga immediately set to work, and by incredible exertions collected together a force of some 500 Spaniards and 1,000 auxiliary Indians. He managed to destroy the Indian entrenchments at Mariguenu by choosing a moment when the Indians had withdrawn. In the mountainous district near Talcamavida he was attacked on the march by the best of the Araucanian forces (28th January 1566), and inflicted on them a crushing defeat.

Cañete and Arauco were re-established. Bernal de Mercado in the dry season attacked the marshy alluvial of Lumaco, which the Indians thought to be impregnable, and bloodily defeated them. He raided the country, killing men, women, and children, and destroying the crops, and left the survivors to perish of starvation during the winter.

Yet Tucapel, Cañete, and Arauco were no sooner occupied than they were again in danger. The governor, mistaking a temporary truce for submission, despatched an expedition to Chiloé. They crossed to the island in native canoes (made of three planks sown together by sinews or tree-bark), and towed their horses after them. They occupied Chiloé, and founded the city of Castro.

By the usual mismanagement, no sooner was the governor firmly established, and proceeding hopefully, than he was replaced. This time a royal commission of four members was nominated, with as president a lawyer of advanced age, Doctor Melchor Bravo de Saravia. Three of these members eventually arrived in Concepción, though one of their ships was wrecked on the voyage from Valparaiso. Rodrigo de Quiroga at once withdrew to Santiago.

The Commission, or rather Saravia, who soon became governor, came with preconceived ideas. The war was to be ended by humane methods; peace was to be offered to the Indians, and Saravia was to direct the war from Concepción. Ruiz de Gamboa and Bernal de Mercado opened the campaign by a brilliant and successful attack on the Indian entrenchments near Cañete. They were then superseded, apparently, because they attacked the Indians before the rebellion was fully matured. Miguel de Velasco was sent with strict orders to remain on the defensive.

Next year the aged governor, Saravia, took the field in person: very soon his ideas of Indian warfare changed. He acted like his predecessors: destroyed crops, cut off the feet of prisoners, and then set them free or hung the leading chiefs.

We find him in 1568 encamped with his army in the valley of Talcamavida, near Santa Juana.

In spite of the remonstrances of his veteran officers, he attacked a strong fort of the Indians. Round it were steep slopes where the natives had collected enormous quantities of rocks and stones. He foolishly ordered the assault at the worst possible time, in the heat of the day.

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Rocks and stones soon came crashing through the ranks of the Spaniards, breaking arms and legs, and throwing all into disorder. Then from all sides the Indians charged upon them whilst they were struggling up under the avalanches of stones.

The rout of the Spaniards was complete, and the retreat by narrow paths, through tangled thickets and thick forests, was disastrous. Forty-four white men lost their lives at this battle of Catirai. But the after results were still worse. The whole force was demoralised, panic-stricken, and disobedient. The Indians were, of course, all drunk after this victory, and did not seize the chances that lay open to them. Cañete, Arauco, and Angol were relieved, but soon these places were cut off and strictly besieged by the enemy. The first two were abandoned.

As usual, the governor applied to Peru for help, but only one volunteer came forward, and the viceroy was reduced to send out a force of criminals and men who had been condemned to transportation from Peru. These 250 men were, indeed, the very dregs of the population. On 8th February 1870, Ash Wednesday, there was a terrible earthquake in Concepción, followed by a tidal wave. The inhabitants fled to the high grounds, where they were promptly threatened by the Indians. They were, however, succoured by Torres de Vera with 100 soldiers, and a fort was soon erected, in which they took refuge. In the spring the campaign opened badly. A force of sixteen men, with a convoy for Imperial, was surprised, and most of them slain. Soon followed the most disgraceful defeat ever suffered by the Spaniards. Velasco, with 130 men and some guns, had taken up a position near the Puren river; his flanks were protected by side valleys, and in front of him there was a small plain well adapted for cavalry and artillery. An army of 1,500 Indians attacked him. His troops charged them, but when the Indians recovered and advanced again, the Spaniards became disorderly, and fled back to Angol in complete disorder (January 1571). This disgraceful defeat, in which only four or five men were lost, was a serious blow to Spanish prestige.

Bernal de Mercado was then made commander-in-chief, and Saravia was by this time in great difficulties. With the view of satisfying the very just complaints as to the cruel treatment of the Indians, an inspector had been sent to visit the different encomiendas. Heavy fines had been imposed; but then these fines could only be paid by working the Indians even harder than before. Thus the Indians were worse treated, and every colonist became disgusted and discontented. The viceroy in Peru then sent positive orders to Saravia to refrain from any interference in military matters. He appointed Rodrigo de Quiroga General, and Bernal de Mercado Master of Camp or Colonel. Quiroga, however, refused to take up office.

At this time, Concepción was very nearly taken by a sudden and unexpected attack, but the assailants were driven off. Saravia's resignation was accepted in 1573, and, by Royal seal, Rodrigo de Quiroga was appointed Governor. Saravia returned to Peru. The latter had been a most unlucky governor. Seventy-six years of age, badly proportioned, miserly (he kept count of the cups of wine drunk at his table), he was quite unfit to follow in the steps of Valdivia and his conquistadors. He wore spectacles, but only for the sake of effect.

"It is certain that without a glass he could see as far as any man with good eyesight, when he desired to do so, for across the whole width of a room he saw a page put the feet of a capon in the pockets of his hose being a good distance away, the which I saw happened in my presence."[1]

Quiroga was expecting 400 men from Spain, and maintained himself entirely on the defensive.

The people were tired of the war, and the very soldiers deserted rather than continue in such a service. Moreover, other things contributed to bring about a state of dejection and of despair. On 17th March 1575 there was an earthquake in Santiago, and again a more severe one (16th December) in Valdivia, accompanied by a tidal wave that ran three miles inland. The whole city fled

[1] Gay, "Historia de Chile."

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to the open, and remained exposed to the heavy rains in the utmost terror and stupefaction, in which the horses, dogs, and other animals shared. In five cities—Imperial, Villarica, Osorno, Castro, and Valdivia—the houses were thrown down and great waves from the sea swept inland. The Indians of the south (Valdivia and Villarica) also broke out in rebellion, and a tedious guerilla warfare was carried on, in which the soldiers suffered severely. In Valdivia great damage was also done by a severe flood in which 1,200 Indians were drowned.

The long-expected reinforcements arrived, and turned out to be only 334 men, some of them mere boys unfit for service and insufficiently provided with arms and ammunition. Yet the Spaniards never displayed more vigour and capacity than in these terrible days. Quiroga got together a strong force of some 500 Spanish and 2,500 auxiliaries. He had a legal tribunal called together, in which all Indians at war were condemned to death as rebels, thus satisfying the scruples of his superstitious soldiery.

He defeated the Indians at Hualqui on the Biobio, constructed a new fort at Arauco, and commenced a merciless war of extermination. Bernal de Mercado having taken 350 prisoners, they were sent to work at the gold mines in Serena, where one foot of each prisoner was cut off. By this time the Indians had learned Spanish methods. They were learning how to use horses, and had become adepts at horse-stealing and setting fire to encampments, as well as in the management of spears, swords, and pikes.

In February 1578 the governor resolved to attack the strongholds in Mariguenu and Catirai, where, as it will be remembered, the Spaniards had been twice severely defeated. He was by this time very infirm, but mounted his horse to take part in a great battle at Andalican (Colcura), where, on 21st March 1578, he defeated and dispersed the enemy, who left 200 dead upon the ground. Yet the victory was not decisive. The Indians fled to the woods and hills, and even crossed the Andes. The whole country from Valdivia to the Biobio was in revolt,

so that Quiroga was obliged to divide his forces. Still he traversed the country in all directions. He was attacked in the valley of Guadaua and was again victorious. Yet these and other successes did not put an end to the war. A new danger also suddenly appeared to disturb and harass the Spaniards.

The first Englishman to sail those stormy waters, misnamed the Pacific Ocean, was Sir Francis Drake. That "valiant enterprise accompanied with happy success which that right rare and thrice worthy capitaine achieved in first turning up a furrow about the whole world" commenced on 13th December 1577. The voyage was full of incident. The *Pelican*, 100 tons, *Elizabeth* (Captain Winter), 80 tons, *Marygold* (Captain Thomas), the *Swan*, 50 tons, and *Christopher*, 15 tons, composed the fleet. They were becalmed for three weeks; then they saw no land for fifty-five days. At Port St Julian, where they wintered, they lost two men killed by the savages, and were in great straits for provisions. "Our diet began to wax short and small mussells were good meat, yea the seaweeds were dainty dishes." Here also Sir Francis Drake was obliged to hang his dearest friend, Thomas Doughty, for treason. Much has been written about this execution, yet such necessary punishments were usual, and ordinary incidents in the days of gentlemen-adventurers. On 20th August they entered the Straits of Magellan, and "did strike their topsails upon the bunt in homage to our Sovereign Lady the Queen's Majestie." Drake renamed his ship the *Golden Hind*, baptized Elizabeth Island, where he laid in great store of penguins, and in sixteen days traversed the Straits, only to encounter a terrible storm. The *Marygold* was lost with all hands. The *Golden Hind* was nearly wrecked.

"Being driven from the first place of anchoring, so unmeasurable was the depth of the sea that 500 fathoms would fetch no ground; so that the violence of the storm without intermission, the impossibility to come to anchor, the want of opportunity to spread any sail, the most maddened seas, the lee shore, the dangerous rocks, the contrary and most intolerable wind, the impossible

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passage out, the desperate tarrying there, and the inevitable perils on every side did present so small liklihood to escape present destruction that if the special Providence of God himself had not supported him."

What wonder that Captain Winter lost heart and took the *Elizabeth* home! Drake, in great anxiety for the *Elizabeth,* examined the coast. He obtained water, fruits, and two sheep at Mocha, Macha, or Mucho Island, where he fell into an Indian ambuscade.[1] All the nine people in the boat were wounded, and an arrow-shot lost Drake the use of an eye. Their boy surgeon had little experience and no skill. He obtained supplies at Port Papudo (32° S. lat.), and made friends with the Indians. One of them guided him to Valparaiso (Volparisa after Barrow), where he took without resistance a ship carrying gold-dust from Valdivia. All the inhabitants fled to the hills. Drake spent three days in taking whatever he thought might be useful (*e.g.*, 3,000 jars of Chilian wine were either taken on board or destroyed). On 8th December, having spoiled the town, Drake left and sailed to Serena. Here, however, a small force was prepared to defend the place, and Drake withdrew. He waited for his missing ships till the middle of January, and then sailed north to capture the great galleon and other rich prizes, and finally,

"Sunday, 26th September 1580, we safely with joyful minds and thankful hearts to God arrived at Plimouth—the place of our first setting forth after we had spent two years, ten months, and some odd days in seeing the wonders of the Lord in the deep."

Of course Drake was violently attacked in London, and at first neglected by the Court, yet he made a profit of £47 for every £1 invested, and he was knighted by Elizabeth on the quarter-deck of the *Golden Hind.*

The effect upon Spain of this daring adventure is very clearly set forth in the following programme:—[2]

"It appears by the attempts and knowen purposes of the Spaniarde so robbinge us of that quiet peace which

[1] The defence was organised by two Spaniards, according to Arana.

[2] "Sir Francis Drake: His Voyage, 1595," vol. i., 1849.

wee from the hands of her majestie (next under God) aboundently enjoy. This his bloodthirstie desire foreseene by the wisdome of our queene and counsayle, they holde no better meanes to curbe his unjust pretenses than by sending forces to invade him in that kingdome from whence hee hath feathers to flye to the toppe of his high desires: they knowing that if for two or three years a blowe were given him there that might hinder the coming into Spaine of his treasure, his povertie would be so great by reason of his daily huge payments and his men of warre most of them mercenaries that assuredly would fall from him so woulde he have more neede of meanes to keepe his owne territories than he nowe hath of superfluitie to thruste into others rights."

The soundness of the views here expressed was fully demonstrated by Drake himself later on.

It was a most important political measure.

The effect of this raid was to paralyse the government of the whole Pacific coast, and especially of Chile. Quiroga, hurrying by forced marches from Angol to Santiago in the hottest season of the year, fell sick, and died on 25th February 1580, completely worn out by forty years of warfare in Chile. He was then eighty years of age.

With him ends the period of Valdivia's companions. The heroic Bernal de Mercado, grown too stout for active service, retired to Serena. Francisco de Aguirre, having done good service in Tucuman, ended his days in the same beautiful city.

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CHAPTER V

INDIAN WARS AND DECISION ON A FRONTIER 1585-1600

Ruiz de Gamboa—King Phillip's scruples—Sotomayor – Disasters of his companions—General insurrection of Indians—the Mulatto chief, Alonso Diaz — Sotomayor's raids — His camp nearly captured at Carampanque—Garcia Ramon in Arauco—Narrow escape of Angol—Single combat between Ramon and Cadeguala —Ambush of Cadepinque—Distress of the Spanish soldiers—Mariguenu falls, and is again conquered—Arauco burnt—Small-pox—Sotomayor replaced by Loyola—The latter's career—Peace arranged—Indians rebel, and the forts besieged—Useless marches of the governor—The governor's camp surprised, and all except one soldier killed — Concepción besieged — Vizcara, interim governor, drives back the Indians—Quiñones appointed—Battle of Yumbel—Taking of Chillan—Insurrection in Valdivia, which is soon after taken—Ocampo relieves it—Osorno burnt—Dutch and other pirates—Capture of Castro by the Fidelidad—Retaken by Ocampo—Straits of Imperial—Relief of Angol and Imperial, and abandonment of both—Ramon becomes governor, but is replaced by Ribera—He fixes the Biobio frontier line—Improves the army—Falls in love, marries, and is superseded—Ramon returns—Disaster at Boroa.

On the death of Quiroga, the new governor, Martin Ruiz de Gamboa, carried on the war, but without any remarkable result, for the new Indian toqui contented himself with raids, intercepting convoys, attacking rear-guards, and destroying stragglers.

All Spanish governors were always troubled by the conscientious scruples of King Phillip.[1] Gamboa very rashly endeavoured to carry out the king's wishes, and published an edict, abolishing forced Indian labour, and

[1] To understand the Spanish government at this time, it is necessary to read Hume's "Phillip II."

insisting on payment in cash. The Indians preferred drunken idleness to work, and thus every colonial was immediately brought to the verge of ruin. The result was a formidable rebellion of the Spanish colonists. Azoca, the lieutenant-governor, was sufficiently foolish to lead a deputation of the rebels, which met Gamboa on his way back from the frontier.

Of course Azoca was promptly dragged off his mule by Gamboa's officers, despatched to Valparaiso, and sent to Peru, but Gamboa realised that the royal orders were impossible, and no further attempt was made to enforce them. Gamboa returned to the war, and founded Chillán. Then he was replaced by a distinguished Spanish grandee—Alonso de Sotomayor—who, though but thirty-six years old, had seen a hundred battles, sieges, or engagements; but withal, his journey to Chile was disastrous.

There never sailed from Cadiz Bay a more splendid expedition than that noble fleet of twenty-three ships, which carried Alonso de Sotomayor, Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, Valdés and other nobles, towards the new world. There were 3,000 men, including 600 veteran soldiers, on board. Sotomayor was to destroy the Araucanian nation, and Gamboa was to found a great colony in the Straits of Magellan.

Yet every stage of the attempt was marked by a disaster. Valdés eventually returned to Spain. Half the ships were lost in hurricanes and storms, and the story of Gamboa's failure is told elsewhere. Alonso de Sotomayor landed at Buenos Ayres, crossed the Pampas to Mendoza, and after some months delay crossed the Andes in September 1583, and arrived at Santiago amidst general rejoicing. He at once abrogated the unfortunate law abolishing forced labour, but soon found himself drawn into the Araucanian war.

His ideas were in no respect better than those of his predecessors, or rather of Valdivia. To build chains of forts, to terrorise the Indians by the most atrocious cruelty, that was Sotomayor's policy. He even continued Valdivia's horrible methods. He cut off the hands and noses of prisoners and produced the same result,

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namely, a more desperate resistance, ending in a general insurrection.

His brother, Luis de Sotomayor, was sent off in December 1583 to relieve Villarica and Valdivia, which were beset and hard pressed by Painenancu. This chief, a mulatto, known to the Spanish as Alonso Diaz, was not easily driven off. Whilst Don Luis' forces struggled through a narrow defile at Quebrada Honda, it was suddenly attacked on all sides. The Spanish gained the day, yet the Indians again assembled and attacked the vanguard. Though routed for the second time, Painenancu again collected his forces and attacked Don Luis close to Villarica, but here he was finally defeated. Whilst Don Luis went on south to Valdivia, the indefatigable toqui besieged Chillán and threatened Santiago. Then, in October 1584, the governor himself took the field; he relieved Chillán and began a campaign of devastation, destroying crops, burning houses, and killing both the innocent and guilty indiscriminately. Generally no enemy was visible, but on the way to Puren, the column fell into an ambuscade. It was attacked at once in front, on the flanks, and in rear. The most horrible confusion ensued, and a dangerous battle continued for five hours. Then a charge of Spanish cavalry broke the Indian masses, Painenancu was taken, and the remnant of his forces fled in all directions. After this, the governor proceeded to build a fort at Puren, but he was obliged to hurry back to Arauco, which was threatened by the newly-appointed toqui, Cayamcura, with a force of 5,000 men.

On the way there he encamped on the bank of the river Carampangue. It was a beautiful moonlit night; no sign had been perceived of the enemy. Yet the governor was suspicious, for a certain Indian servant had appeared in camp professing repentance and asking to be taken back: during the night this man had stolen his master's horse and again deserted.

At midnight Cayamcura with his army attacked, and even entered, the Spanish camp, but the Indians were driven back by the fire of the arquebuses. At daybreak

they again attacked, and indeed might have gained the day, but Garcia Ramon, commander of Arauco, hurried out to assist the governor. This unexpected attack in rear confused and disordered the Indian masses, who broke and fled in all directions. This was a signal though hardly-won victory (16th January 1585). Sotomayor proceeded on the usual lines. He built several new forts, and also placed two barques on the Biobio to keep the forts in touch with Concepción. He then returned to Santiago.

As soon as he turned his back, every garrison was in danger; every fort besieged, and his two ships burnt to ashes.

Garcia Ramon, for instance, found himself shut up in Arauco without provisions, without ammunition, and with no hope of succour. He and his forty-four men confessed and received the sacrament. They then, in perfect order, sallied forth and attacked 6,000 savages led by Cayamcura himself. They gained a great victory, and returned in triumph to the fort.

In 1585 the governor himself returned to the war. Yet he could never find an enemy. The Araucanian cavalry was by this time efficient; indeed it was exceedingly active and enterprising in all those places where the governor did not happen to be.

Once they made a mistake. Cadeguala, the new cacique, had decided to attack Angol. The Indian servants were to set fire to their masters' houses and he was to appear, with his army, at the exact psychological moment.

But Sotomayor had arrived unexpectedly on that very night. His veterans formed up, and their pikes and spears swept the streets clear of Indians without paying the slightest attention to the fires and general disorder.

Then Puren was besieged. The governor hurried to the rescue. In a rocky defile of the wooded hills his advanced guard was attacked, overwhelmed, and driven back. Cadeguala's position at this point was so strong that the governor decided to retire to Angol. The

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Indian chief, with 5,000 men, returned in great triumph to Puren, and insulted the commander (Garcia Ramon), challenging him to single combat!

Next morning there was an extraordinary scene. A space was cleared before Puren, and Cadeguala, mounted on a spirited horse and armed with a huge pike, attacked the Spanish cavalier, Garcia Ramon. As the horses passed one another, the Indian chief missed his stroke and was immediately struck down and killed by the sword of the Spaniard.[1] As usual, the Indians retired to elect a new toqui. But the war went on. Fort Guadaba was besieged by Huenualca. Garcia Ramon raised the siege and returned to Puren. One night a friendly Indian (Cadepinque) came to him with a report that Huenualca was enjoying the usual drunken orgy after a victory at a place near San Miguel. He offered to guide Ramon to the spot. The Spaniards, guided by Cadepinque, creep stealthily and quietly to the place where Huenualca is lying. Whilst cautiously and quietly stealing through a wooded defile, the treacherous Cadepinque killed one of the Spaniards, and immediately Huenualca and his Indians, who were waiting in ambush, attacked the party with the utmost fury. Garcia Ramon managed to withdraw his men, but left sixteen dead on the ground, and every Spaniard was wounded.

In this way the war went on. The governor, who had received reinforcements from Peru, made other expeditions. The enemy did not appear in force, but harassed him at every step. Stragglers were cut off, baggage was attacked, and camps surprised or the march ambushed. Finally, he retired to Angol. The Indians gained a distinct success at Puren, for the garrison, having neither provisions nor ammunition, made terms and retired. One after another, toquis were appointed, and after a time were either killed or taken prisoner. Janequeó, the wife of Hueputaun, and sister of Huechuntureu, both generals of the Indians, and both barbarously murdered by the Spaniards, hastened through the country, and wherever she passed, the

[1] Arana denies the truth of this story.

Indians rose with a furious thirst for vengeance. Not a single party of Spaniards could travel anywhere by any road without suffering loss. In the forts starvation and destitution were usual conditions. They ran short of food, of pay, of ammunition, and of clothing; soon the soldiers began to mutiny, and tried to desert. In 1589-1590 a new toqui, Quintuhuenu, captured a Spanish stockade on the bloodstained hillside of Mariguenu, and put the garrison to the sword. His raids extended to the very gates of Concepción.

This brought out the governor and also Garcia Ramon, who again attacked Mariguenu. The battle was a terrible one, and lasted for eight hours. Eventually the hill was conquered, and the toqui slain, but with a loss of twenty men, and every man in the force (including the governor) was wounded. When he retired after this victory, he learnt that Arauco had been burnt!

In 1591-1592 a new toqui, Paillaco, besieged Puren. Sotomayor attacked and defeated him, but in the meantime Imperial was besieged, and at the last extremity; Arauco also was destroyed by fire.

So the war went on. The Spaniards were almost always successful, but perpetually losing men; they became on the whole weaker every year in spite of continual reinforcements from Peru.

But a terrible epidemic of small-pox temporarily checked the war. Enormous numbers of friendly Indians and domestics died. It is said that 300 Spaniards also died of the small-pox, and the Araucanians suffered terribly.

In August 1592 Alonso de Sotomayor, in despair of obtaining reinforcements otherwise, sailed for Peru, and found on his arrival that Don Martin Oñez de Loyola has been appointed governor of Chile.

Sotomayor had a passion for building fortresses, and was quite unable to understand the Araucanian character. This made his government disastrous; moreover, his atrocious cruelty caused the Indians to prefer war to peace, and he left Chile in greater danger than she was on his arrival. Yet he distinguished himself everywhere

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else, and notably against the English in the Panama expedition of Hawkins and Drake.

Some years before this, a young soldier in Peru, with but twenty-five companions, had penetrated the trackless forests of the hinterland in pursuit of the Royal Inca and his family. After unheard-of exertions, he managed to capture the fugitives, and returned in triumph to Cuzco. That was the foundation of the fortunes of Martin Garcia Oñez de Loyola, who now found himself Governor of Chile. He had married an Inca princess and believed, like all his predecessors, that he could conquer the Araucanians.

The condition of Chile was, however, terrible. No force was available to conduct the war, and Oñez de Loyola endeavoured to make peace. He tried to induce the toqui, Paillamacu, to attend a parliament with this end. The toqui's answer was: "Remove your garrisons from the Rio Itata to Chiloé channel, and we will make peace." Nevertheless, a sort of truce *was* patched up, and for some little time observed on both sides. The toqui's deputy, Antupillan (the name is translated *day of the devil* and *hour of the powers of darkness*), is reported to have said: "If you wish to live in peace with us, let there be peace, but leave our country free. . . . Observe religiously the treaties that I propose in name of my nation, and long and durable will be the desired peace. But, if you act as you have been doing, then so long as one of us remains alive, the war will go on, and until that man has gloriously lost his life for liberty and for his country."

But the truce was not lasting. Pelantaru rose in arms near Puren, and the governor started to drive him from this place, and from a stronghold in the marshes of Lumaco. No sooner had he left than the soldiers in the new fort on the Biobio were awakened at midnight to find the place in flames, and 600 Indians slaughtering everybody within the walls. The cacique was, however, killed, and, as usual, the Indians at once dispersed. The governor had left forts at Puren and Lumaco, and proceeded to Imperial and then to Concepción in 1594.

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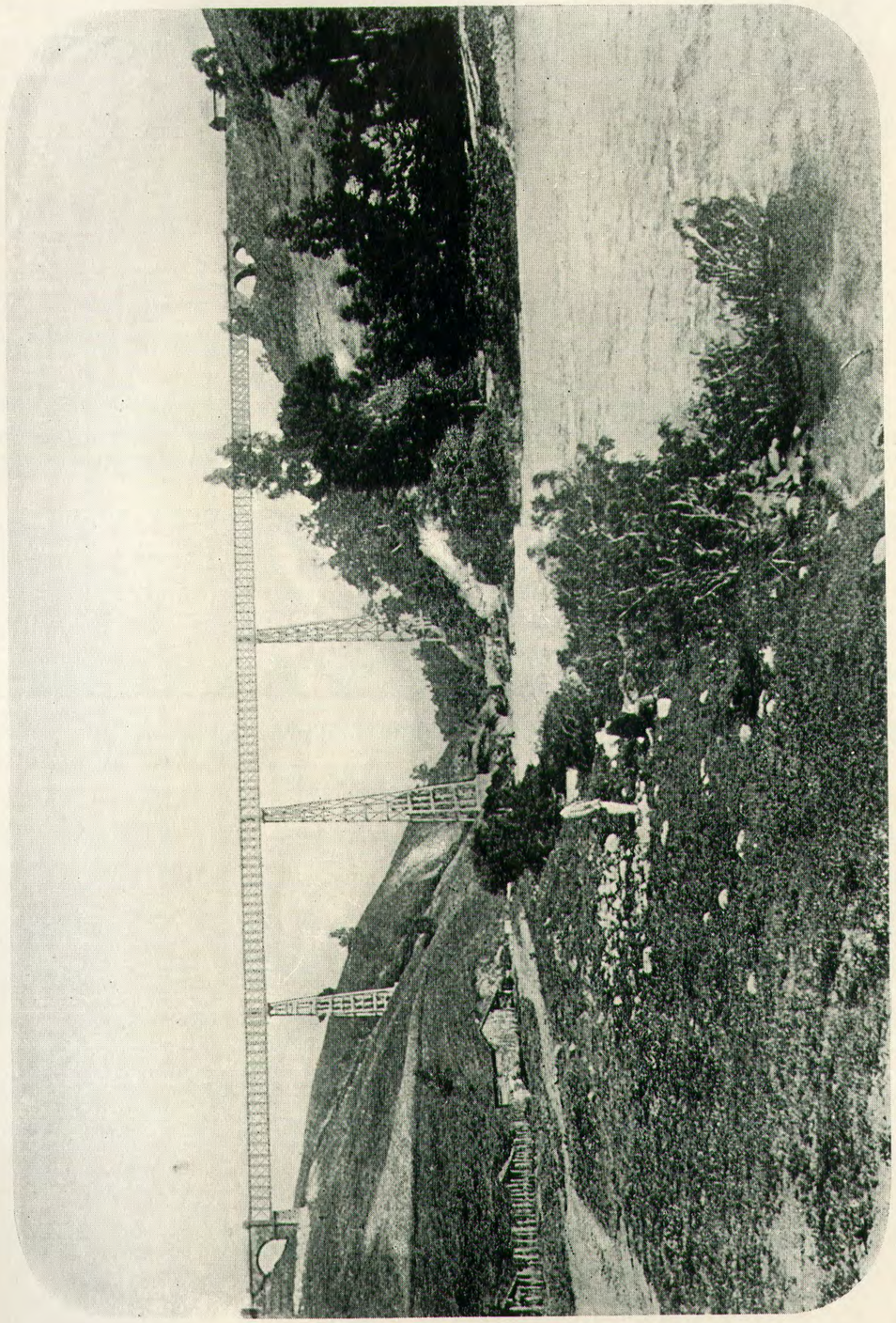

RAILWAY BRIDGE OVER THE MALLECO RIVER, ARAUCANIA.

To face p. 71.

In 1595-1596 he obtained some reinforcements and set to work destroying crops, and ravaging the country near Catiray. As soon, however, as he entered into winter quarters, Paillamacu attacked Puren and Lumaco. The course of a river was being diverted by the Indians so as to destroy Lumaco, and ditches, trenches and stockades were made before it. The place was in great extremity, but Cortés in the worst month of a very rigorous winter, relieved the garrison. Then the governor tried to crush Paillamacu, but that astute chieftain refused battle, and the governor started on an exhausting series of marches which led to no result.

In December 1596 and 1597 the same unsatisfactory war continued. The governor marched in force from Villarica, Puren, Lumaco, and back again. One important difference may be noticed, however. Both the Jesuits and the Augustin friars were in Chile. The former arrived in 1593, and their missionaries were traversing all the Indian country. It is said that 70,000 Indians were baptized during these expeditions of Loyola.

In 1598 the governor was at Imperial. In spite of warnings from friendly Indians and from the governor at Angol, he started to march to the latter place. He had apparently but seventy men with him. Pelantaru was in communication with the Indian servants. Hidden in the forest, he watched the governor pass, and cautiously followed the rearguard; from the forest above he watched the camp being pitched in the little valley of Curalaba. The horses were unsaddled and turned loose to graze. The men were soon asleep in their tents except a few sentinels, who, being quite unsuspicious, kept but a perfunctory watch. The night was very dark, but nevertheless hundreds of Indians hurried to the valley, and were posted in three bodies all about the camp. When the moon appeared just before daybreak, the sleepy sentinels retired to their tents to sleep.

That was the moment eagerly expected. Immediately the Indians with terrific clamour charged from all directions upon the sleeping Spaniards. Loyola, without time to arm, fought bravely, so did the others, but all that survived

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that terrible night were one priest and a soldier, left for dead with twenty-three wounds.

The encouragement given to the Indians by this success was extraordinary. Chillan and Concepcion were besieged; Puchanqui and Santa Cruz were taken, and very soon the forts on the Biobio (Jesus and Chibicura) were threatened by Paillamacu in person.

But a man of intelligence and spirit, Pedro de Vizcara, was elected interim governor. He raised volunteers at Santiago and Concepcion. Very soon Pelantaru was forced to abandon the siege of Chillan. Two severe defeats inflicted on the Indians threatening Concepcion rendered that city fairly safe. The interim governor also withdrew the garrisons of four of the most exposed forts, and was arranging for the protection of the others when he was superseded (May 1599) by Don Francisco de Quiñones.

The new governor was immediately involved in the war. The first step was to get rid of Paillamacu, who, with an army of 4,000 men, threatened Concepcion. Quiñones attacked this body in the plains of Yumbel, and after a furious struggle which lasted for three hours succeeded in defeating them.

But this victory had no permanent effect. Paillamacu was an exceedingly skilful tactician, and the strategy of his campaign in 1599-1600 deserves careful study. The dangerously-exposed position of the various forts will show how adroitly he managed his attack. He first struck at Chillan in the extreme north, and so threatened the line of communication with Santiago. The condition of this place was, moreover, favourable to his attempt, for discipline had been relaxed, and the horrible cruelties inflicted by the Spaniards on the neighbouring Indians had had their usual effect.

Two hours before dawn a host of 2,000 Indians attacked the unsuspecting city. Very soon Chillan was in flames; many of its defenders were killed or taken prisoner, and Paillamacu, with a rich booty of women, cattle, and horses, disappeared in the forest in the midst of a terrible rainstorm which rendered pursuit impossible.

Quiñones was obliged to despatch Miguel de Silva to restore order. This officer managed to recapture the women, and placed Chillán again in a proper state of defence. The districts about Concepción and along the Itata river were then "pacified." Chiefs who had rebelled were burnt alive, and by great exertions these districts were brought under control.

Whilst the Spanish forces were thus occupied in the north, Paillamacu delivered his next blow in the extreme south. Villarica, Osorno, Imperial, were all besieged, and a dangerous insurrection appeared near Valdivia. Romero, the governor at this last place, relieved Osorno and made various expeditions in the neighbourhood. These were generally successful. He, however, supposed that he had crushed the insurrection and took no special precautions in Valdivia itself. Every one retired to his house at night, trusting to the watchfulness of only four men (or *vigilantes*) who were posted in the public plaza. The sergeant-major, an "alarmist," in vain protested against this carelessness and went so far as to send his wife and children on board a merchant ship, of which there happened to be three in harbour.

On 24th November 1599, shortly before dawn, fifty Indians silently entered the plaza and killed the four sentinels. Then a force of 4,000 warriors, of whom 2,000 were mounted, entered the city. They occupied the ends of the various streets (these, of course, were of the regular South American model, crossing at right angles). The Indian servants set fire to their masters' houses. At first men, women and children were slaughtered indiscriminately, but afterwards the women were carried off as prisoners. Very few men escaped death; the unfortunate sergeant-major was drowned in sight of his wife and children whilst trying to reach their ship. The money loss by the sack of Valdivia was estimated at 300,000 pesos.

Eleven days too late, Francisco de Ocampo arrived with 220 soldiers. He rescued a few captives (including his own sons) and then started to relieve Osorno and Villarica. When he had returned to Valdivia, he heard that 5,000 Indians had attacked and burnt Osorno. The

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garrison escaped by taking refuge in the citadel. Ocampo again hurried to Osorno, but was recalled by unexpected and alarming news.

The actual loss and damage inflicted by that valiant pirate, whom the Chilians called "Drac," were indeed severe, but they were trifling as compared with the after-effects.

A single wandering ship for ever afterwards disturbed the equanimity of the whole Spanish west coast. No one knew where it would attack. Every coastwise trading-barque was in danger. As many of the settlements at that time depended on navigation for some of the necessaries of life, delays, the sense of insecurity and general alarm, produced the most serious effects.

In this particular case Ocampo heard that English (really Dutch) pirates had taken Chiloé islands. This news not only recalled Ocampo at a critical time but spread consternation along the whole coast from Chile to Peru. In fact the governor of the latter country was obliged to keep back all the Chilian reinforcements. The first three of these Dutch pirate vessels were not in a condition to do much harm. Both the *Caridad* and *Esperanza* of Cordes' expedition had lost many men, killed by the Indians at Mocha Island and at Arauco, and soon left for the Moluccas. The little yacht *Buena Nueva* of 120 tons had been driven far south to the Antarctic (66° S. lat.), and had sighted the South Shetland islands. Her commander, Gherritz, landed at Valparaiso and was neatly captured by the Spaniards. In March 1600 Van Noort's expedition provisioned at Mocha Island after an extraordinary series of adventures. He then came to Valparaiso, burnt or took the ships in harbour, and departed for Huasco Bay and the Philippines.

But *La Fidelidad* of Cordes' expedition suddenly arrived and let go her anchor before the fort of Castro in Chiloé islands. This was the one Spanish settlement in which the Indians were tame and submissive, so that there had been no fighting for years past. There were neither weapons nor ammunition available. It was not difficult, therefore, for the pirates to capture the settlement,

which was sacked and destroyed. Only some twenty-five Spanish soldiers escaped to the thick and impenetrable woods which cover the northern part of Chiloé. Here they were joined by Ocampo and a strong body of troops who had crossed the channel in small canoes and marched overland by small paths towards Castro.

Ocampo and his men suddenly attacked the Dutch pirates in Castro; the latter were driven to their ships with heavy loss. Soon after they set sail, and after being nearly wrecked in the Chiloé channel, proceeded westward to the Moluccas. Chiloé was then *pacified* by Ocampo, who returned to Valdivia.

The important settlement of Imperial was by this time in the greatest straits. The Spaniards were suffering from famine; the Indians had diverted the river (Rio de las Damas) from which they obtained water. Their commander, in trying to reach Angol for reinforcements, had been killed with most of his men. They had been fighting almost daily for months, and threatened with surprise every night. Their misery was so great and their condition so terrible that they met in solemn council and had just decided on surrender. Then a Spanish lady of high descent, Doña Inez de Aguilar, appeared before the Council clad in armour. She had fought in the defence of the city, side by side with her husband and her sons. She had seen them killed, and now she begged and prayed of the Council, as Christians and fathers, soldiers of Spain and men of honour, to maintain Imperial and to preserve their women and children from a life of slavery amongst the brutal Araucanians.

Her eloquence prevailed. Unheard-of efforts were made to build a boat which was sent off to Concepción to appeal for help. Yet it was a very long time before the governor himself came to their assistance. He had left Concepción with a force of 400 men, and had defeated the Indians in two severe skirmishes, one at Isla de la Laya and the other at Tabon. He then relieved Angol (which was also besieged), and reached Imperial on 30th March 1600.

The condition of the city was terrible. Out of one

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hundred soldiers there were but twenty-six capable of bearing arms. The governor recognised the hopelessness of the struggle and decided to abandon the place. The church bells and other ornaments, as well as the more bulky possessions, were buried, and the remnant of its inhabitants was withdrawn. Returning by Angol, this city also was abandoned, the houses and estancias left to decay, and the wretched settlers taken away. A ship was sent to relieve Arauco, which was in great danger, but the craft was wrecked, and the captain and thirty of the ship-wrecked soldiers were killed by the Indians.

Even in Concepción there was panic, starvation, and distress. Every night the inhabitants took refuge in a fortified convent (S. Francisco), and the ends of the streets were barricaded by mud walls. In Santiago there was also great suffering. Provisions were scanty and very dear; moreover, the soldiery were mutinous and anxious to desert the country.

The Governor Quiñones had a paralytic stroke, but, on 26th August 1600, Alonso Garcia Ramon returned to Chile as governor of the country. His return encouraged and inspired every Spaniard. This veteran soldier who had fought against Moors in Spain when only sixteen years old, who had served under Don Juan of Austria and Alexander Farnese, has already been repeatedly mentioned in the story of Chile.

By tremendous exertions he got together some 400 men and started to relieve Chillán and Concepción. At Chillán he, with a small party, was nearly cut off by a body of 4,000 Indians, who intended to raid the Rio Itata district. But these made professions of peace. Ramon proceeded to Concepción and endeavoured to pass on by Angol to relieve Villarica. But he was stopped by disastrous news from Arauco. In any case, however, the crafty Indian toqui could have prevented such an expedition. Those 4,000 Indians near Chillán were available to strike possibly at Santiago itself. Thus Ramon Garcia's southern expedition never came off.

But already another governor replaced him.

Don Alonso de Ribera y Zambrano had spent twenty-

four years in the Flemish wars. After a tedious and disastrous voyage by Panama, he arrived in Chile with 260 men on 9th February 1601.

It was not an encouraging task which lay before him. The army was demoralised, disheartened, undisciplined, and insubordinate. At this time it consisted of some 1,400 men, but its condition was shocking to the eyes of a European officer. The soldiers had no pikes; they were disaffected and out of hand, unaccustomed to obey orders; they would not act as sentries or even sleep in barracks.

But the governor managed to introduce all sorts of reforms, and in a very short number of years entirely altered the prospects of Chile. He definitely abandoned Valdivia's policy and determined to fix upon the course of the Biobio as the frontier, intending to advance the frontier southwards as circumstances permitted. He made expeditions across the Biobio, relieved the chronically besieged Arauco, and fortified the frontier line by strong forts. By this time Paillamacu was dead and Chile north of the Biobio soon began to settle down. Confidence became restored; agriculture and mining flourished. Ribera also introduced a regular army, regularly paid and properly disciplined. This prevented the necessity of despatching hundreds of men to war every summer at the very time when the harvest required most attention and care. He established a woollen factory for the soldiers, tanneries, and he especially asked for artisan colonists.

On the other hand, both Villarica and Osorno were lost. The first of these places was finally taken by the Indians on 7th February 1601, when but eleven men and ten women were left alive. They had been reduced to eat the bodies of the Indians they had killed, but had held out without relief since the beginning of the insurrection. After incessant fighting and terrible sufferings, the remnant of the Osorno garrison were withdrawn, and eventually reached Chiloé, the gallant Ocampo being killed by the Indians during the retreat.

But in spite of these services, or rather because of the comparative tranquillity of the country, Ribera found

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enemies everywhere. The lives of the clergy were scandalous: he attempted to make an example of one flagrant case in which the power of the civil law had been conspicuously contemned. Thus the Church, and especially the Bishop Perez de Espinosa, became enraged against him. He was harsh and arbitrary, and raised enemies amongst the rich Santiago families, notably the Lisperguers, and a pretext for the governor's removal was easily found at Court.

Ribera had fallen in love. The beautiful Ines de Cordoba y Aguilar, the daughter of the heroine of Imperial, fascinated him. He could not bring himself to wait for months, or possibly years, until he obtained the king's permission to wed her, therefore he married without leave, and was therefore removed and sent to govern Tucuman.

In 1604 severe floods on the Mapocho and a plague of locusts caused great suffering in Santiago, but the Indian raids seem to have been of but little importance. Alonso Garcia Ramon returned as governor in March 1605.

Though a brave and distinguished soldier, Garcia Ramon had not the strength of mind to resist, or possibly the sagacity to discern, the essential weakness of the old Valdivian policy. In February he crossed the Biobio and raided the Indian country both along the coast and by the central valley. He founded a fort at Boroa, near the site of Imperial, and attempted to make peace with the Araucanians. The results were disastrous. Lisperguer, governor at Boroa, with some 150 men rode into the forest one morning to obtain charcoal. Whilst the men were busy, and scattered without any precautions against surprise, the Araucanians suddenly fell upon them. All the Spaniards, except some fifteen captured, were killed. This was one of the greatest disasters ever suffered by the Spaniards in Chile, and soon afterwards Boroa was abandoned by its defenders. Besides this defeat, one of Ramon's lieutenants, Diego Bravo de Saravia, was caught in an ambush at Cuyuncavi near Puren, and lost thirty-four men killed and seventy wounded.

The governor at once crossed the mountains by Catirai, and reaching Puren, pitilessly ravaged the country. He was attacked by a large Indian army, but easily dispersed them, and then withdrew across the Araucanian frontier.

On the whole these military expeditions were both costly and unproductive, but it must be remembered that the difficulties were almost insuperable. In a letter written to the king, 11th September 1607, Ramon says:

"Since my childhood I have served your Highness, being present in the war before Granada, in the naval battle of Navarino, and in the garrison at Espoleto. I have soldiered in Sicily, in Naples, in Lombardy, and latterly in Flanders, where I enjoyed the greatest honours, but I certify to your Majesty that there is not in the whole world so laborious a war as this. It is such that there are many soldiers who have not in 6 years either tasted bread, heard a Church bell or seen a Spanish woman. . . . After having marched 6 or 7 leagues, and sitting up the whole night afterward, they cannot so much as eat a tortilla without grinding the corn to make it."

But on the other hand he is able to point to distinct progress, a settled peace and growing prosperity over some 200 leagues of the country—"pues se camina por todas partes como de Madrid a Toledo" (people travel about in every direction as safely as they would go from Madrid to Toledo).

But this fine old soldier died on the 5th August 1610, when Dr Luis Merlo de la Fuente, the head of the Royal Audience, became governor.

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CHAPTER VI

JESUIT POLICY, INDIANS, AND DUTCH PIRATES 1600-1645

Fuente governor—Jesuits and Indians—Pro-Indian fathers—Abolition of forced labour—Its results—Father Luis de Valdivia's parliament—The toqui's wives, and the refusal of the governor to return them—War again—The Defensive theory—Its results—Quemada becomes governor—Ribera's second term—Indian raids—Ulloa y Lemus—Cerda—Ulloa—Distress in the army—Pirates—Cordoba y Arce—Missions and their effects—Aggressive war permitted—Slaveraids—Bascuñan's account of his capture—De la Vega governor—His camp surprised—His improvements—Great victory at Petaco—Marquis de Baydes—Great Indian Parliament at Quillin—Brouwer's successful raid on Castro and Valdivia—The Dutch abandon Valdivia—Recaptured by Spanish—Death of Baydes.

ABOUT this time there appeared in Chile a very remarkable development of the Indian question. Up to this period the encomiendas or estates and the mines were worked by the forced labour of the Indians attached to them. That had been the case under the Incas, but the Spaniards treated these Indians with atrocious cruelty. They were worked literally to death: they were never paid, and generally starving from want of food. The native population began to dwindle away as it had done in Peru.

But so soon as the clergy, and especially the Jesuit fathers, realised the horrors practised at the mines, and the savageries of Araucanian warfare, they protested vigorously. They would, indeed, have had no claims to Christianity if they had not done so. At first these protests only evoked from the court of Spain some feeble and generalised recommendations, which could be, quite safely, disregarded or evaded. Philip II. and his advisers

knew that they only desired Chile for its gold, and gold could only be obtained by forced Indian labour.

But Philip III., a sovereign apparently without any political ability, was entirely under priestly influence. A certain Jesuit father—Luis de Valdivia—had hurried to Spain. He was a strong man, a fanatic incapable of seeing more than one—the Indian—side of the question, and the influence of the Jesuits, and of the whole Catholic Church, was brought to bear upon King Philip. Luis de Valdivia came back to Chile, not only with peremptory orders as to the encomienda question, but with authority to direct and govern the governor himself, and to interfere both in the general conduct of the war and in military details.

As regards the agricultural Indians in Northern Chile, the royal and clerical scheme was quite impossible. Forced labour was abolished. The Indians were to be paid wages for work done. They were not to be compelled to work. Unfortunately, there was no regular currency, and no money to pay the wages. Moreover, it is an essential law of human, and particularly savage, nature, that nobody will really work unless he is obliged to do so. The Indian could get his food without working, and even make a little more, so as to get thoroughly well drunk. Under the new decrees, gold, agricultural work, and every industry came to a standstill. Every Spaniard was threatened with ruin. Neither the king, the viceroy of Peru, nor the clergy could in the least understand the situation.

A very ingenious solution was eventually evolved, of which the ultimate development is the present "inquilino" system. The "inquilino" is supplied with land, and often with seed. He works for the proprietor whenever he is called upon to do so, but receives his food and a small (a ridiculously inadequate) wage for doing so. The rest of his time can be used for his own purposes. This system is neither slavery, feudal serfdom, forced labour, nor ordinary paid labour, but is a peculiar mixture of all these systems.

In process of time it was discovered that justice and moderation paid the Spanish landholder. The Indian, if too badly treated, could, though at great risk to himself,

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escape to the Araucanian country. Many, however, became faithful subjects, and the auxiliaries, or friendly Indians, began even at this time to take part in the development of Chile.

As regards the war, naturally priestly interference soon began to cause disasters, and, eventually, hopeless ruin. Father Luis de Valdivia hurried back from Spain in order to put in action his cherished theories. He himself fearlessly entered the Araucanian country, and after much trouble, and at the risk of his life, got together a parliament of the Indian caciques, Ancanamon, the supreme toqui, being present. Valdivia expounded his idea of an eternal peace. No Spanish soldiers were to enter Araucania, although missionaries were to be allowed to travel anywhere within its boundaries. Captives were to be exchanged. The Indians were no longer to raid the Spanish country, *i.e.* north of the frontier, which was to be the Biobio river.

Whether the Indians were capable of keeping their word or not, is a very disputable proposition. Valdivia certainly believed in them, whilst every Spanish captain of any experience in war did not.

But whilst the negotiations were actually in progress, one of Ancanamon's wives—a Spaniard—seduced by an attendant in Valdivia's train, had fled to the Spanish settlements, accompanied by two other Indian wives and their children. Ancanamon insisted on the immediate return of the *Indian* women and children. They, however, professed themselves Christians, and their return was refused by the Spanish governor.

Of course this incident made any sort of peace quite impossible. Valdivia had incautiously allowed three missionaries to enter Araucania. They were cruelly tortured to death by the Indians, and the war went on.

But the crass stupidity of Valdivia and the court even then effectually spoilt the Spanish chances. It was to be a "defensive war" only. No reprisals were to be made.

Alonso de Ribera's system in his first government had been entirely successful. *Then* all the forts beyond the Biobio river had been dismantled, but he had always

kept a strong force in hand to punish any offensive movement of the Indians. *Now* he was not to be permitted to cross the Biobio river under any pretext whatever.

The rage of the proud and high-spirited Spaniards, and the encouragement of the wily Araucanian, under such conditions, can easily be imagined.

The Indians, under gallant and enterprising leaders like the young Lientur, raided across the river, carrying fire and sword to some unsuspecting district, and returned, laden with spoil, to their forests, where, as they knew, no one could follow them.

The soldiers could only by chance intercept a raiding party. Confined in fortresses, with their supplies cut off by enterprising savages, they ran short of food, clothes, arms, and ammunition. Only a well-equipped force could relieve them.

Yet these absurd restrictions, obvious to every soldier and to every colonist, were not removed till after the death of Philip III.

The incidents of these distressful years may be dismissed in a few words.

Garcia Ramon died on 5th August 1610. A lawyer, Don Luis Merlo de la Fuente, succeeded him and had time to rebuild Angol and raid the neighbourhood before he was replaced by Don Juan Zara Quemada (a native of the Canaries), 1st January 1611. This governor improved Valparaiso. Before his time the custom-house officials had to travel down to the port whenever a ship came in. Valparaiso, in fact, consisted, until then, of one church with a straw roof and a few stores or go-downs.

He also made an expedition to Angol and defeated a force of 6,000 Indians. On 27th March 1612 Alonso de Ribera returned to Chile, and his incubus, Father Pedro Luis de Valdivia, soon followed him. Then occurred the depopulation of Angol and the visit of Valdivia to the Araucanians already mentioned.

The soldiers were shut up in fourteen forts along the Biobio (Arauco was also retained). There were no less than twenty-four murderous Indian raids in the one year, 1613.

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To understand how terrible these expeditions were, it must be remembered that the population was scattered in small farms and ranches. Even in 1613 Ribera estimated the Spanish inhabitants as not more than 2,500 men, of whom 1,000 were married. Moreover, we find in 1615, in the royal pastures, some 20,000 mares, 14,000 cows, and 20,000 sheep. (The value of a cow was 8 reales, and that of a sheep 1½ reales.) Such raids naturally ruined the fortunes of the growing colony. Yet Father Valdivia still retained his influence on public affairs. He even quarrelled with the other religious bodies in Chile, and especially with the Bishop of Santiago, Perez Espinosa, who, in a letter to the king, sarcastically asks him to give his bishopric to Father Valdivia.

"I have served your majesty for 38 years in Nueva España and Guatemala, and have been 13 years Bishop of Santiago, but the father Valdivia deserves it for he *did* bring, *at your majesty's expense*, twelve Jesuit fathers to Chile."

The country at this time suffered greatly from Dutch and English pirates. In 1616 Lemaire discovered the strait which bears his name. Both he and Spilbergen, after having provisioned at Mocha and Santa Maria islands, passed on to Peru and thence to the Far East. The Portuguese brothers, Nodales, examined Cape Horn in 1618.

In 1617 Alonso de Ribera died. He was one of the greatest of the soldier-governors, but, most unfortunately, he was saddled with a policy of which he entirely disapproved. Nevertheless, Chile had improved greatly both in his first and second governments. Don Hernando Talaverano, who succeeded, reigned as interim for a few months only. He it was who set free the great cacique Pelantaru, fortunately captured in 1615 during a raiding expedition. A few days afterwards Pelantaru was again waging war. The new governor, Don Lope de Ulloa y Lémus, had been prefect of a congregation of seculars of the Compañia de Jesus: even he, however, lost patience with the Indians and made a vigorous attack upon them,

carrying fire and sword to Puren. There were other troubles at this time — outbreaks of small-pox, heavy floods, and rumours of pirates.[1] Ulloa died in 1620, and in the same year Father Luis Valdivia returned to Spain, where he died in 1642.

The interim governor, Don Cristoval de la Cerda, was the only surviving member of the Royal Audience. He therefore had the unusual pleasure of recording that he himself was a fit and proper person to be governor, and ratified his own appointment.

On 15th January 1621 he was obliged to hurry south in the endeavour to catch the ubiquitous Lientur. The results were not satisfactory. Lientur unexpectedly turned upon the advanced guard under Juan Alonso and either killed or captured almost the whole number. A small fort, Nicolquenu, was also taken, with the loss of fourteen soldiers. However, on 5th November 1621 La Cerda was superseded by Pedro Osores de Ulloa. During his government the frontier was more or less guarded, but the condition of the army became terrible. The wretched soldiers were robbed of their pay and swindled in their rations, clothing, and ammunitions. The master of camp, Alba y Norueña, cared only for enriching himself, and, being brother-in-law to the governor, was able to do so with impunity. Moreover, at about this time, 1623, the whole country was thrown into suspense and all trade paralysed by reports of Dutch piratical raids. The fleet of L'Hermite, consisting of thirteen ships with 1,637 men, was, in fact, sighted by a herdsman. The poor man was at once hung by the local authorities as an "alarmist," though he had only and quite properly reported the truth.

But Philip III. had died on 31st March 1621. Ulloa himself died in 1624, and after a short interim under Alba y

[1] He sent out an expedition by land to search for the fertile valley of Los Cesares, where gold was in great abundance and the people were civilised. This city, at first called Lo de César (that of a Spaniard called César), was quite an imaginary one; nevertheless, all Chilians believed in it—possibly the story was some Indian tradition dealing with Peru. Juan Garcia Tao also explored the coastline near Chiloé and as far as the Taitao Peninsula.

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Norueña, Don Luis Ferdinand de Cordova y Arce became governor (29th May 1625). Attempts to convert the Indians and to make peace were always being continued. The answer of the Toqui Pehuenche to one of the missionaries is worth giving. "Do not fatigue yourself by preaching," he said. "Leave us to follow our own customs and creeds. We are not going to change our religion: we are at war. . . . It would be a shame if, while we have lances and macanas in our hands, we should leave them to take up a rosary as though we were women or feeble old men."

The order for aggressive war arrived in January 1626. The governor issued a proclamation. The Araucanians were to choose between peace and slavery. Many of the friendly Indians at once rose in rebellion; the governor and others began to conduct incursions into the enemy's territory. These, however, were slave-hunting raids rather than effective military expeditions. Sometimes they returned with many slaves, cattle, and other spoil, but the returning columns were often attacked and severely handled by the exasperated Indians. An enterprising chief, Putapichion, obtained three distinct victories over the Spaniards. In 1629, three hours before dawn, he fell upon the fort of Nacimiento. The straw roofs and palisades were set on fire by means of flaming arrows, and the garrison between their flaming barracks on the one side, and the enemy on the other, just escaped destruction. Fortunately, strong reinforcements came up in time to drive off the enemy.

Later on in the same year, 1629, Putapichion, passing by the cordilleras, made an unexpected attack upon Chillán, carrying fire and sword through the neighbouring estancias. The correjidor, Gregorio Osorio, pursued him, but the wily Indian cleverly drew him into the broken mountainous country on the east of Chillán. Osorio, with his men exhausted, and horses barely able to walk, eventually found Putapichion strongly posted on the other side of a difficult ravine. The Spanish captain with great imprudence endeavoured to attack, but both he, his son, and his son-in-law, were all killed with many

others. The Indians got clear away with most of their booty. The next exploit of this famous chief is so realistically described by an eye-witness that we have translated it.

"On the 15th May following, more than 800 enemies, after having sacked and destroyed many ranches, came to attack our command (tercio). The tears spring to my eyes when recording this disaster and the loss of so many of my comrades, especially as it was due to bad management and the lack of good advice. These 800 Araucanians, after killing, plundering and destroying everything, waited for us in a narrow valley called Cangrejeras. The sergeant-major had detached some 70 men to reconnoitre their line of retreat, so that our force was reduced to 200 men, badly organized and worse disciplined. At the outset an accident was as if a premonition of that which was about to happen. An arquebuz went off and killed a soldier in front. I do not know why I was not killed, for I was close to his side, elbow to elbow. The Indians were in columns, separated by a slight interval. Our cavalry charged the first which consisted of some 200 men; but they lost 10 killed and 5 captured and retired to an open hillock to await the infantry, which was under my command.

"Having heard what had happened, I put as many as possible on the horses and hurried forward. In the 3 companies of infantry there were not 80 soldiers, which made up with the cavalry, a little more than 160 men; the enemy having concentrated were more than 1,000 strong. I placed myself on the hillock to which our cavalry had retired, and saw from thence some of the enemy getting off their horses to come and attack us. I got off my horse and, as the oldest captain, placed myself at the head of the vanguard, and alternating pikemen with arquebusmen, marched in this order against the enemy (according to the good counsel of the master of camp, Pineda, who had many times told me how it always gave the best results if the Indians were resolutely attacked without giving them time to count our forces). . . . I was going to charge them when suddenly a captain of light cavalry came up with the order to wait and form my infantry in mass.[1] I answered that it would be a pity

[1] The word used, *redondo*, means "round" or circle.

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to lose time, and that our safety depended on the rapidity of our movements; but to this he answered that temerity rarely produced good effects, and that at any rate I had only to comply with the orders which he had given me. I obeyed, and whilst I was executing the required movement, there happened what I had, with reason, feared, for the enemy did not wait till it was finished, and attacked us in "half-moon" formation, infantry in the centre and cavalry on the flanks. Most unluckily, the weather was bad for us; the rain extinguished the matches of our fire-locks, and we were very soon surrounded by the numerous enemy: having been abandoned by our cavalry.

"What can 80 do against 1,000? So our captains and soldiers, although they defended themselves valiantly, were pierced by the lances or done to death by the terrible Araucanian clubs. As for myself, wounded in the arm by a lance, I found it impossible to continue defending my life. They felled me with a stroke from a club, my breast-plate was struck through by a lance, but being of good quality it saved my life. I finally lost consciousness, and when I recovered, found myself a prisoner."

This is the account of Bascuñan, who afterwards wrote the story of his captivity. Ninety-five Spaniards and 200 friendlies were killed, and 30 Spaniards taken prisoner in this disaster. These latter unfortunates were destined to be sacrificed in the Indian rejoicings.

After these events, the governor and others again led destructive raids into the Araucanian territory which were only partially successful.

A new governor, Don Francisco Laso de la Vega, was, however, on the road to Chile, and he landed in December 1629. He treated his predecessor with great courtesy, made strenuous efforts to improve the royal farms and cattle ranches, and very soon brought both the army and country into a sound and satisfactory condition. He began by attempting to make peace with the Araucanians, but this was at that time quite impossible. His sergeant-major was decoyed into a dangerous defile near Picolhue. The Indians attacked the separate companies and drove back the Spanish cavalry upon their own infantry, and caused heavy loss. The governor then made reprisals,

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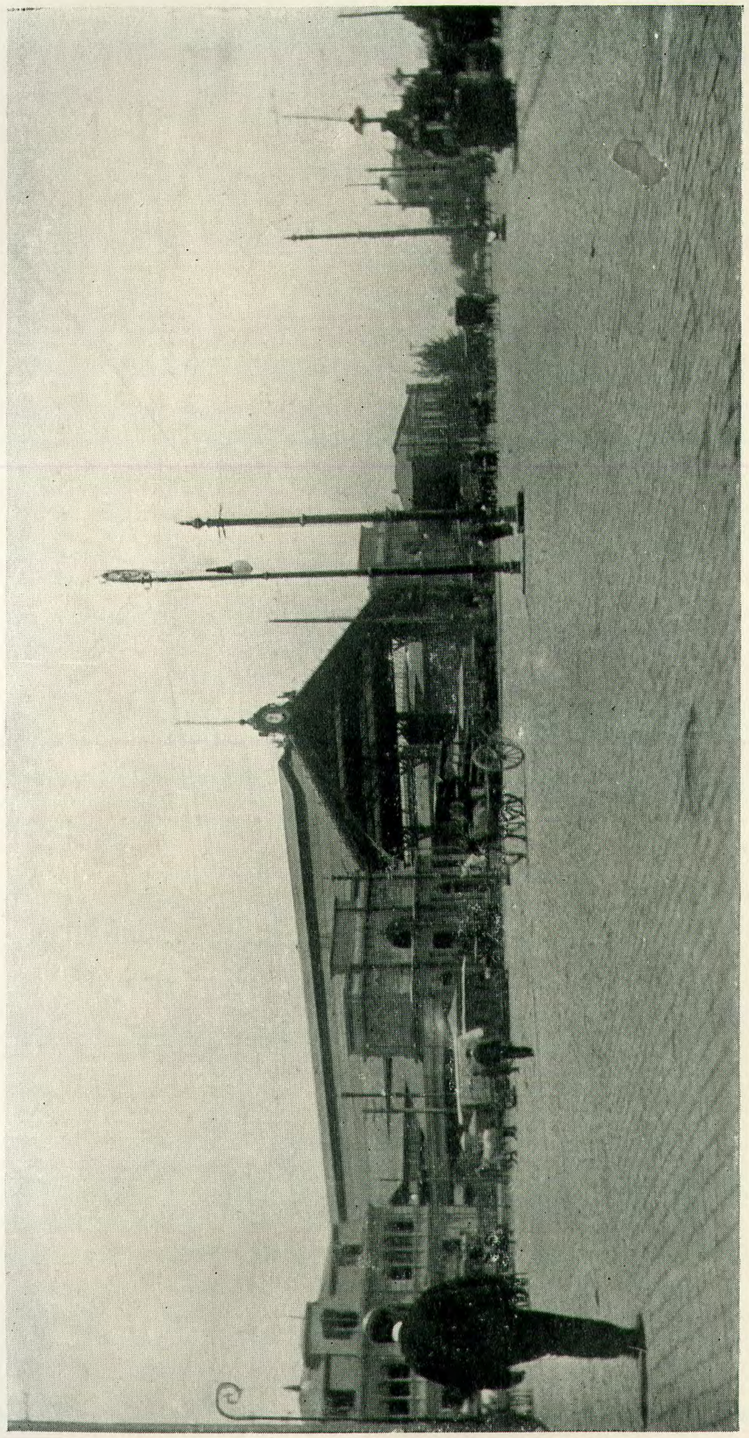

THE RAILWAY STATION, SANTIAGO.

To face p. 89.

chasing Putapichion into the fever-haunted marshes near Lumaco and destroying crops, houses, and stockades in the neighbourhood. Whilst thus engaged, the governor learnt that the enemy had eluded him and was then near Chillán. De la Vega at once started in pursuit. Each cavalryman took up a foot-soldier upon his horse, and all pressed on until, by the second day, horses and men were exhausted and almost dead from sheer fatigue. They arrived at Los Robles on the Itata river. The governor, and indeed every man, was completely worn out, and they lay down to sleep without taking the usual precautions.

They were awakened in horrible confusion by a sudden charge of the Araucanians, who swept like a foaming torrent through the Spanish tents, killing and destroying every man they found. But Laso de la Vega, by his own personal influence and cool daring, rallied his soldiers, drove out the enemy, who lost about half their men in the battle and subsequent pursuit.

This victory produced excellent effects. Laso de la Vega utilised the period of rest by introducing a whole series of valuable reforms. He insisted on the soldier's rations being supplied as meal instead of in grain, thus saving the irritating labour of grinding every handful of corn. He put 30,000 cows in the Government farm at Cateitera, and became with justice the idol of the soldiers. He even raised further help from the rich proprietors and landowners near Santiago, whose aid was obtained by alarming news, in all probability judiciously exaggerated, of proposed Indian raids upon Santiago itself.

The news of a threatened attack by Lientur and Putapichion drew the governor to Arauco. Upon a little hill called Petaco, he reviewed the Spanish army, which consisted of 800 Spaniards and 600 Friendlies. These latter, who carried pikes, were dismounted so as to support the Spanish infantry. As the Araucanian masses, 2,000 infantry and 6,000 horsemen, came on in all the majesty of graceful nodding plumes and lances, 40 palms in length, they were charged by the Spanish cavalry. Although the arquebusmen were at the same time firing heavily upon the Indians, this charge produced no

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impression and the Spanish cavalry retired. At this critical moment, the governor put himself at the head of his reserve, some 150 men, and suddenly attacked the enemy. The Spanish cavalry again charged with fresh vigour and enthusiasm. The Indian masses hesitated, attempted to retire, were thrown into confusion by some small marshes in their rear, and finally broke and fled in all directions. The cavalry pursued and pitilessly cut down the fugitives. Of these 812 are said to have been killed, and 580 taken prisoners. This battle of Albarrada (13th January 1631) re-established Spanish prestige, and for some years kept the Araucanians in comparative tranquillity. During the few years that followed, incessant attempts were made by the governor or his officers to subdue the Indians. In each of them a few Indians were killed; numbers of women and children were captured, and made slaves, quantities of cattle and horses were taken, and the crops were destroyed, but no permanent subjugation of the country was effected.[1] Angol was again rebuilt, but the governor was unable to find either men or money to form a settlement in Valdivia, which, as he vainly pointed out, was an excellent position for Dutch or English to establish themselves. But the eight years of his government were almost finished. Laso de la Vega was not more than fifty years of age, yet his health was already shattered. On 1st May 1639, a former comrade in the Flemish wars, Don Francisco Lopez de Zuñiga, Marquis of Baydes, arrived in Concepción as governor, and Laso de la Vega, after being acquitted of various charges brought against him by some of his ungrateful servants, retired to Peru, where he died during the next year. He was one of the very best soldier-governors in the whole history of Chile.

The Marquis of Baydes seems to have followed in almost every case the advice and councils of the Jesuit missionary fathers. During the years of his administration (1639-1646), the two most interesting

[1] The chief, Quepuantu, who was found dead with twenty-three wounds, after fighting a vastly superior force, is said to have declared: "Had I a thousand lives, I would give them all for my country and liberty."

incidents were the peace of Quillin, and the Dutch invasion at Valdivia.

Contemporary histories are full of the pomps and ceremonies attending the meeting of the governor with the Indian caciques at Quillin. The Marquis of Baydes probably shrank from the strenuous efforts and risks involved in any attempts to follow up De la Vega's policy. The "peace of Quillin" could be reported to the king and its effects absurdly exaggerated. As a matter of fact, the whole objects of the war were given up. The Araucanians were to live in perfect freedom, but they were to allow missionaries to enter their country. Both sides undertook to refrain from invading one another's territories. Of course both sides broke the treaty without the slightest hesitation whenever it suited their convenience to do so. But though no progress was made in conquering Araucania, no disasters befell the Spaniards.

The invasion of the Dutch pirate, Hendrik Brouwer, was very well managed, at least during his lifetime, and at first entirely successful. The Dutch landed and destroyed the Spanish colonies in Castro and other parts of Chiloé. They then ascended the river and founded a fort at Valdivia. At first the Indians welcomed the Dutch and made an offensive and defensive alliance with them. Provisions in abundance were brought into the fort, and it seemed as if Southern Chile would be in the end a Dutch and not a Spanish settlement. But Brouwer died, and after a few months the prospect of a permanent Dutch settlement did not appear to the Indians quite so attractive as it had seemed at the beginning. Moreover, the foreigners began to enquire about gold mines. Provisions ran short, and the Indians disappeared. Herckmans, the successor of Brouwer, gave up the attempt, and the Dutch sailed away and entirely abandoned both Chiloé and Valdivia.

The anxiety and suspense produced by this successful raid were intolerable. Some six months afterwards a Spanish expedition from Peru landed at Valdivia, and again established a fortress (6th February 1645). The

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Indians were certainly ill-disposed, but did not openly oppose the Spanish forces.

The Marquis de Baydes was much assisted in peace-making by two unusual occurrences. In 1640 two royal eagles were seen by the Indians; in that year also there was a terrible eruption of the volcano of Villarica, rivers were dammed up, and the fish poisoned, and so much damage caused that the superstitious Indians looked for no success in war.

The Marquis withdrew to Peru in 1646. In 1656, when returning to Spain in charge of the treasure fleet, he was attacked by the English in the latitude of Cadiz. His ship and most of the treasure galleons were captured or sunk, and he himself either slain in the fight or drowned.

CHAPTER VII

ARAUCANIANS, PIRATES, GOVERNORS, AND SMUGGLERS, 1647-1700

De Muxica—Earthquake of 1647—Acuña y Cabrera—Parliament—Oppression of the soldiers—A ship's crew murdered by the Cumcos—Salazar's disaster at the Rio Bueno—General rising from the Maule to the Biobio — Its complete success — José Salazar loses all his men on the Biobio—Juan Salazar retreats to Valdivia—Deposition, trial, and acquittal of the governor —The half-caste Alexis and his victories—His death—The battle of the rapids at Curanilahue—Anjel de Peredo—Meneses—His oppression and rapacity—Surprise of Virquenco—Navamorquende —Vineyards — Henriquez — His support of the Jesuits — His mercantile ability — Prisoners of war and Royal Orders—Narborough and Sharp—Garro—Coast fortifications—Davis and Knight driven off from Coquimbo—Poveda governor—Indian Missions—Ibanez y Peralta—His rapacity and peculation—Mutiny of the frontier troop—The governor obtains surrender, and hangs the leaders—Beginning of French trade—State of Chile towards 1700 — Nahuelhuapi mission — Ustaritz — Smuggling forbidden but really encouraged by the governor—A bishop nearly causes insurrection.

THE next governor was a distinguished soldier, Don Martin de Muxica, who landed on 8th May 1646. In his time there was a second parliament at Quillin, in which peace was ratified, and Tucapel, Boroa, and other places were rebuilt and garrisoned. On 13th May 1647, at half-past ten on a particularly dark evening, the city of Santiago was almost ruined by a terrible earthquake. Every church, and, indeed, apparently every house was thrown down.[1] It is said that 1,000 people were killed, and many, including the Bishop, dangerously wounded. The loss was estimated at 300,000 pesos.

[1] The worst ones previously recorded were those at Concepción, 1570, at Valdivia, 1575, and at Santiago, 1642.

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The following winter was extraordinarily severe; there were three days of snow as well as long-continued heavy rains. An epidemic broke out amongst the wretched inhabitants. In fact, Santiago was almost ruined.

The governor died of gout in 1649, and was succeeded by Don Alonso de Figueroa y Córdoba. During his short term of office the cathedral at Santiago was rebuilt (22nd March 1650).

On 7th May 1650 a new governor, Don Antonio de Acuña y Cabrera, landed, and was received in Concepción. The appointment seemed at first sight quite an unobjectionable one. Moreover, the country was, for Chile, in a remarkably peaceful condition. To understand what Acuña y Cabrera managed to do during only five years, it is necessary to remember that he owed his appointment entirely to family influence at Court, that he had lately married a beautiful, headstrong woman who used her power over the governor to advance her brothers, and that the latter were needy and unscrupulous adventurers. The governor began with a great peace parliament, which was attended by some 8,000 Spaniards and 20,000 Indians. In the feasts which celebrated this "eternal" truce between Indian and Spaniard, all the provisions for the next campaign were eaten up, and nothing could be done during the ensuing season. Very soon the condition of the soldiery became appalling. The two Salazars, brothers-in-law of the governor, were appointed respectively Sergeant-Major and Colonel-in-Chief. Both at once began to make their fortunes by swindling the wretched soldier in his rations, arms, clothing, ammunition, and pay. Even before this period the soldiers were too often thieves and ruffians, almost as much dreaded by peaceful persons as the Araucanians themselves. They were also disorganised and undisciplined.

The following is an instance; it is, according to the ideas of that time, a horrible crime. Whilst a priest was riding his mule, two soldiers made their appearance. One of them lassoed the priest, whilst the other rode

away upon the mule; neither soldiers nor mule were caught.

Of course the new military authorities were alive to the advantage of taking Indian prisoners of war in order to sell them as slaves. This meant deliberate infraction of the treaty, which the Indians naturally resented.

In dealing with native races, however, "failure" is more dangerous than "false dealing." Very soon there was a particularly flagrant blunder which could not but impress every person of Indian blood.

The ship conveying the annual payment for the Valdivia garrison ran ashore somewhere near Osorno in the Cumco territory. The crew landed in safety, but all of them were decoyed by the Indians into an ambush and treacherously murdered. The missionary, working in the same territory, was imprisoned, and nine other Spaniards were killed.

This treachery was partially avenged by the Governor of Chiloé, and after a year's delay, Salazar started with a large body of men to punish the Cumcos and incidentally to enrich himself. This force, unopposed, reached the bank of the Rio Bueno, a rapid and turbulent stream. There was, however, an island in midstream to which access could be obtained by means of a bridge. This bridge was a fragile structure made of "balsas," that is, leather skins full of air, tied together and attached to two ropes which were firmly fastened to supports on either bank. Wooden planks were laid down upon the balsas.

The Spaniards crossed this in safety as far as the small island, which was not held by the enemy. But on the other bank some 500 Indian cavalry were visible, and though the Spaniards saw no infantry, Salazar's veteran captains were strongly averse from any attempt to cross by means of so weak a bridge with unknown enemies in their front.

There were, in fact, 3,000 Indians hidden in the woods. Salazar would listen to no one, and about 200 troops were cautiously conveyed to the opposite shore, much to the astonishment of the enemy, who thought the Spaniards

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had gone mad. These 200 were soon attacked by overwhelming forces. Reinforcements were hurried across the bridge, but this suddenly broke in pieces. Almost every man upon it, as well as the 200 on shore, were either killed or taken prisoners[1] (11th January 1654). In February of the ensuing year Clentaru, with 400 Indians, severely defeated a Spanish force in Yumbel. Worse, however, was to come! On 14th February 1655, all the friendly Indians, personal servants and others in the whole country lying between the Rio Maule and the Biobio, suddenly rose in desperate rebellion. About 396 estancias were sacked and destroyed. Hundreds of Spaniards were killed or taken prisoner; 400,000 head of horses, cattle, etc., were captured; the loss was estimated at 8,000,000 pesos. The results were terrible. The Spanish forts and colonies were everywhere abandoned. The governor himself withdrew from Buena Esperanza to Concepción. Arauco was depopulated. Even Chillán was abandoned. Apparently Concepción, Boroa, Chiloé, and Valdivia were the sole places south of the Rio Maule which remained in Spanish hands. In one day the results of one hundred years of fighting almost disappeared.

The two Salazars behaved atrociously. José was besieged in Nacimiento, and adopted the insane idea of trying to escape by the river (Biobio). The entire garrison was crowded into a small barque and two launches, but whilst drifting down-stream, these grounded on sand-banks near the abandoned fort of San Rosendo. To lighten the ship, 350 women, children, and old men were set on shore, where they were at once captured by the Araucanians who, like bands of exultant wolves, followed along each bank of the river awaiting their prey.

The ships ran hopelessly aground near Monterey; every single man was either killed or drowned. Juan de Salazar, in command of a strong expedition against the Cumcos, had the cowardice to proceed southwards to Valdivia and return by sea.

The wretched refugees in Concepción, entrenched in

[1] Nine hundred Spaniards and 1,500 Auxiliaries.

the plaza (for the Indians were killing or capturing people in the outer streets), became mad with rage. Shouting death to the governor, they rose in rebellion. Acuña fled to the safe obscurity of the Jesuits' college, and Villalobos, who was acclaimed as governor in his place, managed with great difficulty to save his life.

Before long, however, strong men came to the front. The pass of the Maule was defended by veteran soldiers from Santiago. The governor of Chiloé fought his way through 6,000 Indians to Osorno and back again. After a reference to Peru, Acuña y Cabrera was deposed, and with considerable difficulty despatched to Peru to stand his trial. One of the most extraordinary facts in the whole story is that his family influence at Court eventually ensured an acquittal.

A distinguished soldier and explorer, Admiral Pedro Porter Casanate, became governor in 1656. He saw that it was at that time only possible to hold Concepción and endeavoured to pacify the districts around that city. But fortune was still against the Spaniards. A half-caste soldier called Alexis found that, owing to his birth, he had no chance of rising in the Spanish service to officer's rank. He deserted to the Indians, who made him commander-in-chief. Alexis with 1,000 warriors crossed the Biobio. A force of 280 Spaniards was sent in pursuit of him, but discovering his strength, they were obliged to take up a position hurriedly. The place chosen was strong, yet too cramped and contracted by marshes on either hand; the Spaniards, crowded together, could not use their pikes effectively. The Araucanians charged, but, though they killed many, could not take the position.

Alexis drew off his warriors for a breathing-space and attentively examined the position. The day was very hot; everything was dried up by a blazing sun. He gave orders to set fire to the dried grass in his front. Soon clouds of smoke rolled towards the Spanish line and finally reached them. At the same instant, in the midst of the flames and choking smoke, a second Araucanian onslaught broke upon the unfortunate Spaniards, the

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commander, three sergeants, and forty-eight men being killed.

Alexis then had the audacity to threaten Concepción itself. He obtained reliable news of the departure of a small body of 200 men, which was very nearly surprised on the march.[1] The captain, Gallegos, hurriedly placed his men on a small hill defended in front by two deep ditches; the rear was protected by a thick wood. The horses and baggage were placed in the rear next the wood, whilst the men were arranged facing the enemy. Alexis and his main body attacked the front of the position with great display, and especially discharging arrows and other projectiles. But whilst this was going on, two Araucanian companies quietly stole round to the rear through the wood and suddenly attacked the Spanish horses, the Spaniards being trampled down and thrown into utter confusion by their own 200 mounts, and the Araucanians killed every man of them.

Once again this talented half-caste brought disaster upon his former masters. He had the boldness to advance upon the city of Concepción, but was pursued by a Spanish force of some 200 men, who came up with him at Budenco in the valley of Palomares.

Alexis at once turned aside and posted his men along the crest of a steep declivity. The Spanish commander made a frontal attack. Whilst the latter's men were struggling up the slope, and had only ascended about half-way, the Araucanians suddenly charged down. The Spaniards could not use their fire-arms; they were enveloped and hemmed in by the triumphant savages. The commander Zuñiga and seventy of his men were killed, whilst Alexis did not lose a single man.

But this indefatigable military genius had certain faults characteristic of his race. He was inconstant and fickle in his affections. Two jealous wives, who had been

[1] A brave soldier offered to go to Concepción for reinforcements. He suddenly rode through the midst of the startled savages and got safely through, though he lost his hat. His name was Juan Fernandez Astudillo.

deserted and despised, assassinated him whilst he was lying asleep, recovering from a drunken debauch. These women were afterwards pensioned by the Spaniards!

With his death, fortune turned her back upon the Indians. Greatly encouraged by the news, the governor decided on building a new fort at Lota, and in 1661 sent out a strong force to invade Araucania. By an extraordinary coincidence, the Indian army, under the new toqui Misque, was encamped on the north side of the Cariboro river between the fords at Salto and Curanilahue of the Rio de la Laja, whilst the Spanish army was in camp on the other side of the last-named river. A friendly Indian stumbled on the Araucanian encampment, and the Spaniards on his report immediately started. The roar of the rapids at Curanilahue concealed any noises made by the troops in crossing, and whilst one column attacked the sleeping Indians in rear, another, simultaneously, attacked in front. The surprise was complete: 600 Indians lay dead in their camp, 200 were taken prisoner, and many others drowned in the river or killed in the pursuit, whilst the chief, Misque, was captured and killed.

Soon afterwards the governor, Don Pedro Porter Casanate, died (27th February 1662). His term of office had been altogether disastrous, but the fault was not his. He had managed to rescue the heroic garrison of Boroa after a siege of thirteen months, and in spite of Alexis, he had saved Chile.[1] The paralysing theory of "a defensive war" still troubled his councils, and he himself suffered from dropsy. One cannot but regret, therefore, that he learnt before his death that he had been superseded.

An interim governor, Diego Gonzalez Montero, of Chilian birth, reigned for three months, and was succeeded by Don Anjel de Peredo on 22nd May 1662. The new governor set to work building forts and repopulating

[1] A terrible earthquake (on 15th March 1657) had ruined Concepción. It was accompanied by a tidal wave which reached as far as the "plaza" of that unfortunate city.

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the wasted country betwixt the Maule and Biobio. He is said to have spent some six hours of every day at his devotions, and yet in less than two years he had greatly altered the country. Unfortunately, in January 1664 he was replaced by a sort of firebrand, Don Francisco Meneses. This soldier's youth was spent in fighting, duels, insubordination, and every sort of tumult and disturbance. A more unsuitable person than "Barrabas" (which was his nickname in Spain) could not probably have been discovered in the whole of the King of Spain's dominions. His record in Chile was remarkable: he first attempted to imprison Pereda, who managed to get safely away to Peru; he quarrelled with the Bishop of Santiago on the very first day of his arrival, and was eventually excommunicated[1]; he insulted and imprisoned his colonel-in-chief, Alonso de Carrera, and just failed in an attempt to murder him in prison; every member of the Royal Audience fled either to Peru or to a convent, except one, who went in daily peril of his life.

Yet Meneses was a man of great ability. He raised vast sums of money by the most ingenious methods. The Court of Spain, from which he came, was so thoroughly corrupt, that the proceedings of Meneses, a typical courtier, which seem to-day quite incredible, were not without precedent. Thus he insisted on new registration of titles for all landed estates, and charged heavy fees for registering. He made a monopoly in lard, which was then being exported to Peru, and was rapidly becoming an important article of trade. He bought the lard at his own price, and his agents sold it in Peru at four to five times the original cost. He established slaughter-houses in Santiago, and took a benefit from them. He and his agents made large sums by defrauding the wretched soldiers in pay, clothing, and provisions. He obtained money for the pay of numbers of soldiers who did not exist. In fact, he entirely destroyed what little prosperity remained in Chile. He had no scruples

[1] This did not last long, for he had the excommunication purged by force.

about opening letters, and tried by every means in his power to prevent any report of his proceedings from reaching the Court in Spain.

Such a man—vain, arrogant, tyrannical, and obstinate—was not likely to show any weakness or sentimentality in dealing with Indians. He rebuilt many forts and strong places notably at Puren, Repocura, another almost on the site of Imperial, and others. There were also many destructive expeditions into the Indian territory, in which hundreds of prisoners were captured and sold into slavery. The Araucanians were terrified, and as usual begged for peace. There were no important battles, so that we shall only mention what happened at the fort of Virquenco. The chief, Aquelipi, was apparently on very friendly terms with the captain (named Paredes) who was in command. The latter, obligingly, lent him twelve soldiers for an expedition against the Pehuenches. Two days later Aquelipi returned in triumph with supposed Pehuenche prisoners. The Spanish captain hurried out, and shaking him by the hand, began to congratulate him on his victory. The Indian gave a signal, and Paredes and his garrison were promptly massacred. The twelve soldiers had all been treacherously killed.

On the other hand, the gallant Lara of Santiago maintained Puren by a series of brilliant surprises and attacks. The Indians were also twice thoroughly beaten near the historic ridge of Villagra, and the forts at Lota and San Pedro were left in peace.

But it was, of course, impossible for such a man as Meneses to hold out long against both the Church, the Royal Audience, and the Chilian aristocracy. After the death of Philip IV., and when his protector, Don Juan, had fled from the Spanish Court, Queen Mariana, the regent, required but little persuasion to depose him. In fact, a new governor, Don Diego Dávila, Marqués de Navamorquende, arrived in Chile in 1668. Meneses had just left Santiago, which city the Marquis's emissaries had no difficulty in seizing. Meneses returned, but again fled, with the intention of using the army to bring about

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an armed rebellion. He was pursued, ignominiously brought back, and placed in prison, where, whilst lawyers wrangled over his estate, he remained until his death in 1672.

The Marquis of Navamorquende endeavoured to assist agriculture, and especially vineyards, for up to that time the cultivation of the vine was most foolishly prohibited. He also made the usual expeditions in Indian territory, but he left for Peru in 1670, having heard of the appointment of a successor. The veteran Diego Gonzalez Montero, now over eighty years of age, was again interim governor, until the arrival of Don Juan Henriquez in 1670. The latter was a native of Lima (born 1630), but had studied at the University of Salamanca, and had served many years in the army, both in Spain and Portugal. His term of office was exceedingly long—no less than twelve years!

That was, undoubtedly, in part the result of his own sagacity and energy, but it was also due to priestly influence. The Church, and especially the Jesuits, were by this time exceedingly powerful, both in Chile and at the Spanish Court. Henriquez was always on excellent terms with the clergy. He encouraged missionary efforts, promoted the building of churches and convents, and, in consequence, retained his position. It was he who brought a supply of good water from the mountain streams into Santiago. He also bridged the Mapocho river, and made embankments, protecting the city from the occasional destructive floods of that turbulent stream. The army was well looked after; there were almost annual punitive expeditions into Indian territory. These were a source of great profit to all concerned, and especially to the governor himself. During his term of office he had sold as slaves 800 Indian prisoners of war. For these he obtained about 250 pesos each, but the governor lent them to various landed proprietors, who paid for them in the form of wheat at the rate of 4 reales a fanega. As this wheat was sold to the government at 16 reales a fanega, he made some 800,000 pesos by the transaction.

Indian slaves were even more valuable in Peru than in Chile, for there the native population was rapidly vanishing away. Some Peruvian landholders were astute enough to persuade the King of Spain to order all Chilian prisoners of war to be deported to that country, not, *of course*, on account as their use as labourers, but because they would enjoy Christian privileges there, and be prevented from lapsing into heathenism.

This order gave the Chilian governor some little trouble to evade, for it was peremptory, as well as perfectly distinct and definite. But he eventually wrote a long letter, explaining how the poor Chilian would die in the deadly Peruvian climate, etc., etc. Then he disregarded the order altogether. Though there seems to have been no very serious Indian rising in the time of Henriquez, it required all the governor's cleverness to prevent it. Certain fanatical missionaries, by their enthusiasm for monogamy, nearly brought about a general insurrection. Henriquez also had other troubles. The English scientific exploring expedition, under Narborough, arrived near Valdivia, after thoroughly surveying the Straits of Magellan and the west coast. A few members of this quite innocent expedition were captured. These men were kept in confinement without any excuse whatever, sent to Peru, and finally executed.[1] The pirate—Sharp—though he had but one ship and 146 men, kept the whole of the west coast in the greatest anxiety and alarm. His men landed at Coquimbo, which was burnt and thoroughly sacked. They did further damage in Peru, but eventually got clear away, and returned safely to England. There was at the time a treaty of peace between Spain and England, but it was difficult to restrain the buccaneers.

Such expeditions as those of Sharp had the most extraordinary effects. The regular convoys of treasure were interrupted, the whole commercial development and business in such countries as Chile was paralysed, and every man was hurriedly called to arms to guard against—

[1] After the destruction of Panama by Morgan, and other outrages perpetrated by English pirates.

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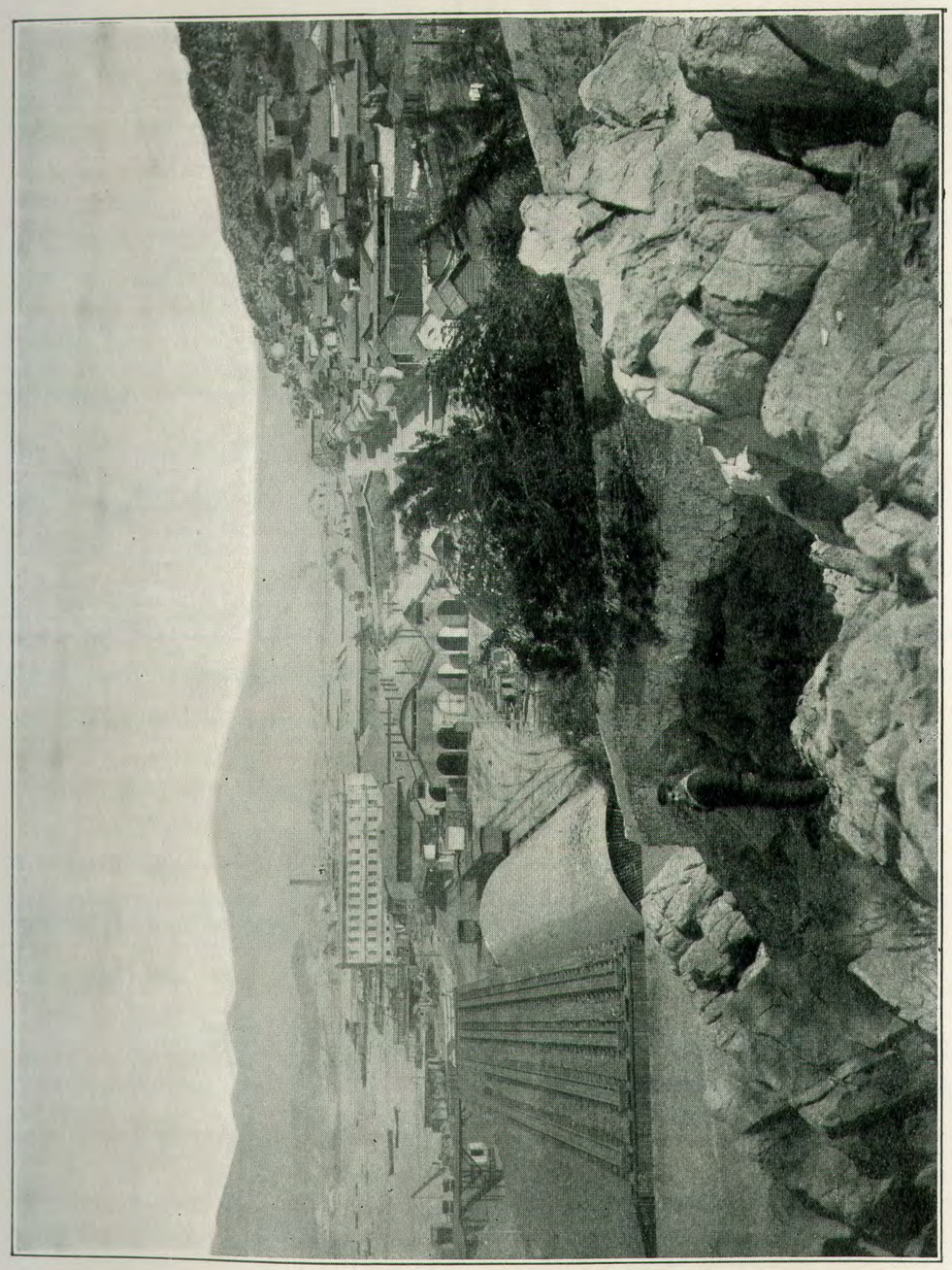
perhaps one vessel with 146 men! The lesson is a most important one.

Chile decidedly prospered under Henriquez's control, and even found time to quarrel, in the most violent manner, over the election of certain ecclesiastical dignitaries. Full details of these squabbles (in which blood was often shed), and of Henriquez's firm but delicate handling of the Royal Audience, of the Bishop and other officials, will be found in Arana's and Gay's History. He eventually sailed away to Spain, carrying his fortune with him.

The new governor, Don José de Garro, arrived in Chile on 25th March 1682. He carried on the methods of his predecessor. First visiting the Indian country, and holding a great parliament on the site of Imperial, he obtained the surrender of all Spanish captives still remaining amongst the savages. José de Garro is called "the good" and "the saintly governor," yet, in a letter to Peru, and later to the king, he suggests a new way of dealing with the Indian question. This was to summon another parliament, and then seize treacherously a thousand or so of the toquis, chiefs, and prominent men. The rest of the Indians being without chiefs would, he considered, be easily subdued. He was forbidden to try this mad scheme. He estimated the number of Indians in his time as about 18,000 warriors, and, as each had ten, twelve, or twenty wives, their number was sure to increase, and so leave the Spaniards in a still more overwhelming minority. But peace was more or less maintained during his term of office.

The fear of the English pirate still paralysed trade, commerce, and agriculture in both Chile and Peru. Garro, however, insisted on fortifying both Valparaiso, Coquimbo, and other places. All the inhabitants were trained to arms, and a regular system of coastguard sentinels was prepared. The result proved how necessary were these precautions.

Swan's ship, although England and Spain were on friendly terms, was driven off from Valdivia by cannon-shot. A small fleet of pirates under Davis had arrived in the



COQUIMBO.

From Robinson Wright's "Republic of Chile," by permission of Messrs. G. Barrie & Sons.

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Pacific, *viâ* Sierra Leone and Cape Horn. They obtained goats, fresh water, and provisions at Juan Fernandez, which was the regular haunt of buccaneers. Here they found an Indian Robinson Crusoe. They then ravaged the coast of Peru, and took Guayaquil.

In 1686 Captain Knight of Davis's fleet successfully obtained provisions at Lomari, and again landed to get cattle and stores at Tongoi. The party was attacked by a detachment of cavalry from Coquimbo, and driven to their boats with a loss of three killed.

Davis's and Knight's ships returned, and their two ships anchored in Coquimbo Bay (14th September 1686). They landed before dawn, and endeavoured to seize and plunder Serena. They managed to reach the city, but there found themselves surrounded and outnumbered. They took refuge in the church of St Domingo, where they were besieged for thirty hours, but eventually they cut their way back to their ships, bearing eight or nine dead, and without having obtained even stores or provisions.

In order to prevent the pirates obtaining provisions at any of the islands, the Spaniards depopulated Mocha and endeavoured to destroy the goats in Juan Fernandez. The former measure was distinctly contrary to their agreement with the Indians. The islanders were practically forced to work for the proprietors near Concepción. Another English ship, under Captain Strong, made a fruitless attempt to trade with Chile. The matter being referred to the king, produced a definite refusal to allow any traffic of any sort with any foreigners in the Chilian seas.

The next governor, Don Tomas Marin Poveda, arrived in Chile in December 1691. He had apparently plenty of Court influence, but had some experience in military matters. He encouraged missionary enterprise, and even spent upon missions part of the money which ought to have been devoted to the army on the frontier. In his letters to the king he upheld the view—very popular at that priest-ridden court—that the Araucanians could

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be subdued by missionary effort and clerical persuasion. The position of the soldiers became steadily worse: their pay fell into arrears; they were so badly supplied with food and clothing that they were forced to steal whatever they required. Discipline was impossible.

Poveda held the usual parliaments, and received the usual assurances from the Indian chiefs. Nevertheless, Christianity made but little progress amongst the Indians; certain Spaniards visited the Indian country for trade, and sold the Indians intoxicating drink of the worst quality. There were many small disturbances, and eventually a Spanish captain was assassinated in Maguigua; the commissary, Pedreros, endeavouring to chastise the rebels, was defeated and killed. The governor raised a large force and entered the Indian country, but he simply held a solemn parliament at a place called Choquechoque, where peace was again confirmed.

Pirate ships still occasionally appeared off the coast, but these were successfully driven away. Poveda had the usual troubles with the Royal Audience, but throughout his term want of money began to make government impossible. The annual grants from Peru were sometimes not sent at all; sometimes they were absurdly delayed, and occasionally the ship carrying them was wrecked, or the money was stolen on the way. Efficiency in army matters was obviously impossible under such conditions.

The new governor, Don Francisco Ibañez y Peralta, who left Spain towards the end of the reign of Charles II., was an excellent specimen of the most corrupt court in Europe at its lowest stage of degradation. An impoverished soldier of fortune, he incurred debts said to amount to 125,000 pesos during his voyage, and expected to recoup himself during his period of office. The scanty trade of Chile—chiefly export of wheat and lard to Peru—was burdened, starved, and almost choked out by his rapacity. The condition of the army, with eight years of pay in arrear, became quite deplorable. At last a supply of money came from Peru, and the governor went to

Concepción to superintend its distribution. But, by indirect subterfuges or openly, it soon appeared that the governor intended to give out but a very small proportion of the money. The Court of Spain having had experience of governors, had attempted to check their proceedings by the appointment of special officials or auditors. This method was, of course, necessarily futile, as now appeared. The auditor happened to be a brave and honourable Spaniard, Montero de Espinosa, who had been ordered to leave Spain in consequence of having killed his opponent in a duel. Espinosa protested against Ibañez's fraudulent embezzlement, upon which the governor ordered out a guard to put him in prison. Espinosa, with sword and pistol in his hands, overawed the guards (probably they sympathised with him) and escaped to a convent, and finally got clear away to Peru.

But the governor's proceedings produced an armed mutiny of the frontier troops, who advanced from both Yumbel and Arauco ready to fight him. They sent him a round robin charging him with being a manifest thief, but ending "all the soldiers in the army kiss your Excellency's hands."

The governor lacked, however, neither audacity nor cleverness, and advanced to meet them with a force of militia. Utilising the services of a Jesuit father, he promised pardon to the ringleaders, and persuaded the soldiers to return to duty. When they had done so, he disregarded his pledges (in one case a solemn promise in writing), and proceeded to capture and execute all the ringleaders. In several cases they were hauled out of churches and sanctuaries in spite of the protests of the clergy.

This crime—a horrible one in those days—provoked only the censure of the king and a fine of 4,000 pesos. When Philip V. ascended the throne of Spain, certain improvements were introduced. A regular system of promotion was established in the army, and also Chile for the first time was put in touch with Europe. The Spanish Court

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could not but permit French ships some intercourse with Chilian harbours. The result was a great development of trade. This was at first contraband, but nevertheless soon became of great importance. Till then clothing and all manufactured articles were only to be had from a very few merchants who made annual voyages to Peru and brought back a small stock of articles which they sold at enormous prices. These supplied the officials and a very few extremely rich families in Santiago who lived in the greatest luxury. The churches, convents, and especially the Jesuit establishments, were also enormously wealthy and exceedingly prosperous. But the bulk of the people, then about 80,000 in number, lived in the greatest poverty and destitution. The army was starving and in rags, and supplied its wants by open robbery. Estancias or farms were scattered at distant intervals over the country. The only education was that given by the priests, and consisted of theology, philosophy, and ecclesiastical Latin. The Indians lived in drunkenness and idleness, but gave no trouble so long as no attempt was made to interfere with them. They were baptized in periods of scarcity and sold their children to become slaves, but the missions were admitted to have had no effect whatever in civilising the Indian people as a whole. Noble-hearted, self-denying Jesuits and others spent their lives amongst them in thankless efforts. About this time a mission was established near Nahuelhuapi. It prospered for a time; cattle were introduced and many children were baptized. But some years afterwards the Indians rose, burnt the mission, killed the missionary, and seized the cattle. Though the above seems but a miserable result for one hundred and fifty years of conquest, yet there was a Chilian people. It consisted of "poor whites," half-castes, and domesticated Indians. Moreover, in the towns there were many costly and gorgeous ecclesiastical festivals, bull-fights and other amusements. Squabbles among the ecclesiastical bodies enlivened public life and society; the election of an abbess, for instance, kept the whole country excited and disturbed for three years.

The governor Ibañez was deposed 26th February 1706.

The new governor, Juan Andres de Ustaritz, had been at one time a merchant in Seville, and was a rich man. In fact it was said that he bought the governorship as a business speculation, and paid some 24,000 pesos for it.

He was up to a certain point an excellent man of business. At this time any sort of trade or traffic with French ships was absolutely forbidden on any pretext. Several times over, new and more stringent regulations were again issued by the Spanish Court. These orders were all publicly proclaimed by the governor in Chile. Confiscation of goods, tremendous fines, even imprisonment, were to be the fate of French or other smugglers. No French ship was to approach or hold any trade with Chilian harbours.

And yet forty French ships were peacefully trading on the coast of Chile in the year 1715! The trade in European and especially French goods kept on expanding year by year, and the whole social and intellectual life of Chile began to be affected by that tincture of French culture which is still obvious.

This seems strange, but the explanation is quite simple. Take the case of Capitaine Frondac of the French ship *San Antonio de Padua*, who incautiously landed at Concepción. He was thrown into prison with divers of his crew, and at the direct orders of the governor. But by means of a faithful friend, the governor was persuaded to order his release, and no doubt 16,000 pesos which the faithful friend conveyed to the governor's hands were weighty and powerful arguments.

It is said that at the very time when the most horrible penalties were publicly proclaimed by the governor, he was himself making thirty or forty per cent. by the secret sale of smuggled goods under others' names.

Besides these French visitors there were scores of English pirates. The result was the fortification after a fashion of Valparaiso, Concepción, and Valdivia. But though Dampier and Rogers did visit the Pacific, they did nothing of any importance except discovering and

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removing Robinson Crusoe from the island of Juan Fernandez. He was a Scotchman (Alexander Selkirk from Largo in Fife), but in four years and four months, though he had read the psalms daily, he had forgotten how to speak and how to drink spirits.

With regard to the Indian question, the Bishop of Concepción made an important visitation extending as far as Chiloé and Valdivia. During this tour he vigorously protested against polygamy as practised by the Indians and denounced their proceedings in vigorous language. The result was an insurrection of the Indians in Chiloé of a somewhat serious character. This revolt was ruthlessly put down, and 300 Indians killed during its suppression. He was fortunately brought back from Valdivia under the protection of a troop of cavalry. He estimated the number of Indians between Concepción and Valdivia at about 400,000.

A general rising of all the Indians was planned in 1715, but this was averted by yielding to their terms and seizing some of the prominent chiefs. Shortly after this, in 1717, the governor was superseded. On his removal there was the usual crop of complaints and lawsuits. He was fined 54,000 pesos, and it is said by some authorities that he died of grief in consequence.

CHAPTER VIII

DEVELOPMENT OF CHILE—AMBROSE O'HIGGINS

Cano de Aponte—Earthquake of 1730—Indian insurrection—Parliament at Negrete—Accident to the governor—Salamanca's and Manso's reigns—Direct trade with Spain begins—Development of the country — Earthquake of 1751 — Utter destruction of Concepción—Ortiz de Rosas, Amat y Junient, Guell y Gonzaga—Fatal consequences of breaking faith—The building of towns and the result—Missions and settlements destroyed—Rising of 1766—Expulsion of the Jesuits—Their prosperity and wealth in Chile—Balmaseda and Morales y Castejon governors—Indian troubles—Jauregui—O'Higgins guards the frontier—Development of population—Acevedo and Benavides—An abortive attempt at revolution suppressed—Ambrosio O'Higgins becomes governor—The great improvements due to him—Ugarte and Avilés—Guzman.

AN interim governor, José de Santiago Concha, was succeeded by General Gabriel Cano de Aponte (1717). This distinguished soldier, an adept in horsemanship and every sort of gallantry, became extremely popular in Santiago, where he lived in the most magnificent manner. He was a shrewd and skilful governor in spite of his amusements, which were felt to be scarcely becoming in one of his age and high position.

In his time, English pirates were a perpetual anxiety and alarm. "Jorje Shelvocke," *e.g.*, landed at Chiloé, where he captured a few boats and a store of victuals, and threatened Concepción. But the troops were called out, and he sailed away to Coluimo Bay. He chased a Spanish ship, which was at once run on shore; his boats were driven off with loss when he landed to take possession. He remained here, captured another ship richly laden with valuable merchandise, and sailed away to Juan Fernandez

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Then he went to Peru, burnt and plundered Paita. On his return he was wrecked on Juan Fernandez, but he and his crew set to work and built a launch—the *Recovery*. With her they captured a Spanish ship, and sailed safely home.[1] Epidemics of small-pox and a terrible earthquake created destruction in Chile in the year 1730. At three o'clock on a Sunday morning, 8th July 1730, Santiago, Valparaiso, and even Cordoba and Tucuman were shattered by three successive tremors. The wretched inhabitants, encamped in the open, suffered from the storm which followed. There were twenty-four hours of torrential rain on 10th July. The same earthquake and a tidal wave nearly destroyed Concepción.

There had been peace, varied by occasional cattle-lifting raids, on the Indian frontier for some years. Traders had begun to visit the Indian country, and the Araucanians were beginning to value European articles. There were also missions of a sort (generally a small chapel with a straw roof, and a hut with two or three fathers) scattered through Araucania.

But Aponte's nephew had been made colonel-in-chief, and sold the offices of "Captain of Friendly Indians" to the highest bidder. These captains began to rob and plunder the Indians, and especially used to seize boys and girls to sell as slaves, and the Indians fixed on March 1723 for a general insurrection. The contemporary letter which follows, though incoherent and laboured, gives a lively picture of the time.

"My Dear Sir (Muy Senor Mio).—That the men were not sent which your excellency expected has not been through disobedience on my part, but because it seemed best to detain them, as will be seen from what follows.

"On Tuesday the 10th inst., there appeared around this fort some 500 Indians, so far as one could see, and they had placed themselves in plain sight on a small hillock — they had planted their standards, and were

[1] For the extraordinary adventures of Sherlock and Clipperton, see Harris, vol. i., and Pinkerton, vol. xxvi.

there from that day till the Friday night about nine o'clock. They attacked us in such large force and with such valour that one was afraid we would not be able to resist them.

"They came on and drew near to the ditch, carrying things like doors made of wickerwork,[1] well-woven, and over this fresh cowhides and sheepskins, with the wool made damp and moist. There were six that carried each of these doors, and quite protected behind them there came great quantity of Indians. Advancing till they reached the ditch, and warding off our shots, they descended into it until there remained but very few to enter.

"All this was at the very time when other bands were throwing such quantities of stones that very many were falling at the same instant.

"Those in the ditch, and already protected in it, began to fire arrows, and to ascend out of it with their doors, so as to enter, and I, seeing that they were, without any remedy, drawing near to the stockade, ordered that every man should fire without stopping. They were so thrown out by this that they dropped their shields, and rushed desperately at the stockade with axes and spears. Here was it that most of our shots were successful, for from the sentry posts and through the gaps or openings between the stakes most of our men hit their mark.

"Spears were used on each side with great courage and, by the great mercy of the All-powerful, fortune was favourable to us, for after they saw some of their men fallen they turned their horses and gained the ditch in flight, from whence they went back sallying out to the country—very hardly come off with life, for they had left some dead round the stockade, and others within and outside the ditch. They retired to their quarters, disconsolate and discouraged, without having obtained their end. . . .

"They carried with them a Spanish woman that they had captured half a league from the fort that had gone out before that they appeared. She, six leagues from here, escaped them by great good fortune, and says that on the road, in her sight, six died and that there was a greater quantity of sick and wounded than of those that were sound, which hardly were able to hold themselves on horseback for very weakness, and that all said that

[1] The word (*coleos*) does not occur in most dictionaries.

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there had died about 100 Indians, and says that the night of the battle they left her tied with 30 that remained to guard the horses and tools. . . . I send you the receipt of the powder and balls. It is certain if the last quantity which Quiroa brought had not arrived, behold me in more trouble, because I believe we would have failed to hold the fort; but by means of the grace of God and that of your excellency, this did not happen. I wait for the people of Chillán which your excellency offered me. Yes, you will see, sir, that I have not done very ill in keeping the men that you ordered should return, for even with more of these than remained, we were sufficiently troubled, as say all those that were here. I trust that you will agree that the detention of these men was right. May God grant you many years, Na (cimien) to Aug. 13 of 1723 year. My dear Sir, I kiss your hands.—Your humble servant,

"ALFONSO DE LAS CUEBAS.

"To Señor Colonel,
"DON PEDRO DE MOLINA."

Aponte called out the militia, removed the missionaries and the garrisons of all the forts south of the Biobio, and stood upon the defensive.

The Indians very soon began to miss many European articles, and especially the drink, to which they had become accustomed. They petitioned Aponte, and peace was arranged at a ceremonious Parliament held at Negrete.

The Spaniards, it is true, abandoned the historic battlefields of Puren, Nacimiento, and Tucapel, and the Indians obtained everything that they wanted, but, nevertheless, Aponte's reputation did not suffer. The King of Spain pardoned the Indian rebels, and the missionaries and traders returned. At this stage the governor met with a serious accident. He was trying to show off at a great Church festival, and endeavoured to make his horse, a spirited and stubborn animal, put his forefeet on the top of a low wall. But the horse fell and rolled over him. He was so much hurt that he died soon afterwards

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THE ACONCAGUA VALLEY, ONE OF THE FIRST CULTIVATED,

To face p. 115.

(November 1733). His fortune was probably a large one, for his widow made a mysteriously sudden departure from Santiago with "24 large boxes covered with leather and in good condition." Unfortunately for the lady, there was no ship ready to sail at Buenos Ayres and she was obliged to pay some of his debts.

An interim governor, Don Francisco Sanchez de la Barreda y Vera,[1] was soon replaced by Don Manuel de Salamanca. In his time the French contraband trade was extremely prosperous. English goods were also smuggled by way of Buenos Ayres (under cover of the licence to sell their slaves there). The governor is said to have taken part, *sub rosâ*, in these transactions, though showing much apparent zeal in suppressing all contraband. Don José de Manso, a veteran of thirty-one years' service who had seen twenty battles and sieges, replaced him as governor in 1737. There was no direct lawful trade between Europe and Chile until this period. A few Cadiz ships were allowed to buy (at a heavy price) licences, or were "registered" to trade (direct), but only from Cadiz. In spite of childish and vexatious restrictions, the trade with Peru in wheat and lard had become quite considerable.

The war between Spain and England (1739) affected Chile. It is true that Commodore Anson's five vessels arrived in such a terrible condition, through tempests and scurvy, that they were thankful to rest and refresh themselves with the fish, goats' flesh, and lobsters of Juan Fernandez, and did not attack Chile, but their mere presence off the coast paralysed commerce and produced the greatest alarm in every seaport.[2]

José de Manso was an active and honest governor. He raised 80,000 pesos by the sale of titles of nobility.

[1] This was a very pious old gentleman. After the earthquake of 1730 he gave up his house to the Augustin nuns, *having first carefully closed up all the windows*.

[2] Neither Anson's, Cheap's, nor Byron's voyages affected Chilian history. In "The Loss of the *Wager*" there is an interesting account of the West Coast Indians, see Burney, vol. v., and Kerr, vol. xvii.

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(There were six counts or marquises created.) With this money he founded or rebuilt the towns of San Felipe, Los Angeles, Cauquenes, Talca, Melipilla, Rancagua, Curicó and Copiapó. He also made a map of Chile. He was then made Viceroy of Peru. The Marquis of Obando governed for a few months in 1745, but was replaced by General Don Domingo Ortiz de Rosas. Chile indeed began to prosper. Both the University and the Royal Mint were established; but in 1751 there was a terrible earthquake. Santiago was suddenly awakened at half-past one on the morning of 25th May by a terrific crash. The tower of the cathedral had fallen, and terrible damage was done everywhere; and by the same convulsion the city of Concepción was utterly destroyed.

"A little after half-past one in the morning (25 May 1751) there was a shock so strong that we all ran precipitately, just as we were, into the patios of the houses; we had scarcely time to pray to God for mercy when (ten minutes afterwards) there came a terrible earthquake. The horrible rumbling noises alone were sufficient to drive almost every one distracted. The strongest shock seemed to me to last about 6 minutes, repeated three times, one after the other. Every single church and every single house whether large or small was thrown down. Nobody could either stand upright or fly out of their house."

In the horrible darkness, everybody scrambled over the ruins, flying to the hills in fear of the tidal wave, which was to be expected. It came! Half an hour afterwards the sea retreated, leaving the whole bay (which is 3 leagues) dry and exposed. Then it returned with great fury, as fast as a horse can gallop, covering the whole of the ruined city of Concepción. The great wave advanced and retreated three times.

"The outcries and lamentable weeping of people, the howling of dogs and the cries of frightened birds and the terror of the animals, seemed to presage the day of judgment."

In fact Concepción was wiped out; only a little of the walls of the fort remained to mark its place. After this terrible lesson the new city of Concepción was rebuilt on the present site a long way from the sea-shore.[1] But catastrophes of this sort always seem to produce a more vigorous development in Chile. The army was reformed and placed on a regular footing with regular pay, though reduced to 750 men, with consequences that will appear later on. Emigrants from Biscay and from Portugal came in. The mines began to work under proper regulations. A monopoly of tobacco was established. The Indians gave no trouble, for they were permitted to carry any complaints to the Government. Moreover, those Spaniards who raided Indian territory were severely punished. But Ortiz de Rozas was by this time eighty years of age, and in 1756 he embarked for Spain, only, however, to die during the voyage.

The new governor, Don Manuel de Amat y Junient, made considerable improvements in the city of Santiago. A regular police was established and an attempt made to deal with the criminal class and the bands of armed marauders which infested the country. Idleness, drunkenness, and vice were all too common amongst the people, especially in the metropolis. The militia also was reorganised. During both this and the succeeding government there was a very steady improvement in the general development of Santiago. A fine stone bridge was built over the Mapocho, and a good supply of drinking water was introduced.

But ominous news came from the south. The Spaniards had not, even at this time, learnt the obvious lesson that it did not pay to break promises made to the Indians. An officer—Garreton—was sent to make a road from Valdivia and Chiloé to Concepción. He built two stockaded forts along the road. This, of course, was

[1] The bishop strongly opposed this removal, apparently because the tidal wave was a judgment of God, and it was wicked to try and escape from it. Much trouble was required before he was forced to allow the work to proceed.

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a deliberate infringement of the solemn promises made in the Indian Parliaments. Garreton was attacked, forced to retire to Valdivia, and his Friendlies were massacred. In 1761 the governor was promoted Viceroy of Peru. After a short interval (under Don Felix de Berroeta), Brigadier Don Antonio de Guell y Gonzaga succeeded (1762). This governor was an amiable though weak person, devoted to music[1] and entirely under the influence of the Jesuits. He proved himself quite unable to deal with the situation: the Indians who had attacked Garreton were not punished; and the governor deliberately broke faith with them by sending 200 soldiers to assist the Pehuenches of the cordillera against the Huilliche Indians of the plains.

The Jesuit missionaries had long urged the governor to insist on the Indians building towns or villages instead of living "wild in woods." The astute Araucanians had no intention of doing so. At first they put off the governor by asking for tools, utensils, and all sorts of things (of which the iron might be very useful to them in many ways). The governor sent them tools, etc., but no serious work was done. Then the governor, under the advice of his Jesuit friends, despatched Cabrito with a small armed force into the Indian territory to force them to build villages. On 18th May a grand Mass was celebrated, followed by a splendid banquet; the Indians, well fed on flesh, bread, and wine, seemed to be working quite happily. Cabrito saw no danger in dividing his forces, and two officers, Burgoa and another, were sent to start town-building in other places.

The Cacique Curinancu came to visit him. With tears in his eyes he expressed his sorrow for all his past ingratitude towards the Spaniards, whereupon Cabrito gave him a large present of tobacco to console him.

That very night Curinancu hurried through the forest to Burgoa's camp. The latter woke in the night; it seemed as if he heard the steps of many men, but there

[1] The Viceroy of Peru sent him some music paper signed and sealed in a large envelope, but without one word of writing.

was no reason to suspect any danger, and he again dropped into sleep. He was suddenly and effectually wakened, to find Curinancu's warriors murdering his men and plundering the camp. Half dressed, he managed to catch a horse and, though wounded by a spear, escaped riding bareback. Both Cabrito and the other officers were also surprised. The former's men had just time to seize their arms and take up a position. They were entirely surrounded by far superior numbers, and in the greatest danger.

Cabrito and his men, quite helpless, were infuriated at the deception practised on them; especially when an Indian, dressed in Burgoa's hat and cloak, paced solemnly to and fro before them, saying, "Vaya, trabajen, trabajen!" (Come, get to work! get to work!), and then, pointing to the burning houses, "Toma pueblos, toma pueblos!" (Take towns, take towns!). A relieving force soon, however, arrived from the frontier, but every mission was destroyed; the Spaniards were driven out of the whole Indian country. The Indians did not seriously attempt to besiege the forts on or across the Biobio, but in Araucania Spanish influence ceased to exist. This rising (25th December 1766) was in fact completely successful, yet the Jesuit missionaries themselves were not injured, and but few Spaniards were killed. Confusion followed in the Spanish councils. The Bishop of Concepción and the governor, always under Jesuit control, made futile attempts to persuade the Indians to lay down arms. Cabrito and the military authorities, raging under insults to the Spanish flag and to themselves, were thwarted and obstructed by orders and counter-orders. The Pehuenche allies were not supported, became disgusted, and joined the enemy. Guell y Gonzaga, however, died in 1768.

His death was probably hastened by a royal order of Charles III., which required the expulsion of the Jesuits from Chile, and the appropriation of their real and personal property. On the same day (1st April 1767) Portugal, France, Naples, Malta, and Spain banished the

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Jesuits. Harsh and arbitrary as the order appeared, it is not difficult to understand its necessity.

During one century, though sworn to blind and implicit obedience of the Pope, they had become masters not only of the Pope, but of all Catholic governments; though sworn to poverty, their wealth, for those days, was enormous; though withdrawn from the world, the policy of kings, ministers, and emperors was secretly governed or thwarted, not always in a wise or even straightforward manner, by Jesuit fathers. A single astute and irresponsible despot guided and controlled the work of every member. This state of affairs was impossible in any strong government.

In Chile there were some 400 "professed" members. They possessed the finest churches, and conducted the most gorgeous festivals. They controlled the missions; the education of the country was wholly in their hands, as well as many hospitals, dispensaries, and other charitable undertakings. By the confessional their power politically was enormous (as witness Father Luis de Valdivia and Guell y Gonzaga himself). They possessed more than fifty of the finest haciendas; that of Rancagua alone was sold for 130,500 pesos. They had 1,200 slaves (of which 117 sold for 19,045 pesos). They had done excellent work in agriculture, and especially in irrigation. Tanneries, bell-foundries, woollen manufactories, clock-making, cooperage, and many other industries had been introduced by them. Their expulsion produced, in a small country like Chile, the utmost confusion, yet there was no disturbance.

On 26th August 1767, all the Jesuit establishments were surrounded by troops; the fathers were treated with the greatest respect and care, but they were conducted to Valparaiso and despatched to Peru by sea.

But little money was found in their possession, and it was asserted that they had had warning, and had been able to secrete, or despatch to Europe, most of their valuables. The property seized was nominally devoted to the payment of pensions, and to the continuance of their educational and charitable work, but probably a large proportion fell to the insatiable home government.

After the governor's death Juan de Balmaseda y Censano occupied the post. The frontier was in a most alarming condition. The Pehuenches had invaded the Isla de la Laya and destroyed the estancias.

Cabrito enlisted every man whom he could find, and especially criminals from the public prisons. The most horrible cruelties were perpetrated by these men, and Cabrito, confused by separate and irreconcilable orders given by the King in Spain, the Royal Audience, the Bishop of Concepción, and the governor, could do nothing effective.

Even after the arrival of the new governor in 1770 (Don Francisco Xavier de Morales y Castejon) with a battalion of veteran soldiers, no regular invasion of Indian territory was attempted. Fortunately, the heavy rain during this winter kept them within their own territories, but skirmishes were frequent. In one, 8 Spaniards kept 70 Indians at bay from 9 A.M. to 4 P.M.; in another, 100 Indians charged a force of 2,000 Spaniards.

Very soon the governor found himself in an impossible position. He had no money; his veteran soldiers mutinied because they had received no pay, and the militia had to be disbanded. He decided on holding a great parliament at Negrete, in which the Biobio was again fixed as the boundary between the Indian and Spanish countries. It was left in the care of Colonel de Santa Maria, Izquierdo, and O'Higgins. The name of the latter henceforward recurs very frequently in Chilian history. He had been an engineer, and had worked on the improvement of the Transandine road, especially building the rest-houses for the shelter of travellers, and he had now proved himself an excellent officer, building a fort in the cordillera, and carrying out successful skirmishes with the Indians. From 1773, under the new governor, Don Augustin de Jauregui, he seems to have had charge of the whole frontier, and apparently succeeded, for there was no further trouble.

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The Indian chiefs were supplied by him with seed, cattle, and soldier's pay on condition that they assisted him in keeping order, whilst four Araucanian "ambassadors" were also kept at Santiago to represent the Indians.

At the same time, new schools and colleges were founded in Chile, and the country was certainly developing in spite of floods of the Mapocho and plagues of small-pox and other diseases.

The population of Chile was increasing rapidly. In 1657 Santiago had only 4,986 inhabitants. Frezier in 1714 believed that there were only 20,000 white men in Chile, of which 2,000 lived in Santiago. There are said to have been 400,000 Indians between Concepción and Valdivia in 1712. In 1743 De Manso gave the population of Chile as 110,000 to 120,000, of which 22,000 were able to bear arms. About this time, 1770-1780, it had increased to 259,646 souls, of which about 191,000 were "white."

Not very much reliance can be placed upon these figures, but they are "official" estimates. Charles III. in 1778 greatly helped Chilian trade by granting the right of free navigation between Spain and her colonies (1778). Jauregui was promoted Viceroy of Peru in 1780. Then followed Don Tomas Alvarez de Acevedo, and after a few months Don Ambrosio de Benavides. The war of Spain with England produced the greatest anxiety and alarm in Chile, but no attack upon the coast was made.

Two Frenchmen, Gramusset (an unsuccessful inventor) and Berney (a dreamy sentimentalist who taught Latin and mathematics in Santiago), attempted once to start a revolution.[1] They were seized, and at once deported to Peru without any public trial. The governor would not permit the mind of the Chilian people to be disturbed by revolutionary ideas. Chile at this time believed firmly in the Divine right of Kings, and was fanatically Catholic. Gramusset and Berney's attempt was not even known to most of their contemporaries.

In 1783 there was a terrible inundation of the Mapocho

[1] Gramusset was lost at sea; Berney died in prison at Cadiz.

river, which overflowed most of Santiago, and caused terrible damages.[1] The city probably began to take its present form after this event.

The frontier was kept in excellent order by Don Ambrosio O'Higgins. He even had the opportunity of presiding at the largest parliament ever held with the Indians at Lonquilmo, at which the governor, being an invalid, was unable to be present. Great alarm was caused in 1787, for the Indians in the south (near Imperial) plundered the Bishop of Concepción of most of his baggage whilst on a journey to Valdivia. As his baggage was worth about 30,000 pesos, and as his escort consisted of only one sergeant and four dragoons, it is remarkable that he reached Imperial safely. O'Higgins steadily refused to make this incident a *casus belli*. Benavides died, whereupon Acevedo became again governor for a short time. Then, on 26th May 1788, General Don Ambrosio O'Higgins, Marquis of Osorno and Baron of Ballenar, became, by royal seal, Governor of Chile. He who had once been a ragged, barefoot boy — Ambrose Higgins — was born at Ballinary, Co. Sligo, and lived near Dangan Castle, in Ireland, where he used to run on errands for Lady Bective. To this dignity he had now arrived![2] He died Viceroy of Peru at eighty years of age.

[1] Amongst the worst results of this flood is a poem in eight-syllable verse, written by a Carmelite nun. Their convent had been surrounded by the flood.

"... Compared to the torments
That we felt on beholding
The People so attentive
When they carried us across without ceremony
In the arms of common labourers,
Some of us took it badly;
Others fell down upon the earth,
And of some who were much embarrassed
They actually made fun."

This is given in Arana's "Historia de Chile."

[2] He was sent to Cadiz by an uncle; then lived in Peru for a time, where, it is said, he kept a small shop in the square at Lima. He then took to, engineering, was employed in building the refuges in the Transandine Pass and made a fortune in Santiago.

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His administration was marked by the most indefatigable activity. He travelled all through the northern parts of Chile to Copiapó and Serena (the first governor after Valdivia to shed the light of his countenance upon those isolated and miserable communities). He founded or rebuilt Los Andes, Ballenar, Osorno, and brought some sort of order into the administration. He made roads, such as a cart-track from Valparaiso to Santiago, and another road from Concepción to Chiloé. He also improved the Transandine route to Buenos Ayres *viâ* Mendoza. He fortified Valparaiso, Concepción, and Valdivia, and dyked the Mapocho river in Santiago. He endeavoured to economise by restraining "empleomania," that is, the multiplication of useless government posts; but in this respect, as well as in his attempts to make cemeteries and to build a theatre, he was frustrated by the incurable stupidity and fanaticism of the people and clergy.

It is to O'Higgins that the credit is due of finally abolishing the old "encomienda" system, and setting free a few bands of miserable slaves, the sole survivors in Northern Chile of pure Indian blood. In his time, the "inquilino" system may be regarded as established. He, at any rate, stopped the imprisonment and torture of those who endeavoured to escape by flight (which was their only resource) from the cruel rapacity of their masters. He helped the working of the mines, improved irrigation, and planted promenades. He tried to establish fisheries, the cultivation of sugar-cane, of cotton, and of other valuable plants. But, of course, in Chile of those days, what was required was not industries, but industry. A taste for work of any kind did not naturally exist in either the pure Indian or Spanish conquistador. Nor were their descendants ever encouraged to develop a habit of labour; if any man worked at all, the results were summarily wrested from him by iniquitous taxation, and by the most colossal stupidity.

As regards Indian affairs, two punitive expeditions were conducted, one against the Indians near Valdivia—they had revolted, and had cruelly tortured a missionary—

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DON AMBROSIO O'HIGGINS, GOVERNOR OF CHILE.

From Barros Arana's "Historia Jeneral de Chile."

To face p. 125.

and the other against a chief — Llanquitur — from the Buenos Ayres side of the cordillera, who had harried the Pehuenches.

O'Higgins held the usual sumptuous and costly Indian parliament at Negrete, and, especially as the frontier was carefully watched and kept in order, there was no Indian disturbance of any importance during his government. No better governor ever came to Chile than this clever, taciturn Irishman.

About this period the activity in trade, in exploration, in science, and in letters was extraordinary. Even distant Chile shared in the revolutionary advance of the closing years of the eighteenth century. Father Menendez explored the beautiful lake—Nahuelhuapi; Moraleda, the pilot, in canoes, wandered in and out of the complicated archipelagoes of the timber district. Great men like Bougainville, Malaspina, Captain Cook, the unfortunate La Perouse, and Vancouver passed through the Straits of Magellan or round Cape Horn. Wallis and Carteret stayed four months in the Straits. The midshipman, Byron, as Admiral Sir John Byron, visited Chile; Ruiz and Pavon investigated her flora.

The old exclusive, Spanish colonial days were clearly passing away. There were Frenchmen and Irishmen settled in the country; their influence could not but break through the rigid Castilian fetters in which Chile had been so long restrained.

Don José de Rezabal y Ugarte governed for four months; then came Don Gabriel de Avilés y del Fierro, Marques de Avilés (September 1796). This was a devout, humane, and charitable personage, who worked laboriously for the good of Chile. Spain was at war with England, and fortifications at Valparaiso and other places were hurried on rapidly. But the English missed a great opportunity (according to Gay the military force of Chile consisted of 70 artillery men at Valparaiso, 50 dragoons in Santiago, a battalion and 50 gunners at Concepción, 4 companies and 16 gunners at Valdivia, and 8 companies of Dragoons on the Indian Frontier!). English corsairs and

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whalers attacked the Spanish merchant ships, however, and threw the whole coast into a state of the greatest anxiety and alarm. De Avilés improved the powder mills; organised and protected the militia. He made roads, established hospitals and foundling asylums, and built chapels in the more isolated districts. He even founded what was intended to be a night school or technical college—the Academia de San Luis. The frontier was kept in order; the colonists were not allowed to oppress the Indians, or to sell them liquor. De Avilés was made Viceroy of Buenos Ayres in 1799.

Three interim governors—Don Joaquin del Pino, Don José de Santiago Concha, and Don Francisco Diez de Medina—followed for short periods. In January 1802 Don Luis Muñoz de Guzmán arrived from Spain. During his times the development continued. O'Higgins had suggested the possibility of a more direct road by Villarica across the Andes, than the dangerous track by Los Andes and Mendoza, which was then the only route. Several attempts were made to discover a practicable pass, and in 1806 that by Antuco was discovered. Most unfortunately, the explorer arrived at Buenos Ayres during the troubles arising from the capture of the city by the English, and men's minds were so occupied by political developments and fears of an English invasion that this valuable discovery was entirely forgotten.

CHAPTER IX

THE REVOLUTION

Spain and her colonies—Royal Audience obliged to elect Carrasco governor — Story of Captain Bunker — Dr Rozas's canvas in Concepción—Carrasco's unpopularity — Seizes three patriots—Santiago in revolution—Carrasco is obliged to recall his orders and abdicates—The Count of the Conquest governor—Argomedo and others succeed in summoning a Junta—Meeting of 18th September 1810—Junta declares for free navigation—Parties at this time — Counter-revolution by Figueroa, which is suppressed—Fight in the Plaza of Santiago—Figueroa shot—Congress elected —Royal Audience suppressed — Carrera's *coup d'état* — He is excluded from the Junta—A new revolution—Carrera becomes dictator—His failure.

THE story of the revolution in Chile is not very easy to follow. It is true that one finds the usual *dramatis personæ* in such tragedies. There is the respectable third-class official who endeavours to ride whirlwinds and direct storms. One finds also many able, clever, and terribly eloquent young advocates for whom there is no adequate career—and no salary—under the old *régime*. There are a few dreamy enthusiasts who have read too much, but who are quite too terribly advanced in their writings.

All these, of course, promptly disappear so soon as the inevitable, cruel, hand-to-hand fighting begins. The war is, as usual, between incurably royalist, reactionary generals and would-be Napoleons or astute soldiers of fortune.

The sovereign people was not in the least interested in any of the early stages of the revolution. The Church, as a whole, worked silently, tirelessly, and relentlessly, against any change in the government, and the people were, as they are now, fanatically Catholic.

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Perhaps the most remarkable fact in history is the extraordinary devotion and respect in which the Chilian people still continued to look upon their mother country. As regards them, Spain had neglected every duty and every principle of good government. There was no security for life or property; there were no decent roads, no post-office, no harbours, and no education. Even in 1812 there was not one girls' school in Santiago. Commerce was not merely reserved for Spain's exclusive benefit, but was hampered, strangled, and choked out by the most stupid and vexatious interference. Corrupt and inefficient officials were sent from Spain to fill every civil and military post of the slightest consequence. The Spanish Court was insatiable in its demands for gold, and never gave either its sympathy or its support when Chile suffered from earthquakes, from Araucanian disasters, from pirates, from tidal waves, or famines and pestilences.

Yet the Chilians remained devoted to Spain! The North American colonists, though infinitely better treated by England, selected the very moment when the mother country was exhausted by the strain of her struggle with France to rebel against her. Having nothing further to fear from France, they refused to pay anything at all for their own defence.

But as time went on it became perfectly clear that Spain could neither protect her colonies nor even herself. A close study of Napier's "Peninsular War," and Hume's "Modern Spain," will show how inept were the Juntas in Spain considered as governing bodies. The full depth of absurdity and helplessness into which they had fallen made any trust in or loyalty towards them perfectly ridiculous. It was by English money and by English soldiers that Spain herself became free, not by any ability in the Juntas. It is usual for United States citizens to claim for the United States a great share in the liberation of Chile.[1] That claim cannot be substantiated in any way whatever. The spectacle of Spain's pitiable helplessness, and the successful revolution in Buenos Ayres, gradually

[1] Notably Mr Hancock in his "History of Chile."

brought the Chilian people to see that the only reasonable solution was complete independence. Even now their attitude to the mother-country is full of a respect and veneration which is not particularly obvious in the relations of the Yankee with the "Britisher."

On the death of Luiz de Guzmán (an aristocrat of the old school of governors), the Royal Audience selected their president, Ballesteros, in his place. This was illegal, and gave a great opportunity to Dr Martinez de Rozas.[1] This distinguished lawyer, a former professor at the University, had risen to be Assessor of Chile, but he had been superseded by the Spanish Court (no doubt on account of his advanced revolutionary opinions), and was now living in Concepción without any official position. He wrote to the Cabildo at Santiago, showing that the appointment should be conferred on one of the two brigadiers then in Chile. Of these two, General Quesada, who was seventy-six years of age, refused, but General Carrasco accepted the post.

It is not difficult to understand why the Royal Audience had forgotten his claims. Carrasco had passed forty-six years in the army, but was not a man of any great distinction; he was not of high birth, and had no particular social standing.

He was therefore distasteful to the European Spaniards and aristocratic Santiago families. These facts partly explain his want of success. But he made several blunders. Thus he took Dr Rozas to Santiago as his private secretary. He did not forget his differences with the Royal Audience, which might have supported him, had he not quarrelled with it, with the University, and with the Cabildo.

In 1808 also, he allowed himself to be mixed up in a very discreditable transaction. Captain Bunker (of a smuggling ship the *Scorpion*) was enticed on shore, and then, in a most treacherous and dishonourable way, murdered by the governor's agents, and his ship and her cargo were confiscated. Many of the leading Santiaguinos

[1] He must not be confused with Rojas the martyr, or Rosales, another democrat.

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refused to associate with General Carrasco after this sordid story.

The situation soon became to the last degree critical and complicated. Dr Rozas returned to Concepción, where he carried on an active propaganda of advanced Radical ideas, though he had but few adherents, as there were many other parties. Concepción was distinctly jealous of Santiago. The "Sarracenos" party consisted of Spaniards from Europe, the clergy, officials, and many aristocratic families who preferred the old *régime*; the "Criollos," or Patriotic party, insisted on thorough changes, and particularly on government posts for patriotic Chilians.

The Princess Carlotta of Portugal wrote letters to Carrasco and others which were intended to suggest herself as a better ruler than Ferdinand VII. Thus Carrasco could be blamed for disloyalty, for all parties were still nominally adherents of that last-named unsatisfactory sovereign.

Carrasco, irritated and perplexed, tried to adopt strong measures. Three men, all of good social position and highly respected, were suddenly imprisoned without legal trial or even evidence. They were then, at half-past two on the same night, despatched to Valparaiso without being permitted to make any preparation for the journey, and forthwith embarked on a frigate bound for Peru.

But the ship was storm-stayed in Valparaiso, and Juan Antonio Ovalle, José Antonio Rojas, and Dr Bernardo Vera, had time to communicate with their friends.

The governor yielded to the remonstrances of both the Cabildo and the Royal Audience. The prisoners were put on shore, and he promised to give them a proper trial. But in May 1810, Cisneros, Governor of Buenos Ayres, was deposed by a popular insurrection; Spain seemed utterly defeated by Napoleon. Carrasco was frightened and broke his solemn promises. Secret orders were sent to Valparaiso, and the prisoners were sent off, not, however, before they had had time to communicate with Santiago. This news infuriated the Patriots, and, indeed, everybody except Carrasco himself and his few adherents.

The news arrived (11th July 1810) between six and seven in the morning, and by nine o'clock Santiago was in full revolution; a great crowd of 3,000 or 4,000 people, of all ranks and classes, thronged the Plaza, and crowded the stairs and passages of the Municipal Palace. The Cabildo sent a deputation to the governor, who refused to appear, whereupon the Royal Audience begged for his attendance.

Carrasco could not rely on the militia; the artillery had not kept their barracks, and he had only about one hundred soldiers. He at last yielded, and, with a very bad grace, signed an order for the return of the three martyrs. On the 16th, at the instigation of the Royal Audience, he abdicated.

The Royal Audience appointed a wealthy nobleman, Don Mateo de Toro y Zambrano, Conde de la Conquista, governor in his stead. Though much respected, and though he had filled, with dignity, many important offices, the Count was eighty-six years of age.

The Royal Audience no doubt expected to direct his policy, but the Patriots, or rather the Cabildo, intended to do the same, and succeeded in getting the eloquent Patriot, Dr Argomedo, appointed as his secretary. Between the two parties the poor old gentleman seems to have had rather a hard time of it, and often dropped off to sleep whilst sitting at the Council table.

About this period, a Council of Regency had been appointed to control Spain. But (as Dr Martinez de Rozas pointed out in a pamphlet — *Catecismo Politico-Cristiano* — which was widely discussed about this time), the Council of Regency having been elected by a popular tumult in that small corner of the Spanish Peninsula which was not French, the Chilian people had also the right to elect a Junta.

After a struggle between the Cabildo and Royal Audience, the Spanish Council of Regency was recognised, but the Royal Audience would not allow the formation of a Junta, and obtained an order from the governor to that effect.

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But the Cabildo and Argomedo were men of resource. They awakened the Count early one morning and so frightened him with the fear of a popular *émeute*, that he signed an order calling upon the electors to appoint a Junta. By the time that the Royal Audience and the Sarracenos had heard of it, the order summoning electors had been issued. The opponents tried by every means in their power to get it revoked, predicting that there would be riots and revolutions. Priests came to protest that churches and abbeys might be plundered and desecrated, and that the election was illegal. A deputation of ladies of the highest rank in Santiago came, mostly in tears, to implore the governor not to risk a revolution. Reina, commander of the Artillery, moreover, said that he was ill, and that he could not rely upon his troops.

But withal the governor was kept firm by Argomedo and his Patriot friends.

The great meeting was held on the 18th September 1810. Three hundred and fifty electors assembled in the Consulate of Santiago, and amidst a scene of the wildest enthusiasm, the Conde de la Conquista rose and said :—

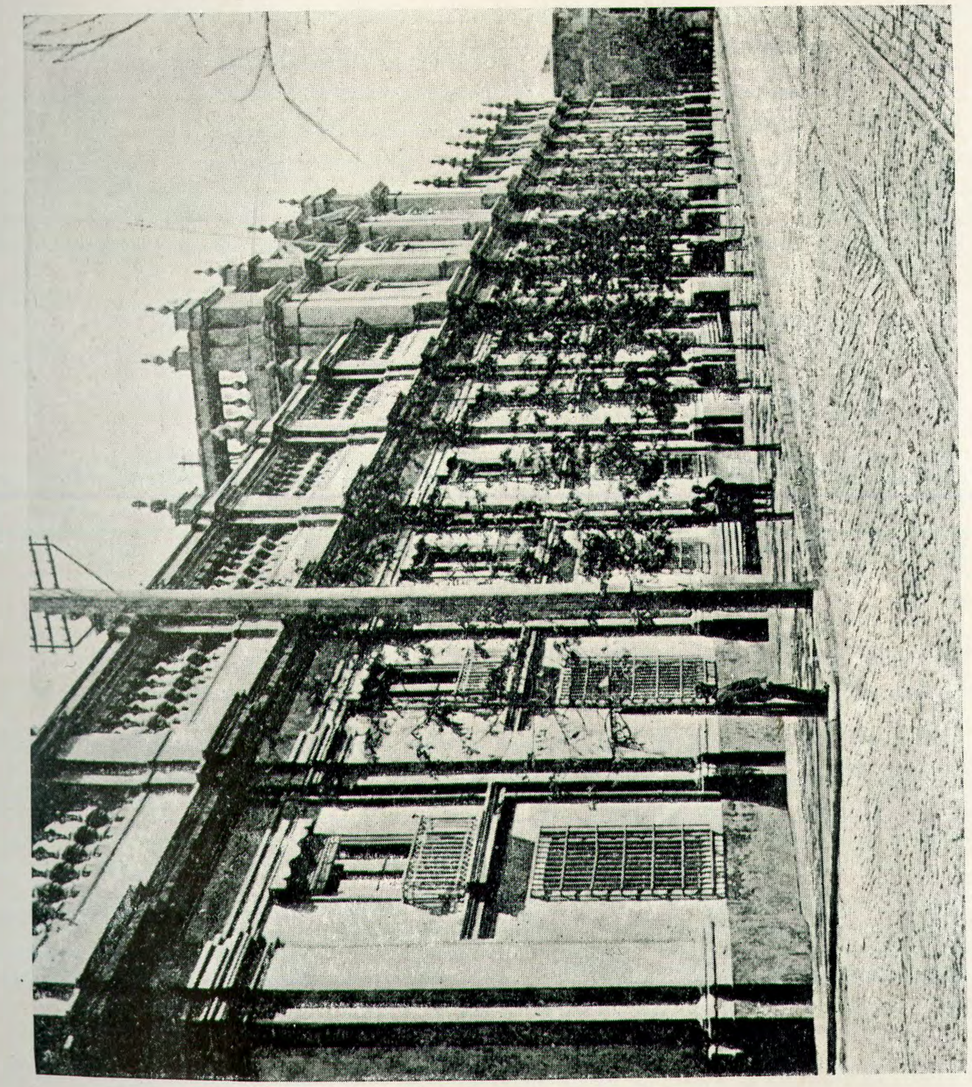
"Here is the *bâton*: dispose of it and of the Command." Argomedo spoke at great length; so also did Miguel Infante. The first Junta was then elected. The President was the Conde de la Conquista, the other members the Bishop of Santiago, the Marques de la Plata, Ignacio Carrera, Rosales, Dr Rozas, with Marin and Argomedo as secretaries.

This is generally taken as the date of Chilian independence.

There was no serious protest from the provinces, and the Royal Audience was obliged to submit.

The first question was that of defence. Orders were issued to raise troops. It is worth noting that the Conde de la Conquista's son and Rozas's wife's relations were given high commands, whilst O'Higgins was only appointed second-in-command of a frontier regiment.

The Junta declared that the ports of Chile were free



THE GOVERNMENT PALACE, SANTIAGO.

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to all ships, and as a result, the customs are said to have quadrupled in value during the first year.

But there were three distinct parties in the Junta. (1) The Sarracenos or Royalist (Royal Audience, eighty per cent. of the clergy and officials), (2) the Moderates, and (3) Rozas, with a few Radicals.

After much discussion, 400 soldiers were sent to assist Buenos Ayres, which seriously lessened the number of troops in Santiago.

On 1st April 1811 a counter revolution was attempted. It was only a military revolt. Colonel Figueroa, followed by 250 men (dragoons and artillery-men) shouting "Viva el Rey! Muera la Junta!" (Death to the Junta!), advanced to the Plaza, and took post on the north side of the Square. Figueroa left the soldiers to interview the Royal Audience, who certainly recognised him if they were not in collusion.

Rozas showed extraordinary energy and resolution. The battalion of grenadiers (recently raised) under Vial, Luis and Juan José Carrera, with two cannons, proceeded to the Plaza. They filed along the south side of the Square, taking post behind the pillars of the colonnade.[1] The mutineers, under Molina, one of the leading spirits, fired, but were at once answered by a volley from the muskets and discharge of the cannon. Molina and ten of Figueroa's soldiers were killed, twenty were wounded, and the rest fled in confusion. Rozas soon re-established order. Mounting a horse, he galloped to the San Pablo barracks, where he called upon all good Patriots to follow him. He then upbraided the Royal Audience. Afterwards he started in pursuit of Figueroa, who was discovered hiding in a monastery, and being captured, was tried and shot that very night.

Rozas, now President of the Directors, showed great firmness and saved the situation.

The next proceeding was the election of a Congress. This was opened by a solemn religious ceremony, and followed by a great banquet with many eloquent speeches.

[1] The account is a little obscure on this point.

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Dissensions soon appeared. Santiago had insisted on twelve members instead of six, as had been at first arranged, and in the end the Royalists and Moderates together formed a large majority which was hostile to Rozas.

Still some work was done. The Royal Audience was suppressed and most of its members went to Peru, a Court of Appeal being established in its stead. The Congress refused a grant in aid of the Spanish Council of Regency requested by Captain Fleming, who had been sent as its representative.

The next point was the election of an Executive Junta. Rozas and the twelve Radical members, finding themselves in a hopeless minority, rose in their seats and dramatically left the Congress to appeal to their constituents. The Moderates and Royalists who remained would certainly have disagreed, but that a new personality came upon the scene.

On 15th July, the *Standard* (Captain Fleming) had landed at Valparaiso a handsome, dashing young officer called José Miguel Carrera (son of Ignacio and brother of Luis and Juan José Carrera). He was then twenty-six years old, and had passed a somewhat stormy youth, first in Santiago, then in Peru, and finally in Spain. There he had fought the French at Oçaña, and other combats; he had been decorated with the Legion of Honour, and had become Sergeant-Major of Hussars. When Carrasco was deposed, he had asked leave to return to Chile, and after spending nine days in prison, was allowed to go. Of boundless ambition and self-confidence, and with a gallant, gay, and charming personality, on his return he soon gained hosts of friends. In six weeks his plans, as the young Napoleon of Chile, were all arranged.

On 4th September, this dashing young officer, in the gorgeous uniform of Sergeant-Major (*i.e.* Major) of Hussars, displayed his witching horsemanship on a spirited steed before the artillery barracks. The delighted soldiers crowded out to see this magnificent apparition. Then the brother, Luis Carrera, locked up the officer on guard in

his room and stationed himself with drawn sword before the arsenal. The other brother, Juan José, appeared with seventy grenadiers and took possession. One faithful soldier was killed, but the rest, being unarmed, made no defence. Colonel Reina (commanding in Santiago) was arrested in his own house.

José Miguel Carrera, followed by a column of grenadiers and artillerymen, with four guns, marched to the Plaza. He went in to interview the Congress, and a Junta was at once formed. It consisted of Rozas, Rosales, Encalada, Marin, and Mackenna, whilst other Juntas were formed at Concepción and Valdivia.

Some work was performed by this Junta. The importation of slaves was forbidden, and the children of slaves declared free, a law for which Manuel de Salas was responsible. A diplomatic agent was also sent to Buenos Ayres.

But a mistake had been made. Carrera himself had not been included in the Junta. This was remedied by another revolution on 15th November 1811, engineered by Juan José Carrera. José Miguel Carrera, Rozas, and Marin, formed the new Junta, representing Santiago, Concepción, and Coquimbo respectively.

José Miguel proceeded on regular Napoleonic lines. He exacted forced loans from the Royalists, impeached Mackenna and Colonel Vial. But Rozas and the Concepción Junta were not disposed to yield without a struggle to this young military dictator.

For a time civil war seemed almost inevitable. Carrera's forces were at Talca, and Rozas despatched troops to Chillán. O'Higgins and Rozas, however, showed great self-restraint, and endeavoured to keep the peace. Concepción was nearly ruined by the interruption of its trade with Santiago. An agreement was, however, patched up between them. A reaction, engineered by Bishop Villodres, and headed by Colonel Benavente, then broke out in Concepción. Rozas was banished to Talagante, and subsequently to Mendoza, where he died, and Valdivia for a time reverted to the Royalists.

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Carrera was now virtually military Dictator of Chile. A national flag was established by him (blue, white and yellow). But in other respects he was scarcely a success. He did not succeed in organising education. He quarrelled with men like Mackenna and Vial, neglected O'Higgins, and entirely failed to see the storm-clouds gathering in the north.

There Abascal, Viceroy of Peru, had scarcely troubled to conceal his intentions. Valdivia was under his control. Pirates fitted out in Peru preyed upon Chilian commerce. A ship laden with tobacco worth 34,500 pesos (ordered by the Chilian government) was seized in Montevideo by General Elio "as a good prize," and the cargo sent to the Viceroy of Peru, who refused to pay for it.

José Miguel Carrera had not even trained and disciplined his grenadiers. Though others had recommended the formation of a national militia, no adequate scheme of national defence had been established.

CHAPTER X

THE RECONQUEST

Pareja comes from Peru to Chiloé and Talcahuano—Concepción troops join the enemy—Southern Chile royalist—Pareja marches north — Surprise of Linares — Carrera, commander-in-chief at Talca—Patriots surprise Pareja at Yerbas Buenas—Mutiny of Pareja's troops at the Maule—He retreats to Chillan—Battle at San Carlos—O'Higgins saves the army—Royalists reach Chillán —Carrera takes Concepción and Talcahuano — The *Thomas* captured—Elorreaga captures Colonel Cruz—Siege of Chillán—The assault fails—A sortie of the Royalists is nearly successful—O'Higgins's bravery—The Patriots retreat to the Itata—Arauco becomes Royalist, and the whole frontier as well—Battle of Roblé on the Itata—O'Higgins brings about a victory—Carrera proved incompetent—Surprise of a convoy—Los Andes insurrection — O'Higgins supersedes Carrera—Gainza lands at Arauco—Carrera captured at Penco — Battle of Quillon — Gainza repulsed at Membrillar—Total defeat of Blanco Encalada at Cancharayadas —O'Higgins repulses Gainza at Quechereguas—Treaty of Lircay —Carrera escapes, and forms a new Junta—O'Higgins marches north to depose him, and is repulsed at the Mapocho—Osorio, with reinforcements from Peru, lands at Talcahuano and marches upon Santiago—O'Higgins, forced from the Cachapoul, heroically defends Rancagua, but is defeated—Sack of Rancagua—Osorio enters Santiago.

THE Viceroy of Peru, Don José Fernando de Abascal, was a fanatical Royalist. He had kept himself informed of the petty rivalries and disorders in Chile, and he chose this time to interfere.

His interference supplied what had been hitherto lacking: it was a dictation by force of arms from a foreign country. Then Patriotism at once became a reality, not a forensic ideal: Chile became a nation.

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The Peruvian resources were ridiculously inadequate. They were despatched in five barques to Chiloé, and consisted of 40,000 pesos and fifty men under Admiral Antonio Pareja, a distinguished sailor who had fought at St Vincent and Trafalgar.

Between Chiloé and Valdivia, some 2,070 soldiers had been collected, and the expedition turning northwards, began to disembark them at San Vicente before the Patriots in Concepción had the slightest knowledge of their existence.

The pretty little bay of San Vicente is only 4 or 5 miles from Talcahuano, but is separated from it by a series of rocky hills of no great altitude. Nothing could have been easier than to destroy Pareja's force in the very act of disembarking; yet the only resistance encountered by the Royalists was that from a reconnoitring patrol upon these hills. It consisted of twenty-six dragoons led by a young officer, Ramon Freire, whose name now appears for the first time in Chilian history. If these dragoons had been properly supported, Talcahuano might have been saved.

But amongst the Patriots, the blackest treachery was at work. The whole of the troops in Concepción (800 men) deserted to the invaders. Concepción surrendered without a blow, and Talcahuano was taken by storm and sacked.

At first the whole of Southern Chile declared for the Royalists. The Bishop Villodres and the clergy had been for long in treasonable communication with the enemy. Landed proprietors brought their inquilinos, and Spanish settlers like Elorreaga and Quintanilla began to form Royalist guerillas, and soon distinguished themselves as brilliant leaders. Brigands and other reckless characters joined both armies for the sake of plunder. Yet, though the people were still fanatical Catholics, the hint of foreign interference made the Chilian realise that he had a fatherland, and the war became a national one.[1]

[1] Just as the French republic consolidated under pressure of foreign invasion.

In Santiago the invasion was quite unexpected. Miguel Carrera, taken by surprise, issued patriotic manifestoes, obtained a Patriot bishop—Andreu y Guerrero—to preach for the cause, and that same night departed for the south with only fourteen hussars. At every town he made a speech, formed a Junta, and called out the militia. At Curicó he received the contents of the Concepción treasury which had been despatched north on the first news of the invasion. At Talca (5th April) he was joined by O'Higgins, who had with great difficulty brought away a small force from Los Angeles. The militia of Quirihue and Cauquenes also remained patriotic, but every other district south of Talca was Royalist.

O'Higgins, a gallant Irishman, but without much military knowledge, went out on the very same evening with a small party of thirty-six men, and cleverly surprised an advanced patrol of the Royalists at Linares. The latter were all captured.

Talca formed the gathering point of the Patriot army. As troops and militia were collected, or enthusiastic volunteers enrolled, they were despatched to this town. Miguel Carrera was commander-in-chief, but he suffered severely from his family affection, for both his brothers—Luis and Juan José—had been put in charge of divisions, and they hampered him in everything. O'Higgins and Mackenna (also an Irishman) had therefore no independent command. They worked loyally for the cause, and endeavoured, when possible, to correct Miguel Carrera's blunders. As Santiago had lost the three Carrera brothers, Perez and Miguel Infante soon obtained a strong influence in the Junta.[1]

Pareja had advanced to Linares. He sent on a flag of truce to Carrera, and then passed on to Yerbas Buenas, where he encamped.

The escort of the flag of truce had fired on the Patriot troops at Maule. When the fire was returned, they retreated, a Patriot party of some 600 men, under Captain

[1] Juan José Carrera had been left by his brother to dominate the Junta, but chose to join the army.

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Ross, and others pursuing them. During the night, which was misty and obscure, the Patriots stumbled on the watch-fires of Pareja's infantry at Yerbas Buenas, though they do not seem to have reconnoitred at all, for they supposed that they had only the escort of 200 men before them, whereas there were actually 3,000 or 4,000 men in camp. Moreover, the Royalist cavalry was bivouacked in two divisions on each side of the Talca road. The Patriots, supposing there were only 200 of the enemy, charged right into Pareja's camp, capturing the artillery and producing a horrible scene of confusion and disorder; but when the dawn broke, they realised that they were attacking the whole Royalist army, whereupon they retired at full speed, carrying both prisoners and guns with them. They then on the way back blundered into the Royalist cavalry, where they lost most of the prisoners, as well as the guns, Ross being killed. Finally only 400 reached the Patriot army. This surprise at Yerbas Buenas was a most gallant and creditable enterprise for untried troops; moreover, it saved the situation, for it entirely destroyed the nerves of the Royalist soldiers.

Miguel Carrera, however, regarded this victory as a defeat, and ordered a retirement of the Patriots from the Maule river to Talca, the retreat being carried out in discreditable and disorderly manner.

On 27th April, when Pareja's soldiers had recovered their equanimity, the Royalist army advanced. Pareja seems to have wished to threaten the left flank of the Patriots to the east, and at a point high up the Rio Maule; he intended afterwards to march westwards down the river, and cross it at the fords opposite Talca. But, when ordered to cross the river, the Chiloé battalions mutinied and refused to advance. This cowardly insubordination ruined the whole campaign.

The Patriots, though 10,000 in number, could scarcely have resisted the passage of the river. Indeed, they were undisciplined, still in disorder, and out of hand. But on 11th May Miguel Carrera started in pursuit of the Royalists, who were now only 2,000 to 3,000 in number.

The rivers were swollen, the land a swamp, and the rains were very heavy; the Patriots marched through Linares, Parral, and Budi, and at last came up with the Royalist infantry near San Carlos. Pareja had fallen ill and was carried in a litter. Colonel Sanchez, who commanded, hurriedly took up a position on a small hill near the road. The troops formed a line from north-east to south-west, protected by carts and *impedimenta* in front, and with twenty-six cannons placed at intervals along it. At each end the flanks were drawn back.

Miguel Carrera intended to attack the line with his best troops, whilst the militia cavalry were to envelop the flanks, and cut off the retreat towards the Rio Ñuble.

But everything went wrong. Juan José Carrera attacked precipitately, and his grenadiers and another battalion were at once thrown into confusion by the enemy's artillery. The officers in command of the militia cavalry were incompetent. The turning movement failed, for the militia were taken too close to the enemy, and the enemy's guns threw them into confusion.

A disaster seemed inevitable, and the Royalists were actually leaving their entrenchments to charge down upon the disordered Patriots, when O'Higgins appeared with the third division. He attacked and dispersed the Royalist cavalry, who were returning from the south with supplies of artillery ammunition (by this time almost exhausted on the Royalist side). Then in desperation he endeavoured to form the Patriot cavalry for a charge on the Royalist line. This charge never came off, for a militia colonel called out that "to charge a square was to sacrifice the cavalry," but the threat of it enabled the discomfited Patriots to withdraw to San Carlos, where Miguel Carrera had already retired. O'Higgins and Mackenna were the last to leave the field. At San Carlos the Patriots lost 100 killed and 70 wounded; the Royalists had 5 killed and 15 wounded.

The Royalists marched during the night, and reached

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the Cocharcas ford of the Ñuble river in safety, though worn out by fatigue. The appearance of a Patriot guerilla on the hills north of the river forced them to cross hurriedly, leaving behind some guns, stores, and ammunition. But from 1,000 to 2,000 Royalists reached Chillán, where they were enthusiastically welcomed by the Franciscan Fathers. This town of only 4,000 inhabitants possessed six churches, an Indian Missionary College, and three convents, and was the clerical and loyalist centre of Chile.

Sanchez, to whom the command had devolved, owing to Pareja's illness, immediately entrenched the principal streets with ditches and palisades.

Miguel Carrera, instead of following up the Royalist main body, proceeded to Concepción, which surrendered with scarcely any resistance. The Royalist governor—the Bishop Villodres—fled on board the frigate *Bretaña*, justifying his cowardice by the remark: "If they persecute you in one city, flee ye to another." This ship subsequently managed to escape. Talcahuano endeavoured to defend itself, but being threatened by a strong body from the rocks above the harbour, and also simultaneously attacked along the shore, it was easily taken. Afterward Miguel Carrera permitted the troops to plunder and sack the town. This cruel and stupid proceeding had the usual effects in producing serious disaffection later on.

Soon afterwards, a ship, the *Thomas*, came into harbour with Spanish reinforcements from Peru. She innocently sent a boat to the shore. The crew were politely conducted to prison. That night improvised gun-boats surrounded the ship, and she was obliged to surrender next morning. The commander tried to throw the treasure overboard, but was told that the ship would be sunk if he did so. In the meantime Miguel Carrera remained organising Juntas, proscribing and fining Royalists in Concepción, until he was summoned northwards by bad news.

O'Higgins had been sent to occupy La Laja and Los Angeles, in which he was successful, and in addition

captured most of the frontier fortifications. A small force under Colonel Cruz had also been left to watch Chillán, but with strict orders to undertake no operations.

But whilst Miguel Carrera was engaged in his favourite occupations at Concepción, Royalist guerillas under enterprising and skilful leaders were scouring the country. One of them, the enterprising and astute Elorreaga, neatly captured Colonel Cruz and almost the whole of his force. Half the prisoners, including Cruz himself, were surrounded whilst they were asleep, and could make no resistance.

At this time (May-August 1813) the rivers were all in flood; heavy rains fell on almost every day: the country was converted into a swamp, and the roads were almost impassable. Nevertheless, Carrera (against the advice of O'Higgins and Mackenna) insisted on besieging Chillán. The Patriot army was encamped in a sort of morass close to Chillán. No attempt was made to invest the city, and convoys, stores, and guerillas seem to have entered and left Chillán without any difficulty throughout the siege.

The houses were built of adobe or mud; cannon-shot only made neat round holes in the walls, without bringing them down. The roofs, usually of straw, were easily set on fire, but as easily repaired.

The city was of the ordinary rectangular shape, and stood on a very low hill or stretch of firm ground. On the south flowed the Rio Chillán, and on the north its tributary the Maipo, and a small stream called Paso Hondo which falls into the latter; all of these streams flowed through wet and marshy ground. The Patriot camp was on the west of the city, in a broad, triangular space between the Maipo and Chillán. There was not a square inch of dry soil in this encampment; provisions and clothing were scanty, and the rain fell incessantly.

On the night of 2nd-3rd August 1813 the Patriots formed line and advanced against the western side of the city. Mackenna had, during the night, formed a battery

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within three or four blocks of the Plaza. This opened fire against the Royalist redoubt of San Bartolomé, which vigorously returned the fire.

Sanchez, perceiving the danger of this assault, despatched two strong battalions against the Patriots, who on this occasion behaved admirably.

When the counter-attack was well developed, Mackenna led 400 men round to attack the Royalist right flank, whilst Luis Carrera threatened the left. The Royalists, perceiving their danger, retreated into the city behind their trenches, vigorously pursued by O'Higgins, who entered the streets and even got as far as the trench defending the entrance of the Plaza (at the Calle Santo Domingo). His soldiers set fire to the houses whilst O'Higgins anxiously waited for reinforcements. O'Higgins might have taken the Plaza forthwith; he believed that he was able to do so; but instead of receiving reinforcements, he was peremptorily ordered to retire. His withdrawal was a difficult matter, for the handful of soldiers which had followed him were attacked on every side.

That very afternoon another sally was made by the besieged on the northern side of the city, which threatened the Patriot battery and the left flank of their line. The militia holding the battery began to retreat and the Patriot cavalry, entangled between marshes and lakes, became confused, but O'Higgins, with his fusiliers, appeared upon the scene and held off the Royalists. Soon after this there was a terrible explosion: the powder magazines of the cannon and even the cartridges of the Patriot soldiers had taken fire. Dead, dying, and wounded were scattered through the battery; one of the guns, a piece of 24, was wrecked, and horrible confusion ensued.

The Royalist leader, Colonel Molina, endeavoured to take advantage of this accident, and charged the battery, but Morla, Millan, Laforest, and others held fast, reloaded and fired the other big gun. Then the ubiquitous O'Higgins and his fusiliers arrived, and the Royalists were driven back into the very streets of the city. At least 400 had been killed and wounded in these attacks; and



MARKET DAY AT CHILLÁN.

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a powerful cannon had been destroyed and most of the ammunition expended.

On 5th August Molina led a sally against the battery held by Luis Carrera. The latter discharged a volley from the cannon, which caused fearful damage in the Royalist column. Molina was killed, and the besieged hurried back into the city. Whilst the attack was proceeding, small parties of Patriots, without orders and disconnectedly, had penetrated into the city by both the northern and southern streets. These parties, setting fire to the roofs of houses, plundering and murdering indiscriminately, were entirely out of control. Both the loyalist soldiers and the citizens of Chillán united to destroy these scattered detachments.

After these failures Miguel Carrera decided to withdraw beyond the Itata (directly against the advice of Mackenna). The retreat was a very difficult one, but it was successfully accomplished, although the remaining big gun was lost in the swamps. An abortive attempt at pursuit by a strong body under Pinuel ended in nothing but strong language on both sides, and the army crossed the Itata river on 17th August in a disorderly and disorganised condition.

After this there followed a period of guerilla warfare marked by horrible excesses. The clergy were everywhere working for the loyalists and stirred up insurrection in Concepción, Yumbel, Rere, and Arauco. In Concepción, the revolt was crushed, for Carrera promptly marched southwards, but an unexpected insurrection in Arauco was entirely successful. A local proprietor, Hermosilla, called in the aid of the Araucanian savages, and very soon not only Arauco but the whole frontier, including Nacimiento, San Pedro, and Santa Juana, were completely Royalist. Not only these, but Yumbel, Rere, and Los Angeles were lost to the Patriots, in spite of the extraordinary activity of O'Higgins. A force sent by Miguel Carrera was despatched and driven back upon Concepción. Thus at this moment the position of the Patriotic party was most critical. South of the Itata river, Concepción,

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Quirihue, and Cauquenes, still remained nominally Chilian, but the rest of the country was either Royalist, or harried by Royalist guerillas.

On 16th October Juan José Carrera, who had done nothing with his division, reached the ford of Quinchamali on the Itata (2 kilometres above the union of the Ñuble river). He failed to join Miguel Carrera and O'Higgins, who, with 800 men, were encamped on the left bank of the Itata, about 3 leagues higher up. The position of the latter, in O'Higgins's opinion, was faulty. It consisted of low hills, intersected by ravines and with patches of forest and trees. Just below them lay the ford, called Roble, of the Itata river.

On the other side, at no great distance, was the camp of the Royalist, Olate. The bulk of the Royalist forces, under Lantano and Urrejola, lay some 2 or 3 leagues to the east. Lantano instructed Olate to post many sentinels, who were to call out at frequent intervals, and light numerous watch-fires, so as to persuade Carrera that the bulk of the Royalists were on the right bank, and in front of the Chilians, whilst he sent 1,200 men by night to make a long round to the east and across the Itata, so as to attack Miguel Carrera in the rear. He stationed himself in a convenient place to intercept the retreat. They attacked a little before dawn, nearly destroying the detachment of Valenzuela, who was asleep. A sentinel, however, gave the alarm (he was left for dead, but afterwards recovered), and at first the confusion was indescribable.

O'Higgins, however, managed to collect 200 men, and arranged the guns. The Royalists who had dispersed to plunder again gathered together, and firing went on for more than an hour. Then O'Higgins snatched the gun of a soldier who fell dead by his side, and shouted, "Either live with honour or die with glory! Let the brave follow me!" and charged the enemy. The Patriot soldiers sprang forward with irresistible enthusiasm, and in a few minutes the enemy broke and fled, ardently pursued by some of the cavalry hastily collected by Benavente. The

Royalists lost eighty dead and sixteen prisoners in this battle.

Where, however, was the commander-in-chief? Miguel Carrera had mounted a horse and blundered into an enemy's guerilla, by whom he was wounded. Being cut off from his own forces, he crossed the river, made his way down the left bank under the hills and cliffs, from which Olate's party were firing, and eventually reached his brother a long way down-stream, where he said that the Patriots were utterly routed. But, fortunately, a despatch containing news of the victory had already arrived.

This victory had important consequences. It was especially obvious that as commander-in-chief Miguel Carrera was impossible, whilst O'Higgins had again distinguished himself. But the Patriots experienced an unfortunate loss soon afterwards. The story gives such a distinct picture of the mingled heroism and carelessness of the Patriot army that it is worth repeating in full.

The captain, Valenzuela, in charge of a Patriot convoy, reached the village of Trancoyan. Here he found certain lovely and beautifully-clothed ladies skilled in playing the guitar, who invited him to a family feast. He accepted, and spent the afternoon with them. At nightfall he was surprised by a strong guerilla of the enemy. He hurriedly made parapets of biscuit boxes and bundles of Charqui, and his 100 grenadiers defended themselves nobly. He himself fell mortally wounded. His second had the same fate. The sub-lieutenant, Manterola, continued the defence for four hours. Then, when there were but eighteen men left alive and the ammunition was nearly spent, he and his men charged with the bayonet at one point in the circle of fire, broke through, and reached Quirihue in safety next morning.

This loss, however, was a serious blow to the Patriot cause. During the war, the Junta in Santiago was exceedingly busy providing for the liberty of the press, founding or trying to found schools, establishing a National Institute (a sort of technical college, at least

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in theory), providing cemeteries, trying to raise money for the war expenses, and so on. An abortive attempt at insurrection at Los Andes, due to an "obscure person," Ezeyza, was very soon suppressed. Most of the rebels joined the government forces, and the rest fled, but the ringleader and others were captured and executed.

By this time the Carrera brothers had lost all political influence in Santiago. The Junta had decided to depose Miguel Carrera and place O'Higgins in command of the army. Nevertheless, the situation was an exceedingly difficult one. The clergy in Santiago were still secretly Royalist, and used the pulpit and the confessional to thwart the revolution. The Junta endeavoured to obviate this difficulty by proposing that Government should pay the stipends of the clergy. This proposal came to nothing.[1] There was, moreover, a very real danger of civil war, for Juan José and Miguel Carrera might refuse to lay down their commands, and the Patriot forces might have divided and fought one another.

The Junta came down to Talca with great pomp and ceremony, and there were joined first by Mackenna (a bitter enemy of Carrera), and later by O'Higgins. The behaviour of the latter was exceedingly prudent and astute. He refused to accept the command when it was offered him at Concepción by Carrera himself, but offered to go and see the Junta at Talca. Thus he managed to get clear of Concepción, and in Talca was persuaded to accept. Carrera also showed weakness and irresolution. He might have raised the standard of rebellion and marched against the Junta, and with some chance of success; or the obvious course was to frankly accept his dismissal, and leave Chile with honour.

He did neither the one nor the other. He still issued

[1] There were, however, individual *curés* and ecclesiastical dignitaries who were on the Patriotic side. One of these preached a vigorous sermon against the Carrera brothers. Luis, who had been sent to Santiago to watch over his brother's interests, entered the Junta, and vigorously and intemperately protested against the preacher.

orders, which were often disobeyed by his own officers. Many departed to join O'Higgins, or deserted; amongst the latter was the Patriot bishop, Andreu y Guerrero. A Royalist rebellion broke out in Concepción, which was repressed by Carrera with merciless and injudicious severity. The Junta despatched first an envoy, Cienfuegos, and then O'Higgins himself, to supersede the General.

Carrera dramatically recognised O'Higgins as general-in-chief, but still continued to issue orders and to thwart and ridicule him in every possible way.

But in the midst of all these troubles, a new danger appeared.

A fresh Royalist force, under General Gavino Gainza, landed at Arauco (31st January 1814). The commander raised forces, and especially enlisted Araucanian Indians. He held an Indian parliament, presented several barrels of aguardiente, and gave each cacique a medal. Thus he had no difficulty in getting recruits. This, however, was a tactical mistake, as well as, morally, a crime. He then sent two ships to blockade Talcahuano, whilst he himself marched to Chillán. He deposed Colonel Sanchez, who had on the whole been extremely successful.

Finally, José Miguel and Luis Carrera decided to go to Santiago, but they were captured by the Royalists at Penco.

The Patriot army at Concepción was in a very critical condition. They were cut off from Santiago; they were in want of money, arms, clothing, and horses, for a raiding party from Arauco had captured 400 of their horses, and the vicinity was harried by loyalist guerillas. An attack by the Patriots on Rere had also been repulsed with heavy loss.

The situation of the Patriots was as follows. O'Higgins, with 2,000 men, was in Concepción; Mackenna was 15 leagues to the north, at Membrillar, just across the Itata river (1,500 men). The only other Patriot army was beyond Talca, on the Santiago road. It consisted of some 1,300 men under Blanco Encalada.

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The main body of the Royalists, under General Gainza was at a point called Quinchamali, on the Itata river, and only 3 or 4 leagues distant from Mackenna, who was obviously in imminent danger, for he might have been crushed by Gainza before O'Higgins could come up to his assistance. There were Royalist detachments of 500 men at both Chillán (under Berganza) and at Talca (Elorreaga).

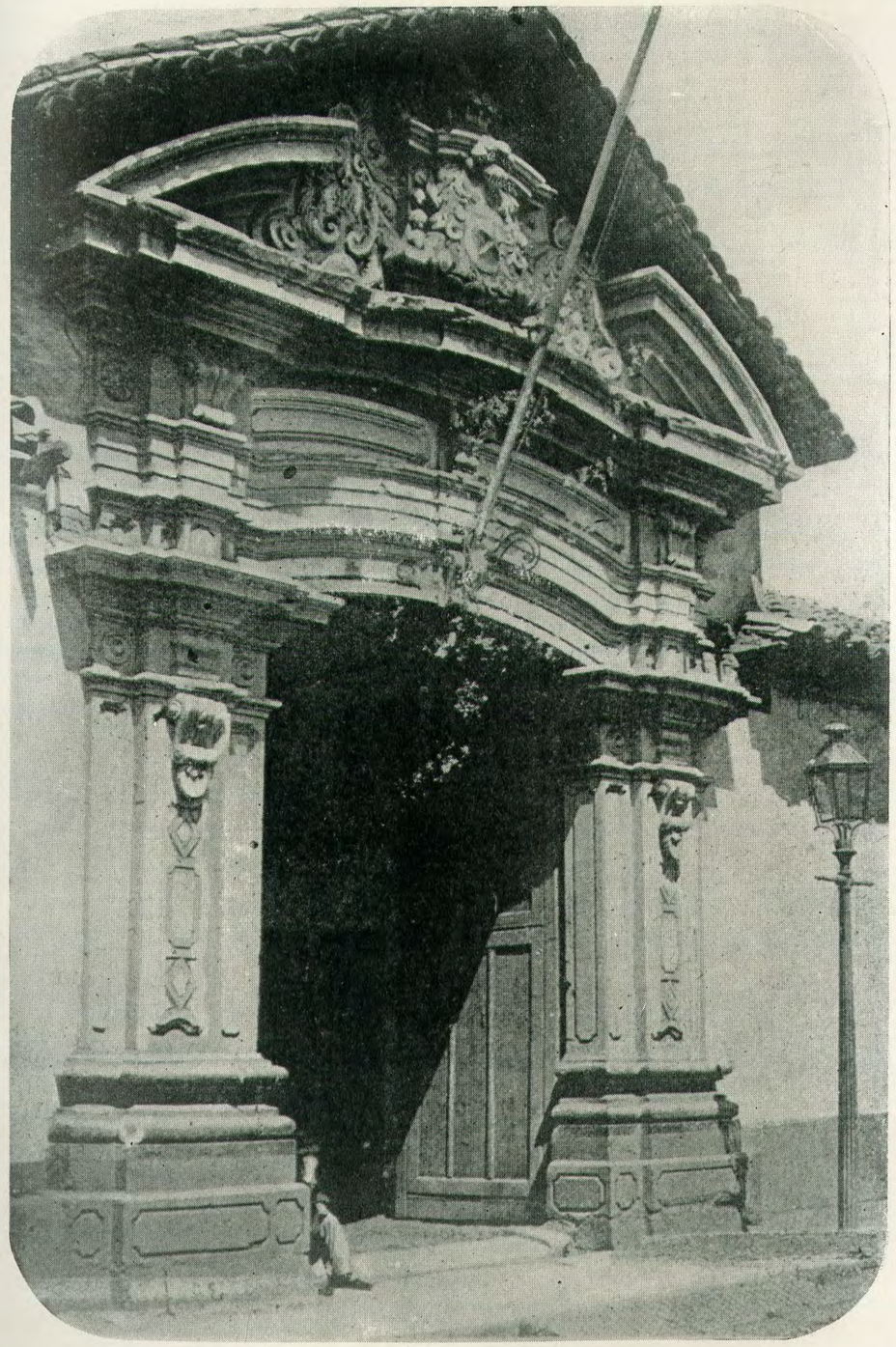
There were also Royalist guerillas near Concepción, and scattered over Southern Chile.

O'Higgins, by dint of extraordinary exertions and expedients, collected sufficient transport animals (including donkeys) and commissariat (chiefly of sheep). Starting on 14th March, he advanced through a difficult mountainous country upon Gainza's position. The latter hesitated, crossed, and then recrossed the Itata river, leaving a force of 500 men to hold O'Higgins in check, whilst he advanced to destroy Mackenna at Membrillar.

The Royalists took up a strong position on a low, bare hill, with wooded country on either flank. O'Higgins extended his line to attack in front, but at the same time despatched strong bodies of cavalry, under Freire and Benavente respectively, to attack the enemy's right and left flanks. This action of Quillón or Ranquil was a brilliant success. The enemy fled in confusion, leaving forty dead and twelve prisoners, whilst there were only nine casualties amongst the Patriots.[1]

Gainza had suddenly blundered on a strong fortified position at Membrillar which Mackenna had been preparing for some time past. The latter had successfully driven off a Royalist guerilla at Cuchacucha, and now held off Gainza himself. The firing and cannonade continued until late in the night, when very heavy rain came on, when the Royalists were discomfited, and finally broke and fell in panic and disorder. Gainza was obliged to retire to Chillán to concentrate his forces, of which 300 men had been lost.

[1] O'Higgins had complete control in this affair.



OLD SANTIAGO—ONE OF THE FEW HOUSES LEFT, BUILT DURING THE SPANISH OCCUPATION OF 1750-1810.

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The Patriots did not take advantage of the disorder amongst the Royalists. O'Higgins, uniting with Mackenna on the 23rd, marched north to save Santiago at any cost.

Their fears were justified by the event. That astute guerilla leader, Elorreaga, had by 14th March taken Linares. He surprised the passage of the Maule, and captured Talca after a heroic resistance, in which the brave Colonel Spano was killed.

He was now recalled by Gainza, but had left a clever officer, Captain Calvo, to watch Blanco Encalada's Patriots. These were hastily-enrolled, enthusiastic volunteers, badly officered and without discipline. Contrary to O'Higgins's express orders, they advanced on Talca ; but on the approach of Royalist reinforcements, they endeavoured to retreat. At the plains of Cancha-Rayada, Blanco tried to form line, but at sight of the enemy the troops broke and fled. No less than 300 prisoners were taken by the Royalists. Isaac Thompson (an Englishman) and Picarte distinguished themselves in the action. This disaster caused the most horrible confusion and alarm in Santiago.

The operations now resolved themselves into a sort of race between the Patriot and Royalist armies for the possession of the river Maule and the Santiago road.

O'Higgins won, for he reached the Duao pass on that river ; Gainza diverged to the west, and crossed by the Bobadilla ford, whereupon O'Higgins turned eastwards and reached the Las Cruces, where, during a fine moonlight night, he managed to ford the river, though with great difficulty. He was now between Gainza and Santiago. Retiring over the rivers Lircay and Claro, he halted at a large hacienda, called Quechereguas, which lent itself to fortification, and where the abundant stores and cattle (belonging to a Royalist) afforded a welcome relief to his worn-out troops.

Gainza attacked, but was driven back with heavy loss into a wasted and difficult country, wherein but few supplies could be obtained.

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Although O'Higgins had gained a distinct advantage (and knew it), the outlook for the cause of independence appeared in Santiago almost hopeless.

Chile was exhausted by this civil war (for both armies were composed for the most part of Chilians). Spain was relieved of the French, and could use her armies against the colonies, and the Buenos Ayreans had been beaten in Peru.

So that Colonel de la Lastra in Santiago welcomed an offer to negotiate made by a third party. This was Captain Hillyar of the *Phœbe*, a British man-of-war, which had been sent with the corvette *Cherub* to free the west coast of Captain Porter's piratical vessels, *Essex* and *Essex Junior*. Having captured these North American vessels, Captain Hillyar now appeared to intervene in the Chilian struggle.

The result was the Treaty of Lircay. It was a compromise which at first sight seemed plausible and reasonable enough. Chile was to retain her independence, free commerce, and other rights, but she was to recognise Ferdinand VII. as her sovereign, to pay 30,000 pesos, and to give up the Chilian flag. The Royalist troops were to be sent back to Chiloé, Valdivia, and Peru, and all prisoners were to be released.

But, as was obvious on reflexion, neither Ferdinand VII., the Viceroy of Peru, the Royalist officers, nor the Franciscan Fathers at Chillán, would ever be satisfied with these terms.

Gainza himself soon realised this, and did not try to fulfil any important part of his solemn engagements. He had retired to Chillán, so extricating himself, without fear of attack, from a difficult position. This Lircay treaty, like many compromises, ended in disaster.

The brothers Carrera were, with Gainza's connivance, allowed to escape from prison. One of the clauses of the said treaty had specially insisted on their being embarked at Talcahuano (to be despatched to Buenos Ayres). Gainza declared that they had broken their parole, but undoubtedly he expected, as happened, that Miguel

Carrera would bring ruin upon the Patriot cause, and O'Higgins, most unfortunately, did not imprison the brothers, but let them go to Santiago.

La Lastra, Director of the Junta, issued orders for their arrest which the Carreras successfully evaded.

Then, on 23rd July 1812, José Miguel Carrera again overturned the government. He, with two resolute and unscrupulous adherents, Uribe and Urzúa, formed a new Junta.

He showed himself merciless to his political opponents. Some were imprisoned, and others banished to Mendoza, though the passes were at this season covered by snow. He endeavoured to conciliate O'Higgins, but the latter, after wasting some time in negotiations, started for the north in order to depose him, leaving a small force at Talca to watch the Royalists. O'Higgins scarcely met with any resistance at first, and, encouraged by this, impetuously pushed onwards with his vanguard to the Mapocho river.

But Luis Carrera had posted his men in a strong position—behind a canal, where mounds of earth and other *débris* formed natural parapets or breastworks. O'Higgins rashly advanced against him with but very few men, and suffered a severe repulse. He returned to his main body, and there received unexpected and most alarming tidings.

The Viceroy of Peru, furious at the terms of the Lircay Treaty, had at once despatched Colonel Mariano Osorio with the veteran battalion of Talavera and other troops to supersede Gainza and to finish the war.

Osorio, landing at Talcahuano, soon reached Chillán. He sent an envoy to communicate with "those who rule in Santiago." Carrera threw the officer into prison (a particularly unwise proceeding), and then issued a proclamation, beginning: "No sacrifice satisfies the tigers that devour human flesh," but which was otherwise a little incoherent and obscure.

In this crisis, indeed, he acted with inconceivable stupidity. Whilst Osorio with 5,000 men was steadily

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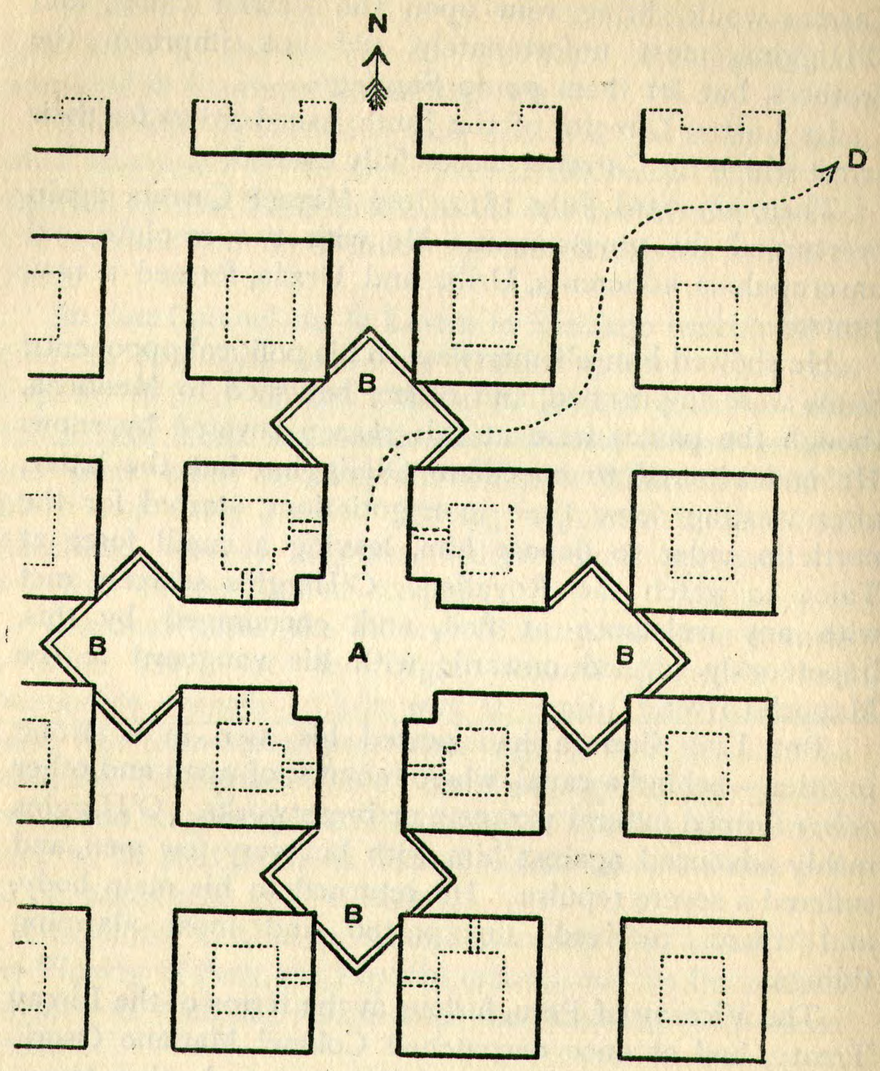

Plan of part of Rancagua.

A Patriot Standard in Plaza.
B Patriot Entrenchment.
C Direction of Royalist Cavalry watching Santiago Road.
D Route by which O'Higgins escaped.

advancing northwards, Carrera squabbled about the terms of his reconciliation with O'Higgins. Finally, he insisted on being *generalissimo*; his brother (a notoriously incapable officer), Juan José Carrera, was put in charge of the second division (1,800 men), and Luis Carrera had the third division of 900 men. O'Higgins retained the first division (1,700 men). He was, as usual, thwarted, abandoned, and betrayed to the enemy by the stupidity and jealousy of the Carreras.

The little town of Rancagua was to be the Patriot rallying point, but Carrera endeavoured to defend the river Cachapoal, which was, unfortunately, very low at this season. Juan José Carrera watched a ford on the left. O'Higgins was in the centre, opposite the usual crossing-place, whilst Luis Carrera should have guarded a ford on the Patriot right. But, instead of doing so, he halted eight leagues to the north of Rancagua.

The advanced parties of the Patriot cavalry held off the Royalist guerillas until nightfall. At dawn, on a beautiful clear morning, Osorio's forces were discovered in perfect order, and advancing to the attack. They diverged towards the unguarded western ford, where there were but twenty dragoons to oppose them. O'Higgins sent out cavalry to attack their other flank, but the position was hopeless. He was outflanked; Juan José had retreated in disorderly flight to Rancagua. Thither O'Higgins also retired, but in column, with his troops in perfect control.

The town had been prepared for defence. It was, like many Spanish villages, formed of streets crossing at right angles. The Plaza or Square was exactly in the centre, where the two central streets (North-South and East-West respectively) intersected. Barricades were formed (as shown on sketch) so as to close the four streets (B.B.). The adobe bricks and other materials formed excellent materials. Cannons were placed on these barricades, which projected as an angle into the street. The defence was heroically conducted by O'Higgins. Cool, imperturbable, and undismayed he passed from trench to trench. Royalist

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bodies of 1,000 men each attempted to storm every barricade, not once, but over and over again. So long as the Patriot ammunition lasted, the only result was to litter the streets with corpses. The Talavera battalion especially tried repeatedly to storm the trenches, but failed utterly. The defence was maintained for thirty-three hours. Then the Patriots' ammunition began to fail.

Miguel Carrera, two leagues away, heard the firing. He had a splendid opportunity of charging the Royalists when disordered and discomfited by their defeat, but there was not a spark of generous feeling in that despicable soul! O'Higgins appealed to him for help. He sent a valorous message back,[1] and at 11 A.M. the third division did advance, but they never attacked seriously, and by 11.30 they fled in confusion, abandoning O'Higgins and their comrades to almost certain destruction. The latter had but 800 to 900 men left, and only some 500 horses. The latter were brought out of the patios. The baggage mules and other animals were driven out of the barricades, raising clouds of dust. O'Higgins, Ramon Freire, Molina, with 500 men mounting the horses, charged out of the barricade; some 400 succeeded in escaping. These were the sole survivors of 1,700 of the best Patriot soldiers.

The scene in the Plaza was horrible: the barricades were repaired with soldiers' corpses; the houses were in flames. The Royalist behaved with the most atrocious cruelty, and all that night Rancagua was a pandemonium, suffering the worst horrors of a sacked city. Wounded men were burnt alive, officers resembling "el miserable O'Higgins" were shot.

There was no fighting of the least importance after this horrible disaster, and scarce an attempt at resistance.

Men, women, and children fled from Santiago towards Mendoza. Snow still covered the passes, and the sufferings of these wretched emigrants were terrible. There were

[1] "Ammunition can only be sent on the bayonet's point. To-morrow, at dawn, this division will make sacrifices. To save Chile requires a moment of resolution."

neither mules, provisions, shelter, nor even firewood for the multitudes (said to be 3,000 in number) which emigrated.

What remained of the Patriot army, all its officers, as well as almost every Patriot of name and position, left Chile for the time.

Colonel Mariano Osorio entered Santiago in triumph, amidst all the outward signs of popular rejoicing.

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CHAPTER XI

THE LAST DAYS OF ROYALIST DOMINION

Osorio's rule — Massacre in Santiago prison — Marco del Pont — William Brown—Guerillas—San Martin—His preparations—The minor attacks on Copiapó, Coquimbo, Planchon, and Portillo—Freire cuts off Morgado from Concepción—The main attack by Uspallata—Cavalry fight at Coimas—The Chacabuco ridge—Battle of Chacabuco — Soler's flank movement — O'Higgins checked by the whole Royalist army—Total rout of the Royalists —Disturbances in Valparaiso and Santiago—O'Higgins dictator —Disaffection in Santiago—Carrera again—Las Heras occupies Concepción and beats Ordonez at Gavilar—Freire takes Arauco twice over—O'Higgins assaults Talcahuano, but fails—Mackay's adventures — New expedition from Peru — O'Higgins's march northwards—Osorio and his veterans follow him—Declaration of Independence—Skirmishing near Talca—Disaster of Cancha-Rayada—Las Heras's retreat—Battle of the Maipo—Bernardo O'Higgins.

FROM Rancagua until February of 1817 the Royalists ruled Chile. Osorio entered Santiago in triumph; he sought out the Bishop Rodriguez, who emerged from his hiding-place with a complete catalogue of those clergy who had shown any of the slightest Patriotic inclinations.

Every attempt was made to introduce again the very worst characteristics of the old colonial *régime*. Free navigation was prohibited, and the contraband trade again flourished; the public library was suppressed; the Jesuits were recalled and the Inquisition re-established. Two hundred people were imprisoned; about fifty distinguished Patriots, including certain old men of high

social position,[1] were despatched to Juan Fernandez, on which desolate, storm-beaten island they endured the most terrible hardships.

But in Santiago prison an atrocious crime was committed. The wretched prisoners were deliberately encouraged to try a perfectly mad attempt at rebellion. Then those agents who had provoked and encouraged them, slaughtered some of them in cold blood. Captain San Bruno and Sergeant Villalobos were responsible for this atrocity. Yet Osorio's position was not at all secure. Money could not be obtained even to pay the troops, much less to support the soldiers' families who were starving in Chiloé and Valdivia, whilst forced loans, confiscation of the goods and valuables of Patriots, every conceivable form of extortion and legalised robbery went on without intermission.

In December 1815 a new and even worse governor came to Chile. Marshal Francisco Casimiro Marcó del Pont, was brother to one of King Ferdinand's favourites. He lived in the most sumptuous luxury, exhibiting himself to the wondering Santiaguinos in a gorgeous coach with glass windows. It was observed that his luggage, on arrival, consisted of eighty boxes and cases, and he delighted in exhibiting to his visitors his rich furniture and valuable tapestry. But Del Pont, before very long, had plenty of rougher occupation.

An Irishman, William Brown, with four hastily-armed merchant vessels, sailed from Buenos Ayres to the Pacific Coast, where he captured many Spanish ships, nearly took both Guayaquil and Callao, and threw all Chile and Peru into the greatest alarm and anxiety.[2]

Later on (in 1816) General San Martin, from across the Andes, carefully spread a rumour that William Brown was coming again, and would take Talcahuano this time,

[1] The following had all been prominent in the rebellion:—Rojas, La Lastra, Rosales, Ignacio Carrera, Cienfuegos, Perez, Eyzaguirre, Ovalle, Manuel de Salas, Egaña, Haevel the printer, and Blanco Encalada.

[2] He and his crew were subsequently captured, thrown into prison, and barbarously treated. The fetters had laid bare the bones of their legs when they were set free by Cochrane.

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and Del Pont took the greatest trouble to equip a squadron to fight this imaginary foe.

Guerillas made their appearance in all directions, for San Martin's agents and spies were everywhere at work. One of them, the gallant young Rodriguez, with four men and a few country people, captured Melipilla (with all the Government money and tobacco therein), whilst another party captured San Fernando.

Del Pont became furious, and grew more tyrannical and despotic with every day that passed. Proclamations of the most absurd character were issued by him. Peasants with arms in their hands were to be shot on sight; nobody, whatever his rank, was to ride on either horse or mule between the Maule and Santiago. Chile grew more and more discontented and ready for rebellion.

Del Pont had concentrated most of his 4,000 to 5,000 soldiers at Santiago, but he was obliged to send many troops to the south. San Martin had very carefully and skilfully encouraged him to fear an invasion across the Andes by the pass of Planchón.

It is now necessary to refer to the preparations for this invasion.

Colonel Don José de San Martin was born in 1778, on the Rio Uruguay.[1] When nineteen years of age he had gone to Spain, where he saw a great deal of mixed fighting (against Moors, French, English, and Portuguese). He had played a prominent part in the Peninsular War, at the rising in Cadiz (1804), at Bailen, and at Albuera, and he had, after much trouble with the Spanish authorities, succeeded in returning to Buenos Ayres. There he had organised, trained, and disciplined an excellent regiment of grenadiers (cavalry), and had fought on the Paraná, and in Alto Peru for the freedom of South America.

He had soon realised that Peru must be attacked by way of Chile, and he now set himself to two years of

[1] "The Hannibal of the Andes was tall and well formed, . . . he had an olive complexion, black hair, wore large side-whiskers without moustache; his eyes were large and black and full of fire." Hancock, *l.c.* The fullest biography is probably that of Mitré, "Historia de San Martin."

the most careful preparation for the passage of the Andes.

His difficulties were very great, but the jealousy and fears of his own authorities in Buenos Ayres were judiciously managed. The irrepressible Carrera, having set his authority in Mendoza at naught, was caught and removed to San Luis. His brother, Luis Carrera, went to Buenos Ayres to protest, but Mackenna, sent on the part of O'Higgins, placed before the government the true facts of the case. Luis Carrera, seeing himself beaten, challenged Mackenna to a duel and shot him dead.

San Martin had the greatest difficulties with these Chilian emigrants, but he was quick to recognise the merits of O'Higgins, who became his trusted and devoted adherent. San Martin had great personal charm and the keenest insight in judging men. His agents were devoted to him, and always excellently adapted to their work. The ladies in Mendoza worked at uniforms for his men, and embroidered his flag. The negroes, whose freedom he had secured (for this very end), made an excellent regiment. He used the enemy's spies to spread false information, and had rapid and immediate tidings of the enemy's movements. Every detail in transport, equipment, and commissariat was minutely and thoroughly studied. More than 7,000 mules were collected for the soldiers to ride, and every mule was shod.[1] Specially designed, low, narrow, small-wheeled cars or sledges were constructed to carry the guns, which were wrapped up in wool and hides. Brandy and garlic was provided for the mountain sickness, and the provisions of the troops consisted of jerked beef seasoned with capsicum, toasted Indian corn, biscuits, and cheese.

This astonishing capacity for minute detail did not interfere with a breadth and audacity of military conception which stamps San Martin as one of the foremost generals of the century. Yet along with the extraordinary vigour of both mind and body, there went a curious hypochondriacal humility which led him every now and then

[1] Miller says 7,359 saddle mules, 1,922 baggage mules, and 1,600 horses.

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between San Felipe and Los Andes. Meanwhile, messenger after messenger reached Del Pont from every direction, but all with the most disastrous and alarming information. He became distracted and confused, but relieved his mind by the issue of warlike proclamations full of contempt and defiance.

"He himself was going to war at the head of his battalions." At the same time he cannily despatched to Valparaiso the most valuable part of his furniture, and arranged for ships to transfer the Royalists to Peru if it did become necessary to fly.

General Maroto (*not the governor*) concentrated all available Royalist troops at the ridge of Chacabuco. This is one of the small transverse mountain ridges running nearly east and west, and uniting the cordillera of the Andes with that of the coast (see p. 3). It is about 400 metres higher than the Aconcagua plain, and 1,300 metres above sea-level. Its barren, yellowish-brown hills, almost devoid of vegetation, are cut up into an intricate complexity of steep-sided little valleys, or barrancos, with detached hillocks, dips, and folds. There are many little torrents after rain, but only a very few small streamlets in the dry season. At that time there was no definite road, and though the muleteers and cattle-drovers generally passed by one particular valley, there were numerous other bridle-tracks more or less accessible to horses and mules.

San Martin advanced from Curimón at midnight, and before he arrived at Chacabuco (on the other side of which the Royalists were encamped), Colonel Soler, with the first division, was despatched to the right. It was intended to make its way along the eastern slope of a spur running south from the main ridge, and which separated the nullahs or valleys of the Infiernillo and Nipa, the plan being for this first division (2,000 men) to appear suddenly on the left flank of the enemy round the southernmost point of the spur. O'Higgins proceeded by the usual track down the valley or Quebrada de la Nipa, driving before him the Royalists' outposts, under

Marqueli, which had been posted on the main ridge, but which now retreated, firing as they went from every minor spur of the valley sides. Nearly at the foot of the ravine, O'Higgins rounded a small detached hill, and found himself confronted by the Royalist line. The enemy's right flank was on the little stream Estero de Chacabuco (of which the Nipa is an affluent), and the left, with the cavalry, was amongst the broken hills on the west slope of the spur (Infiernillo-Nipa) already mentioned. Two Royalist companies were placed across the Chacabuco so as to enfilade the left flank of the Patriots, should they advance to the attack. These two companies did nothing during the battle.

O'Higgins should surely have waited for the first division, but this impetuous Irishman was never particularly cautious. He formed his infantry in a solid column, and, with drums beating, advanced straight against the enemy's front. But the men were fatigued. It was ten o'clock. The heat was terrible. A small ravine crossed their front which disordered the charge, and the first attack failed altogether. The cavalry had been unable to make any impression on the enemy's left flank, which was strongly posted amongst ravines and hills.

The moment was in the highest degree critical and dangerous, but O'Higgins and his infantry were not discouraged. The Patriot cavalry crossed the Chacabuco and attacked the enemy's *right* flank. O'Higgins and his gallant infantry again charged with the bayonet straight at the centre of the enemy's line. The shock was terrible, and the Chiloé (Royalist) battalion wavered, broke, and fled in confusion. Then, in rear of the Royalist left flank, there came hurrying to the battle the first division of 2,000 men. The Royalists were utterly defeated, and were pursued for four leagues. They left 500 dead (including Elorreaga and Marqueli) and 600 prisoners, out of a force of only some 1,600 men. The Patriots had 150 casualties.[1]

[1] In this account of the battle of Chacabuco, we have followed Barros Arana's description. That given by Hancock ("History of Chile") is entirely different, and cannot be reconciled to the above.

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This battle of Chacabuco decided the fate of Chile. The news reached Santiago at five in the afternoon. During the night the entire Royalist party fled to Valparaiso, where there was a horrible scene of confusion and disorder. There were not ships enough to take all the would-be fugitives. Rioting, street-fighting, and plundering continued until a Patriotic junta took control. In Santiago also, the houses of the governor and his adherents were sacked and plundered. On 14th February San Martin entered Santiago in triumph. At a great popular assembly O'Higgins was soon afterwards elected Dictator of Chile.

The late governor, Del Pont's, carefully laid plans had not come off. The ship awaiting him at San Antonio sailed away before he arrived, and he was taken prisoner, courteously treated, and despatched to Mendoza.

The country was, however, in a deplorable condition. The clergy were intriguing busily, and preached openly and in the confessional against the new order of things. Ladies were induced to insult the officers of the Republic, and were discovered in treasonable correspondence with the enemy. O'Higgins exiled Bishop Rodriguez to Mendoza, shut up refractory priests in monasteries, and rebellious señoras in convents, whilst in the south the missionary fathers recruited Araucanian savages for the Royalist guerillas.

Moreover, the Carreras were again giving trouble. José Miguel had gone to the United States with 20,000 pesos in his pocket. He had actually come back with two ships *on trust*, and from New York of all places! The Buenos Ayres government took over the ships and the obligations connected with them, but Carrera was told that "neither you nor your brothers shall enter Chile until the war is over." Juan José and Luis tried to enter in disguise, but were thrown into prison. José Miguel had also been thrown into prison for trying to depart by sea, but succeeded in escaping to Mendoza.

But O'Higgins failed at first to realise that the war was not over. Colonel Ordoñez had passed to the south,

withdrawing the Royalist forces first into Concepción and then to Talcahuano, and all the country south of the Biobio river was in Royalist hands.

Las Heras, however, marched south with a small force of Patriots, and repulsing an attempt at surprise (at Carapalihue), occupied Concepción. He then took up a position on a small hill called El Gavilan on the north-western side of that city. The road from Talcahuano passed along the valley between El Gavilan and another hill (Chepe), turning round by Las Heras's left (southern or Biobio side) to enter Concepción. He had formed redoubts (of two or three guns) at both the extreme left and extreme right of his line, and thus dominated the Talcahuano road. He was afraid of an attack in force by Ordoñez, who had been reinforced by some 1,000 Chilian Royalists from Lima. At three o'clock in the morning (5th May 1817), three gunshots sounded in Talcahuano, whilst the Royalist ships left their moorings and bombarded the esplanade of Penco. At six, Las Heras saw a column of 500 Royalists advancing by the Talcahuano road. The Patriots, who were on the watch, at once opened fire from their artillery, checking its advance. Ordoñez sent two guns to the Chepe hill, and his infantry still advanced down the road. A Patriot squadron charged the Royalist cavalry, driving them on to the slopes of Chepe, and at this moment a second Royalist division (of 400 men) under Morgado advanced straight against the Patriot *right*. Boats were also observed on the Biobio threatening a descent on Concepción in their rear. But Ramon Freire in the right redoubt was, as always, equal to the occasion. Sending out 100 men "in guerilla" to check Morgado, he collected two companies, and charged furiously down upon this Royalist column, dispersing them and capturing their guns. The Royalists, beaten at each side, retreated, and were pursued to Talcahuano, their loss being 128 dead, 58 wounded, and 80 prisoners, whilst the Patriots had only 6 killed and 76 wounded.

O'Higgins, in the greatest anxiety, arrived just after the crisis of the battle was over.

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It was clear that the southern side of the Biobio must be cleared of the Royalists. It was the worst season of the year: rain was falling in torrents; the whole country was a morass of mud, and the smallest streams were raging, unfordable torrents.

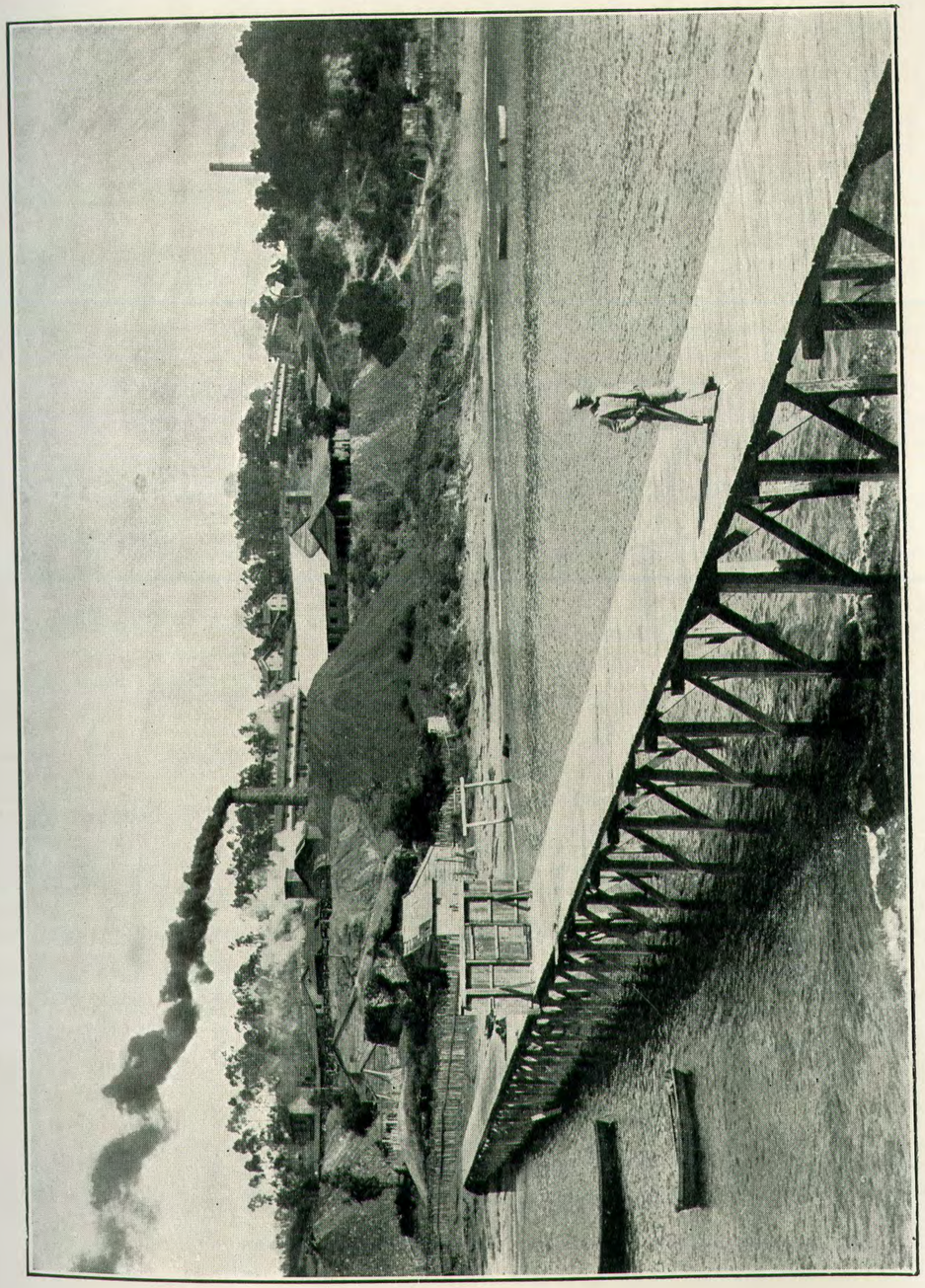
Ramon Freire was sent across the Biobio. Nacimiento and other forts were soon occupied, but on approaching Arauco, still drenched by incessant rain, he found a Royalist guerilla strongly posted on the further side of the Rio Carampangue, which was full and unfordable. Leaving most of his men on the right bank to return their fire, Freire, with a small party, stole up the river, swam across it in the darkness and pouring rain, and then charged down the line. Thus Arauco was taken. It was left in charge of José Cienfuegos, with a party of 140 Patriots, and Freire returned to Concepción. No sooner had he departed than the missionary fathers began to plot for the recovery of the town. The innocent Cienfuegos was beguiled by the pretence of a parliament with the Indians, led into an ambush, and he and all his men massacred with the most atrocious cruelty.

Ramon Freire returned, and again captured Arauco in a harder and even more brilliantly conducted assault.

During 1817 and 1818 the new State was distinctly improving, and appeared to be settling down. A new coinage was arranged; ambassadors sent to London; grants of land were made to those who had suffered in the war. The Legion of Merit was established, and all titles of nobility suppressed.

Moreover, there were signs of a distinct revival in trade. Between 13th February and 31st December 1817 the Income of the State was estimated at 2,003,208 pesos, 1 real (including 250,000 for customs and 134,000, for tobacco), and the Expenditure at 1,960,870 pesos, 3 reals, of which by far the largest part was upon war material.

At this time Peru depended on Chile for corn, lard, and other agricultural produce. The slave-owners in Peru also looked to her as the only market for their sugar. Thus, quite apart from his Royalist enthusiasm,



THE ARAUCO DISTRICT TO-DAY, WHARF AT LOTA.

From Robinson Wright's "Republic of Chile," by permission of Messrs. G. Barrie & Sons.

To face p. 168.

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the Viceroy of Peru was obliged either to conquer or conciliate Chile.

The war in the south still dragged on. Missionary fathers still encouraged blood-thirsty Araucanian savages to murder and plunder on the frontier. There were guerillas throughout the south, and especially in Chillán, Isla de la Laya, and Arauco districts. This last place was dismantled and abandoned. Ordoñez, shut up in Talcahuano, dug a deep ditch across the peninsula and built batteries and redoubts along the hills above, whilst O'Higgins, waiting impatiently for fine weather, kept the Royalists confined to the rocks of Talcahuano. At last there was a favourable change, and the long-delayed assault was practicable.

The Patriots attacked near the Talcahuano seashore, and succeeded in crossing the ditch and bursting through the palisades, but then found themselves entirely exposed to a murderous fire from the batteries of the Morro above. They suffered heavily, and were obliged to retreat.

Shortly before this period the beginning of a Chilian navy was made. The *Perla* had been captured at Valparaiso. A certain Scotchman, Captain William Mackay, started from Valparaiso in the launch *La Fortuna* to capture Spanish ships. He had a crew of twenty-five men. Finding the Spanish frigate *Minerva* in Arica Bay on a very thick, misty evening, he surprised her, and, putting her crew on shore, beat off with the vessel's own guns all attempts at recapture. He also captured a brigantine. The news gathered by Mackay, however, brought him speedily back to Valparaiso.

The Viceroy of Peru was sending 3,200 fresh men under Osorio to invade Chile. Though San Martin had established a camp at Las Tablas near Valparaiso, he had but 3,600 men, and, as he urged upon O'Higgins, it was imperatively necessary to unite for the defence of both Santiago and Valparaiso. "Unidos, somos invencibles; separados, debiles. Osorio puede hostilizarnos en mas de cuatrocientas leguas." (United, we are invincible;

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separated, we are weak. Osorio can attack us anywhere within 400 leagues of coast).

O'Higgins obeyed this advice, and at once prepared to march northwards. He took with him, not only his army, but the whole civil population, amounting to nearly 50,000 persons, with all the horses, mules, cattle, and sheep in the province. The whole country was to be wasted and burnt behind him so that the invaders should find neither animals, provisions, nor even shelter. This extraordinary feat of war was effected by O'Higgins in a masterly manner. Detachments of Patriot guerillas kept the country safe on both flanks of the expedition, and he reached the Maule in safety.

Osorio eventually landed at Talcahuano, and with great difficulties, and very slowly, proceeded after O'Higgins.

At this time one of the fairest and richest provinces had been laid waste; a large army of Royalist troops was steadily approaching the Capital; Peru had complete command of the sea; and the Chilian public funds were almost exhausted.

Yet the Chilian people chose this moment—the anniversary of Chacabuco—solemnly to proclaim to the world their independence of Spain and of every foreign nation. Soldiers and people swore, to God and their fatherland, on their honour, life, and fortune, to maintain the freedom of Chile. As usual there were solemn and impressive religious services, eloquent speeches, and public rejoicings of every kind.

The scheme of San Martin and O'Higgins was to entice Osorio beyond the Maule river, then to converge and defeat him thoroughly. His destruction would then be assured, for the country behind him was a desolate waste.

At first all went well. Osorio passed the Maule and advanced beyond Talca. Colonel Freire, with the guerilla cavalry, retired before him, keeping at a distance of two leagues. Freire, with only 170 men, attacked the historic farmhouses of Quechereguas, where 400 men of the Royalist advanced guard were entrenched, and narrowly

escaped disaster. But Osorio discovered the strength of the Patriot army, and hurriedly retired to Talca with the Patriot army on his heels.

San Martin and O'Higgins late in the afternoon tried to engage the Royalists so as to keep them outside Talca, but they were unsuccessful. This was on the evening of 19th March. After darkness had set in, the Patriots, very tired with two days of forced marches, formed a line north-east of, and close to, Talca. But San Martin, hearing from his spies of a possible night attack, determined to shift the camp to a new position—three kilometres to the north, and almost at right angles to the original one. The first division had already changed position, and at 8.30 P.M. the second division was on the point of moving off when, in the darkness, the whole Royalist army charged out of Talca and fell upon it. The confusion was indescribable; baggage mules and other animals stampeded. O'Higgins, with the second division, fired one discharge at close range upon the Royalists, but the battalions on both right and left flanks of his division had already moved to join the first division, and he was left with one battalion to face the enemy. This corps (No. 3 of Chile) fought bravely, but being outflanked and hopelessly outnumbered, it broke and fled, losing a third of its men. The headquarters, artillery and other baggage, as well as San Martin and O'Higgins themselves, were carried off in the confusion.

This disaster at Cancha-Rayada is a very curious example of the danger of night attacks. For, as a matter of fact, if the first division could have seen what was going on, they could have annihilated the Royalists by taking them in flank. It was won by Ordoñez, for Osorio had retired into a church at Talca to pray for the success of the Royalists![1]

Las Heras, left in command of the Chilian first division, made a splendid, orderly retreat, for which both he and his men were subsequently highly praised by San Martin.

They had indeed saved the situation. San Martin

[1] Miller's "Memoirs."

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and O'Higgins managed to check the rout at San Fernando. The latter was in a feverish state and almost fainting from pain and loss of blood, his right arm being broken and untended for twenty hours after the action.

Fugitives from the battle had reached Santiago and produced confusion and disorder. Rodriguez chose this moment to create a popular revolution, and insisted on being associated himself with La Cruz, the director-delegate. But the arrival of O'Higgins, who, as the surgeon told him, travelled at the risk of his life, soon brought to the Capital the calm of eager and orderly preparation.

The Royalists had lost 300 men, and even now advanced but slowly. On 4th April they had crossed the Maipo river at the ford of Lonquen, intending to attack Santiago by the Valparaiso road from the west, and soon discovered a strong Patriot army awaiting them. Much harassed by the Patriot guerillas, they marched to the farmhouses of Espejo, where they passed the night.

San Martin's position was along a ridge of low hills about 3 or 4 kilometres from Santiago, on the west of, and at right angles to, the Melipilla road. Osorio's troops were upon and near the edge of a low tableland not quite parallel to San Martin's line (about 1,500 metres long). Between them was a plain varying from 600 metres (on the east) to 1,000 metres (on the west) in width. A detached hill, a little in advance of Osorio's left flank, was held by Ribera with two companies and two guns, the Royalist dragoons, under Morgado, being between this hill and the left flank of the Royalists.

The day was exquisitely beautiful, and the sky was clear and serene. San Martin opened with a strong artillery fire from both his left and right flank, but the Royalists would not move. He then ordered a general advance of the Patriot line, keeping two battalions in reserve. The horse grenadiers from the extreme right of the Patriots charged furiously on Morgado's dragoons, driving them back to the infantry, and charging again

twice over, forced them to take refuge in the rear. Ribera was therefore in danger of being cut off, and retired from his detached post to join the centre, abandoning the guns. The left of the Royalists was thus soon hardly pressed by the Patriot infantry, and in considerable danger.

But on the other flank three of San Martin's battalions charging up the hills against the Royalist right, where stood the veterans of the Peninsular War, were driven off and down into the plain. It was a most dangerous moment, especially when Ordoñez ordered his men to charge before the Patriots could reform ranks.

But San Martin threw in his reserves. Borgoño's artillery poured discharges of grape upon them; Las Heras brought two battalions in a bayonet charge against the Royal centre. Moreover, Freire's cavalry, the cazadores (from San Martin's left), held their ground and charged so furiously upon the remaining Royalist cavalry that they hunted them clean out of the field.

Osorio had also fled from the battle. Finally, after half an hour's resistance, Ordoñez's infantry were beaten, and retreated, though preserving order and discipline, to Espejo, where they endeavoured to hold the farm buildings and two large walled orchards or gardens.

San Martin and O'Higgins rode forward with their troops thoroughly to finish the salvation of Chile.

The closing scenes of this eventful day were horrible. The Coquimbo battalion, unfortunately, marched in a solid column straight against the farm buildings. But the road was swept by the two remaining Royalist guns, and this corps was nearly destroyed. Then sixteen Patriot guns broke down the walls of the houses and gardens; the infuriated Patriots showed no mercy, the rooms, patios, and garden being soon littered with the dead.

The victory of the Maipo was of the most decisive character. Between five and six in the afternoon there were 1,500 Royalists dead and 1,300 prisoners (including Ordoñez, Ribera, and Morgado), whilst the remnant were flying in all directions and vigorously pursued by the

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militia and other troops. The numbers on each side were about 4,600 men, and the Patriots had 800 dead and 1,000 wounded.

Osorio eventually reached Talcahuano with only ten soldiers, and the war, as we shall see, dragged on in the south for a few years longer; but Spain had realised the strength of the Chilian army, and from the battle of the Maipo dates the real Independence of Chile.

Bernardo O'Higgins was appointed Dictator (as had been arranged before the expedition started). He was the illegitimate son of Ambrosio O'Higgins and of Isabel Riquelme of Chillán, and was born (20th August 1778) at Talca, but, when only four years old, had been removed to Chillán, where he remained under the care of the missionary fathers until he was sixteen. He then went to England, and was at school in Richmond for a considerable time. The agent to whom his father despatched money for his education seems to have neglected him, and O'Higgins was for a time in great poverty. He went to Spain, and thence tried to return to Peru, where his father was viceroy, but the ship in which he started was captured by the English, and he was set ashore at Gibraltar with nothing but the clothes which he wore. After this he had a severe attack of yellow fever which left him almost destitute. Hearing of his father's death, he borrowed money and eventually reached Chile. He succeeded to the estate of Las Canteras near Los Angeles, to which he brought his mother and sister, and soon became a person of importance. He had, as is clear from the above history, no regular military training of any sort.

CHAPTER XII

EL AMIRANTE COCHRANE AND O'HIGGINS

O'Higgins dictator—Balcarce and Freire's expedition against Sanchez —The latter goes to Valdivia—Benavides—Valdivia taken—Beauchef's victory at El Toro—The Royalist Pico defeats the Patriots—Benavides defeats Alcazar—Freire defeats Benavides—The latter captures merchant ships, but is defeated by Prieto at Chillán and Saldias—Captured and hung in Santiago—Juan José and Luis Carrera shot at Mendoza—Rodriguez imprisoned and assassinated—End of Miguel Carrera—Chilian men-of-war raise the blockade of Valparaiso—Encalada with five ships sails for Talcahuano — Returns with a Spanish frigate and five transports—Cochrane arrives—First attack on Lima—Captures San Lorenzo — Fire-ships unsuccessful — Cochrane raids the northern coast—Returns to Valparaiso and brings rockets to Lima—Failure of second attack—Pisco is taken—Cochrane reconnoitres Valdivia — Obtains men from Talcahuano — Is nearly shipwrecked — Fortifications at Valdivia — Taking of Corral, Valdivia and district—Failure of Miller at Chiloé—Liberating army landed in Peru—Cutting out of the *Esmeralda* at Callao—Cochrane's raid along the coast—The *Resolution* captured—Cochrane and San Martin misunderstand each other—Fall of Callao—Cochrane sails for Brazil—O'Higgins's difficulties —Disaffection — Freire heads an insurrection — O'Higgins abdicates and retires to Peru.

ALTHOUGH O'Higgins had managed to introduce a few reforms, the country was still lawless, disturbed, and unsettled. Armed bands of robbers, describing themselves as Royalists, attacked small villages, plundered haciendas, and murdered travellers. In Santiago itself there were always many criminals who lived on robbery and murder.

O'Higgins, however, suppressed with stern thoroughness all attempts at disorder and rebellion. He introduced

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reforms of many descriptions. The right of primogeniture was abolished; books and printed matter were admitted free of duty; a Consul of the United States arrived, the great North American Republic thus recognising Chile.

A dangerous optimism, thoroughly characteristic of the Spaniards, led O'Higgins and the whole Patriotic party to believe that the war was finished.

Osorio managed in Concepción to organise guerillas and to collect a small army of some 1,500 Royalist irreconcilables, criminals, and Araucanians. He himself departed for Peru, leaving Colonel Sanchez in command.

This officer, whose military skill seems never to have been recognised by his own party, established himself strongly in Concepción and Talcahuano, and his guerillas vexed the country as far as the river Maule. At the same time the missionary fathers, preaching "God and the King," aroused all Araucania, whose ferocious inhabitants were delighted with so good an excuse to burn, murder, and pillage throughout the whole of Southern Chile.

The work of destruction went on unchecked until 1819, when Balcarce and Freire advanced upon Talca with strong bodies of regular Chilian troops. The Patriot movements were too cautious and too slow, and they failed in their main object. Freire, indeed, seized Concepción, but Sanchez had had ample time to retreat to Los Angeles. A multitude of fugitives—clergy, women, and children, indeed the whole Royalist party—followed him. Even certain nuns (many of whom had not previously left their convents for thirty-one years) fled with Sanchez to the wilderness across the Biobio. General Balcarce pursued, but with pedantic and unnecessary delays, driving Sanchez and the Royalist troops beyond Nacimiento.

The latter now marched with the regular Royalist soldiers southwards to Valdivia. The journey was a long and dangerous one. Yet the Indians allowed him to pass, though at a heavy price. When his soldiers arrived, they had given up every button on their uniforms. General Balcarce, with the usual optimism, declared the war to be

over and left for Santiago, taking with him all military stores, and almost all the regular Chilian forces.

The war was by no means over. Bands of armed brigands or Royalist guerillas under the Prieto brothers appeared in the north. A certain Sergeant Benavides, an atrocious scoundrel, had been left by Sanchez as leader of the Royalists. He was at one time in the Chilian army, but being condemned to death for a crime, he escaped and joined the Royalists. He was made prisoner at the battle of Maipo, though not recognised until after the amnesty had been proclaimed, but he and his brother, being dangerous criminals, were banished to Mendoza. On the way there he tried to bribe the guards to connive at his escape. The officer in charge discovered this attempt, and the two Benavides were shot, and fell, apparently dead, by the roadside. One soldier slashed at Benavides's throat, cutting the muscles on one side, so that his head was always thereafter awry. Then the bodies were covered with earth and stones, and the escort departed.

But Benavides was only wounded, and managed to drag himself to the cottage of a benevolent old couple, who nursed him back to health.

He then wrote to San Martin and offered his services as spy on the Patriot side. Being despatched to Concepción, he seems to have been trusted at first by Balcarce, but Freire suspected his intentions, and Benavides finally fled to Arauco, where he organised resistance.

Very soon the condition of the country became worse than ever. The Royalist staff was efficient. It consisted of priests, and especially missionaries, who had early and accurate information of every Patriot move from the clergy, both in Concepción and all over the south. Chillán was taken in 1819, and the Patriot leader, Victoriano, after capturing Tucapel, was driven back by superior forces, and his men entirely routed.

It was at this time that Valdivia was captured by Lord Cochrane, as will be described presently. (See p. 190.) Beauchef, a Frenchman in the Chilian service, crushed

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the remnants of the Royalist regular forces in a brilliant combat at El Toro.

In February 1820 General Alcazar, with 1,000 Patriot soldiers, left Los Angeles and marched south, but now, just as had always happened during two hundred years of Indian fighting, the enemy retired, fighting, into the wilderness, and Alcazar had to retreat and return across the Biobio.

The Indian raids became more audacious every month. Rere fell into their hands ; even Talcahuano was surprised and plundered. But worse was to follow. A former merchant in Concepción, named Pico, who had become an astute guerilla chief, crossed the Biobio with 700 Royalist cavalry, mostly Indians, in September 1820, and O'Carrol, an Irishman on the Patriot side, and Vial pursued him with 500 men, whereupon Pico retreated, and choosing a good position, arranged his men in a strong double line and waited for them.

The Patriots, formed in a long and weak line, advanced impetuously in pursuit. They were suddenly charged, broken, dispersed, and cut to pieces by the Royalists. The Indians lassoed and speared those who resisted. This disaster happened after Freire had ordered General Alcazar to abandon Los Angeles and join O'Carrol.

Alcazar had some 600 soldiers, but was hampered in his retreat by women, children, and peasants, of whom nearly a thousand were with him. He had arrived at the Rio de la Laja, near Tarpellanca, and had crossed a branch of it to an island in mid-stream, when he suddenly observed Benavides with 2,400 men on the opposite side. Alcazar, a fine old veteran soldier, showed the greatest coolness and skill. The carts and baggage were formed into a barricade, and the enemy were kept off all that day. But the position was hopeless. Their stores and ammunition were nearly exhausted, and they were practically surrounded. Benavides proposed terms and, in an evil moment, Alcazar capitulated.

After the surrender, all the officers and soldiers were massacred in cold blood with atrocious cruelty, and even with tortures!

Freire then shut himself up in Talcahuano, and both Chillán and Concepción were occupied by the Royalists.

Now, however, things began to improve. Freire had sole and undisputed command of a small but efficient force. The Spanish officers on the Royalist side also began to desert. The Indians, finding nothing left to plunder, for the whole country was a desolate waste, returned to their woods.

In November of 1820, Freire, at the head of eighty Patriot cavalry, had the satisfaction of charging a Royalist detachment and hunting them for nearly a league, indeed until the horses were too exhausted to move. That day, in the Vegas of Talcahuano, 150 of the Royalists were slain.

On the 27th, he advanced from Concepción with 800 men. Benavides had occupied the Gamonal (now the hill of Amarillo) close to Concepción (the site of Las Heras's victory). Freire placed his guns on the Chepe Hill and advanced to the attack. On both sides the cavalry were placed on the flanks. The Patriot horsemen charged with such fury that the Royalists were beaten and fled. In the midst of the battle, one of Benavides's battalions suddenly cried, "Viva la patria!" and turned their bayonets on their comrades. It was a decisive victory for Freire: the losses of the Royalists were enormous, and there were only twelve men killed and thirty wounded on the Patriot side.

On the same day, Arriagada, with 800 men, utterly routed a Royalist guerilla of 1,000 men under the ferocious Zapata. The latter was soon afterwards killed.

The usual optimism and a slack pursuit gave Benavides further opportunities of bloodshed and plunder. He now began to form a navy. He surprised and captured four or five peaceful British North American merchant ships, which he armed. The captains and crew were murdered or forced to enlist.

On 28th September 1821 he again advanced upon Chillán. But Colonel Prieto had taken the command here, and his system of pardon to Royalist deserters and immediate destruction of all criminals and plunderers was

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gradually evolving order and peace in that distracted district.

Prieto beat Benavides off at Chillán, whereupon the Royalist fled northwards, but, threatened by militia in that direction, returned south and tried to escape to Araucania by the wooded flanks of the Andes. Prieto intercepted him at Vegas de Saldias, near the modern town of Pinto. Bulnes, with the Patriot cavalry, charged the Royalist vanguard. Two hundred Royalists were killed or drowned in the Rio Chillán. Yet, in spite of a hot pursuit, the leaders and a nucleus of troops escaped to Quilapalo in the mountains.

Benavides wandered for two and a half months through Araucania. He was once nearly captured by some of his own men, but at last he managed to obtain a small launch, and with some eight or nine people tried to reach Peru by sea. At Topocalma in Colchagua, he sent a soldier on shore to obtain water. This man betrayed him, and Benavides was captured and taken to Santiago. There his manliness forsook him, and he was dragged through the streets and publicly hanged.

Murdering Indians and armed brigands still lingered in the mountains, however, and the frontier was even yet by no means secure. Prieto invaded Araucania, but on one occasion narrowly escaped disaster. The savages set fire to the dried grass and charged in the midst of the smoke; but eventually Quilapalo was attacked and surrendered.

Quintanilla still held Chiloé, which was by this time the only remaining Royalist stronghold.

It is now necessary to return to the political history in Santiago during these eventful years (1818-1821). O'Higgins was for a long time threatened by the intrigues of the Carrera brothers and their friends. Juan José and Luis Carrera endeavoured, as usual, to turn a disaster to their cause into a personal advantage to themselves. After Cancha-Rayada, and during the consequent excitement in Mendoza, they tried to escape from prison and to upset the government of that town. The governor shot both brothers.

Rodriguez, the intimate friend and imitator of José

Miguel Carrera, for the third time put himself at the head of a popular *émeute* in Santiago. O'Higgins had him imprisoned, but shortly afterwards he was assassinated in cold blood. O'Higgins did not punish the murderers, which was a serious, tactical mistake.

José Miguel Carrera was still free, and more mischievous than ever. His career in the Argentine forms part of the history of that country, and cannot be detailed here. His character degenerated rapidly. He became a leader of ferocious Indian savages, and a mere plundering brigand, whose horrible deeds spread consternation from Mendoza to Buenos Ayres.

At last, between the sandhills and the marshes of Punta Medina, his marauders were finally and irretrievably defeated. His own men seized him and delivered him over to the Buenos Ayres government.

On the Plaza of Mendoza he was publicly shot on 4th September 1822. It was precisely ten years after the first romantic *coup d'état* in Santiago that this unquiet and restless spirit ceased to trouble South America.

This danger being happily averted, O'Higgins raised money from every conceivable source to form a naval squadron. The glorious career of the Chilian navy opened with a gallant deed of arms. The *Lautaro*, a 50-gun frigate (converted from an East Indiaman), and the brigantine *Pueyrredon* (16 guns, once the *Aquila* brig), left Valparaiso to attack the blockading Spanish men-of-war, which were the frigate *Esmeralda* and the *Pezuela*. Captain George O'Brien, who had come to Chile as first mate on a merchant ship, now in command of the *Lautaro*, and flying English colours, approached the *Esmeralda* within pistolshot. After firing a broadside, he promptly brought his ship round, and ran against the *Esmeralda*. Then, shouting, "Viva, Chile!" he, followed by twenty-five men, jumped on board the *Esmeralda*. At first the Chilians had it all their own way, and the Spanish colours were hauled down. The ships separated, and the lieutenant left on the *Lautaro* went in chase of the other vessel, the *Pezuela*, which was stealing off. But O'Brien

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was killed and also ten of his men; the rest, outnumbered by the crew of the *Esmeralda*, jumped into the sea, and were rescued by the *Lautaro's* boats.

Yet it was a victory for the Chilians. Both Spanish ships, the *Esmeralda* greatly injured, fled from Valparaiso.

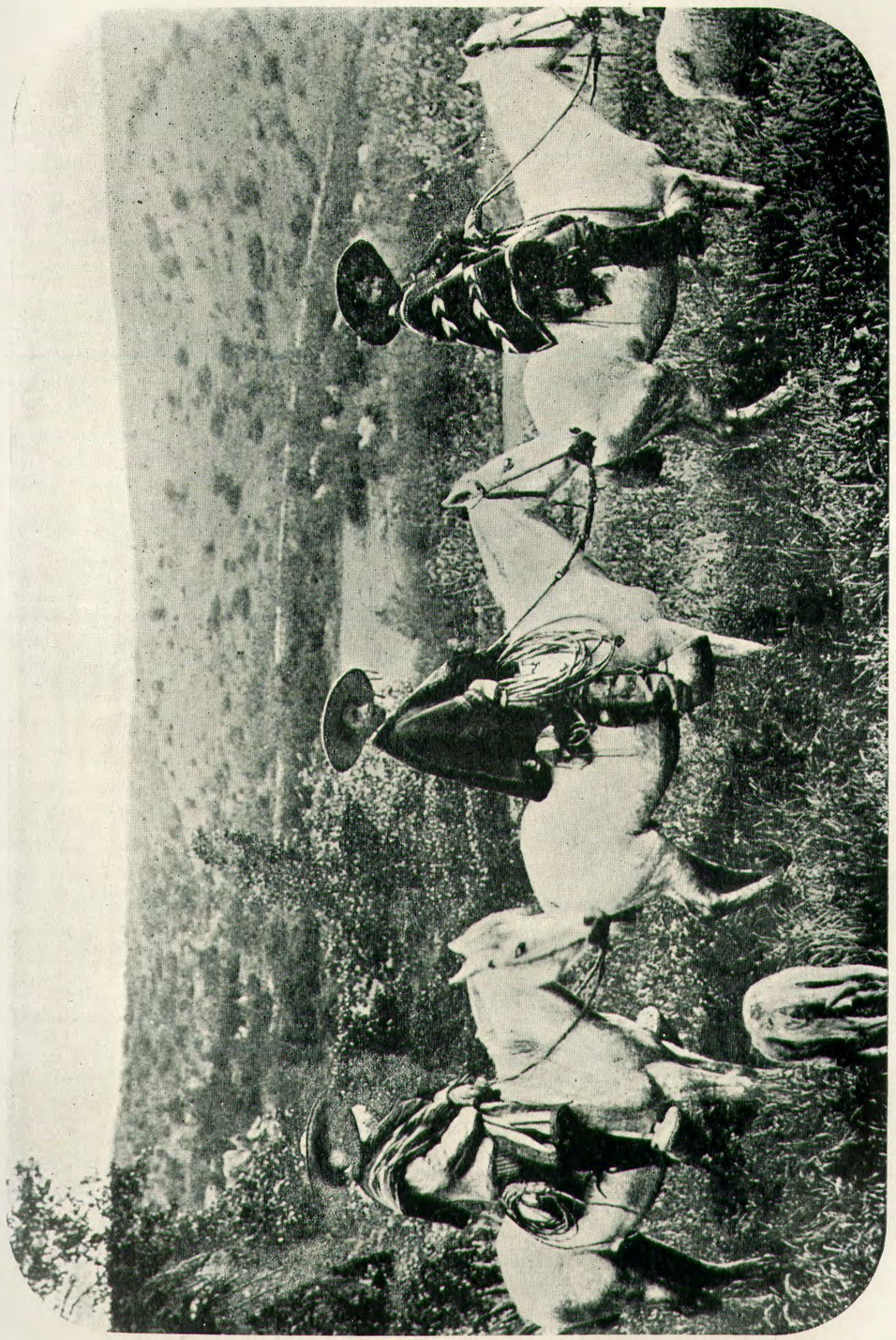
Considering that the Chilian seamen were peasants, who had probably never been at sea before, assisted by miscellaneous foreign adventurers and commanded by foreigners of whom very few could speak Spanish, both this and the subsequent victories were highly creditable performances.

O'Higgins, saying, "The King of Spain won South America with five little ships. We shall drive him from it with just the same number!" redoubled his efforts. Ladies' jewels cheerfully pledged, Church plate, contributions from Royalists and other sources were devoted to the Patriot fleet.

At last a little squadron sailed, amidst general enthusiasm, from Valparaiso. There was the *San Martin*, 64 guns (once a peaceful East Indiaman, *Cumberland*), 592 men, Captain Wilkinson; *Lautaro*, 50 guns, 353 men, Captain Worster; *Chacabuco*, 20 guns, 151 men, Captain Diaz; and *Araucano*, 18 guns, 110 men, Captain Morris, with Admiral Blanco Encalada in command.

The Spanish government had sent a frigate, the *Reina Maria Isabel*, with eleven transports carrying 2,000 soldiers, to reinforce Talcahuano. But the crew of one transport mutinied and carried her to Buenos Ayres, so that O'Higgins learnt the destination of this fleet.

On arriving at Santa Maria Island with Spanish colours, Blanco Encalada captured the Spanish depôt with instructions for the delayed Royal transports, and on 28th October 1818 the *San Martin* and *Lautaro* entered Talcahuano Bay, where the Spanish *Reina Maria* was at anchor, entirely ignorant of the existence of a Patriot squadron. Her crew cut the moorings and swam ashore, leaving only some seventy marines on board.



CHILIAN COWBOYS.

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The frigate ran ashore on Rocoan Island, and was soon captured by a Chilian boarding party of fifty men led by Bell and Crompton. The captors defended her successfully against several attempts at recapture, and she floated off at high tide.

Miller (afterwards General Miller) had been sent ashore with a flag of truce.[1] His life was in great danger, for Sanchez was furious, and threatened to shoot him, but he succeeded in getting back to the ships. Spanish colours were hoisted on the *Santa Maria*, and as the Spanish transports arrived, the Chilians watched with grim satisfaction the officers hurrying to put on their uniforms, and the waving flags. Three of these transports were thus picked up, and the *Chacabuco* obtained two more.

So it was a Patriot fleet of *eleven ships* in line that proudly cast anchor in Valparaiso amidst the enthusiasm of the populace (7th November 1818).

Thomas Lord Cochrane, Earl of Dundonald, arrived on 28th November 1818.

"He was, after the death of Nelson, the most notable naval commander in that age of glory. Equal to his great predecessor in personal courage, in enthusiasm, and in his devotion to his country, Cochrane was superior to him in originality, in his powers of invention, and in his inexhaustible resource."[2]

Cochrane was, unfortunately, pre-eminent in the art of making enemies, especially amongst his official superiors. That accounted for his presence in Chile, but cannot be held an excuse for his treatment by the British Government, which indeed forms one of the most disgraceful chapters in the records of English officialdom.[3]

Two of his brilliant exploits in Europe help to explain his Chilian career. During the Peninsular War, with one

[1] He was born at Wingham in Kent in 1795. He had fought at Ciudad, Rodrigo, Badajoz, and Vittoria. His adventurous career is detailed in Miller's "Memoirs of General Miller."

[2] Alison, "History of Europe."

[3] Compare Nelson's treatment by the Admiralty. The Autobiography of Cochrane gives the best account of his life.

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frigate, the *Impérieuse*, and a crew of 350 men, he had kept the whole coast from Toulon to Barcelona in a state of perpetual alarm and anxiety, and had entirely occupied the attention of 10,000 French soldiers. Then again the destruction of the enemy's fleet in Aix roads led him firmly to believe in the use of fire-ships and rockets, and, as we shall see, he endeavoured to repeat that glorious achievement.

After a period of public rejoicings, festivals and dances, in which Lady Cochrane and the Señora Blanco Encalada were the acknowledged beauties, the little navy started northward for Peru under Cochrane's command.

Cochrane's difficulties were great. The crews were ignorant and undisciplined, with, as officers, adventurers, of whom three were jealous and continually opposed and thwarted him. But his personal charm, his energy and genius, soon got those heterogeneous elements into a state of efficiency.

The squadron, consisting of the *O'Higgins* and *San Martin* (followed afterwards by the *Lautaro* and *Chacabuco*), arrived off Callao in a thick mist. Cochrane was in great anxiety, for he had heard heavy firing, and was afraid that his consorts were engaged with the enemy. The firing, however, was only that of a sham fight, and when the mist cleared, the rest of his squadron was close at hand.

The *Esmeralda* and other Spanish gunboats had withdrawn under the protection of the batteries on shore. Cochrane's four ships stood in to attack. They were recognised, and a terrific fire was opened upon the *O'Higgins*.[1] The other ships were unable to assist, for the wind had died away. Thus for two hours Cochrane and the *O'Higgins* answered the fire of 300 guns! She caused considerable damage ashore, and one Spanish gunboat was sunk. The crew of the *O'Higgins* had, as was usual with Cochrane's crews, caught his enthusiasm and

[1] Both this period in Chile and the old days of English and Dutch pirates are worth most careful study by Englishmen. Not with a view of flattering the slack optimism so prevalent nowadays, but as showing what infinite harm could be caused, *even by one foreign ship*, on an unprotected coast-line.

worked splendidly. This bold and risky action implanted such fear in the Peruvians and in the Spanish navy, that from that day forward Cochrane dominated the whole Pacific Ocean. Every port was crowded with anxious and frightened soldiers, yet no military movement of the slightest importance could be attempted. Spanish ships scarcely dared to leave the harbours. Never was there a better example of the effect of sea-power!

Cochrane's cool alertness under fire is well illustrated by a passage in Miller's Memoirs referring to a subsequent affair at Callao.

"He was sitting astride upon the hammock according to his usual custom. Miller was standing on a carronade upon the quarter-deck close to the Admiral, who said: 'There comes a shot straight for us, but don't move for it will strike below us'; and it entered just underneath, at the lower part of the very port above which both had placed themselves. The shot struck off the head of a marine who had dodged to avoid it, and wounded four seamen. . . . Tom Cochrane, a son of the Admiral, only ten years of age, was walking about on the quarter-deck when the shot scattered the brains of the marine in the child's face. He ran up to his father, and, with an air of hereditary self-possession and unconcern, called out: 'Indeed, Papa, the shot did not touch me; indeed I am not hurt.' He was set to hand powder to the gunners to keep him amused. The boy had smuggled himself on board, and had not been missed before the vessel sailed."

Cochrane, now "El Diablo" of the Peruvians, declared a blockade of the whole coast of Peru. He then captured the island of San Lorenzo: "an inhospitable and inclement mountain of sand and stones." The garrison fled; the signal station was destroyed, and twenty-nine wretched Chilian prisoners were set free.

In pursuance of Cochrane's tactics Miller was set to work making fire-ships and rockets, but on 19th March an explosion took place,

"which scorched the major and ten men in a dreadful manner. The former lost the nails from both hands. . . .

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Scarcely a feature of his face was discernible. . . . He was blind and delirious for some days, and was confined to his cabin for six weeks."[1]

The attack by fire-ships was a failure. The wind failed, and the vessel grounded and went to pieces. On 25th March the Spanish gunboats made a rather half-hearted attack, but they were easily driven back under the protection of the batteries.

The Chilian fleet was in want of fresh water and of provisions, owing to the knavery of the contractors, and Cochrane sailed to a port Huacho (a little north of Callao), where a party of marines landed and put to flight the garrison of the neighbouring town, Haura. Here he was joined by Blanco Encalada, with the *Galvarino* and *Pueyrredon*.

Cochrane left Blanco, who had generously offered to serve under his orders, to continue the blockade with most of the fleet, and with the *O'Higgins*, *Galvarino*, and various prizes, sailed to northward.

At Supe he landed, and a party sent to Barranco captured a large amount of Spanish treasure, as well as 2,000 pilones of sugar and 26 barrels of brandy. He landed at Huarmey, and again at Huambacho, where he captured the French brigantine *Gazelle* and 70,000 pesos of Spanish money. On 13th April he took a gunboat at Payta, and then, landing, captured the city. It was sacked, for his men got out of hand, but Cochrane returned the Church plate which had been stolen, and severely punished the culprits, four English seamen.

The effect of this raid was extraordinary. Spanish troops were hastily sent out, but arrived too late, shot a few peasants who had helped to roll barrels of water to the shore, and returned, preceded by bombastic and vain-glorious proclamations about their victory.

Cochrane found that Blanco had left Callao through want of provisions,[2] and he also returned to Valparaiso.

[1] Memoirs, p. 216.

[2] Admiral Blanco Encalada was tried by court-martial, but acquitted.

On 12th September 1819 he again sailed for Peru with six ships and a supply of rockets. He anchored off San Lorenzo, and sent a message to the viceroy challenging the Spanish ships to combat, which, of course, had no effect. On 2nd October an attack was made by the *Galvarino*, *Pueyrredon*, *Araucano*, and *Independencia*, each ship towing timber rafts with mortar or rocket-tubes. The men working the rafts had specially invented life-preservers made of tin, which, indeed, was fortunate, for some of them were blown into the water. This attack failed utterly, the rafts being insecurely fastened, and the rockets nearly useless, it is said, because they had been charged by the Spanish prisoners in Valparaiso, who had put sand, lime, manure, and other impurities in them. Still, a Spanish gunboat was sunk, and on shore there were some twenty killed and wounded. However, the nervous state induced in the Spaniards by these proceedings was a valuable military asset. As an instance of this, on the night of the 4th, a lighted tar barrel was set afloat, and drifted towards the port. The Spanish gunners fired more than 300 shots at it. Again, on the 5th, a fire-ship was tried by Cochrane, but the wind died away and it exploded too soon.

The eternal bad luck in all these attempts, in spite of their being well designed and efficiently carried through, must have disgusted Cochrane; more especially as a rich treasure ship managed to enter Callao when he was chasing the *Prueba* frigate; this latter vessel being the sole survivor of a reinforcement sent from Spain.[1] On 7th November 1819 a force of 250 Chilian marines landed, in spite of great difficulties, before Pisco (south of Callao). The Royalists, strongly posted behind walls and on the roofs of houses, had four guns on some rising ground to the left, and a strong fort with guns to the right; yet the Chilian marines, though many were raw recruits and scarcely knew the firing exercises, advanced rapidly and in good order. As soon as their bayonets were

[1] One, a 74-gun ship, put back leaky, and another was lost with all hands.

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within 15 yards of the Royalists, the latter broke and fled. Colonel Charles, a foreign officer, was mortally wounded, and Miller again received three severe wounds. Water and provisions again became scarce, and an epidemic of sickness broke out on board the ships. The *San Martin* and *Independencia* returned to Valparaiso; the *O'Higgins* and *Galvarino* went north, entered Guayaquil, and captured two ships.

Cochrane afterwards found himself in 110° west longitude, with Valdivia almost as near as Valparaiso. He sailed thither to reconnoitre, and caught the Spanish brig *Potrillo* (already mentioned) and then entered Talcahuano. General Freire gave him Major Beauchef (French) and 250 men, and he was also joined by the *Montezuma* and *Intrepido*, two additions to the Chilian navy.

The following story from Miller's Memoirs illustrates both the difficulties with which Cochrane had to deal, and the character of the great seamen of those days. Of his two officers, one was under arrest. Cochrane left the ship in charge of the other officer, with orders to call him if the wind changed. The officer gave her in charge of a midshipman, and then went to his cabin and slept peacefully, whilst the midshipman went to sleep on deck. When passing the island of Quiriquina, a breeze sprang up, and the *O'Higgins* struck on a sharp edge of rock. She was, as it were, suspended upon it. Cochrane, cool as ever in a dangerous crisis, superintended everything and got her off. He would not at first receive any report of the damage until indeed there was 5 feet of water in the hold, and 7 feet by 8 P.M. The pumps would not work, and the carpenter was incompetent. The admiral took off his coat, turned up his shirt sleeves, set to work, and had the pumps working by midnight.

He remarked to Miller with regard to the expedition on which they were now engaged:

"Cool calculation would make it appear that the attempt to take Valdivia is madness. This is one reason why the Spaniards will hardly believe us in earnest even when we commence; and you will see that a bold onset,

and a little perseverance afterwards, will give a complete triumph; for operations, unexpected by the enemy, are, when well executed, almost certain to succeed, whatever may be the odds; and success will preserve the enterprise from the imputation of rashness."

This is perhaps the most exquisite excuse ever given for an attempt of which no one but himself would ever have dreamed.

They arrived at the mouth of the harbour of Valdivia on 2nd February.

As will be seen from any good atlas, the rivers Valdivia and Torna Galeones and the bay of San Juan open in a common entrance between Port Amargos and Castillo del Niebla. Forts and batteries were placed on every projecting point. There were no less than six on the southern shore, three on the northern side beyond the Valdivia river, one on the Manzera Island, and another on the right bank of the Valdivia. The whole country (mainly rocky hills and ridges) was covered by dense, thick, and impenetrable forest. There was but a narrow, winding path uniting the forts.

At about 3 P.M. on 3rd February the Spanish garrisons observed two small, peaceful-looking ships with Spanish colours approaching the harbour, a schooner and brig (*Montezuma* and *Intrepido*). They anchored near Fort Ingles, outside the harbour, and between it and the landing-place (farther to the south), and asked for a pilot. They said they had no boats, for they had been destroyed in a storm. But the Spaniards were suspicious. Not long before a boat had been taken by a Chilian ship said to be commanded by El Diablo himself. About 4 P.M. a launch full of armed men drifted out from behind one of the ships. Further concealment was useless. Miller and Beauchef, in two launches crowded with 310 men, pulled for the landing-place around which seventy Spaniards were stationed. The landing was difficult; several men were hit, but it was successful, and the Spaniards fled to Fort Ingles. The night set in dark, and the thunder of the artillery and roar of the surf made it impossible to hear

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the Chilians as they toiled along the narrow, winding path between the beach and the forest, over rocks and dead logs and muddy pools.

Young Vidal, a daring and astute leader, went first with a small party which made as little noise as possible. The main body in the rear shouted, "Viva la patria!" and fired at the guns, so concentrating upon them all the attention of the seventy Spaniards behind the ramparts of Fort Ingles. Ensign Vidal passed round to the rear of the fort and entered it by an extemporised scaling ladder. There he formed his men in a dark place caused by the overhanging boughs of certain trees. When the frontal attack was developed, his party opened fire, and the Spaniards soon fled in confusion. Three hundred other Royalists drawn up on the esplanade were panic-struck and also ran away in confusion and disorder. The Chilians chased them along the narrow path to the next fort, San Carlos, but they were in confusion, and fled onwards to Port Amargos. This, as well as Chorocomayo, was reached in the same way. A hundred Royalists escaped in boats; the rest fled to the Castle of Corral. Nothing could withstand the impetuous fury of the Chilian attack, and Corral also was taken. A hundred Spaniards were bayoneted here, and Miller and Beauchef could scarcely restrain their soldiers, who remembered the Royalist butcheries on the Biobio.

Next morning the *O'Higgins* and the other ships entered the bay and exchanged shots with the northern forts, but before midday the Spaniards had abandoned every battery and fled to Valdivia.

Thus the strongest fortified place in the Pacific Ocean —110 bronze 24-pounder guns and about 700 men—was conquered in one night by 310 Chilian soldiers and marines! The Patriot loss consisted of only thirty-nine men killed and wounded. Valdivia also was evacuated and Cochrane took possession of it and of the frigate *Dolores* without fighting. Major Beauchef soon disposed of the Spanish forces at Osorno, and the few survivors escaped to Chiloé.

Cochrane now despatched Miller to the island of Chiloé, which was the only province in Chile still held by Spain.

Miller succeeded in landing, and drove away a small Royalist detachment. When the night came on, the Patriot forces lost their way and wandered about the dark tangled and dripping forests until the morning. Then they attacked and captured a battery (Guapacho) and a small fort, La Corona.

But Fort Aqui was a position so strongly held that even Miller might have hesitated. It was perched on a promontory 90 feet high, and could only be approached by a steep, zigzag path which was enfiladed by the guns of the fort. In rear it was protected by a thick, impenetrable forest. Within it were 300 Royalist soldiers full of enthusiasm, kept up by the exhortations of two fanatical friars.

Such was the place which was attacked by Miller with some sixty or seventy men, and in broad daylight! They were, of course, repulsed, and Miller received, as usual, three dangerous wounds.

During this time the preparations of San Martin's grand scheme were being steadily elaborated. In the Argentine, as is usual in great political convulsions, every bond of union which makes it possible for men to live together in harmony seemed broken. There was neither law, order, nor discipline, and San Martin was ordered by his government to bring back his army to Buenos Ayres. This was the army which he had devoted to the freedom of South America by the invasion of Peru, and San Martin refused to use it in the civil dissensions of Buenos Ayres. He strengthened his position by obtaining a unanimous vote of confidence from his officers at Rancagua, and brought over 500 men from Mendoza out of the 1,250 posted there.

Cochrane having for the moment no fighting on hand began to grow impatient, and write letters to O'Higgins. He wanted to start at once and take Peru himself.

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It was a difficult situation, but O'Higgins was equal to it, and managed to overcome all obstacles.

At last the liberating army of Peru started for the north, consisting of some 4,100 men under San Martin. Cochrane's work of convoying the transports was performed with his usual skill, and the Spanish navy did not (indeed it could not possibly) hinder the landing operations in any way.

It is impossible to detail the performances of the liberating army, for that is a part of Peruvian history. Its landing was, however, a very remarkable historical event. Some three hundred years before, the Incas and afterwards the Conquistadors had left Peru to enslave Chile. Now Chile despatched her sons to give freedom to Peru!

San Martin's cautious and deliberate proceedings intensely exasperated Cochrane. For nearly two months he was kept doing nothing at Pisco, but at last San Martin and the army landed at Ancon, which is a little north of Callao, and Cochrane was happy and contented for a time. He had planned perhaps the most audacious exploit recorded in the whole history of naval warfare.

The Spanish frigate *Esmeralda* (40 guns and 350 men) was lying under the 300 guns of the land batteries at Callao. Twenty-six gunboats in a double line were in front of her, and were protected by a boom of heavy logs chained together, whilst two well-armed brigantines were on either side of her.

Cochrane, on the night of 4th November, rowed in a small boat to reconnoitre, and on his return he called for volunteers to cut out the *Esmeralda*. Every man in his fleet volunteered! He selected 160 sailors and 80 marines; on the next night (5th) fourteen boats led by Cochrane in person (with Guise and Crosby) rowed through the darkness with muffled oars. In two hours they had reached the narrow opening in the boom. A sentinel gave the alarm, but Cochrane put a pistol to his head, muttering fiercely, "Silence or death!" and the *Esmeralda* was boarded from either side at once. Cochrane, the first man on board, was knocked back down into the boat,

falling on a tholepin which made a painful and dangerous wound. The Spaniards were for the most part asleep, and suspecting nothing, for all the ships except the *O'Higgins* had been sent away that day. The Spanish captain was chatting in his cabin with two other captains, and the confusion of the crew was complete, whilst the Chilians, thanks to Cochrane's genius for details, conquered all resistance in fifteen minutes with a loss of only eleven killed and thirty wounded![1] Cochrane tied up a fresh wound with his handkerchief and directed the operations till the frigate was taken. "Never did I see higher courage than that displayed by my valiant comrades," he wrote. "No British crew could have surpassed them in minute obedience to orders." Captain Guise, who was left in command, cut out the *Esmeralda* instead of boarding the other vessels, which was Cochrane's intention. At half-past two the *Esmeralda*, with 180 prisoners, anchored beside the *O'Higgins*!

San Martin, meanwhile, waited for Peru to fall naturally, like a ripe plum, into his mouth. Crowds of deserters joined him. Lima was suffering from starvation and sickness. Guayaquil had declared for independence.

Cochrane and Miller departed on a raid down the coast, landing at Pisco, which they captured as they did Arica, and Miller occupied Tacna. On an armistice being proclaimed, Miller re-embarked his forces.

At last, on 2nd July 1821, San Martin occupied Lima, the Capital, and was shortly afterwards declared Protector of Peru (whether this was against his own desires or not, it is not easy to say).

Callao was still blockaded, but Royalist. Cochrane, perceiving an opening in the boom, guessed that the Spanish gunboats were intended to escape that night. Without any loss of time, eight boats under Crosbie dashed for the opening and captured the frigate *Resolution* and two other ships, not to speak of gunboats and launches as well: two more ships were burnt.

[1] The Patriots shouted, "Viva el Rey!" They were dressed in white, with a blue band round the arm, and each man knew exactly what he was to do.

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As there was no more fighting on hand, the misunderstanding between Cochrane and San Martin soon became acute. A mutiny occurred in the fleet headed by Captains Guise and Spry, who were dismissed by Cochrane, and at once given high commands by San Martin. Cochrane demanded twelve months' wages for his fleet and 50,000 dollars which had been promised them by San Martin. On the latter's refusal, Cochrane took the money from San Martin's own treasure chest and paid their wages himself. To crown all, the Protector offered to make Cochrane Lord High Admiral of Peru. This patronage infuriated him; but worse was to come, for his officers and men, tempted by the high pay offered by San Martin, deserted.

At last, on 21st September, Callao fell. Cochrane, with the *O'Higgins* and *Valdivia* (once the *Esmeralda*), sailed north in pursuit of the only two Spanish frigates left on the coast. Both of Cochrane's ships were unseaworthy, and received such injuries that he had to put into Guayaquil, where he found and captured one of the frigates, the *Venganza*, the other having been sent to Peru and seized by San Martin.

By this time—that is, in two and a half years—Cochrane had captured or destroyed every ship in the Spanish navy on the coast; he had suppressed piracy, taken the strongest fortress of Spain, and incidentally made Peru and Chile free and independent states.

But his unfortunate taste for violent correspondence led to quarrels with San Martin, with O'Higgins, and with Freire. Cochrane was shabbily and indeed infamously treated by San Martin, though the former could not understand that a Dictator of Peru might really not possess the money to pay his just and reasonable debts.

General San Martin seems to have almost invariably had his own way with everybody except Cochrane. He tried by every means in his power to force him to take supreme command of the Chilian and Peruvian navies. It probably never occurred to the Dictator to think whether his conduct was ungrateful, unjust, or unjustifiable.

The Hon. J. W. Fortescue, in his book on Dundonald,

thus describes his Chilian career: "He was a kind of destroying angel, with a limited income and a turn for politics." As a matter of fact, Chile has never forgotten "El Almirante Cochrane." It cannot be said that she rewarded him after his deserts, which would in any case have been impossible, but in Chile he will always be honoured. Moreover, Chile, when bankrupt and penniless, treated him far more generously than his own country had ever done. Cochrane, having finished his work in Chile, sailed for Brazil on the 18th January 1823.

O'Higgins's difficulties were becoming very serious. In 1820 he had suppressed an attempt at revolution. (The story goes that he himself, with an aide-de-camp, went to the house of the chief conspirator, and in the next room listened to their treasonable plots.) In 1822 the Patriot cause received a severe check in Ica (Peru). There were diplomatic difficulties with Great Britain and with the United States. Neither Sir Thomas Hardy nor the Yankee admiral could bring themselves to allow the Chilian navy to seize British or American ships, even when the latter were loaded with Spanish war material. O'Higgins made two great mistakes. He permitted Bishop Rodriguez to return to Santiago, and he appointed Rodriguez Aldea, Minister of Finance and subsequently of War. The latter was exceedingly unpopular, and with good reason.

Moreover, even the improvements brought about in Chile produced discontent. The country was developing, and commerce increased. The diligence (Valparaiso to Santiago) was introduced, and soon ran twice a week; a daily post was established; revenue began to exceed expenditure; the Maipo canal was finished. Immigrants were settling in Chile, and making money. The number of employées was kept down. The public debt was reduced from 800,000 pesos to 50,000, and treasury bonds were at par.

Surely none of these improvements ought to have caused discontent, but, as a matter of fact, it was, as has happened continually in Chile, the first beginnings of prosperity that caused a revolution.

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There had been a devastating earthquake (19th November 1822) in Valparaiso. Church towers and houses had fallen in ruins. A tidal wave, 12 feet high, caused serious damage, and the coast was permanently raised 2 feet. In the south, Freire had become disaffected and furious with Rodriguez, who had failed to supply him with money, troops, or stores. A loan of £1,000,000 (nominal) had been contracted in London on rather unfavourable terms.

The desire to be a government employee, the knowledge that there *was* public money to be obtained, the hatred of foreigners and heretics, the Valparaiso troubles, the enmity of Carrera's friends and relations, the distress in the south, and even the foolish dreams of Republican idealists, combined to make a strong party of discontent. There can scarcely be a doubt that the strongest influence—the "head" which directed these conflicting and inconsistent factors—was the Church. The ladies in Santiago hated both O'Higgins and the Republic. But it was necessary to obtain a leader. Both Cochrane and San Martin were approached, but both flatly declined. Finally, General Freire sullied his reputation by consenting to head the insurrection.

O'Higgins was warned of the coming storm from Buenos Ayres, from Cordoba, and by Cochrane, but before action could be taken, a revolution broke out in Concepción, another in Coquimbo, followed by popular disturbances in Santiago itself. A large assembly of malcontents was summoned to the Consulate by secret messages. O'Higgins was taken by surprise. Even his own troops, he found, had been tampered with. He marched to the barracks, tore off the offending officer's epaulets, and, in a few minutes, had almost the whole military force in the city completely under his control.

He at last consented to come to the meeting. Entering with a steady step, he asked: "What is the meaning of this assembly?"

Egaña replied: "The people, señor, esteems in all its valour your important services, and admires in your



BERNARDO O'HIGGINS, FIRST PRESIDENT OF CHILE.

From Barros Arana's "Historia Jeneral de Chile.

To face p. 196.

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excellency the father of the country, but," etc., etc.; in plain words, we want you to abdicate.

O'Higgins pointed out that they did not in any way represent the Republic. José Miguel Infante again made a speech: "The Republic," etc., etc.

"What right has the speaker to represent people who have given him no authority whatever to do so?"

This disconcerted Infante, but loud and angry remarks of an intemperate and disrespectful character began to be heard. O'Higgins said: "You will not terrorise me by threats or seditious cries. I despise death to-day as I have scorned it on the battlefield." But the forces against him were strong, and he told the malcontents to appoint a few respectable nominees to discuss the question with him.

A Junta (Eyzaguirre, Infante, and Errázuriz) was appointed. After discussion with them, the dictator came back, and, rising to his feet, received the oath of the three nominees. He then laid down the command:

"If it has not been given to me to consolidate the new institutions of the Republic, I have at least the satisfaction of leaving it free and independent, respected abroad, and glorious in its conquests. I thank God for the favour which He has given to my government, and I pray that He may protect those who have to succeed me."

Then, tearing off the insignia of command: "Now, I am a simple citizen. During my government, that I have exercised with full authority, I may have committed mistakes, but believe me when I say that they were due to the very difficult circumstances when I took up my charge, and not to evil passions. I am ready to answer any accusations which are made against me. If these faults have caused evils which can only be purged by my blood, take what revenge you will upon me. Here is my breast!"

The people cried out: "We have nothing against you. Viva, O'Higgins!"

"I know well," he added, "that you cannot justly

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accuse me of intentional faults. Nevertheless, this testimony alleviates the weight of those which I may have unknowingly committed." Turning to the Junta, he added: "My presence has ceased to be necessary here."[1]

It was in this noble and dignified manner that the great hero of Chilian independence retired into private life. It was, perhaps, the most glorious action in his career. He could certainly have plunged Chile in a civil war, and probably retained his power.

Now it is the bounden duty and pleasure of a historian to be sympathetic to the country of which he writes. Yet it must here be said that the deposition of O'Higgins stands out, not only as a disgraceful action (for it was the blackest ingratitude), but as a colossal, political blunder. The strong, military despot is inevitable, and necessary in the stormy youth of a new state; but it is the rarest thing in history to find him, like O'Higgins, transparently honest, a sincere patriot, and without personal ambition.

Chile was to suffer terribly in after years for the want of that firm, but kindly hand.

As regards his navy, the ships were mostly sold about 1826 (*O'Higgins*, *Chacabuco*, *Independencia*). The *San Martin*, *Galvarino*, and *Pueyrredon* were lost at sea. The *Araucano* was burnt by mutineers in 1822. The *Lautaro* became a storehulk.

[1] Vicuna Mackenna, "Vida de O'Higgins," Santiago, 1882; Amunnátegui, "La Dictadura de O'Higgins," derived from notes by Colonel Cruz and Barros Arana's "Historia de Chile," which is based upon them, are the best authorities for this scene. The last gives an excellent account, and is mainly followed here.

CHAPTER XIII

CIVIL, PERUVIAN, AND SPANISH WARS

Freire becomes director—Fails in an attempt on Chiloé—Suspension of the Constitution and popular revolutions—Taking of Chiloé—Encalada, then Eyzaguirre become directors—Mutinies—Pinto director in 1827—Local armed revolts—Pinto resigns—Civil war—Prieto marches from Concepción on Santiago—Defeats Freire at the battle of Lircay—Prieto becomes president, and order begins to prevail—Freire invades Chile, but is defeated and banished—Difficulties with Peru—Prieto sends the navy to Callao—Capture of Peruvian ships—Failure of Encalada's invasion of Peru—He surrenders—Peace arranged—Vidaurre's rebellion—He is defeated before Santiago—Bulnes's expedition to Peru—Defeats Santa Cruz at Jungay—Bulnes president—Montt appointed—Urriola's rebellion unsuccessful—De la Cruz beaten at Loncomilla—Gallo's rebellion in Copiapó—Is at first successful, but is beaten by Juan Vidaurre—Perez president—King Aurélie Antoine I.—His capture—Great fire in the Santiago Jesuits' cathedral—War with Spain and bombardment of Valparaiso—Departure of Spanish fleet—Church matters—Errazuriz president—Financial crisis in 1877-1879.

AFTER the abdication of O'Higgins there ensued a period of distracted councils, brigandage, military mutinies, and general unrest.

The progress of the country had been rapid. A contemporary writer pointed out that property worth, in 1816, 1,000 pesos was, in 1823, worth 4,000 pesos, and that houses formerly rented at 8 to 10 pesos now brought in 40 to 50 pesos. This progress was temporarily arrested.

General Freire refused to recognise the Junta, sailed for Valparaiso, and eventually marched on Santiago. He was, after a feigned reluctance, appointed Supreme

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Director. O'Higgins sailed for Peru, where he died in honourable retirement.[1]

A national Congress, with one deputy for every 15,000 inhabitants, assembled on 12th August 1823, but did nothing worth recording here.

Peru in 1822-1823 was in a state of anarchy. A Chilian force sent to assist returned, after suffering severe losses.

The Royalist commander in Chiloé, the indefatigable Quintanilla, had fitted out two pirate ships which captured several neutral vessels, and nearly took the *Montezuma* with General Pinto on board.[2]

In February 1824 Freire started for Chiloé with some 2,000 men. He landed at Punoun or Puganon, captured Chacao and Carelmapu, but, unfortunately, divided his forces into three columns. One of these, under Beauchef, advancing from Dalcahue through the swamps and tangled forest of the interior, fell into an ambush at Mocopulli. The column was attacked in front and on both flanks, and though the Chilotes under Ballesteros were eventually dispersed, Beauchef had lost about 300 dead and wounded, and was obliged to retreat to the coast. A frigate was wrecked, and the eternal rain and want of provisions obliged Freire to return to Chile.

Soon after this, Quintanilla's enterprising pirate, Manieri, was captured by a French man-of-war. Several brigand chiefs were also caught. The ferocious *curé* of Rere, Ferrebu, who had wasted Arauco, was shot. Pico, another Royalist leader, was surprised in his hut at night and killed.

However, there was less danger thenceforward from Spain, for the Monroe doctrine had recently been proclaimed. English consuls had also arrived in Chile, and matters began to settle down.

The Bishop of Santiago was at last got rid of, but the clergy were still intriguing against the Republic; and a

[1] Freire sullied his reputation by placing O'Higgins under a sort of honourable arrest.

[2] A North American, Oxley, saved the ship by repairing an injured gun under heavy fire.

vicar apostolic, sent by the Pope, instead of removing these ecclesiastical difficulties, rather fostered them. He, however, departed in 1824. The Chilian navy assisted in the closing scene of the Peruvian War of Independence, after the final battle of Ayacucho (10th January 1825).

The disturbances in Chile had continued. The Constitution was suspended in 1823; a popular revolution occurred in 1824; Congress was dissolved by government at its own request in 1825. A provincial congress was afterwards elected, and limited General Freire's authority; he retired, and then, declaring a mandate from the inhabitants, returned with an armed force, occupied Santiago, and deposed Colonel José Santiago Sanchez, who had been appointed Director. Freire was neither strong enough, clever enough, nor sufficiently adroit to keep in order firebrands like Infante with dreams of a United States of Chile, Liberal rivals like General Pinto (or Pipiols), Conservatives (Pelucones, literally Wigs), and Clericals.

The funds were in a wretched condition; the deficit was nearly 1,500,000 pesos. Every one was discontented: the troops were starving and mutinous. English companies were formed to work mines and for immigration, but most of these attempts had failed disastrously.

In 1826 a new expedition was sent to Chiloé. Penetrating into the Bay of Ancud, the troops landed almost unopposed. The frigate *O'Higgins* and other boats of the squadron succeeded in capturing three of the enemy's gunboats. This was followed by a successful attack upon San Carlos and the forts around it. Quintanilla, abandoned by most of his men, was obliged to surrender, and returned to Spain, where it is stated that he did *not* receive any reward proportionate to his splendid sacrifices. There was a counter-rebellion shortly afterwards in Chiloé, in which O'Higgins was proclaimed Dictator, but this did not endure for more than a very few months.

In Chile the conditions became most alarming. General Freire resigned in 1826, and was replaced by Manuel Blanco Encalada, who very soon resigned in favour

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of Don Agustin Eyzaguirre. Under this last director things became worse than ever. The Congress, under the influence of Miguel Infante and other theoretical constitution-makers, tried to force a "federal" government on Chile. Each local assembly, when formed, put itself in opposition to Congress, and committed absurdities of all kinds. A serious military mutiny broke out under Colonel Campino, for, in spite of enormous government expenditure, the troops were neither paid nor supplied.

Freire was again made director in 1827, but again resigned, and was replaced by General Pinto. He ordered the suspension of the Federal regulations, and rigorously suppressed all disorders. An attempt was made to introduce real and useful reforms in the army, in finance (particularly in payment of interest on the English loan), and in other directions. A new congress in 1828 started on the making of a constitution. An important expedition by General Borgoño relieved Southern Chile for the moment of brigands, and the Pincheira brothers were driven into the Argentine. Early in 1828 serious local rebellions occurred in Colchagua, in Aconcagua, and in San Fernando. In the Chile of those days a military force was very easily got together: any proprietor could arm his inquilinos, gather malefactors and brigands, and so form a small army. At this time there were rebellions of the people in small towns, mutinies of the regular troops and general disorder.

A veteran battalion marched on Santiago and defeated the government soldiers, but they were persuaded to depart on promise of pardon. There were two other mutinies, and another particularly scandalous one in 1828, General Pinto resigning soon afterwards.

A whole series of presidents followed, each remaining but a very short time, until a strong man was found in Ovalle, who was supported by Meneses and Portales. But civil war was inevitable. Prieto and Bulnes, who were then in Concepción, followed Freire's example in the days of O'Higgins, and marched on Santiago.

Freire, unfortunately for himself, consented to intervene,

and after a very short time inevitably found himself committed to a trial of strength with Prieto. The former was no longer the brilliant general of the Independence wars, and grossly mismanaged his campaign. He went to Coquimbo, where he failed to crush the rebels, for they had retired, taking all horses and mules with them. Returning south, he landed at Constitución, and united with Tupper and Viel, who had retaken Concepción.

Freire's troops then marched north to Talca, where lay Prieto with more than 2,000 men. The battle (of Lircay) took place very nearly on the site of Cancha-Rayada. Freire was totally defeated, mainly owing to the cavalry of Bulnes, who displayed great ability. The battle was followed by horrible slaughter, several captured officers (including Tupper and Bell) being killed in cold blood.

The victors were severe and, indeed, merciless. All officers who had refused to take part in the civil war, as well as those who had served under Freire, were removed from the army, including General Pinto, whilst Freire, like O'Higgins before him, was banished to Peru.

A little before the battle of Lircay (1830), Pope Leo XII. recognised the independence of the South American republics. After this there ensued a government in Chile, on the whole, stable and settled for quite a considerable period. General Don Joaquin Prieto, 1831-1841; General Bulnes, 1841-1851; Don José Joaquin Perez, 1861-1871, were all Conservatives. They were described by the Liberal party as oppressive and reactionary, but they were at least strong and resolute; under their firm control the development of the country was rapid and vigorous.

The difference between the history of Chile in those years as compared with that of other South American republics is very remarkable indeed. The sketch here given illustrates both the steady growth of population and the extraordinary improvement in the Revenue.

The interest on the Chilian loan (raised in England in 1822) was regularly paid. The credit of Chile stood, therefore, on a very high level as compared with her

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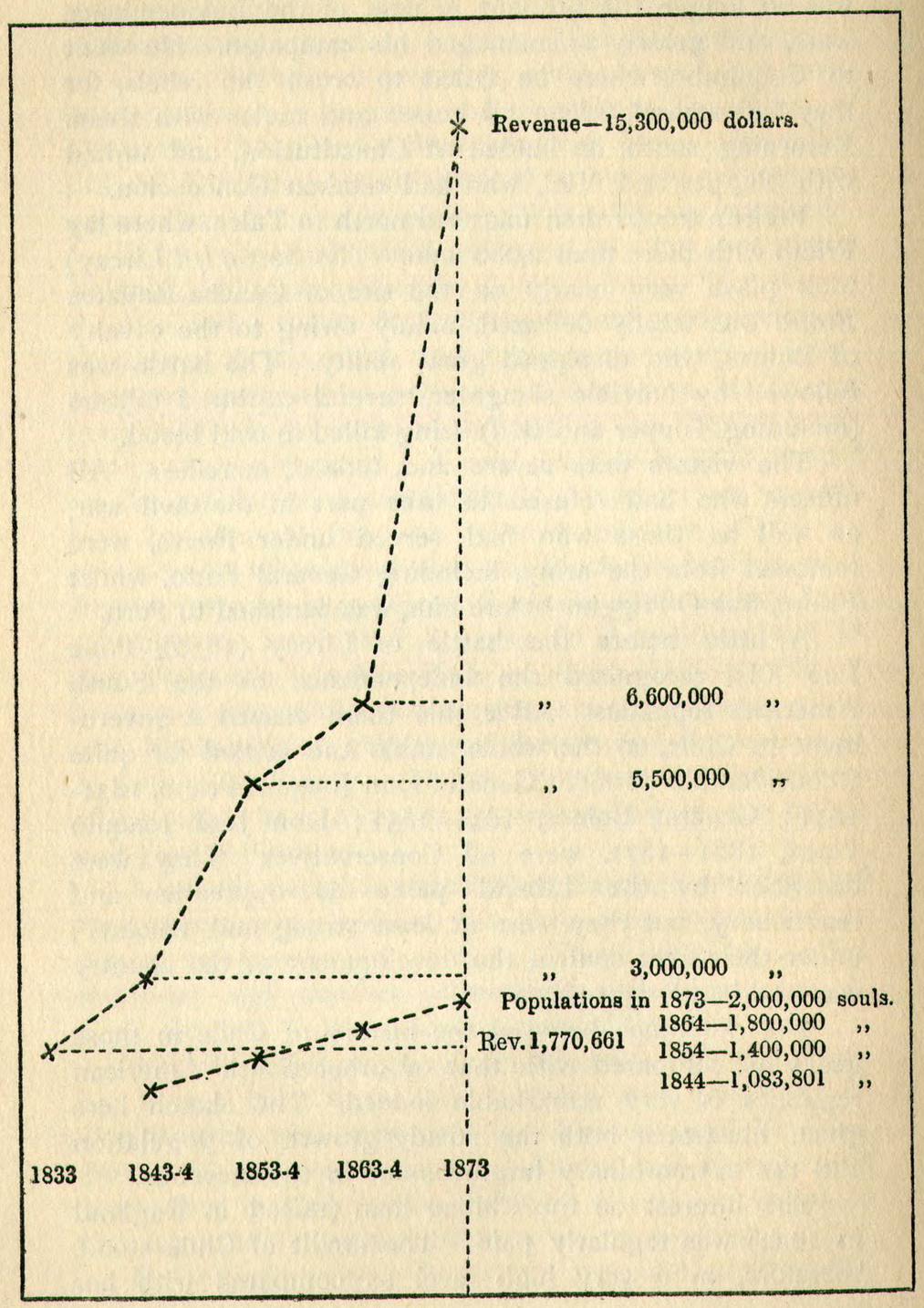
Increase of Population and Revenue from 1833—1873.



neighbours. Thus in 1853 Chilian 6 per cent. stock stood at 93; that of Venezuela was 33, of Colombia 24, and of Peru 18!

The cause, no doubt, was the normal steady development of a new country for the first time opened to the world's commerce, and preserved by careful nurses from the revolutions and other infantile diseases so general in the life history of young nations. In 1841, an American, William Wheelwright, established regular steamers between Valparaiso and Callao, and a regular line of steamers to Europe was subsidised (60,000 and then 100,000 dollars) in the year 1868.

A very large proportion of the trade—fully one-half of both exports and imports—belonged to Great Britain. The trade of Chile for the year 1873 was no less than £9,363,700.[1]

A constitution had been evolved by Don Mariano Egaña in 1833; and this remained in force until the days of Balmaceda. Moreover, the country was kept in excellent order. One authority states that it was quite usual to send any muleteer with sacks of coined money from one end of Chile to the other.[2]

Even, however, in these times, there was never any lack of excitement and interest. Life in Chile was seldom dull. It was sometimes necessary to put down disorders and Liberal revolutionaries with a firm and merciless hand.

Prieto and Portales banished opponents without mercy. It is said that the latter had remarked, "Si mi padre se metiese a revolucionario, a mi mismo padre haria fusilar."[3] (I would have my own father shot if he became a revolutionist.)

The banished Liberals went to join General Freire in Peru. A few months before the presidential elections of 1836, Freire obtained two ships, and prepared to invade Chile. Scratch crews of Chilian refugees, deserters, and

[1] These details are given in Rose Innes, "Progress and Actual Condition of Chile," 1877.

[2] "Notice sur le Chili par un Voyageur Francais."

[3] Perez Rosales, "Recuerdos del Pasado," 1814-1860.

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blackguards were, of course, easily obtained, and the *Monteaguado* and *Orbegoso* sailed towards Chiloé on their liberating mission. But everything went wrong with the attempt. The crew of the *Monteaguado* mutinied, seized the ship, and carried her into Valparaiso. There she was hurriedly fitted out with a government crew, and sent to capture her consorts at Chiloé. Both the *Orbegoso* and another ship, the *Eliza*, which Freire had seized, were obliged to surrender. All attempts at rebellion in Chile were firmly suppressed. Freire was again banished, and never again interfered in Chilian politics, although in his old age he returned and lived in Chile.

Peru had certainly behaved badly in sheltering the Chilian malcontents. Chile had been her friend. Chilian soldiers had been sent to help her in the last struggle for freedom; Peru had had a share in Chile's English Loan (1,500,000 pesos). But this was not all. A dangerous character, of the type of political-general, by name Santa Cruz, had arisen in Bolivia. He was going to unite Bolivia with North and South Peru into one republic under himself as Dictator or Protector, and this firebrand it was who now proceeded to interfere with Chilian commerce.[1] North American and European ships, which came direct to Peru without stopping at Chile, were given more favourable terms at the custom-houses than those that had visited Chilian ports. Santa Cruz had, of course, his enemies at home. The two battles, Yanacocha (1835) and Socabaya (1836), by which he had gained his position, had been bloody and desperate struggles. He had, indeed, disposed of most of his competitors by shooting the more conspicuous of them, such as Salaverry, Cerdeña, and others, in cold blood in the public place of Arequipa. But he was not at all popular with their partisans.

General Prieto had just grounds for complaint, and he despatched the Chilian navy of two ships (the *Aquiles* and *Colocolo*) under a reliable officer to Callao. This officer, Captain Garrido, was quite adequate, and, in

[1] "Notice sur le Chile," *l.c.*

August 1836, he captured the whole Peruvian navy, consisting of three ships-of-war.

In 1837 Chile, who (it must be remembered) was afraid of the balance of power in South America being turned against her, despatched General Blanco Encalada with 4,000 men to assist the opponents of Santa Cruz. The expedition was conspicuously unsuccessful: indeed it is one of the very few occasions in which Peru got the better of Chile.

Blanco, landing at Islay, proceeded to Arequipa, where he was at once blockaded by greatly superior forces. His supplies were cut off, and in the end he was obliged to surrender with his whole force to General Cerdeña (17th November 1837). After this unfortunate event the Treaty of Paucarpata was signed, and Chile had to return the Peruvian ships.

Of course such a glaring failure abroad resulted in discontent and disturbances at home. Eloquent, would-be, Liberal presidents denounced the war with Peru and started mutinies and revolutions. Colonel Vidaurre, in particular, arranged for an armed rebellion to come off at a great review at Quillota, at which the minister, Portales, was to be present.

He succeeded, for he captured Portales, and marched upon Santiago at the head of his troops. But General Blanco Encalada gathered a body of militia, and on 6th June 1837, at the heights of Baron, Vidaurre was thoroughly defeated. He himself and other leaders were captured and shot. But the minister, Portales, whilst, as a prisoner, assisting at the battle, was shot by one of Vidaurre's officers.

In 1838 General Prieto despatched a new expedition to Ancon in Peru. It was under the command of General Bulnes (apparently the nephew of Prieto), and was soon reinforced by numerous Peruvian malcontents. Bulnes advanced upon Lima. Peru was in a disturbed condition, for there were three competitors for the office of President—Generals Santa Cruz, Orbegoso, and Gamarra, the latter of whom had joined Bulnes.

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At last, on 20th January 1839, General Bulnes, with only 4,000 exhausted and starving soldiers, attacked and thoroughly defeated 7,000 Peruvians under Santa Cruz. This battle of Jungay decided the war. The losses were exceedingly heavy (900 Chilian and 3,000 Peruvian casualties).[1]

The Chilian fleet, under Robert Simpson (a well-known name in the annals of the Chilian navy), had also distinguished itself. The united Bolivian-Peruvian squadron had been defeated at Casma. Santa Cruz was brought to Chile as a sort of revered guest and prisoner of State, where his presence was distinctly embarrassing.

By the election of 18th September 1841 General Manuel Bulnes became President of Chile. He was a very distinguished soldier. It was he who had finally surprised and destroyed the Pincheira brothers, who had for so long troubled Southern Chile; he had also fought at Ochagavia and other battles. He continued the cautious Conservative policy of his predecessor. Mines were discovered at Copiapó, and colonisation began both at Magallanes, where Punta Arenas was founded in 1843, and also in Valdivia, where the first German colonists landed[2] in the same year. Towards the close of his administration the Liberals began to show signs of activity, but, nevertheless, Bulnes succeeded in appointing as his successor his minister, Manuel Montt (18th September 1851).

Once again a political soldier, Colonel Urriola, endeavoured to overthrow the government by an armed insurrection.

"There was a severe conflict with the government forces at Santiago during Holy Week, in which Colonel Urriola lost his life, and between two and three hundred were killed, and as many more wounded before the insurrection was put down—20th April."[3]

[1] In most of this chapter, Hancock's "History of Chile" is followed.
[2] Rosales, "Recuerdos," *l.c.*—"Ce que disent les colonistes, etc."
[3] Hancock, *l.c.*, p. 231.

This, however, was insufficient; General de la Cruz mutinied in the following September. General Bulnes took command of the government troops, and a hard-fought battle took place at Loncomilla, in which De la Cruz was thoroughly defeated; and at a conference held after the battle, he and his troops laid down their arms. Hancock estimates that 5,000 men were killed in these disturbances.

Montt and his minister, Varas, governed Chile with a very firm hand, but in 1858 there was trouble with the clergy. He, of course, was in reality Conservative, and therefore supported by the Church. It is not very clear how the disagreement originated, but the Archbishop Valdivieso was not upheld by the Supreme Court in a decision regarding certain priests.

Civil war broke out again. The town of San Felipe rebelled; so did the extreme north of Chile (Copiapó), and the south (Talcahuano). The leader in the north was a young man, Pedro Leon Gallo, who displayed considerable talent. He defeated the government troops under Colonel Silva Chavez at Los Loros in March 1859, and occupied Copiapó, Coquimbo, and Serena. But he had only some 2,000 soldiers, and when General Juan Vidaurre, with 5,000 government troops, attacked him at Cerro Grande, near Serena, Gallo was hopelessly defeated, and obliged to fly for his life across the Andes.

In September there was serious rioting in Valparaiso, in which General Juan Vidaurre was killed. Montt and Varas, however, succeeded in putting down all disturbances. Prominent leaders of the Liberal side, such as Gallo, Vicuña Mackenna, and Santa Maria, were banished, and the country settled down again.[1] Don José Joaquin Perez, a diplomatist who had represented Chile at both Paris and Buenos Ayres, became President in 1861. He endeavoured to follow a policy of conciliation, both with the Liberals and with the Araucanians, but these latter resented the new colonisation schemes which the President endeavoured to promote. A French adventurer, named De Tounens, who

[1] "For four months during the year 1859 the civil war raged in the north with fury. Five thousand men fell, victims to party strife." Hancock, *l.c.*

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had settled in Araucania, encouraged this discontent, and to such good purpose that he was elected Head Toqui. He thereupon styled himself King Aurélie Antoine I. of Araucania, and defied the government of Chile. Some policemen were sent south of the Malleco in disguise. They managed to obtain an interview with His Majesty, King Aurélie Antoine I. He was at once seized, placed on a fast horse, and hurried away to a Chilian prison.

In December 1863 the Christmas festivities at Santiago were interrupted by a terrible catastrophe.

Church festivals had always played a very important part in the social life of Santiago ; even in early Spanish-colonial times expensive and magnificent Church ceremonies contrasted with the squalid poverty of the people. On this occasion a particularly gorgeous *fête* was in progress ; the interior of the Jesuits' church in Santiago was festooned and decorated everywhere by light gauze, wreaths of paper flowers, painted cloth, and other inflammable material.

Lights had been, with almost inconceivable stupidity, attached to these decorations. The church was crowded with three thousand people, of whom the vast majority were women, chiefly ladies belonging to the best-known families in Santiago. Suddenly the hangings caught fire ; a panic set in, and the crowded congregation rushed for the door, which was soon completely blocked by dead bodies. It is said that at least two-thirds of the people inside were either burnt, suffocated, or crushed to death. The church was razed to the ground by order of the government, and its ruins long remained as a sign of this awful calamity. Scarcely a family in Santiago escaped bereavement.

In the years 1864-1865 certain difficulties arose between Spain and Peru. Some Basque colonists had been harshly treated, and imprisoned by the Peruvian authorities. A diplomatist, Eusebio Mazarredo, was despatched to Peru with a considerable naval force under Admiral Pinzon.

Now Peru (and Chile also) had failed to maintain an efficient navy. The Spanish sailors were intensely irritated

by the dilatory and lordly proceedings of the law courts in this miserable little republic. By way of a naval demonstration, Admiral Pinzon seized certain guano islands. Chile naturally sympathised with Peru. Some Chilian newspapers were very rude to Spain, and the corner boys in Santiago made offensive and impertinent remarks in front of the Spanish legation. At the same time, Peruvian warships were refused the liberty to coal at Valparaiso ; this, of course, was technically correct, for, in theory, Chile was neutral.

Admiral Pareja, who had replaced Pinzon, came down with his Spanish ships to Valparaiso, and proceeded to bully the Chilian government. He wanted satisfaction for these insults. He would bombard Valparaiso. The Chilian forts were to fire a salute of twenty-one guns whenever a Spanish man-of-war entered the harbour, etc., etc.

The government replied in a temperate but decided manner. No insult to Spain was intended. There was no legitimate grievance, but Chile would *not* fire the salute of twenty-one guns! On 22nd September Pareja issued another ultimatum, whilst Chile prepared for war. Upon this Pareja declared a blockade of the whole coast. As he had only seven or eight ships, that was impossible, for there were some forty ports concerned. He was obliged to reduce the number first to six ports, and then to four only (Caldera, Coquimbo, Valparaiso, and Talcahuano). But there were two Chilian men-of-war. One of them (the *Esmeralda*), after half an hour's engagement, captured the Spanish man-of-war, *Covadonga*, off Papudo, on 26th November 1866 ; the other, the *Independencia*, made prize of a Spanish launch, whilst Pareja had only captured a few peaceful merchant ships.

On 28th November Admiral Pareja committed suicide. His successor, Admiral Nuñez, confined the blockade to Valparaiso and Caldera, but he did not obtain any striking success.

Peru, Chile, Ecuador, and Bolivia, soon entered into an alliance, and declared war against Spain. Then two

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Spanish warships sought out the allied fleet in Chiloé; and they were repulsed with some loss.

On 31st March 1866 Admiral Nuñez bombarded Valparaiso for three and a half hours. About 10,000,000 dollars worth of property was destroyed, of which nine-tenths belonged to foreigners. The blockade was raised on 14th April and the Spanish fleet sailed north to Callao, where they were defeated in an artillery duel with the land batteries. Admiral Nuñez died soon afterwards, and, finally, the Spanish fleet departed; but the war did not, officially speaking, end until the year 1879. In 1868-1870 there were again Indian troubles. Parties of armed Indians crossed the border and attacked the settlements in the south; expeditions were made into Araucania, and in October 1870 the Indians were defeated and peace established, and a line of forts was built along the Malleco river.

Even so late as 1870 the government of Chile had not succeeded in obtaining any sort of religious freedom. The clergy were not amenable to civil law; civil marriages were not legal; protestants and others had no recognised right to worship.

These questions became very important in 1871, when Don Frederico Errázuriz, a skilful and astute politician, became president through a coalition of the Conservatives and moderate Liberals. But he could not withstand the inevitable progress of religious liberty, and soon found himself forced, in 1873, to pass two very moderate reforms. The clergy were to be henceforth amenable to the law, and all sects were to worship as they pleased. The Archbishop at once excommunicated all who voted for these amendments! Errázuriz was forced to abandon the Conservative position and join the Liberals, and at the next election, 1876, he was replaced by Don Anibal Pinto.

There was a rather serious financial crisis in the years 1877-1879. A deficiency of 2,000,000 dollars in the revenue caused the greatest anxiety. The wheat crops had been insufficient; California was not now so

dependent on Chile for corn as she had been; copper had depreciated enormously in value; there had been over-capitalisation and great loss in the nitrate business. Government authorised an issue of 15,000,000 (and later another of 6,000,000) dollars of paper money; the banks were also allowed to defer payment in specie until 1879. The difficulties of government can be easily realised. The landed proprietors resisted any income or land-tax. The Liberals clamoured for reductions in the customs dues.

But the events detailed in the following chapter soon brought Chile into a position of relative prosperity.

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CHAPTER XIV

WAR BETWEEN CHILE AND PERU AND BOLIVIA

Boundary questions — Bolivian finance — Seizure of Antofagasta Company's offices—Chile seizes the town and port—Peru joins Bolivia—Navies—*Huascar* and *Independencia* v. *Esmeralda* and *Covadonga*—Battle off Cape Angamos—Destruction of the *Loa* and *Covadonga*—Angamos—Storming of Pisagua by Chilians —Battle at San Francisco — Iquique abandoned — Failure at Tarapacá—Revolutions in Peru and Bolivia—Ilo seized—Battle at Los Angeles—Capture of Tacna—Arica besieged, bombarded, and taken—Bombardment of the coast—Taking of Chorrillos and Miraflores lines—Anarchy in Lima—Defeat of General Caceres—Treaty signed—Santa Maria elected President.

IT is, of course, unnecessary to point out that the early Spaniards were but slightly interested in geography. Thus when the boundaries of Chile, Peru, and Bolivia were agreed upon, and when the old Spanish provinces were taken as a basis, disputes and difficulties were inevitable.

In the year 1866 Chile and Bolivia came to the following agreement. The parallel of 24° S. lat. was to be the boundary line. Chile was to pay over to Bolivia half the customs received at the stations between 24° and 25° S. lat., and also a sum of 40,000 pesos. Bolivia was to hand over to Chile half the custom dues for the ports between 23° and 24° S. lat., and also the same amount, 40,000 pesos. As a matter of fact, Chile paid up her debts, and in 1873 not a farthing had ever been received from Bolivia. As regards the latter country, it is no doubt true that "the Bolivian officials

did not keep their accounts properly," but Barros Arana states that "not a single paper existed to show the expenditure of vast sums of money." Such a condition of affairs was, obviously, impossible of continuance.

In 1874, by a new treaty, Chile gave up her claims to these sums (for indeed they were "bad debts") on condition that Bolivia would not, for twenty-five years, exact any payment of duty beyond those then in force for the territory between 23° and 24° S. lat. Chilian interest in this district depended upon the nitrate mines. It is very important to bear in mind that the capital sunk in them was Chilian or foreign, and that the labourers were also almost all of them Chilian. According to one authority, out of every twenty people that one met in these places, seventeen were Chilenos, one was a Peruvian, one was a European, and the other was a colonel in the Bolivian army. This agreement seems to have been carried out loyally until 1876, when General Daza, by an armed revolution, became President of Bolivia.

Long before this, however, a concession had been given to the Antofagasta Company, which paid to the Bolivian government a sum of 10,000 pesos, and contracted to make certain harbour improvements and a road to Caracoles. These obligations were more than fulfilled, for the company built a railroad instead of a road.

Then, on 14th February 1878, the Bolivian National Assembly refused to carry out their treaty obligations, and imposed a tax of ten centavos per cwt. on all nitrate exported. This was described as a "minimum" tax, and naturally was a particularly barefaced robbery, remarkable in the finances even of Peru or Bolivia. Mr Hicks, on behalf of the company, protested and refused payment, whereupon the Bolivian government seized the whole of their property, works, offices, and nitrate stores, and declared its intention of exposing them for sale to the highest bidder.

Chile was naturally obliged to protect her own

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subjects and their property, and promptly seized Antofagasta. Her conduct hitherto had been mild and forbearing; perhaps dangerously so, for, as actually happened, it led to an act of inexcusable spoliation on the part of Bolivia.

Peru had not been directly concerned in these transactions. The Peruvian nitrate fields had, indeed, been annexed by the State: the proprietors received Government Bonds for the value of their properties.

But Bolivia and Peru had formed a secret treaty,[1] which was directed against Chile, and only against that country. The Argentine government had been invited, but refused to join in it. In virtue of this treaty, Peru came to the help of Bolivia, and was involved in her fate.

As soon as Chile had determined upon war there was no lack of energy in her proceedings. Antofagasta, Cobija, and Tocopilla were occupied in February 1879 by a force of some 500 men. Towards the end of March the Bolivian forces were entirely driven out of the Bolivian nitrate districts, and were in a demoralised and disorganised condition. As has been pointed out before, command of the sea is of the utmost importance on the west coast of Chile and Peru.

The navies of the two States were as follows:

PERU

Atahualpa, *Manco Capac* } Monitors, coast-defence ships.
Huascar, turret-ship (1866), 1,130 tons, 300 H.P., 2 300-pounder guns, 2 40-pounders. Armour, 4½ to 5 inches.
Independencia, ironclad, 2,004 tons, 550 H.P., 12 70-pounder, 4 9-pounder guns.
Union, wooden corvette, 12 heavy guns.
Pilcomayo, wooden corvette, 6 heavy guns.

[1] 6th February 1873.

CHILE

Almirante Cochrane, *Blanco Encalada*	Each 3,560 tons, twin-screws, 2,900 H.P., 6 9-inch M. L. Armstrong guns of 12 tons, and 9-inch armour at water-line.
Chacabuco, *O'Higgins*	corvettes, 1,670 tons, 800 H.P., 3 7-ton Armstrongs, 4 40-pounders.
Magallanes, *Abtao*, *Covadonga*, *Esmeralda*	unarmoured wooden ships, built 1854, 850 tons, and 12 4-pounder guns.

On paper, Chile certainly had, in the sister-ships *Cochrane* and *Blanco Encalada*, a distinct advantage over Peru, but, nevertheless, the Peruvian navy was formidable enough *on paper*.

The naval war opened by the blockade of Iquique, and by a smart engagement between the *Magallanes* and the two Peruvian ships, *Union* and *Pilcomayo*, off the mouth of the Loa river. The former escaped, and the *Union* was so much damaged that she had to retreat to Callao. Thereafter, the Chilian ships visited the ports and bombarded Mollendo, Pisagua, and other places.

On 21st May 1879 the Peruvian ships, *Huascar* (Captain Grau) and *Independencia* (Captain Moore), suddenly appeared off Iquique, and attacked the *Esmeralda* and *Covadonga*, which were the only two Chilian ships then present. Of course the fight was hopeless; Captain Prat of the *Esmeralda* made a splendid resistance. It was not till after four hours of heavy fire that the *Huascar* succeeded in ramming her opponent. Then Arturo Prat leapt down on to the deck of the *Huascar* calling for boarders, but the ships separated so suddenly that only one man (Sergeant Aldea) could follow him; both were immediately shot down. But the *Esmeralda* was a helpless wreck, and after being rammed three times, she sank with colours flying. Only 50 of her crew (of 200 officers and men) were saved, But the real honours of the day fell to the little *Covadonga*.

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By a series of clever manœuvres, her commander (Captain Condell) tempted the *Independencia* to chase him into shallow water, where the Peruvian ship struck and remained fast, with the little *Covadonga* steadily firing at her, until the approach of the *Huascar* made Captain Condell depart with all possible speed. The *Independencia* became a total wreck, and in fact Captain Condell won the naval war, for this lucky result gave Chile an enormous naval preponderance.

The blockade of Iquique was, however, raised, and the Peruvian *Huascar* and *Union* began a warfare against commerce and bombarded towns.

The Chilian ships were thereupon withdrawn to Valparaiso and thoroughly repaired. Then they started to catch the *Huascar* and *Union.*

These two vessels were cruising together in the vicinity of Antofagasta on 8th October 1879. Early in the morning the weather was thick and foggy. As the dawn gradually broke, the mist lifted, and they were able to make out three distinct clouds of smoke towards the north-east, near Point Angamos (the western extremity of Mexillones Bay). Admiral Grau signalled the presence of the enemy to his consort, and then hauled up to the north-west. Soon the dawning light enabled him to recognise the ironclad *Blanco*, the *Covadonga*, and *Matias Cousiño*; he was gradually increasing his distance from these pursuers, when at 7.30 A.M. three more jets of smoke came in sight in the very direction for which he was steering. It was soon discovered that they were from the funnels of the ironclad *Cochrane*, the *O'Higgins*, and the *Loa.*

The *Union* very properly took to flight and escaped, though pursued by the *O'Higgins.* The fourth shot from the *Cochrane* (Captain Latorre) jammed the revolving turret of the *Huascar*, which was worked by hand. Grau attempted to ram, but the *Cochrane*, being fitted with twin-screws, could not be caught.

At a distance of 100 to 300 yards the firing was, of course, incessant. The end came in half an hour, when

a shell from the *Cochrane* struck and ruined the *Huascar's* pilot tower, killing Admiral Grau and a lieutenant, who were blown to pieces. Her senior officer, Aguirre, was killed; then Carvajal,[1] the next in seniority, was severely wounded. Lieutenant Rodriguez succeeded in the command, and was killed; then Lieutenant Palacios was wounded. The steam steering-gear was destroyed. She surrendered after an hour and a half of very severe fighting, during which some 65 of her crew (205) were killed. Before surrendering, her crew tried to sink the ship.

The battle of Cape Angamos left Peru without any ship in the least degree capable of affecting the course of the war. The effect of torpedoes in this campaign was closely studied by all naval officers. On one occasion a torpedo was launched from the *Huascar* at the *Abtao*, but it turned round and came back straight for the ship. The *Huascar* was only saved from destruction by the heroism of Lieutenant Canseco, who jumped overboard and turned it aside.[2]

The *Loa*, a Chilian transport, was off Callao on 3rd July. She chased and captured a small Peruvian trading launch laden with chickens and grain. When hoisting in a sack of maize, there was a horrible explosion, and the *Loa* filled, and sank with more than half her crew. A dynamite bomb had been hidden in the corn.

The *Covadonga* observed an empty boat and a launch near the mole at Chancay. She sent to pick up the gig, but, when it was being hoisted in, a mine concealed in it exploded, and this Chilian ship was also lost, with her captain and many of the crew. The *Angamos*, a Chilian warship added to the fleet during the war, distinguished herself greatly in the latter part of the campaign. She was nothing but an Irish pig boat, *The Belle of Cork*, but she was the fastest ship on the coast, and had a gun which carried 8,000 yards, much farther than any of the Peruvian batteries. Thus she could do exactly as she

[1] Now Vice-Admiral.

[2] Markham, "History of Peru," p. 391.

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chose, until on one unfortunate day the gun recoiled so violently that it jumped overboard.

The land war was throughout dominated by the peculiar physical conditions of the nitrate districts. Each seaport, often with its own railway leading inland, was separated from the next harbour by miles of dry desert country which could only be traversed with the greatest possible difficulty.

Chile could attack any port that she pleased to select. The allied forces of Bolivia and Peru were necessarily subdivided in the various harbours, and as Chile ruled the coast-line, they could only be reinforced from the interior, and after great delays.

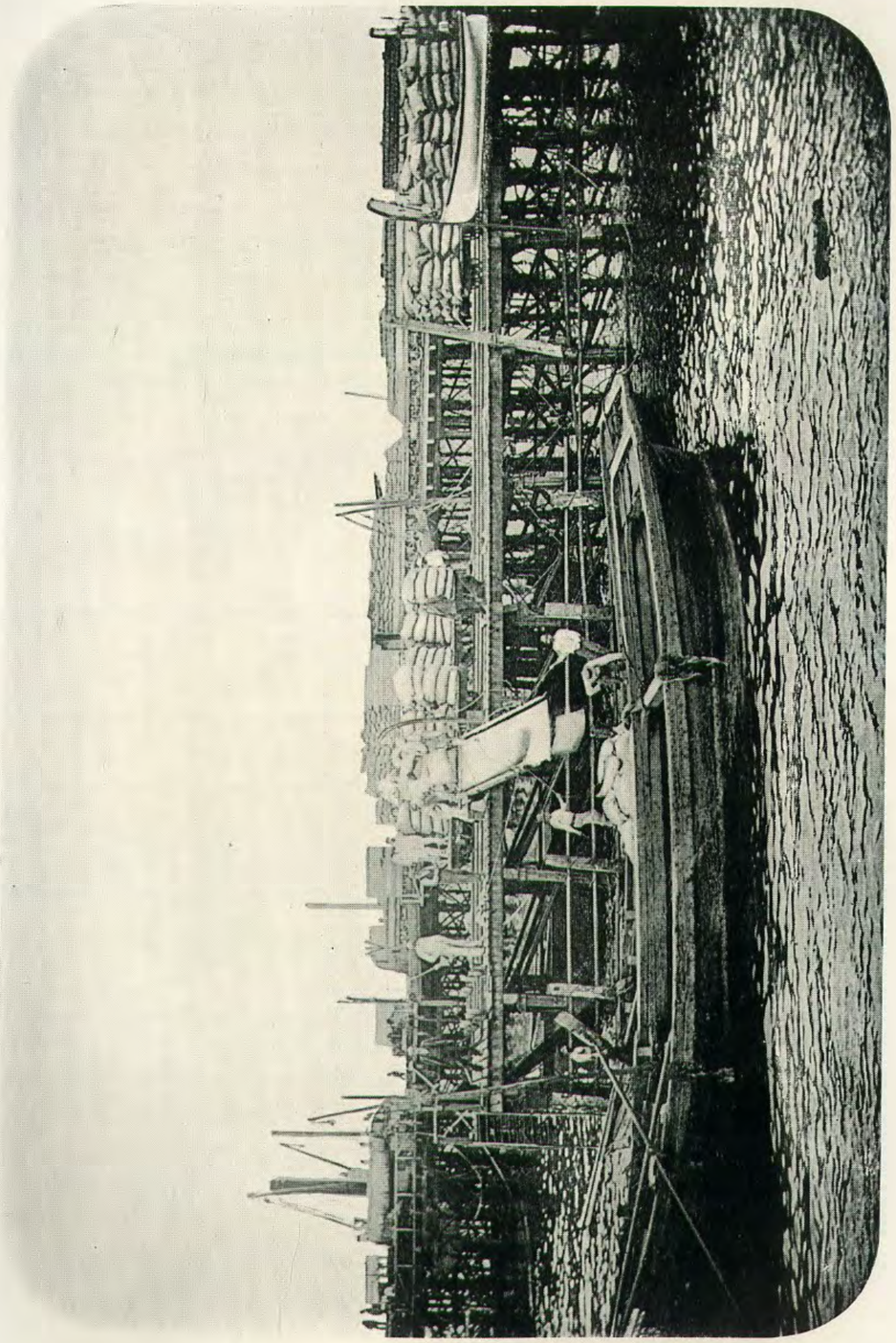
Chile had already occupied Antofagasta, Cobija, and Tocopilla. She now fixed upon Pisagua (2nd November). The main body were to land at Junin, a few miles away; the Chilian men-of-war bombarded the two batteries, placed about 3 miles apart, north and south of the town. But whilst this bombardment was proceeding, a force of 2,000 men landed directly in front of the railway.

The position was a very strong one. The hill or bluff behind the town (some 1,000 feet high) was held by the Bolivians. Then the railway line, the rocks along the sea-shore and the heaps of coal, formed excellent protection to the defenders, who fought exceedingly well.

But nothing could resist the Chilians. They landed under fire, stormed one after another all the defences, and completely routed the Bolivians, of whom many were killed.[1] They at once seized the railway line; about 350 Chilians being killed or wounded in this action.

About 2,000 volunteers joined the Chilian army here. The army, consisting of some 6,000 men and 32 guns, proceeded up the railway to the terminus at Dolores. The Chilian, General Escala, had outwitted the Peruvian Buendia, for the latter had massed some 14,000 men at

[1] These were for the most part Aymara Indians. General Buendia was in command.



LOADING UP WITH NITRATES.

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Iquique, which, of course, would have seemed the most likely place to attack.

But the position was none the less difficult. General Daza, with the Bolivians, was advancing upon them from the north, but at the last moment he lost heart, and gave the order to retreat. Even his own men were ashamed, threatening to shoot him as a coward, and his army became quite demoralised.

General Escala, however, fortified his position on the heights of San Francisco, near Dolores, sending out Colonel Vergara with the cavalry to reconnoitre. They met a small Peruvian force near Agua Santa, and cut it to pieces.[1]

General Buendia had retired to Iquique. He was short of provisions, and therefore obliged to march northwards, for the sea was closed to him. Buendia brought some 10,000 men up the Iquique railway to Pozo Almonte, and then marched over 20 miles of desert towards San Francisco. At the first water (Porvenir) he halted, and decided to reconnoitre before attacking the Chilian entrenchments.

But, by some mismanagement, the attack began immediately. The sandhills covering the railway line were too strong to be rushed. The Peruvians fought bravely, and charged the artillery more than once, but finally were driven back in disorder, and fled abandoning all their guns and ammunition. The Chilians lost 200 killed and wounded, including General Sotomayor. Nearly 300 Peruvians and Bolivians were killed.

After this defeat, the allies could only abandon Iquique and retreat north by the Andine road, through the inland oasis of Tarapacá.

After a three days' rest, an attempt was made by the Chilians to surprise this last place. This would have protected the Chilian army against any attempt at surprise or attack from the north, whither the enemy had now retreated. Tarapacá lies in a ravine with rocky

[1] Seventy out of the ninety-four Peruvian cavalry were killed.

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ground on either side of it. The Chilians marched across the desert and encamped for the night at some distance before the village.

The accounts of what happened are extremely confused and difficult to follow. The Chilians, led by Ramirez, Arteaga, and Santa Cruz, formed three columns, which were intended to attack simultaneously in the early morning. One column apparently was to intercept the retreat, another to attack directly up the ravine, and a third from the hills (from the north, south, and west). But a thick mist made all this impossible. The columns were separated, and probably lost their way. One column seems to have been overwhelmed by the entire allied forces, and the Chilians were driven back with a loss of 543 killed and 211 wounded. Eight guns and many prisoners were left behind.

But this victory did not much help the allies. General Buendia had lost 236 dead and 261 wounded, and next morning he evacuated Tarapacá, leaving behind not only the captured guns, but his own wounded, as well as quantities of rifles, ammunition, and other stores!

After these disastrous defeats, revolutions were inevitable in both Peru and Bolivia. President Daza and President Prado discreetly and quietly took steamers to Europe, whilst the Chilian navy blockaded Callao.

Along the Peruvian coast the ports north of Pisagua are from south to north as follows: Arica, with a railway to Tacna; Ilo, leading to Moquegua and the famous position of Los Angeles; Islay or Mollendo, leading to Arequipa; Pisco, leading to Ica; and finally Callao, the seaport of the capital, Lima.

The Chilian navy blockaded Arica, Ilo, and Mollendo, or Islay. The Chilian army, following the same system, seized Ilo, thus cutting off the forces of the allies at Arica and Tacna, which were about 7,000 in number.

A Chilian expedition of some 10,000 men, under General Baquedano, landed at Pacocha, the port of Ilo. They marched up the valley towards Moquegua and found

Colonel Gamarra, with some 2,000 men, awaiting them in the historic position of Los Angeles.[1]

This is situated on a mountain spur; both flanks are well defended by ravines and high ground. In front there is a long and sandy slope, as well as a ravine. It guarded the road north, and to the Capital, from Tacna and Arica. But the Chilian troops stormed Los Angeles in front, whilst a detachment attacked it in rear. This "took more than an hour," but then the Peruvians fled, leaving twenty-eight men killed.

After this victory Baquedano marched towards Tacna, across the desert from Hospicio by Buena Vista on the Sama (where they encamped for a night), to within a few miles of Tacna.

The sandhills near the town of Tacna had been carefully prepared for defence. In front of them there lay a plain which could be swept by rifle and gun-fire. General Baquedano opened with an artillery bombardment at 4,000 yards, which was maintained for an hour. The battle was stubbornly contested. There was, in fact, a moment when the Chilian line wavered—a very critical moment, which might have preceded a disaster, but the left of the Peruvian line had been turned so that it was in part enfiladed as well as attacked in front. The Chilian cavalry at the critical instant charged successfully, and restored confidence. Not even 400 or 500 yards of direct attack under the fire of the whole Peruvian army could restrain the Chilian soldiers. Early in the afternoon the allies gave way and retreated to Corocoro and Torata. The Chilian losses were very severe (2,128 killed and wounded out of some 10,000), but the allied armies must have lost a far greater number.

The invaders now came down the railway towards the sea, at Arica. South of Arica lies the Morro hill, on which there was a fort with powerful guns. The landward side of Arica was protected by a series of entrenchments and batteries; and on the north were

[1] In the Peruvian War of Independence, Valdez successfully held this position against the Patriot army.

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more batteries, and in the harbour was the *Manco Capac*, whose guns outranged any then in use in the Chilian fleet. The *Cochrane*, *Magallanes*, *Covadonga*, and *Loa*, bombarded the harbour on 5th June, but were easily driven off. The *Covadonga*, indeed, had to return to Pisagua for repairs.

The land attack on Arica began at daylight on 7th June. By 7 A.M. the whole line had been rushed, excepting only the *Morro*. But the Chilians were in a dangerous mood. Torpedoes had been used in the defence of one of the bridges, and in revenge, 400 Peruvian prisoners were shot. The *Morro* was then vigorously attacked, and it also fell before the victorious Chilians. The *Manco Capac* was blown up and sunk by her own crew to prevent her falling into the enemy's hands. The Chilians at the capture of Arica lost 372, and the Peruvians at least 700 men.

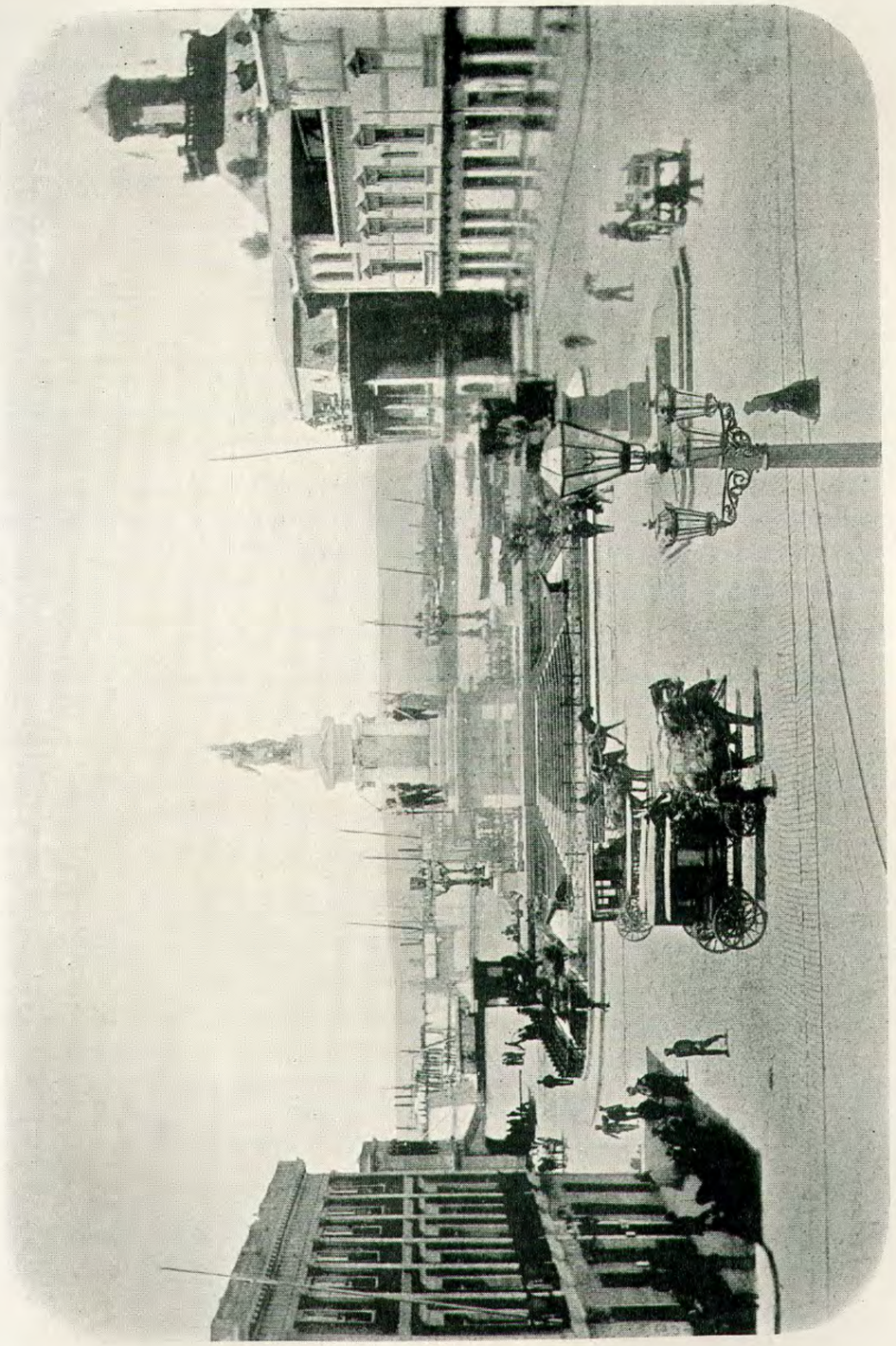
After this there followed raids along the coast, by particularly a Colonel Patrick Lynch, who burned Paita and other towns, and also destroyed many plantations. Several coast towns were also bombarded by the navy.

The next Peruvian seaport to be attacked was Pisco, which was easily occupied, as also the town and valley of Yca. Troops landed also at Chilca in November.

Lima, the Capital of Peru, was in imminent danger. General Piérola took command of the Peruvian forces, and an army of about 25,000[1] men was hastily collected to defend it. Many of the soldiers were volunteers, men of good family but without any thorough military training. On the other hand, the Chilian forces, some 23,000 to 24,000 men, were for the most part regular soldiers and in a state of fair discipline.

The positions chosen by Piérola to defend the Capital consisted of an outer line of entrenchments 6 miles long, running from the mountain Morro Solar, near Chorrillos on the coast, to the mountainous country in the east. The inner line parallel to it, but 6 miles nearer Lima, was about 4 miles long, and passed near the village of Miraflores.

[1] Hancock says that the whole of the Peruvian forces has been given at 33,500.



LANDING STAGE AT VALPARAISO.

Showing the Monument erected in honour of the Commander and Officers of the "Esmeralda," sunk during the Chili-Peruvian War, May 21st, 1879.

To *face p.* 224.

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The Chilian forces were collected in front of this formidable position by 12th January. Early in the morning on 13th January the whole Chorrillos line was attacked. The resistance was at first obstinate, particularly on the right, where General Iglesias held the Morro Solar. But San Juan village, in the centre, was carried, and the troops in this part fled in all directions. The left, being isolated, was no longer defensible, and the Peruvians in that part fled towards the inner line at Miraflores. Then the Chilian cavalry charged the fugitives, who were cut down with horrible slaughter. The right had been gradually forced back into the batteries on Morro Solar. Iglesias held out until two in the afternoon, when he surrendered.

That night was one of horrible disorder ; the Chilians occupied Chorrillos and plundered the wine-shops. If there had been any general on the Peruvian side, they could easily have been cut to pieces. An armistice was arranged on 15th January, but the Peruvian men-of-war fired on some of the Chilian troops, and the fire being returned, an attack was brought on quite against the intentions of both commanders.

A Chilian battery managed to get round the left of the Peruvian lines and enfiladed the trenches. In three hours the Peruvians were driven out, and fled in panic towards Lima.

In these battles the losses were very severe. The Chilians had 5,443 casualties, whilst there must have been at least 9,000 killed on the Peruvian side.

On 17th January 1881, Lima surrendered, the *Union*, *Atahualpa*, and other ships being destroyed to prevent their falling into the hands of Chile, and a period of anarchy followed in both Lima and Callao. Most of the troops returned to Chile, but about 10,000 were left behind to continue the war, the conditions offered by Chile even before this time being practically identical with those afterwards accepted.

In Peru, political generals abounded, but in her hour of need she had neither a soldier to drive out, nor a

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Statesman to make terms with the invaders. Chilian garrisons endeavoured to take possession of the inland valleys, and there were many skirmishes all through 1882 and 1883. Arequipa still held out, however, and the Chilians returned to the coast.

At last General Cáceres managed to gather together a force of 4,000 men. In July 1883 he attacked Colonel Gorostiaga near Huamachuco. The latter had only 1,600 Chilian soldiers, nevertheless the Peruvians were utterly routed, and lost 1,800 men between killed and wounded. The allies were fairly beaten, and Chile signed treaties of peace and truce with Peru and Bolivia in October and December 1883.

The whole of the coast-line from Tacna southward to Paposo fell to Chile along with its nitrate fields, guano deposits, mines, etc. A clause to the effect that, after ten years, the people in Tacna, Arica district, were to be allowed to choose their country, seems to have been scarcely remembered later on. Chile took over the obligations entered into by Peru to pay certain debts and bonds connected with them, and has fulfilled her engagements. On the other hand, the expenses of the war had been very heavy, being estimated at 60,000,000 dollars by the middle of 1881.[1]

The most important discovery in the war was that the Chileno made a splendid soldier. Unfortunately, there were tales of ferocity, of looting and wanton mischief, on which certain authors have laid great stress. There were cases of unnecessary bombardment of seaports and harbours which it is difficult to justify.

Neither the Spaniard of 1500-1600 nor the Araucanians were merciful and gentle in the moment of victory, and the Chileno has certainly inherited, along with the gallantry and heroism of his forefathers, some, at least, of their defects.[2]

[1] This is given by Hancock.

[2] Barros Arana, "Hist. de la Guerra del Pacifico," 1880. Hancock, "History of Chile." Markham, "The War between Chile and Peru." Mason, "War on the Pacific Coast of South America." Boyd, "Chile in 1879-1880." There are also histories by Tomas Caivano, Paz Soldan, and Moreno.

On 18th September 1881 Don Domingo Santa Maria succeeded to the Presidential chair of Chile. He was a Liberal, and, indeed, had suffered banishment for his opinions. His election was very difficult, and General Baquedano might have been appointed, but he withdrew at the last moment. In 1883, in spite of clerical opposition, a law recognising civil marriages was passed. The condition of opinion on these matters was very remarkable.

"The government refused to allow a clerical marriage any force in law, and the Church refused to allow any force in religion to a civil marriage. Women took sides with the Church, men with the government, so that there were few marriages."[1]

All this produced serious disorders, especially in the 1886 elections, in which several people lost their lives.

[1] Hancock, *l.c.*, p. 326.

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CHAPTER XV

BALMACEDA

Character of the president—His Liberal principles—The aristocratic party, the business interests, the continental press, and the clergy of Chile turn against him—The Congress appoints a Junta—The navy becomes Congressist—Blockade of Iquique and other ports—Pisagua occupied—Robles skirmishes with the Congressists and is finally defeated at Pozo Almonte—The custom-house at Iquique—H.M.S. *Warspite*—Attack on Antofagasta—Torpedo attack on the *Blanco Encalada*—Attempts to blow up the torpedo-boats—Don Vicuña Mackenna's daughter—The guerilla at Los Cañas—Congressists disembark at Quinteros—Battle of Concon—Repulse at Viña del Mar—Battle near Valparaiso—Suicide of Balmaceda—His testament—Amnesty.

DON JOSÉ MANUEL BALMACEDA was returned President in 18th September 1886. He was "about fifty years of age, six feet in height, of spare build, (with) a broad sloping forehead, a good-humoured eye and wearing usually in his face a half-playful, half-cynical smile."[1]

He was a sincere, enthusiastic Liberal. Indeed, his return to power was a triumph for his principles; Chile had never had, since 1823, the privilege of a truly Liberal government!

But in every country Liberal parties suffer from a great disadvantage. The view of the pure Conservative that all changes, of whatever kind they be, must be earnestly resisted, is quite simple and straightforward; it admits of no differences of opinions: the party votes solid. But amongst Liberals there are all the transitions between the

[1] Hervey, "Dark Days in Chile."

red-hot Radical-Socialist and the moderate Whig. There are all conceivable shades of opinion, and hence disappointment and squabbles within the party are inevitable.

Moreover, Balmaceda was both clever, capable, and sincere, which last is a dangerous quality in any Liberal leader. Senators and deputies were prohibited from having any pecuniary interest in public contracts. Under his government neither the president nor any highly-placed official was allowed to find lucrative posts for their relatives. Of course, this was magnificent, but to the average Chilian politician it was certainly not business. The President, too, was determined to educate the people, and no less than 1,500 schools with 100,000 pupils were established by him at a cost of 3,000,000 dollars a year.[1] A generous support was given to the public vaccination offices, hospitals, fire-brigades, and other progressive institutions.

But Chile is only nominally a republic; it was then, and is now, an oligarchy governed and directed by a few very rich Santiago families whose influence was of the same nature as that of the great British families—the Cecils and others in England—only more so. These families had no doubt Liberal sentiments of the most elevated character, and expressed them with eloquence and at great length, but they had no desire to raise the populace to their own level. Thus very soon Balmaceda found that the influence of the powerful Santiaguino families was strongly opposed to him.

This was not all, for, in a speech at the opening of the Santiago exhibition, at Santiago, 25th November 1888, he had said:

"Why does the credit and the capital which are brought into play in all kinds of speculations in our great cities hold back and leave the foreigner to establish banks at Iquique, and abandon to strangers the exploiting of the nitrate works of Tarapacá, from which emanates the sap which gives life to the old world, and to carry which fleets of merchant vessels never cease to arrive and depart?

[1] Hancock, "A History of Chile."

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The foreigner explores these riches, and takes the profit of its native wealth, in order to give to other lands and unknown people the treasures of our soil, our own property, and the riches we require."[1]

In other speeches he had, not at all obscurely, hinted that Chile was made for the Chilians, and not for the benefit of foreigners. This had turned against him not only the rich English and German communities of Valparaiso and the nitrate fields, but also their home governments. The newspaper press of England and the Continent was entirely opposed to Balmaceda, and, in consequence, two new warships, which might have given him the victory, were not allowed to reach Chile till the war was over.

In December 1887 there already existed 1,096 kilometres of railway line, and another 1,369 kilometres, at a cost of £3,517,000, were to be laid down in the ensuing year. In spite of these and other expenses we find that there was a surplus of 25,000,000 dollars on 1st January 1889. This was after the costly war with Peru, and is certainly a distinct proof of Balmaceda's great administrative ability.

But when Balmaceda began to touch the endowments of the Roman Catholic Church, his fall became a certainty. Ecclesiastical fees and stipends had been by him sternly reduced; civil marriages, with the resulting loss of fees to the priests, had been established, and, in consequence, his ruin was only a matter of time.

In Chile, as indeed in all Roman Catholic countries, but particularly so in Chile, every woman has exactly those opinions which her confessor requires of her, and is to a great extent under his control. Now the clergy and women of Chile are far too strong a combination for any politician to resist.

How far was Balmaceda justified? There are historical examples in plenty of the danger of suddenly emancipating the Sovereign People; perhaps the Russia of our own times is the most flagrant example in all history, but it is the

[1] "Foreign Office Miscellaneous Series," No. 122, 1889.

duty of a foreigner neither to applaud nor to criticise, but to set down clearly and exactly what happened.

Towards the end of 1890 Balmaceda had roused against him every party in Chile, except those few Liberals who were actually in office. The particular pretext chosen for attacking him did not matter. Whether his conduct in acting as a dictator was constitutional or unconstitutional is not of very much importance, though this is what occupies most space in the histories of this unfortunate period. No one could prove his conduct to be illegal. Balmaceda, appointed under the Constitution of 1833, could, and did, prorogue and dissolve Congress when he wished to do so. When Congress refused to vote supplies, Balmaceda pointed out that he would use public money to maintain the army and navy without any authority from Congress; and he did so. In February 1891 he issued paper money for 12,000,000 pesos, and again he raised another large sum on 11th July.

When (2nd January 1891) Abraham König, the auditor of war, declared that there was, for want of control, no army in the country, Balmaceda removed him from his post the very next day.

Congress could obviously only gain its end by war. Therefore it met without the president's sanction, deposed Balmaceda, and appointed a Junta, consisting of Captain Jorje Montt (of the Navy), Waldo Silva (Vice-President of the Senate), and Barros Luco (President of the Chamber of Deputies), which action was, of course, illegal.

A naval division was, or had already been, organised "to re-establish the constitutional *régime*." This, of course, meant war, not politics, and must be described accordingly.

The navy at once declared for Congress. It consisted of the *Blanco Encalada*, *O'Higgins*, *Esmeralda*, *Almirante Cochrane*, *Magallanes*, and *Huascar*. Against these Balmaceda could only employ two torpedo-boats (*Lynch* and *Condell*). The commanders of these boats were decoyed on shore at Punta Arenas, and promptly imprisoned by the president's representative; the *Lynch*

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and *Condell* were, later on, of great service in the war, under officers appointed by Balmaceda.

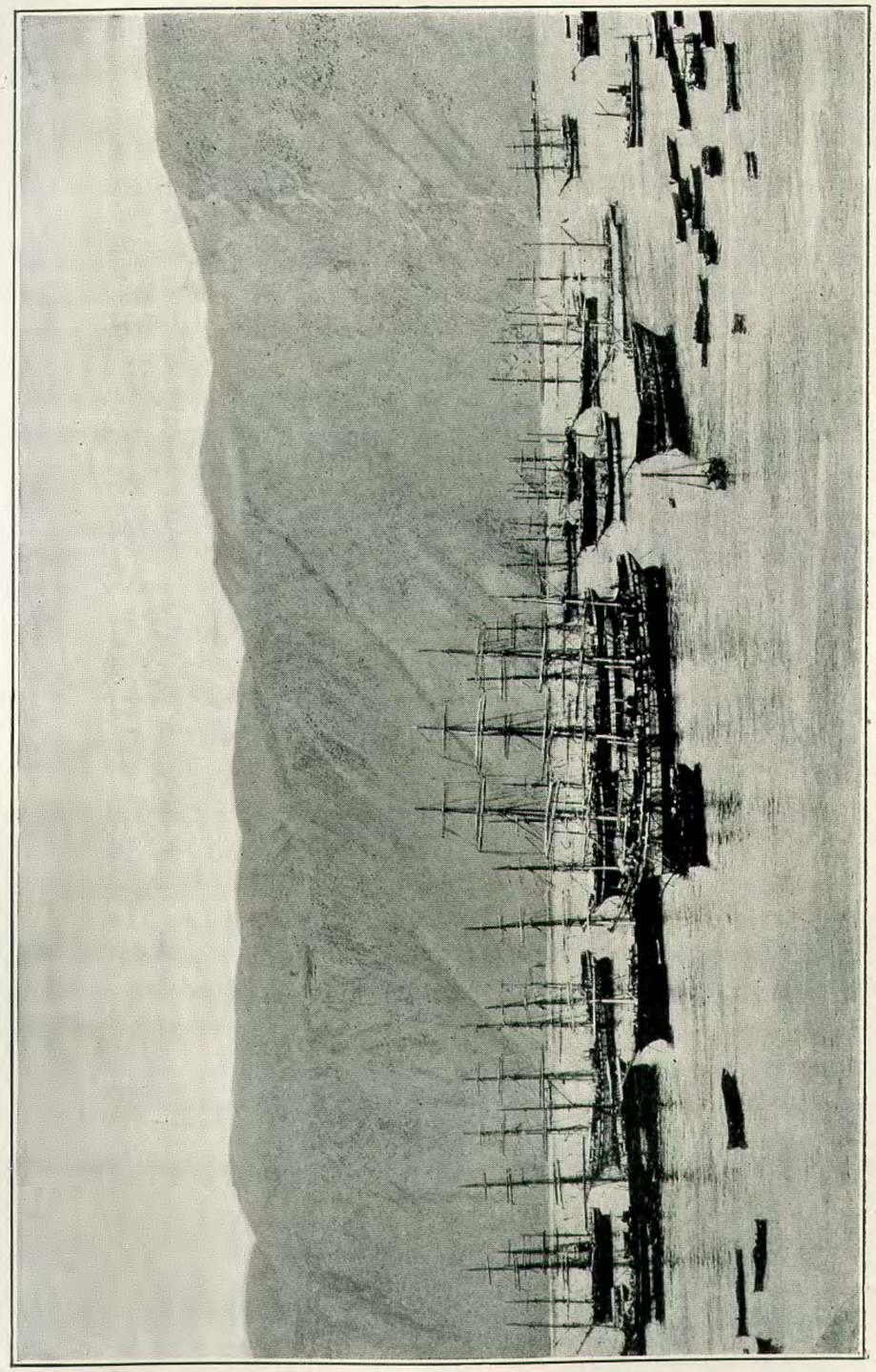
On the other hand, the army was devoted to him. There were several attempts to produce mutiny amongst his troops, but they were always unsuccessful. One of his first measures was to place the army on a war footing, and increase the pay by fifty per cent.

But the peculiar inaccessibility of the northern or nitrate districts placed Balmaceda in a very difficult position, so long as the Congressists retained command of the sea. The nitrate ports had, if possible, to be retained, for the possession of them meant the control of large sums of money. Garrisons in these ports were liable to be overwhelmed in detail. They could neither assist one another nor be reinforced from Valparaiso without the most serious difficulty. Moreover, it was difficult or impossible to communicate with the troops in the nitrate districts. The enemy could land wherever he chose, without any warning being received at Valparaiso.

The Congressist navy at once proceeded north, and blockaded Iquique and Pisagua; then Coquimbo, Serena, and Chañaral were captured without any serious fighting.

On 19th January 1891 Pisagua rebelled, and was occupied by the Congressist troops, whereupon the Balmacedist leader, Colonel Robles, a brave old soldier over seventy years of age, advanced against them. On 21st January he had reached Zapiga, close to Pisagua, and there defeated them, the Congressists losing five killed and thirteen wounded. After this, Pisagua was occupied by the Balmacedists, and Colonel Robles seems to have departed for Iquique, going by sea as far as Patillos.

During his absence, Pisagua was bombarded for nearly four hours by the Congressists, and finally surrendered to them on 6th February. The Congressists had by this time obtained many recruits (Robles complained that they held out hopes of plundering the towns), and a body of 1,800 men, advancing south from Pisagua and Zapiga, surprised Colonel Robles at San Francisco, near Huara. The latter, who had only 300 men, was, of course, defeated.



SHIPS AWAITING CARGOES OF NITRATE AT IQUIQUE.

From Robinson Wright's "Republic of Chile," by permission of Messrs. G. Barrie & Sons.

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He withdrew to Huara in the Pampa, where he received reinforcements, and on 15th February 1891 he was again attacked, and a well-fought battle, described as "tenaz i sangrienta," resulted, which lasted for four and a half hours. The Congressists were defeated, and lost 250 killed; still, about 88 Balmacedists were killed, and a great many wounded.

But the Balmacedist forces under Robles, Gana, Soto, Arrate, and Camus were dispersed and divided. Colonel Robles seems not to have been a particularly skilful tactician, and did not succeed in concentrating them for the inevitable struggle which was to follow. The trial of strength came off at Pozo Almonte (between Iquique and Pisagua) on 7th March 1891. The Congressist army, under Canto, consisted of 2,600 men, 3 field-guns, with gatling-guns and cavalry. Their position was across the railway line on three small hills to the south of the town; whilst the right wing occupied a hill on the west of the railway, and the left wing was in the buildings of the Carmen *oficina*.

Colonel Robles ordered a general charge, and advanced to take the position by the bayonet, but Colonel Canto, the Congressist officer, was prepared for this attempt. His cavalry charged the advancing Balmacedists in flank, and cut them to pieces. Their defeat was final and complete, and Colonel Robles himself was killed, the Balmacedists losing 380 men, whilst 76 Congressists were killed and 156 wounded.

Iquique having been seized by the Congressists on 16th February, the Balmacedist, Colonel Soto, was detached to retake this important place. But the Congressist, Merino Jarpa, with a small number of sailors, occupied the custom-house, and kept up so vigorous a fire on the opening of the streets leading to the Plaza, that Colonel Soto made no progress. The town was set on fire, and the confusion and disorder within it became increasingly horrible. H.M.S. *Warspite* was in the harbour, and Admiral Hotham, under a flag of truce, endeavoured to arrange an armistice so as to

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protect British property, and to save useless fighting. A conference between Jarpa and Soto was held on board this battleship, but it nearly ended in a tragedy, for Soto, hearing the sound of firing, called out "We are betrayed!" and threatened Jarpa with his revolver. Admiral Hotham himself (or Hedworth Lambton, who was also present) had to interpose, and succeeded in "Calmar i detener al nervioso colonel" (*restraining and quieting the nervous colonel*).[1]

The Congressists had gained a firm hold on land, both at Iquique and at Pisagua. It was soon to be the turn of Antofagasta.

The Balmacedists had, on 9th March, fired at the Congressist boats there carrying men to the ships; one of the boats lost her oars, and drifted on the rocks, where the crew of twenty-three men were killed. On the 16th the *Blanco Encalada* appeared and avenged this outrage. As the railway line and the machinery for condensing water were fully exposed to the fire of the battleship, her commander refused to allow any trains to run, or the fires at the waterworks to be lit. The whole population in consequence suffered horribly from thirst for no less than thirty-six hours!

By 19th March Holley's division had disembarked at Coloso. The Balmacedists retired up the railway line from Antofagasta to Calama, and thence into Bolivia, and by 6th April 1891 all the Balmacedist troops had been forced out of the nitrate provinces either to Mollendo in Peru or to Bolivia.

On a certain evening the *Blanco Encalada*, the finest battleship in the Congressist navy, and the transport *Aconcagua*, were peacefully anchored in Caldera harbour. About half-past three on a grey, misty morning, a boat of some sort was observed drawing near the cruiser. Suddenly the craft steamed at full speed to within 100 yards of the *Blanco*, and discharged a torpedo at her. It missed; she then sent a second, which struck the *Blanco* in the bows. Of course every gun and

[1] There is an account by Jarpa himself of the battle of the Custom-house of Iquique in the "Memorandum de la Rev." quoted below.

gatling was turned on this audacious torpedo-boat, which was the *Condell*. But whilst a storm of shot and shell was pursuing her, the *Lynch* had stolen up to within pistol shot of the cruiser, and torpedoed the battleship full and square amidships. The *Blanco Encalada* sank within three minutes, and 245 of her crew were killed.[1]

The *Condell* (Captain Moraga) and the *Lynch* (Captain Fuentes) now returned to destroy the transport *Aconcagua*, but another battleship was observed entering the harbour, and they, supposing it to be the *Esmeralda*, quickly departed. But it was only H.M.S. *Warspite*, so they returned to their prey, only to find the *Aconcagua* snugly and securely moored under the shore batteries.

These torpedo-boats made several cruises, but they could not repeat their success, for the Congressist ships only remained in the harbours when protected by batteries on shore. Indeed the torpedo-boats were nearly captured on more than one occasion. The *Imperial*, 3,300 tons, a steamer hastily armed with a few powerful guns, accompanied them on these cruises.

Later on, when repairing in Valparaiso, these three ships very narrowly escaped destruction. An Italian came to the authorities and gave certain information. The bunks of a certain Sepulveda and others were hurriedly searched, and infernal machines just on the point of explosion were discovered. The loaves of bread on board the three vessels were also found to contain packets of dynamite. A half-breed Englishman, Ricardo Cummings, had offered some Austrian and Italian ruffians 30,000 dollars for every ship blown up!

The *Lynch* was in Valparaiso bay on the closing day of the war, and a murderous fire was directed on the "execrated devil's" ship.

"The unfortunate crew realised that they were doomed men, and in desperation replied with the gatling-guns. So hot was the fire from shore, however, that nothing could live. Five men tried to escape in a boat, but were

[1] Moraga's own account of the affair is given by Hervey, *l.c.*

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riddled almost immediately. Two poor wretches swam for their lives, but foolishly climbing upon a mooring buoy, were shot."[1]

The *Lynch* and *Condell* were new boats, built at Laird's, with twin-screws, powerful electric searchlights, and five torpedo tubes. The two following incidents have been much discussed.

Don Claudio Vicuña had been appointed by Balmaceda as his successor, and was therefore detested by the Congressists at Santiago.

"This evening at about six o'clock," wrote Don Claudio, "during my absence at the Moneda, my daughter was writing some letters for me at this table. Suddenly she heard a crash of broken glass, followed by a loud explosion at the street end of the room. There has been so much bomb work lately that she instinctively guessed what had happened. But before she could collect herself sufficiently to make a rush for the door, a second bomb was hurled in, and rolled almost to her feet, providentially without exploding. This she picked up and threw out of the other window into the patio. Then seeing that some brown paper was smouldering in a half-open box of rifle cartridges, she quickly dashed a large jug of water over it. . . . But my brave girl, recollecting that I had gone out unarmed, took my big Colt revolver and started forth, alone, to meet me on my way back from the Moneda"[2] (*i.e.* the Mint, then used as the Government office).

This, indeed, was "not bad for a sixteen-year-old *niña*," as Don Claudio Vicuña himself remarked.

The other incident was on 18th August 1891. It was at this time essential for Balmaceda to preserve the railway line from the Capital. A guerilla band had been reported in the farmhouse of Las Cañas on the line. A party of 130 men under Alejo San Martin and Vidaurre surrounded the place and captured them. Eight were shot at once; others were, after a court martial, sent back to the place to be shot. The fact that this guerilla

[1] Hancock, "History of Chile," p. 365.
[2] Hervey, *l.c.*

consisted of young men, some not more than sixteen years of age, and all belonging to the best families in Santiago, led to a storm of execration against Balmaceda.

But, horrible though it sounds to British people, such acts are quite usual in South American revolutions. The Germans in the Franco-Prussian war are said to have killed six men from the nearest village whenever civilians interfered with them.

We must now return to the general history of the war. In July, the Congressists, having received a large quantity of repeating rifles, artillery, and war material embarked and came south. Telegraph and telephone lines had been cut, and Balmaceda seems scarcely to have known their intentions before the news arrived that they were actually disembarking at Quinteros, a little north of Valparaiso. By 20th August 1891, 9,284 men under Colonel Canto had landed at this place, and starting at daybreak, had, by nine in the morning, marched 25 kilometres to the hills at the mouth of the Rio Aconcagua, near Concon.

At this place the river flows through a flat valley, which is from 600 to 800 yards in width, and is bordered by lines of hills from 450 to 600 feet in height. Balmaceda's troops were on the southern hills on the Valparaiso side, where their line was about 4 kilometres in length. They were about 11,000 in number, but were only armed with old rifles, whereas the Congressists had repeating Mannlicher rifles of the newest pattern.

The Congressists did not hesitate before this formidable position. Körner, with the first brigade, at once advanced, forded the icy-cold river Aconcagua, which is here about 3 feet deep, and advanced to the attack; the second and third brigades followed, crossing the river higher up, near Concon Alto.

At the same time the ships of the naval squadron advanced, and their guns enfiladed the lines of the Balmacedists. This crossfire produced the most horrible destruction, and the advanced guard in particular was almost exterminated. After four and a half hours, and

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when Körner was actually rolling up the enemy's line, the Balmacedists fled in complete disorder. They had had about 1,700 killed and wounded, and 1,500 were made prisoners, whilst the Congressists had 869 casualties.

This battle of Concon was, of course, a decided victory for the Congressists. But on advancing towards Viña del Mar, the Balmacedists were discovered in a strongly fortified position. Fort Callao, on the Balmacedist left or shore flank, was strong enough to keep off the squadron, and the hills round Viña del Mar formed an excellent place for defence.

Here the Congressists were repulsed. Their position was in the highest degree critical, for until now, Balmaceda had been able to use the railway, and train after train had carried reinforcements into Valparaiso.

Canto fell back to Salto, and destroyed the railway bridge. It was then decided to make a wide *détour* of some 60 miles by Las Palmas and Las Cadenas, so as to attack Valparaiso from the south-east, near Placilla.

This decision seems a most extraordinary one. It has been usual in descriptions of this campaign to expatiate on the skilful strategy of Körner, who accompanied General Canto, but this was a three days' flank march of 60 miles through difficult country, and between Valparaiso and Santiago, where there must have been (in each place) superior forces.

But the Balmacedist generals, Barbosa and Alcerreca, appear to have had no intelligence of this movement. Their cavalry was certainly untrustworthy, for 400 joined the Congressists. At any rate, they did nothing, and allowed the Congressists to carry out this dangerous movement.

It was a cold and dark night; the country was broken, covered with trees, and full of small streams, marshes, and muddy places. Hundreds of tired-out stragglers slept out under the trees, but eventually the Congressists reached Las Cadenas, where they slept during the night, 27-28th.

At six o'clock that evening the leaders assembled

in the farmhouse at Las Cadenas. Körner sketched on the floor of the room with charcoal the position of the enemy and the route to be followed by each division on the morrow.

The Balmacedists were upon the hills above Placilla. They were some 14,000 in number, and occupied a position some 3-4 kilometres in length. The left flank was protected by wooded ravines, and the right flank was placed on very high ground.

The Congressists had started between 4 and 5 A.M. The two first brigades had approached, and were apparently under cover of the hills, before the Balmacedists caught sight of them. The right of the Congressists was soon pressing hard on the Balmacedists, so much so, that the latter's artillery had been turned against them. But the Congressist left also attacked the enemy, swarming up on to the high ground. Finally, the cavalry got on to the hills and came down sword in hand on the Balmacedist lines: Hussars of the Constitution, Guides, and Lancers. A horrible slaughter followed, and Balmaceda's troops fled in all directions. Both the generals, Barbosa and Alcerreca, were killed, and, indeed, the loss was exceedingly heavy on both sides. There were 941 dead, and 2,422 wounded amongst the Balmacedists, and the Congressists lost 485 dead, and 1,315 wounded.

Valparaiso was immediately occupied by the troops, but during the following night both soldiers and mob seem to have been entirely out of control. Scenes of drunkenness, bloodshed, debauchery, and plunder disgraced the streets of Valparaiso; houses were set on fire, and ruffians shot at the firemen, who tried to put out the flames. Next morning four or five hundred dead bodies were lying in the streets.

In Santiago, Balmaceda had given a dinner party on the evening of the 28th. He had then issued a proclamation earnestly beseeching the citizens to preserve order during the crisis, and to prevent bloodshed and plunder. On the 29th, in a short and dignified speech, he abdicated, appointing General Baquedano governor of the city until

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the will of the people should be known. Then he disappeared altogether.

He had taken refuge in the house of his friend, Señor Uriburu, the Argentine Minister. On 18th September following — Independence Day — the very day on which his term of office expired, Balmaceda committed suicide. By his death he supposed that his friends would obtain better terms.

With Señor Uriburu he left his political testament, which is, unfortunately, too long to quote in full. The last words run as follows :

"Cuando ustedes i los amigos me recuerden, crean que mi espiritu con todos sus mas delicados afectos estará en medio de ustedes."

"Whenever you and the friends remember me, believe me that my spirit, full of the tenderest love, will be amongst you."

On 20th December 1891 an amnesty was proclaimed. It was not quite a general amnesty, for Balmaceda's Congress, naval captains, colonels, and a few others were expressly excepted, but on the whole it was a generous and adequate act of pardon.

As a matter of fact, the horrible ferocity of this fratricidal war, as well as the destruction of property and general suffering, had affected everybody. The chastisement was, indeed, severe, but the lesson has been fully appreciated by, at any rate, the present generation of politicians and commercial men.[1]

[1] For the Balmacedist civil war the best account is most certainly "Memorandum de la Revolucion de 1891. By an Ayudante del Estado Major General," which contains original documents. Hervey's "Dark Days in Chile" should be consulted, also Hancock, "History of Chile."

CHAPTER XVI

MODERN CHILE

Boundary questions—Tierra del Fuego—Argentine side—Watershed and highest peaks—The King's Award—Chile in different regions —President Montt and the government—Education—Alcaldes—Share of foreigners in commerce—English descent—Assimilative power of the country—Working-classes—Scanty population—Curandera—Sanitation—Angelitos—Debt—Stories of brigands—Specialists—Expenses of hotels—Comforts—Horses—Servants.

SINCE the terrible internal struggle described in the preceding chapter, Chile has enjoyed a peaceful interval, during which her progress has been steady and assured.

The difficult questions connected with the boundary between Chile and Argentina have at last been satisfactorily solved.

On 23rd July 1881, the disputed area in the south (Tierra del Fuego and near Punta Arenas) was definitely and clearly limited, and Chile obtained that port in which her colony had been established for nearly forty years, and about 15,725 square kilometres of land.[1] But in the north there was plenty of opportunity for misunderstanding, and for a time every keen soldier in Chile and Argentina was, metaphorically, sharpening his sword.

It is not necessary to give full details of this matter, for it is very fully described in a recent and quite charming work by Sir Thomas Holdich.

It was an ancient story. It will be remembered that the Pehuenche Indians in Spanish colonial days, and the Pincheira brothers in the times of the Revolution used to cross the Andes to plunder in Chile and return in safety

[1] Holdich, "Countries of the King's Award," p. 49.

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with their plunder to Argentine territory. A treaty was made between the two countries in 1881, which ran as follows: "The frontier line shall run in that extent (or through that part) over the highest summits (or most elevated crests) of the said Cordilleras which divide (or, which may divide) the waters, and shall pass between the slopes which descend to one side and the other (or, between the sources flowing down on either side)."

This appears quite a definite boundary, but in actual fact it was found to be quite impossible.

The watershed and the highest summits do not coincide. Many of the turbulent Chilian rivers have cut right across the Andes and captured lakes and river-systems on the other side. At one place Dr Moreno set a band of men to work on a bed of shingle, and without very severe labour diverted a Chilian stream into an Argentine one! Sometimes the lakes drain in both directions, to the Atlantic and Pacific according to the particular season of the year!

"The Patagonian rivers were found to flow from east to west right athwart, or transverse to, the general trend of the Andine mountain system from north to south. They were found to break across the great mountain masses and to intersperse wide valleys, across which the boundary must either be carried from one mass of peaks to the next, or else be made to skirt the indefinite edge of Cordillera and Pampas where the two insensibly combine, and where these rivers rise. A very little examination proved the incompatibility of 'highest crests' with 'water-parting' as a fixed principle of demarcation."[1]

The exploration carried out by Chilians and Argentines during the years following represents an extraordinary amount of labour, and, indeed, the resulting benefit both to geography and other sciences has been incalculable. There were hundreds of square miles on which neither European nor Indian had apparently set their feet. Savage

[1] Holdich, *l.c.*, p. 50.

forests existed, so tangled that even the birds can scarcely enter them.

When high-spirited young cavalry officers found rival patrols established on what was supposed to be their own territory, the danger of an appeal to arms became very threatening indeed.

A protocol was signed, however, on 1st May 1893 in Santiago providing for a settlement of the outstanding questions, the preamble stating that it was "animated by the desire of removing the difficulties which have embarrassed or might embarrass them (the experts) in the fulfilment of their commission, and of establishing between both States a complete and cordial understanding in harmony with the antecedents of brotherhood and glory common to both, and with the ardent wishes of public opinion on either side of the Andes."

After all, however, this protocol was found not to decide the questions in dispute, and eventually they were referred to arbitration.

Chile and Argentina accordingly appointed King Edward VII. arbitrator in this extremely difficult affair. A commission, consisting of Colonel Sir T. H. Holdich, R.E., Captain Robertson, Captain Dickson, Captain Thompson, and Lieutenant H. A. Holdich, was despatched to examine the territory in dispute. The Award of the King was given towards the end of 1902.

As regards the territory in dispute, the result is best given in Sir Thomas Holdich's own words:

"The King's Award assigns to Argentina the Lake Lacar depression, the valleys of Foyel, Nuevo, Cholilla, Percey, 16th October, Corcovado and the Upper Pico, all north of 44° 30′; and to Chile the valley of the Frias, all the Aysen basin except a few leagues at the head of the Simpson, the Tamango, and the whole of the Maravilla and Toro basins of the Ultima Esperanza district in Magallanes territory except the Upper Viscachas. It divides two not unimportant valleys—the Ieinemeni and the Meyer—between the two states."[1]

[1] Holdich, *l.c.*, pp. 51 and 403.

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In some respects this Award certainly did disappoint the Chilians, but they have loyally adhered to the agreement.

Theodore Child, in his interesting and lively account of Chile, thus describes the country:

"Chile, which on the map appears to be 2,000 miles long and about 2 inches broad, extends from 17° 47′ southward to Cape Horn, and measures more than 2,500 miles in length, while the breadth of the territory from the Andes to the Pacific varies from 100 to 180 miles." [1]

As we have already pointed out in the first and second chapters of this book, it is not one country, but a series of quite separate regions, with different climates, vegetations, and industries. It is these varying territories with their resultant characteristics that gives to Chile a value, an importance in the world, and an interest to every traveller, quite out of proportion to its square mileage. Desert Chile, with its nitrates and mines of copper, silver and other minerals, is one of the most remarkable monuments to man's industry in the whole world. It is unique, unlike the rest of Chile, and, indeed, like no other place save itself.

Valparaiso, chosen originally for its forests, has become a great cosmopolitan business centre. In the past, it was British enterprise, chiefly Liverpool men and Liverpool firms, that developed the city; now, alas! the ubiquitous German is rapidly gaining a strong foothold in the trade.

Santiago is essentially a city of Old Spain, but the ruling and richer classes are affected by French ideals. The youthful exquisites of Santiago are excellent variants of the Parisian, of the type of the *boulevardier*. Here is the seat of government, the true Chilian metropolis. The hopes of all better-class Chilians seem to be centred in Santiago, and if forced to live elsewhere, they long for Santiago in the way that every well-to-do Frenchman mourns for Paris. It is in the neighbouring districts that one finds the rich irrigation, the vineyards, the rich crops of wheat and maize,

[1] Child, "The Spanish-American Republics."



THE SOUTHERN PRECIPICE OF ACONCAGUA.

From "The Highest Andes," by E. A. Fitzgerald, by permission of Messrs. Methuen & Co.

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the valuable alfalfa pastures and agriculture of a distinctly Spanish or Midi type.

Concepción, on the other hand, is a strong and vigorous city, living on a thriving agricultural population, who grow beans, wheat, cattle and horses without usually any irrigation. The frontier, as it is still called, is in touch with new farms, land newly acquired from the forest, and where timber, tanning materials, and such like can still be obtained. The coal mines of this zone also are of real importance.

Valdivia is a German settlement. Teutonic taste has produced the breweries which supply the beer drunk all over Chile, and Teutonic industry is responsible for all sorts of industries which are now thriving and vigorous in that rainy climate.

The Pacific slope of the south may be considered as a huge forest. Possibly it may be at some future time the centre of a gigantic lumber industry. But in many of its valleys, the explorers Steffen and others (between 1890 and 1902) were the very first men to cut a path of sorts through untrodden and difficult forests.

Magallanes, again, consists essentially of huge sheep and cattle ranches, with a few minor industries (gold-mining, coal mines, etc.). The farming is mainly on Australian methods, though with several interesting peculiarities.

The valley of Lakes running north and on the east side of the Andes is probably destined to be thickly inhabited by a farming population, not unlike that in the Eastern United States, but it is at present new country, and scarcely peopled at all.

Various as these districts are, Chile is politically unified, and all Chilians are intensely patriotic. Even the British exiled in Chile are, for the most part, almost enthusiastic about it, which is a very unusual circumstance in the case of Britons. The country is, of course, a Republic, with a government which is obviously modelled upon French, English, and United States models. The President is at present Señor Don Pedro Montt (1906);[1] he is

[1] The present president is Señor Montt.

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elected for a term of five years, and cannot be re-elected. He receives a not very magnificent salary of 30,000 pesos (£2,250), and his functions are nominally those of the sovereign. It is difficult to realise his circumstances. He is neither in the position of King Edward VII., nor of Emperor William II. of Germany, nor of the late Lord Salisbury, but combines in himself most of their executive powers. He is assisted by a Council corresponding to our Privy Council, and by a Cabinet corresponding to our ministry.

The National Congress consists of a Senate elected for six years, and a Chamber of Deputies elected for three years only. These may be compared with the House of Lords and the House of Commons. The method of election is very curious. The electors must be twenty-one years of age and be able to read and write. Of course the latter restriction makes the electorate a distinctly small body, for seventy per cent. of the army conscripts are without these accomplishments. There is about one deputy and one-third of a senator for every 15,000 to 30,000 of the population.

Without entangling ourselves in the abstruse definition of true republicanism it is necessary to point out that modern Chile is much more of an oligarchy than a republic, as this word is understood in Great Britain. In France, it is well known that the reigning government interferes habitually by its salaried officials in every election. It is the same, only more so, in Chile. In Great Britain, certain powerful ducal and other families (both Whig and Tory) have a distinct though not officially recognised influence in politics, whilst in the United States millionaires certainly influence both the elections and the law courts.

All these things occur in Chile—only to a much greater extent. The bureaucracy and an oligarchy of rich and high-born families (chiefly in Santiago) really govern the country, yet the number of officials and of rich, and even of educated people is by no means large. It would be inconceivably foolish to allow the great mass of the

people any opportunity to repeat such revolutions as those of Carrera, Freire, Urriola, and others, and as probably only some 200,000 children go to school, it is only right and reasonable that educated people should keep a firm hand on the reins.

There is an official (Intendente) over each province, and another (Gobernador) over each department. In small towns and villages the magistrates have great power. The Alcalde is a salaried official, and it is possible that there may be cases of oppression and harshness.

The following quotation from a small local newspaper gives an idea of the grievances which are occasionally to be observed in print. It is from *La Comuna, Llai-llai*, Enero 10, 1904 (the paper describes itself as a "Periodico democratico literario").

"Se aprisionan personas con el pretesto de estar ébrios se les tiene cuatro y cinco dias en el cuartel sin alimentos y en seguida se les lleva ante el Juez que les aplica la multa a su antojo firmando un recibo sin espresar las causales y por ultimo ese ya celebre Juez recoje el dinero."

(People are imprisoned on the pretext of being drunk, they are kept four and five days in the prison without food and then carried before the judge. He fines them according to his fancy without hearing the suit, and finally the famous judge pockets the money.)

It is difficult to get trustworthy information as to whether there is or is not marked and widespread oppression in the smaller places, but complaints are not infrequent.

The governing classes of Chile are, for the most part, descendants of the Spanish Conquistadors. They preserve in their own hands not merely all important government posts (civil, military, and naval), but also they own most of the large landed estates. A few of them, which is very unusual in Spanish-American countries, not only own but take some part in the management of nitrate *oficinas*, banks, mines, and other industries. Almost all the lawyers and doctors are of Chilian birth. There are two Universities, which supply, in a very ample and

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generous manner, advocates, solicitors, and medical men.

On the other hand, mercantile business of all kinds, both on the large and on the small scale, is carried on almost invariably by foreigners. The old Spanish prejudice against traders is by no means dead. Even the small shopkeepers seem to be usually Spanish Basques, and Italians.

In the south there are many small farms owned by Germans, French, Swiss, British, and some Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians; even Indians own much of the land in the south. But the working-class throughout Chile, in the mines, in towns, on the farms, and, indeed, everywhere, are Chilenos. Chile is not the place for a British or Continental workman.

There is a very well-marked difference between the Chileno inquilino or peon and the better classes, whether Chilian or foreign. But amongst the Chilian or Santiago aristocracy one finds such names as Edwards, Simpson, Walker, Rogers and Porter. These, of course, are of British or Irish descent. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, many exceptionally gifted foreigners drifted to Chile. They were educated, business-like, and capable people. If one remembers that the first line of steamers to Europe only began to run some fifty years ago, it is obvious that such men should have been able to acquire wealth. They were respected, even liked and appreciated by the Chilians of those days. Many distinguished themselves in the Army and Navy. But their descendants are pure Chilenos now, and very likely quite unable to read or speak any tongue save Spanish. This is not surprising, for one can see the process of assimilation going on even at the present day.

Any young foreigner who has business instincts and ordinary common-sense will, of course, learn to speak Spanish. Should he possess the necessary industry and talent, he may find himself early in life in a position of some importance, which involves dealing with the better-class Chilenos. He will in all probability marry a Chilian

señorita. The truth is that it is not very easy to resist a Chilian girl when she is inclined to be gracious.

She is not at all an advanced woman; she is not inclined to tyrannise over her husband, but is quite content to leave him to manage his affairs and his house as he pleases. She never dreams of contesting his marital authority. It is true that she is not very energetic, but then, is that not an agreeable change?

Our young Scotchman's or Englishman's children will be entirely Chilian in ideals, in aspiration, and in training. They may be sent home for education, but a few months after their return to Chile no one could distinguish them from the Chilian *pur sang*. The father will, no doubt, retain a sentimental regard for the old country, but in Chile it is exceedingly unlikely that he would ever desire to return permanently to the rain, snow, slush, and fogs of Britain, where he will be, not a leading aristocrat, but merely a business man of sorts.

But though the somewhat Frenchified Chilian aristocracy and cosmopolitan foreigners are of interest, the really important person is the Chileno *peon*, *inquilino*, or *huaso* of the working-class.

There is no country in the world which has so valuable a working-class (with the possible exception of Japan and China). They are descended from the Araucanian Indian and the Spanish Andalusian, or the Basque. They are hardy, vigorous, and excellent workmen, and their endurance and patience are almost Indian. Of their bravery and determination it is unnecessary to speak, for these qualities appear on every page of the stormy history of Chile. Generally, they are short, dark-eyed, and black-haired people. They are intelligent, and quick to learn anything requiring handiness and craftsmanship. They have, of course, many faults: at intervals they drink to excess when they can, and they are hot-blooded and quarrelsome; knives will be drawn, and a fight started on very small provocation. As regards honesty, they are certainly no worse than others of their kind, and in the country districts they are better than most. Perhaps, economically speaking,

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the fact that they live and work contentedly on exceedingly low wages (chiefly on beans) is one of their most important characteristics.

The population is very scattered. Santiago, with 312,497 inhabitants, and Valparaiso, with 138,274, are, of course, great and flourishing cities (1895).[1] The other cities (Talca, 78,429; Concepción, 55,570) are not large, considering their importance. In fact, there are only ten or eleven departments in all Chile in which the population is denser than ten per square kilometre. This scanty population is a very unfortunate circumstance. In spite of a glorious climate, and a splendidly developed race, physically speaking, the health of the people is not satisfactory.

The Chileno is, undoubtedly, superstitious. A privilege enjoyed by the author in Chile should be mentioned in this place. It was an interview with a Curandera—that is, a Wise Woman, a Herbalist, or Lady Doctor. She combined those professions in a very intelligent manner, for she had a large and flourishing practice, in which, probably, love-philters and charms were of great importance. The interesting point was to notice how all the little mannerisms, characteristic of the medical profession, revealed themselves. But she, of course, represented the doctor of at least three hundred years ago.

Thus we were kept waiting for half an hour. She could not speak to us for more than a very few minutes without being called away by an anxious medical student (also a lady) to attend some very important case. A deep, guttural cough of a very impressive character interrupted her decided, slow, and sententious observations. One could see the bedside manner at once impressive, peremptory, and soothing.

In general outline the lady resembled a large church bell. A black moustache covered the lip, an ambitious but straggly beard covered her chin. Her complexion resembled London clay, picked out in black lines.

We had several interviews, but either she did not know

[1] "Noticia Prelimin. del Censo Jeneral de la Republique de Chile," 1895. I have been unable to obtain the census of 1905.

or would not give me specimens of several native drugs, which are said to exist in Chile. There is one in particular which is supposed to act like chloroform. No doubt, to her trained eye, I was detected as being not a member of the Faculty. But, of course, she may have been an arrant humbug. No human being, however, could detect whether she was one or not!

These Curanderas are trusted by all the lower classes. It is whispered that even the better class, after calling in the regular physician in all due propriety, hurriedly send round to the Curandera for some horrible mess, which will produce the desired result.

The mortality in Chile is very heavy. The death-rate in Valparaiso (1904) was 54 per 1,000; in Talca, 55, in Concepción, 47, and in Santiago, 38 per 1,000 respectively.[1] The deaths in 1903 were 88,918 in an estimated population of 3,206,042. This is from 32 to 33 per 1,000. But one must bear in mind frequent epidemics and also the large infantile mortality.

In 1905 there was a severe epidemic of small-pox in Valparaiso and Viña del Mar. During July and August there were from 90 to 100 fresh cases daily, and the deaths are said to have amounted to 5,681. The drainage and sanitary arrangements are exceedingly primitive in Valparaiso. This particular epidemic was ascribed "to the filthy state of the valleys surrounding the town where the poor population live, and to the miserable, overcrowded dwelling-houses of the lower classes, as also to the mud and refuse washed down from these valleys after each heavy rain to the lower part of the town, there allowed to putrify, and to be exposed to the powerful rays of the sun for weeks at a time."[2]

The mortality amongst children is very heavy. Nor is it possible to be surprised at this result. At the ordinary hotel *table d'hôte* at 7 P.M. it is quite usual to observe babies (at the age when the head is still bald) who sip their glass of beer, and trifle with all the courses.

[1] No. 3465, "Chile Annual Series, Diplomatic and Consular Reports."
[2] No. 3698, "Chile Annual Series, Diplomatic and Consular Reports."

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Then one notices also linen being washed in streams which might justifiably be spoken of as open sewers. On those heaps of rubbish, which are described in Scotland as a "free cowp," little children may be observed at play along with the mangy dogs and measly swine, which take their pleasure and sustenance thereon. It is not surprising that typhoid and other diseases are by no means uncommon.

Dead babies are called "angelitos," and are supposed to go direct to heaven. There is an unpleasant custom of keeping them unburied for unnecessarily long periods, and they are even carried about in railway cars. A curious superstitious value is ascribed to circles of sticking plaister, small compresses of herbs, etc., which are stuck usually upon the forehead, and are supposed to cure headache and other diseases. But along with these uncanny and old-world habits, one finds the most up-to-date regulations. In churches, on railways, on street walls and promenade seats, one observes agonised appeals to the public not to expectorate in public places.

Moreover, the public has been impressed. There is not the same lavish evacuation of surplus mouth-products that is so familiar in Scotland and the United States.

The general trade of Chile is perhaps best considered under the different districts. It is only necessary to mention here some points of general interest.

The real wealth of Chile depends, of course, on her rich soil, valuable climate, and the vigour and industry of her proletariat. But though there is a considerable export in agricultural produce of sorts, and although the government seems fully to realise that agriculture and colonisation must be encouraged and carefully fostered by every possible means, yet it is to the nitrates and mining products that the present wealth of Chile is due. It is the export duty on nitrates that keeps Chile prosperous and flourishing. (See pages 255-262.)

The debt of Chile amounts to about £21,000,000

(external and internal). That is not a very large sum for a vigorous and growing young Republic.

From the point of view of an intending colonist, there are certain matters which ought to be placed strongly in evidence.

First, as regards religion, the Roman Catholic religion is held by the vast majority of the people.[1] There are, of course, as in all Catholic countries, a great many freethinkers, though in Chile their number is smaller than in any European Latin country. But worship is quite free, and although a European Catholic might have distinct advantages in ordinary business over a Protestant, there is no sort of persecution of the Protestant.

As regards the Protestant Anglican Church, there are English Church clergymen at Santiago, Valparaiso, Iquique, Concepción, and Punta Arenas. These appear to be, partly at least, supported by the South American Missionary Society, though the Anglican Church in South America directs them. Much missionary work has been done in Tierra del Fuego, where there are at present several mission stations. That at Tekenike is also an Anglican Church Mission. In Araucania there is also an Araucanian Mission, started in 1895 by Mr Sadleir with the help of Mr Glass and Mr Wilson. The Mapuche boys are being trained in schools, and partly on industrial lines similar to those which have been so extremely successful in both Central and South Africa (Blantyre, Lovedale, etc.). Of results, it is at present much too soon to speak.

The Roman Catholic Missions are still vigorously continued. At the convent school in Temuco, for instance, there are many boys and girls who seem very happy, and well looked after. They go back to their homes to help in the harvest, and return in the slack season to the convent; they are very clever with their fingers, and show an especial ability in making stucco statuettes for use in the churches. They are obliged to put on boots when they go into the town, as this is judged

[1] The Church receives a subsidy of 1,000,000 pesos at 1s. 6d.

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to have a refining influence upon them. There is an important Roman Catholic Mission on Dawson Island in Tierra del Fuego. Here, also, it is mainly on the children that all possible effort is expended, though the Fathers endeavour to befriend the adults, and prevent them from dying of cold and starvation. The Scotch Mission at Ushuaia is, naturally, Protestant, and is said to be doing excellent work.

Then, as regards security of life and property, it is a very nice point as to whether Santiago or Paris is the more dangerous city after dark. In the country stories of brigands are by no means infrequent, but it is a little difficult to know how far these stories are mere efforts of the old chum's imagination intended to impress and disturb the mind of the newly arrived. Certainly, Chile seemed to the writer quite as safe as any country in Europe. There are, as usual, Europeans in the seaport towns who are able and willing to swindle their compatriots. Certainly no one should invest any money in Chile until after a year or two's residence, but if people have not ordinary prudence and common-sense, they are far better kept at home.

There is no opportunity in Chile for the British workman. No European could compete in manual labour with the frugal Chileno. But a master-workman with a little capital, or, indeed, any man with business enterprise, thorough knowledge of his profession, and from £500 to £1,000, ought to find his opportunity. Certainly the chances are infinitely more favourable than any which he is likely to obtain at home. But he should work for some one else in Chile for at least two years before launching out on his own account.

The government every now and then imports specialists under contract to carry out some scheme or other, which has, too often, not been thoroughly studied beforehand.

Thus, *e.g.*, the Pacific Ocean is full of fish, and a number of Grimsby fishermen were brought over at great expense. They had not, of course, a swift trawler and a steamer to carry their fish, and there is no London

market, so that, eventually, the government took undoubtedly the least expensive course, and shipped them back to England again.

Some of the experts and specialists have been infinitely useful to Chile, but many of them appear to have been somewhat expensive luxuries, and it is extremely doubtful if the policy of introducing self-styled experts and European specialists is on the whole profitable.

The *gringo*, or foreigner, is not really much liked in Chile, but courtesy and politeness are almost always the characteristics of Chilian manners.

When about to visit a country, there is always the important question as to how much one must allow for ordinary daily expenses. As a rule (that is in all places except Santiago and Valparaiso), the hotel bills were very moderate; they ranged usually from 4 pesos (6 shillings considered cheap) to 10 pesos (considered dear) *per diem*. That includes morning coffee, *déjeuner* and dinner.

In Santiago and Valparaiso the prices are usually very high, and sometimes almost exorbitant in those hotels which attempt to give a thoroughly English or French style of living.

Other prices are proportionate. As regards the cooking, it may be said that it is, as a rule, excellent, especially for those who are content with the national dishes of the country, and do not encourage ambitious cooks to aim at British cookery. There are certain familiar and regular *plats* which do not lose their satisfying and agreeable character even after continued iteration.

Such is the *cazuela*, a grand soup usually with a large piece of meat in it, and resembling a glorified Scotch broth. There is the delicious *pejerey*, a small fish generally fried and covered with crumbs, and there are all sorts and conditions of omelette. There is plenty of varied liquors to drink. Lager beer and ordinary beer from the great breweries of Anwandter or Santiago, Chilian wine of many sorts, and also American and French wines, Scotch whisky, liqueurs, etc.

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The hotels are clean and comfortable enough. Indeed, in most of Chile the hotels are very much superior in general comfort to those in the smaller towns of Spain and even of Great Britain.

There is a tradition that certain hotel insects do not live in the pure air of Chile, but, alas, this is only a tradition. Still, their presence is very exceptional indeed, and can only be expected in the very worst hotels, such as in Europe no traveller would think of visiting.

The only point in which Chilian hotels fail utterly is the preparation of tea. Travellers should carry tea with them and make it for themselves if they desire anything beyond a horrible, dark-coloured and washy liquid, which is what Chilian waiters understand by the term.

It must be said that there is a kind of primitiveness about the manners and customs of some Chilian hotels which amuse the tourist at first, but which do not make them less comfortable. There are no bells, and one has to clap one's hands to summon an attendant. He or she will not necessarily be clean or tidy, and may be accompanied by a child not necessarily born in wedlock, but the people will be good-natured, obliging, and will do their best.

Horses are very cheap in most places, though, of course, in Santiago and Valparaiso good horses are expensive. Probably a horse which might be obtained in England for £30 to £40 would cost in Chile £5 to £6. Forage is generally very cheap indeed.

CHAPTER XVII

NITRATES AND MINES

Desert of the North—Darwin's description—Theories as to the nitrate deposits—Early history of deposits—Colonel North—Extraordinary development of deposits—Their constitution—Chemical processes—Social life in nitrate districts—Amount of nitrate produced, and uses in agriculture—Present growth in trade—Gold mines of the Inca period—Variety of rich ores in Chile—Taltal—Caldera—Copiapó—Bricks of silver ore—Copper—Boyd's description of this district—Early methods of smelting—Latest machinery now employed everywhere—Lambert's work—Labour difficulties—Copper export tables—Coal-mining—Tertiary forests—Lota and the great Cousiño Company—Other industries—Park and palace—Lebu—Coal companies—Punta Arenas—Import of coal.

THE great desert of Tarapacá, which forms the Chilian valley in its northern part, has greatly influenced her history. It has been a strong wall of defence for Chile, preserving her autonomy and freedom not only in the days of the Incas, but in those of 1817. Now, and for years past, this desert has become a source of revenue—an almost inexhaustible treasure-house—which to-day keeps Chilian finance in a vigorous and prosperous condition.

Yet it is one of the most unmitigated deserts in the world. Darwin has a celebrated passage in which he describes part of it near Guantajaya and Santa Rosa.

"A complete and utter desert. The road was strewn with the bones and dried skins of the many beasts of burden which had perished on it from fatigue. Excepting the Vultur aura which preys on the carcases, I saw neither bird, quadruped, reptile, nor insect. On the coast

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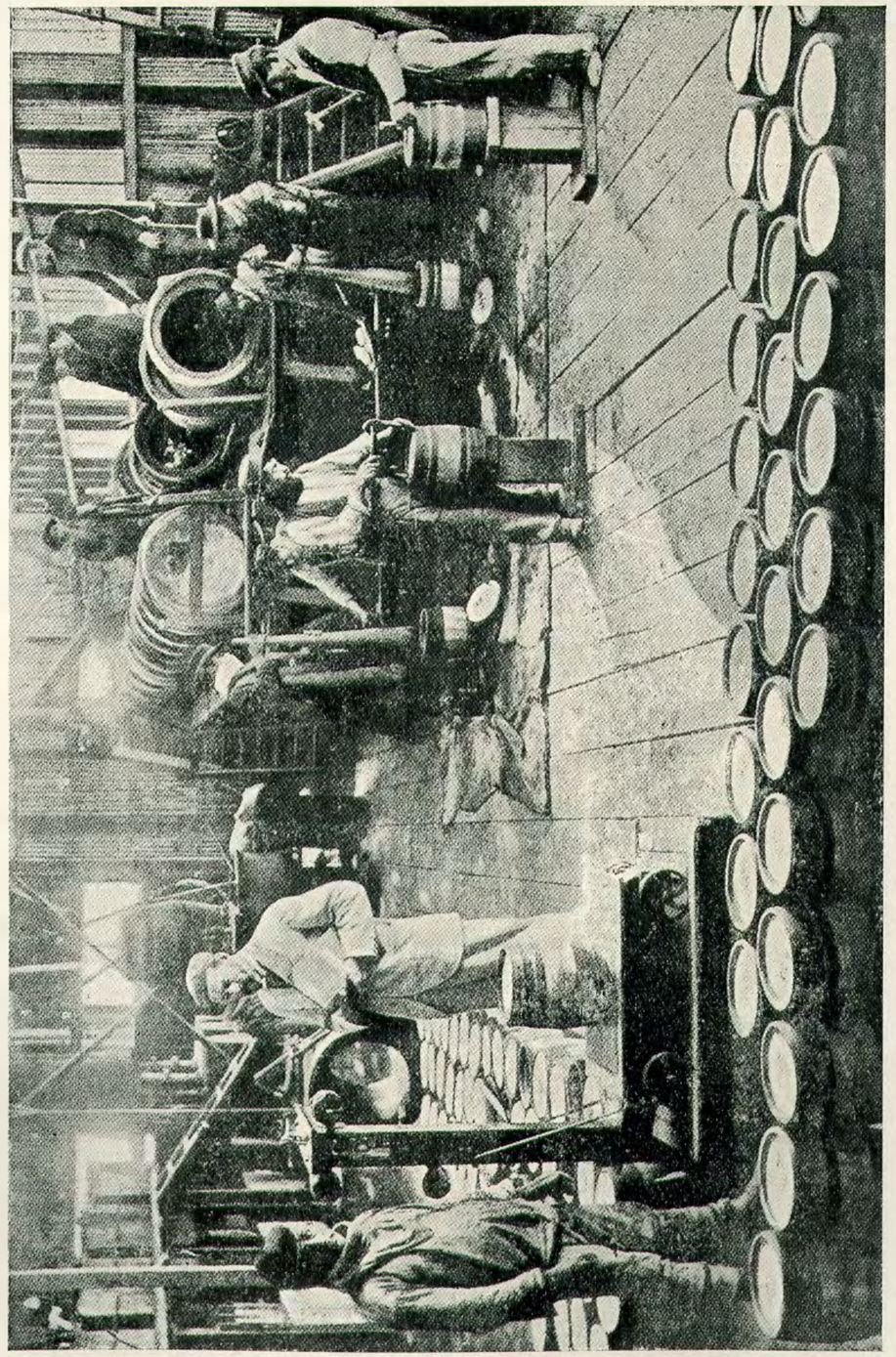
mountains at the height of about 2,000 feet, where during the season the clouds generally hang, a very few cacti were growing in the clefts of the rock, and the loose sand was strewed over with a lichen which grows quite unattached. This plant belongs to the genus Cladonia, and somewhat resembles the reindeer lichen. In some parts it was of sufficient quantity to tinge the sand, as seen from a distance, of a pale yellowish colour. Farther inland during the whole ride of fourteen leagues, I saw only one other vegetable production, and that was a most minute yellow lichen growing on the bones of the dead mules."

The dry climate makes possible the existence of the great nitrate deposits. Even a very moderate rainfall would dissolve the nitrate, but in part of this region no rain falls for several years in succession.

These deposits occur at intervals between 19° and 26° S. lat. throughout an area some 750 kilometres long, and averaging 3 kilometres in width. They are on the eastern side of the bare, barren cordilleras of the coast, and on the west of the Pampa of Tamarugal, beyond which rises the cordillera of the Andes.

Long ago (see Chap. I) this part of Chile was submerged in the ocean. The process of elevation was probably very gradual, and continued for a very long period. So there would be lines of lagoons, lakes, and estuarine marshes in which seaweeds and other plants of brackish water flourished in abundance. As these dried up, these marine and estuarine plants would be decomposed by the action of bacteria. As a result, iodine and nitric acid would be produced.

But there are limestones in this district, and also an abundance of gypsum yielding soda. Probably the nitric acid formed calcium nitrate, which, in contact with gypsum (*sodium sulphate*), formed nitrate of soda. That is the theory outlined by C. Nöllner, and it is also the one usually advocated. Another hypothesis given by Mary Robinson Wright on the authority of Mr James T. Humberstone (managing director of the



IODINE BEING PREPARED FOR SHIPMENT IN THE SALITRERAS OF TARAPACA.

To face p. 258.

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Agua Santa nitrate establishment) depends upon the fact that nitric acid is formed by a flash of lightning passing through a moist atmosphere.[1] Electrical storms are common in the upper Andine ranges; but the iodine and the known fact of the elevation of this region seems to point to the other theory as being the more satisfactory one of the two.

The Peruvian Incas were aware of the nitrates, and of their value as a fertiliser, but for some unknown reason appear to have discouraged their use in agriculture.

The early history of the nitrate industry is obscure. A Frenchman, Hector Bacque, is said to have established the first works at Noria in 1826; he was followed by Smith, Zavala, and Gildermeister. After the war between Chile and Peru in 1879 (for which the nitrate deposits were responsible), the industry began to increase and develop in the most remarkable way. Mr George B. Chase, of Boston, and Colonel North were amongst the founders of the present companies. The latter began his career at Iquique in 1871.[2] Having explored and bought up many of the deposits, he left for England a rich man, and died in 1896.

There are about £20,000,000 of English money sunk in the nitrate industry. About 100 nitrate companies are in existence, employing, directly, at least 13,000 labourers, and forming the prosperity of the ports of Pisagua, Junin, Caleta Buena, Iquique (50,000 inhabitants), Patillos, Tocopilla, Mejillones, Antofagasta, Paposo, and Taltal. These places have railways which mount the steep, bare declivities of the Coast Cordillera to tap the nitrate fields.

It is an industry of an extraordinarily interesting character, necessitating the most modern machinery, and

[1] This fact is the "rock ahead" of the nitrate industry.

[2] He was a Yorkshire ironworker (boilermaker), who went to Chile in connection with the employment of some tank steamers for the purpose of conveying water along the coast to Iquique and other ports where no regular supply of water existed. He obtained a controlling interest in one of these steamers, and was a prosperous and well-known man on the coast, noted for his enterprise and activity.

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worked on a gigantic scale. The ore or "caliche" is found at depths of 1 foot to 10 feet below the surface. It varies considerably in composition.[1] A "cata" or small shaft is sunk through the surface deposits and caliche to reach a bed of gravelly material (probably the bottom of the old lagoon). A small boy makes a hole under the caliche, and dynamite is placed in it. When this is exploded and the deposits opened up, the fragments of caliche are sorted, collected in mule-carts, and driven to the factory or *oficina.*

The caliche is then first crushed, the nitrate being dissolved by boiling in water until the latter is super-saturated, the salt then being allowed to crystallise in large cooling-pans, and finally dried, packed in gunny-bags, and despatched by rail to the shipping ports. Companies, such as the Agua Santa, have built not merely the houses of the Chilian workmen (with schools, plazas, etc.), the bungalows and tennis courts of their managing staff (of whom a fair proportion are English), but also the railway, and the port to which it leads.

Every traveller waxes eloquent over the ingenuity and industry shown by the promenades, gardens, electric lighting, waterworks, and tramcars of such places as Iquique. For a long time these nitrate ports were dependent on the steamers from Middle Chile for drinking-water, vegetables, and all supplies; now some of the railways extend to the oases, and drinking-water has been brought from the Andes.

Australian ships bring coal from New South Wales,

[1]

	Tarapaca (Hayes)	La Pampa	Los Salares	Cachinal (Villa Nueva)
	per cent.	per cent.	per cent.	per cent.
Nitrate of Soda . .	64.98	33.56	14.12	32
Sulphate of Soda .	3	4.45	.13	10
Common Salt . .	28.69	34.6	51.08	22
Iodine Salts . .	.63	...	...	...
Insoluble, etc. . .	2.60	12.65	16	34
Chloride of Potash .	...	.4	..	...
Magnesium Chloride .	...	.7	...	...
Sulphate of Lime .	...	...	3.62	6

load up with nitrates, and depart for England or Germany. Ships from India bring gunny-bags.

Between 1830 and 1891, about 4,000,000,000 quintals of nitrate of soda had been extracted. The exports of recent years are shown on the table annexed.

The amount still left has been estimated at 200,000,000 tons of nitrate. The export for every year is fixed by a general agreement amongst the companies, of whom each is permitted to manufacture a certain proportion. The amount this year, 1906, was fixed at 43,500,000 quintals. The Chilian government obtains custom dues on every ton exported, and indeed obtains an enormous revenue thereby.

In 1903 the export of nitrate was valued at about £10,500,000, of which no less than £1,121,785 came to England; Germany, France, Belgium, and the United States take most of the rest, whilst Egypt, India, and Japan, are all beginning to use nitrates in quantity.

Its use, as manure, for beetroot, pasture, and all sorts of field crops is well understood; even in market gardens, in combination with farmyard manure, it is of great value.[1]

Of the bye-products, iodine to the value of 1,687 327 pesos (157,444 kilos) was exported in 1903. Of borate 17,000,000 kilos, worth 2,400,000 pesos, was obtained in the same year.

That the improvement in Chilian trade is distinct can perhaps be realised best by the following quotations from an extremely authoritative source.[2]

The revenue in 1904 amounted to £6,207,377, 18s. 6d., of which the export dues accounted for 50,818,210 dollars, and the import duties to 30,274,171 dollars.

"The year 1904 has been conspicuously notable for an extraordinary growth of industrial life in Chile. External factors, quite as important in their effect as any within

[1] Especially cabbages, cauliflowers, artichokes, onions, carrots, etc., and even for strawberries. *Journal Royal Horticultural Society*, Vol. xxvii, Pt. 4, p. 995.

[2] No. 3465 "Chile Annual Series Diplomatic and Consular Reports."

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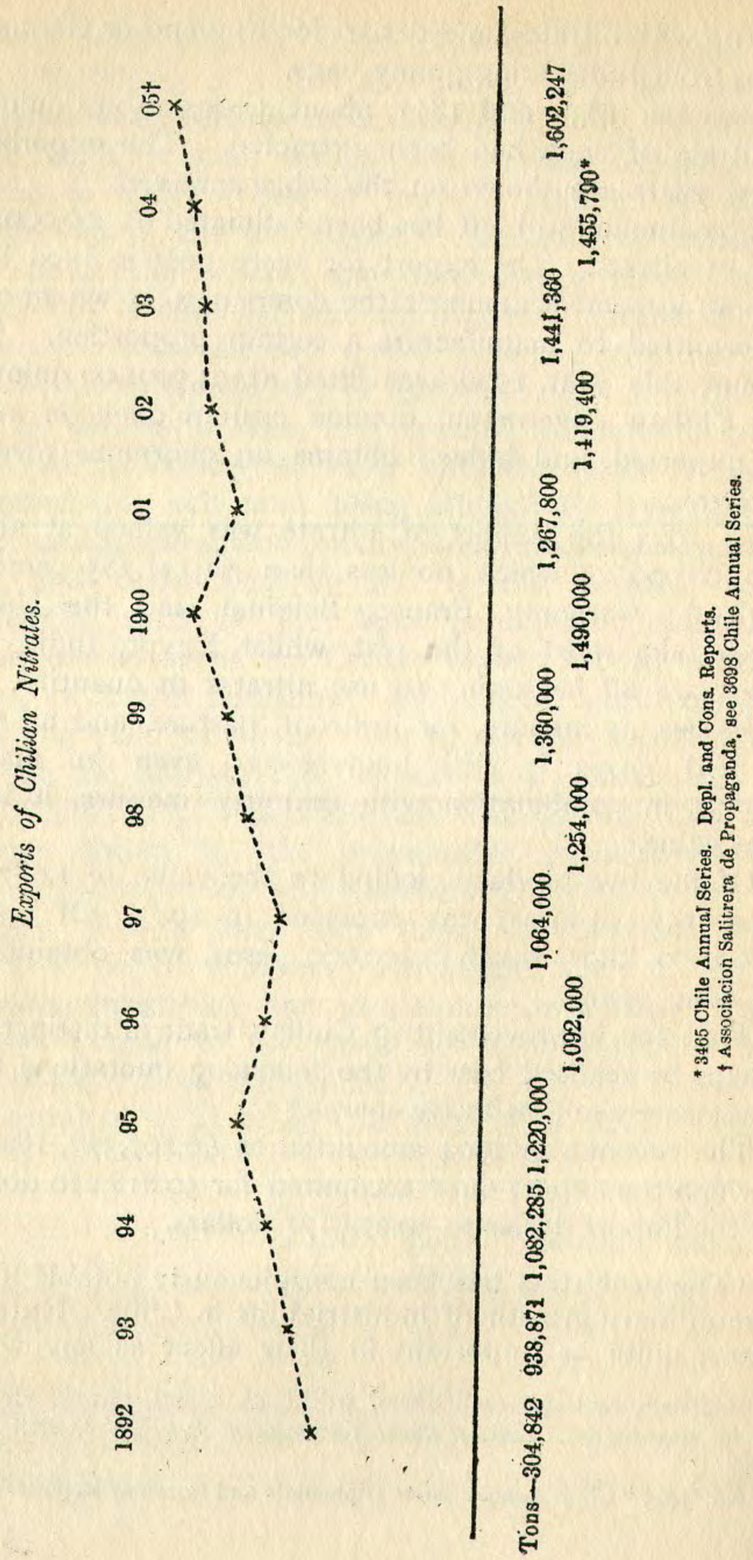

the country, have been to a great extent the cause of this development.

"High prices ruling in Europe during the past year for three of the principal articles of export from the Republic, namely, nitrate, wool, and copper, effectually stimulated all industries connected with their production, and at the present moment there is every appearance that the remarkable prosperity of the country will continue.

"The immediate consequence of this increase in industrial wealth is that national capital is taking the place of foreign capital.

"I may point, as instances, to the nitrate deserts round Antofagasta and Taltal, a short time ago uninhabited except by a few hardy pioneers. Last year numerous 'oficinas' have been opened, and these are already beginning to add very materially to the production of this staple of the country."

And again for 1905:

"As will be seen by the above figures, the commercial prosperity of 1904 has been exceeded by the year now under review. It is impossible yet to pronounce positively on the stability of the different enterprises which took shape two years ago, but the majority seem to have been successfully piloted through their earlier stages and are reaching the position of paying concerns. The steady range of high prices ruling for nitrate, copper, and wool, has strengthened those interested in these industries and encouraged them to further ventures. In this they have been assisted by the Government giving facilities for obtaining possession of the unexplored nitrate grounds in the province of Antofagasta, and also granting concessions of pastoral and agricultural land in the south of Chile."[1]

We read in Rosales' "Historia Jeneral" that anciently the annual tribute despatched by Chile to the Inca government consisted of fourteen quintals of gold "azendrado" of more than twenty-two and a half quilates.[2] The horrible cruelties exercised on the wretched Indians and the depopulation of both Peru and Chile through the

[1] No. 3698, "Chile Annual Series Diplomatic and Consular Reports."
[2] Rosales, "Historia Jeneral de Chile," p. 209, *et seq.*

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forced labour at the mines have been already noticed in the earlier chapters of this work.

It is only by studying the contemporary history of Spain that one can understand this terrible thirst for gold and silver. But with Spain ruined and her population starving, it is not astonishing that the home government paid but small attention to the horrible sufferings of the Indians.[1]

The important gold mines of Malga Malga, near Quillota, yielded 30,000 pesos per annum. Others at Quillota and Limache gave 1,000 pesos of gold daily. There were other mines at Tucapel, at Arauco, and at Valdivia, where 8,000 Indians were employed. The historical mine of Madre de Dios was 2 leagues from Mariguina and 12 leagues from Valdivia.[2] It is said to have been rediscovered, and is now being worked.

From those early times until to-day, the mines of Chile have been of the utmost importance.

Chile contains gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, cobalt, manganese, as well as coal, nitrates, borates, and iodine. In 1903 mining dues were paid on no less than 11,746 mines.[3] To give any account of so vast an industry is by no means an easy task.

The nitrate industry has in the north overshadowed the more ancient mining enterprises; but at Tocopilla the whole hillside is covered with mines which are connected by tracks, and which have a very peculiar appearance as seen from the sea. Antofagasta is the port for the famous Caracoles silver mines, which are 10,000 feet above the sea. The name ("snail" in Spanish) is said to have been derived from the Ammonites, which occur in the Jurassic strata of the neighbourhood.

The coast-line all the way down consists of barren, rocky, almost perpendicular cliffs of great height. Sometimes the mining ports are mere collections of tin shanties crowded at the base of the cliffs. In other places the

[1] "Spain: Its Greatness and Decay, 1479-1788," by Martin Hume.
[2] Rosales, "Historia Jeneral de Chile," p. 209 *et seq.*
[3] Statesman's Yearbook.

hills open out, giving place to wide bays, usually sandy and desolate. The ports are connected by little lines of railways with the mines in the interior.

Taltal produces gold, silver, copper, as well as nitrates. Caldera (and recently Chañaral) are the ports for the very rich mines of Copiapó. Not only the gold mines of Oro del Inca, but great quantities of copper and also silver are exported from this district. It will be remembered that the green valley of Copiapó is historic ground: it was the scene of the first battle of the great Inca Ypanqui against the Chilian Indians. Here also the gallant Almagro rested and recruited his exhausted soldiers after the deadly passage of the Andes.

At first silver was treated in the roughest possible way, and the bye-products of the amalgamation process were kneaded up with water to form bricks. But when newer methods were adopted, this refuse was found to contain as much as 60 ounces of silver per ton, and walls and houses were pulled down in all directions.[1] In 1905 the Elisa silver mine sent £18,788 of silver to Santiago for the use of the Mint.

But copper is now the main industry of this district. It is curious to find, in a desert, at the uttermost parts of the earth, the very latest and most modern machinery and appliances. The smelting plant at Caldera has two steel waterjacket furnaces, each with a capacity of 125 tons per day and two convertor plants. Mond gas is used by the Sociedad Industrial to generate their electricity. At Copiapó there are electric installations for rockdrills, pumps, and machine works. The famous Algarrobo, Puginos, Tierra Amarilla, Papillon, Paipote, and Chañarcillo mines are served by either Caldera or Chañaral.[2] Coquimbo is also a very important centre, and a place of great historical interest.

"With regard to the aspect of the country, custom soon reconciles the eye to the sombre colours, and the rocky

[1] Boyd, "Chili, 1879-1880."
[2] Nos. 3465, 3698, "Chile Annual Series."

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outlines . . . the stranger almost appreciates the great masses of brown rocks with their rugged outlines sharply defined against the bright blue sky. . . . There are a few favoured valleys in which coarse grass is to be found, and here and there the slopes of the hills are covered with a rough sort of brushwood."

At first the copper ores were roughly smelted in small blast furnaces by means of charcoal from wood, and the scoriae were thrown away. Then, about 1840, a Mr Lambert arrived. He, to the great amusement of everybody, brought up whole mountains of scoriae; then he set himself to experiments, and by means of the Swansea methods, succeeded eventually in producing copper bars.[1] The excitement was very great, and a huge development followed. Coal was first used in 1851.

This portion of Central Chile is a curious district, "the granite alternates with stratified rocks and porphyry, the surface sometimes shows a faint trace of green, but in summer time the only green to be seen is that of the numerous copper ore outcrops."[2]

The chief difficulty experienced at present seems to be that of labour. The counter-attraction of the nitrate provinces drains the mining districts. Still, the whole country is being vigorously developed, and in that barren land, the enterprise of the railway and mining engineer seems to find free scope. The miserable donkeys with their loads of ore and coal are still to be seen (as they are in Spain), but the newest machinery is to be found working in the most inaccessible spots. Cattle are brought down from the Argentine, and it is probable that a railway will soon connect Copiapó with that country.

Speculation in copper is, of course, a serious drawback, for the variations in price are exceedingly dangerous to some of the companies which work the less valuable ores.

[1] "L'Industrie du Cuivre au Chile. Bull. Soc. Geog. Comm." Havre 1900-1901.

[2] Boyd, *l.c.*

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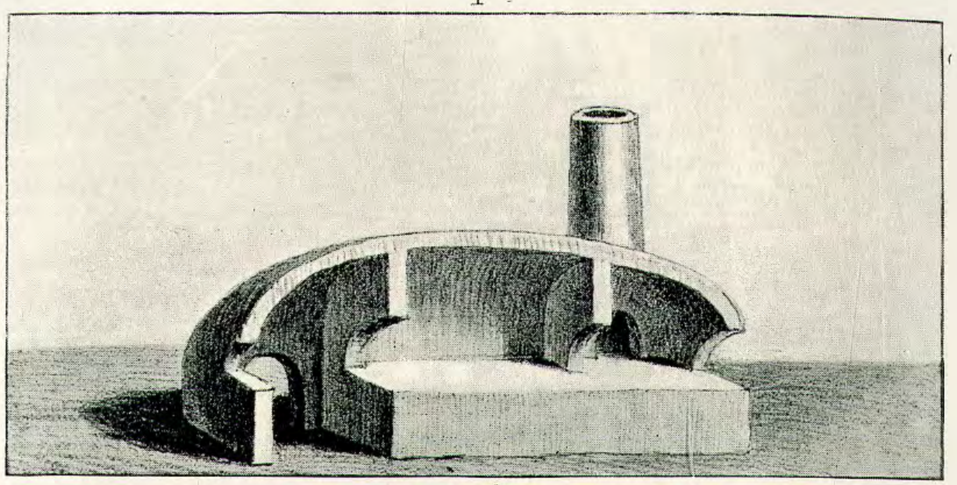

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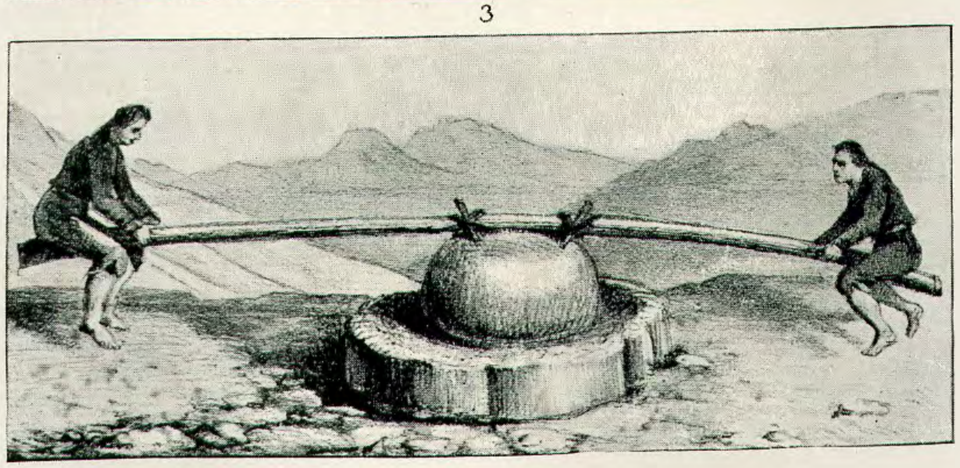

1. FURNACE USED IN THE SMELTING OF COPPER.
2. CANCHA DE BENEFICIAR, OR MODE OF AMALGAMATION OF GOLD AND SILVER.
3. TRAPICHE OR MILL USED AT THE LAVADEROS OR GOLD WASHINGS.

From "Travels in Chile and La Plata," by John Miers (1826).

To face p. 266.

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The copper exported from Chile during the last two years was as follows:[1]

	1904.	1905.
Bar Copper . . .	256,004 quintals.	238,934 quintals.
Regulus in Fine Copper	6,654 „	15,683 „
Ores in Fine Copper .	43,256 „	41,696 „

The decrease is ascribed to floods and other accidents, to the want of labour and to the low price of copper at that time.

Of the other minerals mentioned above, the production (except coal) is now of much less importance. The gold export amounted to some £25,500; that of silver to about £30,300. Chilian coal mining is, however, an important and flourishing industry.

As has been already mentioned, the tertiary forest, of which the remains form the lignite coal of Chile, extended from about Tomé in the bay of Concepción at any rate as far as Cañete. There is coal at San José, near Valdivia, and it is also worked near Punta Arenas and Skyring water. It is quite probable that it may exist through the forest districts from Valdivia to the straits of Magellan, though one would expect it to occur on the islands rather than on the mainland.

The great Cousiño Company at Lota has an interesting history. Coal had been discovered in this place about 1805. In 1815 Wheelwright had attempted to utilise the deposits for his steamers, but there was a prejudice against it. It is from ten to twenty per cent. inferior to British coal, and was suppposed to be useless for locomotives and steamers.[2]

[1] Nos. 3465, 3698, "Chile Annual Series."

[2] In the "Memoria del Ministro de Colonizacion," Chile 1895, the following analysis is given for the southern mines:

	Martha Mine, Skyring.	Punta Arenas	Magdalena
Gas . .	37.45	42.15	43.35
Ash . .	15.4	9.5	9.9
Water .	14.5	17.75	24.5
Coke. .	47.25	40.1	42.15
Calorific power	4,895 Calories	5,160	5,990

The calorific power of Coronel coal is given as 6,648.

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The property was bought by Don Matias Cousiño in 1855. He established the smelting works, for which, of course, the coal is quite satisfactory. He also established fire-brick and tile works. On the succession of Don Luis Cousiño in 1863, the present company was formed, of which all the shares are held by members of the Cousiño family. The development has been extraordinarily rapid and vigorous. The coal was at first extracted by galleries driven along the seams. Later, shafts were sunk, and the trucks were drawn up an inclined plane by means of a chain cable and stationary engine. Now there are all the latest appliances. There is a vertical shaft of some 300 metres in depth; electric tramcars bring the coal from the workings to the shafts. The galleries are all lighted by electricity, and, in fact, all the appliances are of the latest and most up-to-date pattern.

A curious point about these mines is that the strata dip to the west, so that a very large part of the workings are below the Pacific Ocean. There are three seams (two of 1 metre thickness, and one of 1.6 metres). There are five pits, which give from 800 to 1,000 tons a day.

Steamers owned by the company bring the ore from Caldera to Lota, where it is smelted by all the most modern appliances. No less than 17,167 tons of ore were brought for this purpose in 1904. Then the coal is also used for the glass works, which turn out enormous quantities of bottles, and in the brick and tile works. There is good clay in the mine suitable for this purpose.

The company owns an enormous landed property. There are probably at least 6,000 men employed. They have huts, free doctors, a church, hospital, and a beautiful plaza for recreation. It is said that the net profits in one year amounted to no less than 1,200,000 dollars (1889). The beautiful park at Lota and the palace, which resembles a French *château*, are one of the sights of Chile, and are visited by every traveller, and described in every book on the country. The widow of Don Luis, Señora Doña Isidora Goyenechea de Cousiño, who died recently, was for

several years sole proprietrix, and enjoyed almost fabulous wealth. The management is in all the practical details conducted by Englishmen or Germans. The whole history of this vast industrial concern is one of extraordinary interest, both economically and from a political point of view.

Besides these Lota mines, there are several others. Those at Lebu, discovered by Dr Mackay in 1860, those at Coronel (Schwäger's), Rojas, Arauco, and near Concepción.[1] The annual amount produced must be at least 700,000 tons of coal. The invention of a particular furnace has made it possible to use Chilian coal on the railways.

The Punta Arenas or Loreto mines, and those at Skyring, seem also to be brown lignites, or intermediate between lignite and true coal. Yet, of course, Chilian coal does not nearly supply the industrial wants of Chile.

There is a very large trade in both British and Australian coal, of which the best qualities are landed at the nitrate and mining works for a much smaller sum than is charged for household coal in London (£1 to £2 per ton). This, of course, is of the greatest importance to Chilian development.

[1] The principal mines seem to be: Compañia Carbonifera y de Fundicion Schwäger, Puchoco mines at Coronel, Compañia Esploradora de Lota y Coronel, Arauco Company.

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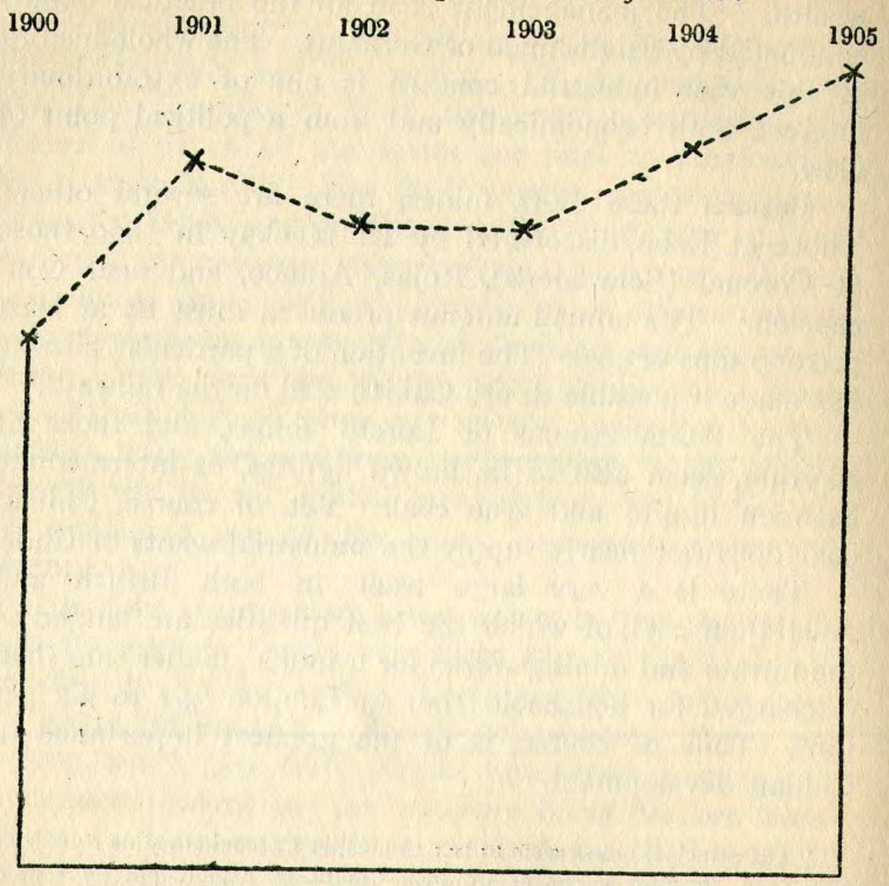
The amount of Coal Imported is as follows:—[1]



Of this large amount nearly half comes from Australia, almost the whole of the rest is British coal.

1905 . . .	1,092,375 tons.	
1904 . . .	914,085 ,,	1904
1901 . . .	890,611 ,,	1901
1902 . . .	829,608 ,,	1902
1903 . . .	809,654 ,,	1903
1900 . . .	674,176 ,,	1900

[1] 3698 Chile Annual Series. The following books may be referred to here —Child, "Spanish American Republics"; Boyd, "Chile"; Wright, "The Republic of Chile."

CHAPTER XVIII

VALPARAISO AND SANTIAGO

Story of Valparaiso—Appearance—History of foreshore—Suburbs—Briton *v.* German—Opinion as to young English and German business men — American and French share in the trade — Municipal and private enterprise in electricity, tramways, etc.—Earthquake of 16th August 1906—Fires—Suffering of the people —Enormous losses—Other cities—Santiago—Houses—Stucco—Plaza da Armas—Quinta Normal — Cerro de Santa Lucia—Manta—Appreciation of women—Evening paséo—Land tenure—The proprietor and his inquilinos—Life of the peones—Thrashing corn by horses—Land not irrigated—Vineyards and snails—Education in viticulture—Irrigation system—Cactus country of the north.

THE city of Valparaiso was founded by Juan de Saavedra in 1536. It is from a commercial point of view the chief seaport of Chile, although as a port it is more remarkable for its trade and the energy of its inhabitants than for any natural advantages; indeed it is to all intents and purposes an open roadstead. The bay is roughly semi-circular; behind it the ground rises in barren hills of gneiss and granite, which are 1,000 to 1,400 feet high. The houses of the city are, or rather used to be, clustered on the slopes and in the small ravines of these hills, but especially on the foreshore, where a narrow strip of land had been reclaimed from the sea. A great deal of money had been expended upon this small area, where many blocks of fine business houses, electric light instalments, tramways, and avenues had been formed.

There is a very interesting plan of the Bay of Valparaiso in the "Voyage Autour le Monde de la

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Bonite," Paris, 1844. In this, Ulloa's sketch in 1744 is compared with the condition at that date, 1836. If this plan be contrasted with any of the excellent modern ones before and after the earthquake, the whole history of the Bay can be understood.

The population in Valparaiso was about 175,000. Of this a very large number were Europeans, for it was the commercial and business centre of Chile. It is here that the men live who design and carry out the vast nitrate and mining enterprises of the north of Chile. Here also can be found money to float vast schemes of sheep-farming and railway development. Not only so, but the export and import trade of Chile—shipping, banking, insurance, and, indeed, all the higher kinds of business, except that of politics—were managed from Valparaiso.

Every traveller used to be impressed by the business-like character of the city and suburbs. Viña del Mar and other places correspond to Wimbledon, Pollokshields, Birkenhead, or Wynberg. There were in this pretty little place hundreds of villas into which the wearied and worried man of business returned from his office in Valparaiso. There he found a comfort, and even luxury, probably far greater than that which his London or Liverpool correspondents found in their suburb.

He had, of course, no lack of business competition. The origin of Valparaiso trade is in the main British, and especially from Liverpool. After years of, practically, an English monopoly, there is now a strong German invasion. As regards the future, the opinion in South America is not, so far as I could discover, at all divided.

The young Englishman is considered essentially a schoolboy. His real life consists in lawn tennis, cricket, or polo, of which, at Valparaiso, he can obtain quite as much as he ought to receive. The office work corresponds to "lessons." He will, indeed, do his duty by his employer more or less conscientiously in office hours, and he is not lacking in ability or strength, but the

idea of working at business matters in his own time would appear to him preposterous and ridiculous. In most cases he does not trouble to learn Spanish or to understand Chilians. Why should he bother when all his friends are English?

The young German is a keen, ambitious, hard-working and abstemious man of business. His intention is to get on, and he will read and reflect on anything that bears directly or indirectly on his work. He may have done his army service in Germany, in which case he will have learnt discipline; or if he has eluded it, he knows that by the very peculiar regulations of his fatherland he loses all rights of German citizenship in ten years, and he will, of course, learn Spanish. It is at least doubtful if his mental powers and physical strength are equal to those of a young Englishman, but mental ability is not of much use nowadays unless it is employed.

The United States has also a share in Chilian trade, particularly in electrical engineering appliances, in railway and locomotive stock, and in financial schemes of the usual American character.

France has a complete monopoly of those industries which deal with fashionable apparel, luxuries, ornaments, etc. This, of course, is an old story, for Paris has been for years the Mecca of every well-born Chilian youth.

As regards the society and social life of Valparaiso, there are plenty of clubs, hotels, concerts, and theatres. So far as one has any right to judge, there are amusements in plenty. But there is a certain audacity in a stranger venturing to criticise the Society of a country where he has only been for a few months.

The reader will find descriptions in both Messrs. Anderson Smith's and Fitzgerald's books of matters in which the author does not presume to give an authoritative opinion.

In England all sorts of queer ideas about the savagery of South America still linger. There are many people who may be surprised to learn that llamas, pumas, and

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ferocious Indians in war-paint are hardly ever to be observed in the streets of Valparaiso.

To show the up-to-date character of this great city, we may describe the Electric Light and Traction Company's works.

A masonry dam 7 metres high has been built across a high-lying valley about 5 miles north of Valparaiso. Here are three turbines (Pelton water-wheel); each is of 1,200 H.P., and has a three-phase electric generator of 7,000 volts. The electric current is brought by two separate and distinct overhead sets of conductors on two sets of posts to a point near the city, and thence by underground cables to the sub-station in the town

By means of three motor generators, alternating "currents delivered from the line are transformed into the three-phase, a continuous current of 500 to 600 volts. Each set is for 875 kilowatts. As the water plant will be some two years before it is constructed, a provisional steam plant has been erected, consisting of two engines of 400 horse-power. Each engine is mounted on its own independent boiler, and is of the compound superheating steam type. Each engine drives two dynamos.

"By means of a large and extensive switchboard all the generators can be used either for lighting or traction purposes, the three-wire system (twice 220 volts) being employed for the electric lighting and 550 to 600 volts for the electric traction. Two storage batteries have also been erected, one for lighting and the other for traction work.

"All the electric lighting cables inside the town are laid underground. These cables are of the insulated lead-covered and steel-armoured type. The network at present put down is for some 30,000 16 candle-power lights. The street lighting when finished will consist of some 200 open arc lights of 2,000 candle-power each, mounted on steel poles, placed 40 to 60 yards apart. Some 700 Nernst lamps of 250 and 125 candle-power respectively will be used for the side streets, and for the hills and out-lying streets about 1,000 25 candle-power incandescent lights will be erected.

"In all about 25 miles of electric track will be laid down,

of which 10 miles will be for the inner part of the town and the remainder for the neighbouring suburbs.

"75 electric cars have been constructed for the tram service, of which 60 are double deckers, having a seating capacity for 20 passengers inside and 20 passengers outside. The remaining 15 cars are to be of the double bogie type, with a seating capacity for 28 passengers. About 15 of the old horse cars are being transformed into trailers.

"Owing to the cheap fares (5 c. for first class and 2½ c. for second class, say 1d. and ½d. respectively), a tremendous traffic is carried on, nearly 25,000,000 passengers are said to have been carried by the horse cars last year, which may be considered heavy, considering the population of the city is only 175,000."[1]

It is scarcely possible to think of Valparaiso as one saw it, or even to read of these splendid engineering and municipal improvements without real distress. Indeed, even before 1905, the history of the town had, in all conscience, been sufficiently troubled and diversified.

It was captured and sacked by Drake in 1578; again by Hawkins the Buccaneer in 1596. It was plundered by the Dutch pirate, Van Noort, in 1600. There were severe earthquake shocks in 1730,[2] 1822, 1839, and 1851. It was destroyed by fire in 1858, bombarded by the Spanish Admiral in 1866, and suffered by a severe earthquake in 1873. It suffered horribly in the Balmaceda revolution.

The whole Pacific Coast of Chile is subject to changes of level. Darwin estimated the rise of the coast-line at Valparaiso in recent times as 1,300 feet; in two hundred and twenty years there has been a change in level of 19 feet. In 1882, also, the land for a length of some 1,200 miles was raised 3-5 feet.

But the most terrible crisis in the history of Valparaiso began on Thursday, 16th August 1906. The day had

[1] No. 3465 "Chile Annual Series." Trade of Chile for the Year 1904.

[2] Concepción was destroyed in this earthquake as well as in both 1751 and 1835 by combined tidal waves and earthquakes.

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been unusually calm and pleasant. At about 8 P.M. there was a sudden, unexpected shock, immediately followed by another; the whole city seemed to swing backwards and forwards: then there was a horrible jolt, and whole rows of buildings (about thirty blocks of houses, three to five stories high, in the Avenida Brasil alone) fell with a terrific crash. The gas, electric-light and water-mains were at once snapped, and the whole city was plunged in darkness. This, however, did not last long, for, five minutes after the shock, great fires started in the ruined buildings about the Plaza del Orden, and, aided by a violent storm wind, which began about the same time, spread northwards over the city. Between the earthquake and the subsequent fire ninety per cent. of the houses are said to have been destroyed. The Arsenal, station, custom-house, hospitals, convents, banks, club-houses, and Grand Hotel were for the most part ruined, for without water, and in the horrible confusion that at first prevailed, it was almost impossible to check the fires.[1] But the authorities showed no lack of energy and presence of mind. Patrols of troops and armed citizens kept watch; thieves and marauders attempting to loot were shot. The fire was, where possible, checked by dynamite. Messengers on horseback were sent to Santiago and other places, appealing for help, and especially for provisions. The telegraph lines were destroyed; the railways were wrecked for miles—bridges had twisted, and tunnels had caved in—but communication with Santiago seems to have been re-established within a wonderfully short time. This was all the more creditable for the shocks continued on Friday and Saturday, and apparently did not cease until about 6 A.M. on Tuesday morning.

The condition of the wretched inhabitants was most pitiable. Some 60,000 were encamped on the barren

[1] The Central and South American Cable Office, built of *tabique*, stood the shock. One telegraph operator seems to have pluckily stuck to his post throughout the confusion. The *Mercurio* newspaper office also stood firm, and indeed this paper was regularly issued.

hills above the town without food or clothing; others took refuge on boats or steamers in the bay, for mercifully there was no tidal wave such as commonly accompanies great earth tremors on that coast, and no damage was done to the shipping in harbour.[1] The number of people killed has been variously estimated at from 300 to 10,000 persons; it is probable that from 500 to 1,000 were killed, and another 1,000 wounded. The damage done was at least £20,000,000.

But the destruction was not confined to Valparaiso. The centre of the disturbance is supposed to have been below the village of Limache (4,000 inhabitants). This place was completely destroyed. Fissures 200 feet long and 60 feet deep are said to have opened in the soil. Between Serena to the north and Talca to the south of Santiago, the whole country seems to have suffered terribly. On the line between Valparaiso and Santiago, Viña del Mar, Quilpué, Limache, and Llaillai were destroyed, and the Capital, Santiago, was severely affected. One of the shocks is said to have continued for the unprecedented time of 4′ 50″. There was on the night of the 16th a downpour of rain, accompanied by vivid lightning. This, and the melancholy booming of the fire-bells, made it a miserable night for the terrified inhabitants, who slept in the open squares and streets, under tents or under carts, waggons, etc. The criminals in the prisons attempted to break out, and several are said to have been shot before order was restored.

San Felipe and Los Andes, on the way to Buenos Ayres, were ruined, and even at places much farther to the south of Santiago, such as Rengo, San Fernando, Rancagua, Melipilla, great damage was done. Even at Talca eight people were killed, and a severe shock was experienced at Concepcion.

According to some accounts, the disturbance was continued across the Andes, and the cities of Tucuman, Inca, and Andes were destroyed. A volcano near Junin

[1] The disturbance produced a tidal wave 5 feet high at Hawaii, Mani, and Hilo.

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de los Andes was in eruption, and to the north Illapel between Valparaiso and Serena, was destroyed.

Yet to those who know the character of the people of Valparaiso, and of the Chilians generally, this awful check to the prosperity of the country and city will certainly be but a temporary one.

Chile seems to rise more vigorous and more enterprising after every disaster.

It is difficult to describe the special features of a great modern city. There is so little local colour and so much general resemblance in all cities above a certain size that any attempt at description is disheartening to the author, and of little guidance to the reader. Santiago, "most noble and most loyal," is a mixture of Paris, Madrid, and Seville. It is far ahead of Spanish towns in its electric tramways, broad avenues, and brisk movement. But the larger houses are all characteristically Spanish. They are built round a central court or patio, which is usually open to the sky above, and full of flowers and graceful shrubs. Very often there are sparkling fountains and statuary also. In fact, through the great gateway of a large Santiago house, the most delicious little views of water, flowers and greenery can be gathered in passing. This gateway has heavy wooden doors, carefully locked at night; the windows opening on the street are usually heavily barred, which is by no means a useless precaution.

The design of these houses is a very ancient one. Four stone huts, placed so as to enclose a square, and with but one opening to the outside, form a miniature fort; even the mansions of the great Santiago families, with four or more stories, and with the street front elaborately decorated, are but a development of this very simple arrangement.

It is in Santiago that one discovers what marvellous and gorgeous results can be obtained by the use of stucco. Very often it is tinted by rose-pink or terracotta, and it is simple and easy to make Corinthian, Doric or Ionic columns, to model flowers, wreaths, vases, and Cupids,

and other classical figures, by means of this plastic material.

The streets run, as is almost invariably the case in South America, at right angles. The Alameda is a delicious avenue planted with trees, and traversed by little streams of running water which give a pleasant, murmuring sound, and cool the hot air of midday. Amongst the trees are statues such as those of Bernardo O'Higgins, San Martin, and many others.

The Plaza da Armas has colonnades along the sides which are famous in Chilian history, but is possibly a little disappointing. Most of the other public buildings, though fine and magnificent, do not show any very special distinctive character. It is the enormous size, business-like character, and thoroughly business-like tone that distinguish Santiago. It is quite obviously a metropolis, and indeed to the upper classes in Chile, it is what Paris is to every Frenchman.

The Quinta Normal, with its library, Herbarium and Zoological Gardens, where the Niata cattle mentioned by Darwin are still maintained, is a sort of Jardin d'Acclimatation and Jardin des Plantes in one.

In fact the French, or rather Parisian, instincts of the upper classes in Santiago can be noticed at every turn.

It is the fashion of books on Chile for the author to wax eloquent on the Cerro de Santa Lucia. This rugged, projecting rock overlooking Santiago should remind one vividly of Pedro de Valdivia, of Señora Suarez, and of the heroical little band that starved out there the first two momentous years of Chilian history.

"In this valley, two leagues from the great Cordillera, by the side of the river Mapocho, God has planted a mountain of a beautiful aspect and proportion which is like a watch-tower from which the whole plain is discovered with the variety of its culture in arable and meadow."

That is how Ovalle describes the hill of Santa Lucia in his time.

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But what has been done with it? Stucco vases, balconies, balustrades, gardens, restaurants, and even a theatre, make it impossible, even for a moment, to remember the Conquistadores. The view is, however, still magnificent, and it is from the Santa Lucia that one can obtain the best possible idea of Santiago itself.

In the mornings, one may see the Santiago ladies hurrying to the churches. The power of the clergy is perhaps most easily realised from the fact that no woman dares to enter the church in a hat or bonnet. Every one, rich or poor, noble or lowly, wears the inevitable Manto. This is a sort of black shawl; it is sometimes of very rich and beautiful material, and it is always folded in such a manner that it is as becoming as possible.

In the afternoons there are fine horses and carriages to be seen, and the *jeunesse dorée* may be observed sauntering through the streets and staring in an open and unabashed manner at every lady that passes. It is not considered bad form; indeed it is supposed to be the correct thing to make audible remarks on a lady's personal appearance. "How beautiful is the little one! What sympathetic eyes has the elder lady!" and so on.

The physical appearance of some of these young aristocrats (if they really belong to the highest social circles) is not impressive. One notices everywhere the narrow chests, sloping shoulders and effeminate appearance of the typical Parisian *roué*. The corner-boys, even, resemble the *apache* of the boulevards, and are as dangerous and cowardly as these degenerate types of city life.

Perhaps the most characteristic custom of Santiago and of all Chilian cities is the evening "Paseo," or promenade. After dinner, in the cool of the evening, people saunter under the trees, very often in some public garden where a good band is playing, and gossip over the events of the day.

There does not seem to be much jealously or ill-feeling between the upper and lower classes in Chile, for the



CHILIAN LADIES IN CHURCH ATTIRE (MANTO).

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masses keep to a different part of the Plaza, and do not intrude upon the pacing-ground of the richer or better-dressed people.

This evening promenade is attended by quite small boys and girls. They do not mix, but keep quite separate paths. Yet even the little girls of seven or eight years old are finished coquettes. Their eyes languishingly observe every man and boy in the Plaza, and they take care that each shall receive a due share of their smiles! The dresses and bonnets of the ladies, and the clothing and hats of the men are excellent examples of what were the Paris fashions just twelve months before. It is, however, not the object of this book to try to give that intangible, indescribable spirit which exists in every city and in every population. These few points cannot be omitted, for they must strike every stranger, and, indeed, are to be found in every book on Chile.

The Central valley of Chile, with its wonderful land and complex and scientific system of irrigation, belongs for the most part to large landed proprietors. The system of dividing the property amongst all the children, share and share alike, prevails, and is not without certain very serious drawbacks to the future of Chile. Fortunately, there is plenty of family affection, and married sons and daughters-in-law dwell quite happily together under the paternal roof.

The system of land-tenure is one of the most interesting in the world. The proprietor either lives in his farm or "hacienda" all the year round, except for a few months in Santiago, or one is obliged to admit that he is sometimes an absentee landlord.

On such a hacienda there can be plenty of comfort—horses to ride, possibly a little shooting, a garden and other luxuries—but the nearest neighbours may be many miles away, and to some people the loneliness and isolation becomes very distressing. The proprietor will be a magistrate with powers to put a man in irons; he will, of course, exercise an enormous influence over his inquilinos.

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These latter are allowed a house and such ground as they care to cultivate, rent free. They can grow as many beans and vegetables as they like; they also are allowed to pasture a certain number of cattle. In return, the inquilino has to provide labour for the use of the proprietor whenever it is required. For the work thus given, the proprietor pays a small daily wage. Thus, in one case in which I could obtain the details, the master paid half a dollar a day for his inquilino's work. The wage for day labourers would be in the same district one dollar twenty cents; thus it is obvious that the inquilino gets his house and ground for about £14 to £25 a year. The advantage of the system lies in the fact that near these country farmhouses, no free labour can be obtained. The check on the proprietor, should he prove harsh and exacting, arises from the fact that the inquilino is at perfect liberty to depart somewhere else with his cattle (and very likely a few of his master's too). This is, however, a very rare occurrence.

The inquilino, if he proves useless and idle, can be discharged by his master, but this measure seems to be very seldom adopted.

There is a general store run by one of the landlord's servants or inquilinos, at which the people obtain all their supplies.

To a European, at first sight the system seems absurd and unsatisfactory, but after careful observation one begins to see its many advantages.

An inquilino, usually with a huge family, obtains what may be considered a small farm at a rent of about 5s. to 10s. a week. He can cultivate as much as he chooses; he can get drunk at intervals, play the national guitar or dance the cueca as often as he pleases, for only one man's labour is required of him. It is at least doubtful if land can be obtained on such easy terms anywhere else in the world!

It is true that he seems miserable. The houses are often mere shanties of adobe bricks, or even of reeds and

sticks.[1] They are dark, and appear excessively dirty inside. There is usually a table, covered by white glazed American cloth, with wooden boxes or forms instead of chairs. But the darkness is cool in hot weather, and there are not quite so many thousand flies inside. Fleas and other insects no doubt multiply exceedingly, but then the trouble and expense of washing days (the bane of an English labourer's existence) is avoided. If one compares the state of the Chilian peon to-day with the description given in Miers "Travels" about 1820-1830, the improvement is manifest and remarkable. This writer has the rare gift of exact and apparently accurate description, and though one recognises much of the Indian habits which he mentions, it is clear that the peon or inquilino to-day is infinitely better off. He has almost always a horse, chickens, goats, pigs, and often other cattle.

With all the disadvantages of the system, it is admitted that an exceptionally able and industrious inquilino has a slight chance of rising to a distinctly higher social scale. There is, of course, plenty of work to be had at the nitrate works and mines. Also at harvest time thousands of labourers go south to the frontier beyond Concepción to help in gathering in the harvest. Thus money can always be obtained. Moreover, on haciendas there are a few headmen. There will be one in charge of the cattle, another in charge of irrigation, which is a very difficult and ingenious art, and the storekeeper, as well as others, drawn from the inquilino ranks.

One likes to imagine that he can first sell eggs, then chickens, then pigs, then goats, then horses and cattle, and so accumulate a little capital. Moreover, in South Chile, the government is now settling native colonists instead of Germans and other foreigners. But probably it is as rare in Chile for an inquilino to become a landlord as it is in England for an agricultural labourer to become a farmer.

On the side of the landlord, there is to be said that he obtains a sufficient supply of unskilled labour, but it

[1] Miers.

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is very difficult to see how improvements in cultivation can be introduced. These indeed are scarcely required in the irrigated lands of the Central valley, which are probably amongst the richest in the world. But the methods are primitive still; for instance, the thrashing of wheat is still done on quite prehistoric lines. A herd of mares is collected from the hills and divided into two bands. One set is made to gallop round over the corn in a circle of some 100-200 yards diameter for about twenty minutes; then the corn is shovelled up, and the straw removed, and the other band take their turn. A large number of men are required both to lasso any refractory animal a d to prepare the track.

One is apt to think the system absurd, but a reformer must remember that the mares are important for breeding, and that there is no other work for them to do. The unskilled labour is also available, whilst skilled labour might be difficult to get. The horses are excellent, and especially hardy, enduring, and often pleasant to ride. Much harm has been done by introducing American trotting stallions (perhaps the most useless creature in the world). Many possible polo ponies can be noticed in Chile, and the keeping of horses and their value is distinctly low. This is an enormous advantage in a young country, but, unfortunately, the price is rising.

The unirrigated hills and mountains of Chile present a difficult problem for agriculture. In summer some 10,000 head of stock will grow fat and sleek on the pastures of a farm, whereas in winter not a fifth of the number can exist upon it. It is possible that when the population increases some method of making hay or growing storeable crops may be devised. The abundance of fruit in Chile is very remarkable. Grapes, peaches, strawberries, cherries, and, indeed, all fruits may be found almost everywhere, and at exceedingly low prices, and long lines of women with fruit may be observed at every railway station.

The vineyards yield an abundant supply of quite good ordinary wine. In fact, the difficulty in this



THRESHING CORN IN THE ANCIENT MANNER.

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industry consists in the excessive cheapness of the wine, which makes it in the highest degree difficult to make a profit.

A serious drawback to the vines is the abundance of snails. The caracol or edible snail (*Helix aspera*), introduced to Chile twenty-one years ago by some ill-inspired gourmand, has become a regular pest. About 4 hectolitres daily were gathered in one place, and 135 hectolitres in a single spring.[1]

In viticulture, and, indeed, all departments of agriculture, the government has done a very great deal for education. There are many publications supplied by the government in order to interest and instruct the people in such matters. They are thoroughly practical, clearly expressed and simply written. M. G. Lavergne has also translated into Spanish many important works on wine-making and vineyards, to which he has added notes dealing with Chile. There are also several agricultural colleges at which experiments on the use of manures, guano, etc., are carried out quite on the most modern lines.[2]

As regards irrigation, the following quotation from Theo. Child gives some idea of the methods employed.

"Each farmer or hacendado is a subscriber to or a shareholder in an irrigation canal, constructed generally at very considerable expense, and regulated by carefully elaborated laws. A canal is divided into so many *regadores*, a *regador* being an outlet through which nominally thirty-five litres can pass per second, this quantity being supposed to be enough to keep one man employed. . . . The fields are traversed by parallel and intersecting smaller channels connected with the main canal, and the water is directed from point to point as need may be. . . . The water flowing down a small channel across the field is stopped by a moveable dam of coarse canvas on a rough wooden frame, and diverted to a square of land on one side, where a workman with

[1] Lavergne, "Caracoles De la Vid.," April 1901.

[2] "Publicaciones de la Estacion de Patolojia Vejetal de Chile," etc., by Gaston Lavergne, Ismael, Mena, Concha, etc.

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a spade removes small inequalities of surface, and sees that every inch of ground receives water."[1]

The main canals start far away up in the hills, and the brown, rushing water and the greenery which it calls into existence, makes the Central valley a scene of luxuriant beauty. The water is not at all pure in the lower branches, and not infrequently has a distinct and offensive smell. Sheep in irrigated fields are said to suffer from parasites, but all other crops yield abundantly. Ovalle even in 1649 says as much.

"A man who has about 40,000 crowns to employ in lands, flocks, and slaves, may every year have a revenue of 10,000 to 12,000 crowns, which is a gain of 25 per cent., very lawful, and without any trouble to one's conscience."[2]

Farther north beyond Santiago, the progressing dryness of the climate has a pronounced effect upon the vegetation. Huge, ungainly cactus, 12 to 15 feet high, occur here and there in a shrubby vegetation which shows every sign of a half-desert climate. These tall, candelabra-like giants are found all over the low hills from the Cuesta de Chacabuco ridge, to Llaillai, Valparaiso, and up the Aconcagua valley to Rio Blanca. They have but an insignificant root system, and are often blown down, yet the peculiar lattice-like arrangement of woody strings within the soft, fleshy bark must give them considerable elasticity. The most interesting point about these cactus is the way in which the entire outer surface is almost entirely covered over by rosettes of stout, curved spines. Often the whole upper part is covered by the dense, bloodred flowers of a parasite (*Loranthus aphyllus*) allied to the mistletoe.

Foxes, rats, mice, and other small animals are probably very common in the cactus region, and as there is generally no water whatever, these protecting

[1] Child, "The Spanish-American Republics."
[2] Ovalle, see "Pinkerton's Voyages," vol. xiv.

spines may be of great importance in defending the cactus from them.

The shrubs which occur with the cactus are very curious. One has no leaves and a peculiar bluish-white, waxy colour (*Asteriscium isatidocarpon*); most have very sticky or gummy leaves and stems (*Baccharis, Maydia*). Many are strongly scented, and a few are succulent.

There is not one of them which does not show some kind of protective apparatus which will save it both from the drought of summer and from the voracious grazing animals which range over the country almost unchecked. Amongst the characteristic shrubs are *Colliguaja odorifera* and *Lagunoa glandulosa.*

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CHAPTER XIX

THE FRONTIER, VALDIVIA, AND THE GREAT FOREST

Colonisation — Value of land — Returns—Cattle—Dogs—Port of Talcahuano—Concepción—Temuco—Many races—Valdivia in the forties—Life of the people—Cooking—The city itself—German immigration—Sharp speculation in land—Methods of becoming a proprietor—Arrival of the *Hermann*—Colonel Viel saves the situation—Puerto Montt—Early disasters—Clerical objections—Recent emigrants—Truth of colonisation—Malbarco colonists—Forests — Of Temuco — Of Valdivia — Of Puelo river — Of Magellan's Straits—Of Punta Arenas—Destruction of good trees —Plantation prospects—Monkey puzzle.

SOUTH of Concepción, or across the Biobio river, lies a thoroughly temperate country, where colonisation is proceeding actively. The Biobio river is a most imposing and beautiful stream. But it is too shallow, and so apt to change its course that it is almost useless for navigation, though a few timber rafts may be sometimes seen upon it. All the country, once covered by forest, is now rapidly changing its character. As the railway is pushed downwards, from Pitrufquen to Puerto Montt, new districts are being opened up, and most of the low ground forest is certain to disappear.

Land can be bought from the State in Southern Chile (near Temuco) for about 5 dollars to 60 dollars per hectare (2 acres). Thus about 1,000 hectares could be obtained for £1,000. Generally one-third of the purchase price must be paid down at once, and the remainder can be paid in ten years by instalments of £66 annually. The expenses of surveying are borne by the purchaser. He is also obliged to fence the land, which, of course, means a heavy outlay.

Such a property stocked with cattle is said to yield an income of about 5,000 dollars a year.[1] The woods are destroyed in an apparently very wasteful manner. The young growth is cut across at the root, and the larger trees are ringed near the base. Then during the hot season everything withers, and becomes scorched and dried. It is then set on fire, and everything burnt away except the naked and unsightly trunks of the taller trees. These remain for several years; indeed, one may often see the stumps standing in the fresh growing corn. It has been in many places the custom to grow wheat on virgin soil of this character until it is absolutely exhausted. Then it is left to itself, and a poor, wiry pasture springs up, on which the horses, cattle, and other animals are grazed.

This system was once employed in Scotland, and a very similar one was usual in the United States. In Chile some attempt has been made by the government to protect the forests at the springheads, and in many ravines. Nevertheless, where the system continues, the country is certainly being denuded of forest far too rapidly, and there is a danger of its becoming arid and dry.

The cattle in Chile are for the most part like those seen in Spain, but in some places fine herds of Durhams, Shorthorns, and Herefords have been established. All the heavy draught work is done by oxen, as is, of course, almost always the case in countries where the roads are not macadamised.

Some of the carts and waggons are of very extraordinary design, and solid, wooden wheels are not unusual. The yoke is always attached to the horns, as in Spain, not laid on the neck, as in South Africa.

Pigs are exceedingly abundant in Southern Chile, particularly on dust-heaps. There is, however, a tendency amongst new arrivals to distrust bacon, hams, and pork. There is a lean manginess, a want of hair, and an atmosphere of the midden about the Chilian swine which are not prepossessing.

[1] This information was given me by Mr Leay, H.B.M. Vice-Consul at Temuco.

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The dogs are also too fond of unsavoury scavenging to commend themselves to a European. The Chilenos are very fond of their dogs, and everybody in the country seems to keep quantities of curs. The commonest type resembles a short-legged jackal, with faint reminiscences of many different breeds. The large dogs kept at country farms show distinct traces of the mastiff. Others appear to be a cross between the retriever, pointer, poodle, and Newfoundland. Sometimes one sees large, yellow, silky-haired, and lion-like hounds, which may belong to a native breed.

When one is approaching the farms and isolated houses, all the dogs pour out, open-mouthed; at night it is considered to be their duty to tear to pieces any unauthorised stranger who approaches the enclosures. They quite understand this, and apparently take pleasure in doing it.[1]

It is not advisable to approach a Chilian farm at night unless accompanied by a member of the family. The owners are considered to be fully justified in shooting any stranger who is, very probably, either a cattle-thief or brigand. All these circumstances and customs spring quite naturally from the condition of this part of Chile (Temuco and the south), where colonisation is proceeding rapidly.

The port of Talcahuano is a magnificent harbour, well protected by the island of Quiriquina, and capable of holding the whole Chilian navy. It is, in fact, the Portsmouth or Hamoaze of Chile, and contains the government arsenals and dockyards. Concepción, a few miles away, is an exceedingly pleasant town, and a very comfortable place to live in.

The mixture of races and of civilisations in such frontier places as Temuco is very interesting. Telephone wires cross the unpaved streets, which are made of shanties (plank and corrugated iron). Now and then an Indian woman with her chickens and other produce passes along the street swathed in her blankets, and sullenly veiling her face if an attempt is made to take a photograph of her.

[1] The words Accc . . . ch, perrr . . . ro, said in a tone of fury and conviction, are the correct ones to use when attacked by the dog in Chile.



THE INDIANS OBJECT TO PHOTOGRAPHY.

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Then there will come creaking ox-carts carrying wool, or timber, or grain. At the station an American locomotive brings in a luxuriously-appointed and comfortable train, whose passengers are of the most diverse and different characters. Polite Chilian officials, German brewers and chemists, Italian shopkeepers, French hotel-keepers, and Chilian peones mingle on the platform, where an occasional English business man or American drummer may be sometimes observed. At Angol, on one particular New Year's eve, for example, a Basque innkeeper from the Pyrenees, a German librarian from Hamburg, gave me, a Scotchman, a most interesting account of the future of Chile.

GERMAN CHILE

The beautiful harbour of Corral and the Valdivia river and town are almost as interesting historically as Concepción. Yet, if one may believe the account given in Rosales' Reminiscences, the state of this province before the Germans arrived in 1850 had become quite deplorable. It was neither colonised nor even explored, and the condition of the few inhabitants was scarcely better than that of the Indians whom they had replaced.

Along the shore isolated huts were to be found at distant intervals. Each soot-covered and dirty hovel was the home of a family. The single room was kitchen, dining-room, and bedroom in one, and the fireplace (hardened earth) was in the centre of the floor. Such a family would possess a small plot of cultivated land, where the women worked the ploughs and other instruments, which latter were made of wood hardened in the fire. Beans, potatoes, and a very little wheat were the only crops cultivated. The wild apple trees produced plenty of fruit, so that a rude press and a few barrels for "chicha" were to be found at every house.

But much of such a family's daily food came from the seashore, where was abundance of mussels, sea-urchins, shells, crabs, oysters, and other marine delicacies.

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Enclosures made of branches and stones were arranged to catch the fish at low tide. The family meal was cooked in an interesting way, though perhaps it copied too closely that of the untutored Araucanian. A hole dug in the ground was filled or lined with stones heated in the fire. Everything—fish, oysters, meat, if any could be obtained, cheese, beans, and potatoes, were mixed up and pressed into the opening. The mixture was covered with quantities of "Panqui" leaves, over which earth and clay were plastered down to prevent the escape of the steam.

About a quarter of an hour afterwards, the family, as well as their dogs and swine, gathered around the oven. The earth was removed: every one helped themselves with fingers and hands from the steaming mess, and ate until they were satisfied. At night, father, mother, sons, and daughters, lodgers, dogs, and swine, formed a compact group around the hearth; there they would slumber till the next day brought back the same routine.

At the proper season timber was cut in the forest and brought down to Calbuco, but even in this, the staple article, the trade was of a paltry description.

There was no coined money, and the currency was "planks." All valuable timber had, even then, been removed from the immediate vicinity of the sea and the rivers. There were no roads — not even one between Corral and Valdivia: the passage by boat took about four hours.

Corral consisted of some twenty-eight houses. Yet this was where Spain had spent enormous sums in fortification. (See pp. 188-190.)

Valdivia consisted of low, irregularly-built houses, or rather plank huts. Some houses had windows to them, but in most the roof was covered with moss and weeds of all kinds. Before every door was a big tree-trunk, from which the cook hacked off with an axe whatever firewood he required. There was a wooden church, but it was not finished. The Plaza was generally full of hides staked

out to dry, and it was the place of deposit for dirt, refuse, and abominations of all sorts.

This was the Valdivia of 1843-1850 before the Germans arrived. They entirely altered the whole district, and the place became a clean, thriving, and prosperous town full of intelligent and busy citizens. The story of this German immigration is very interesting, but it is not very easy to obtain a perfectly definite and distinct idea of what happened. To begin with, the Chilian government was itself profoundly ignorant of its own provinces. There was a popular belief in Santiago that Valdivia was a large and almost uninhabited province, and that it rained there on 366 days out of the 365 days in the year! Beyond this the Santiago officials seem to have had no information whatever. Don Vicente Perez Rosales, from whose Reminiscences most of the foregoing details are taken, was the government emigration agent. But he had neither map, nor statistics, nor a proper land-registry. He was obliged to act like an explorer in untrodden and unknown country: he had to ascend the Volcan Osorno to get a rough idea of the lie of the land. The whole of it was covered by dense forest; often there was no firm ground below the trees, but instead of it, only quagmires of loathly slime.

So soon as, by President Bulnes' decree of 1843, the intentions of the government as regards colonisation were declared, speculation began. Land was bought up at nominal rates from absentee proprietors who were delighted at getting rid of perfectly useless and unremunerative property. The agents of sharp men-of-business travelled through the Indian country and hastily unearthed the Indian Chief. With him they made great friends by means of quantities of cheap brandy; and after they had won his confidence, it was easy, with plenty of drink, to carry him to a notary, where he was delighted to sign away his title to his own or other Indians' land for a very trifling sum. One person is said to have gained 600,000 morgen of land by such methods. These

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properties were then sold to emigration associations in Europe. Only the government seems to have been ignorant of the proceedings of these industrious and energetic people.

When the emigration agent arrived at Valdivia, he discovered that every possible acre of land was claimed either by one person, or, more usually, by several people. In the midst of this general confusion, the first ship, the German barque *Hermann*, arrived after a journey of one hundred and twenty days from Hamburg. She carried the first batch of eighty-five German colonists (seventy men, ten women, and five children). She was soon followed by other ships (the *Susanna, San Paoli, Adolfo*, and others). Most of the emigrants had paid their own passage money, and were prepared to buy their own land, and, indeed, did so later on.

Of course everything at first was in hopeless confusion. Nothing had been arranged for these colonists; the titles to the land which had been acquired for them by the emigration associations were under dispute in the law-courts. So far as any one could foresee, these lawsuits might be protracted until the youngest German child had died of old age. The government agent had no land for them of any kind.

The situation was saved by Colonel Don Benjamin Viel (an old soldier who had fought in the Peninsula). He sold, for a reasonable price, his estate, which consisted of the island of Teja or Valenzuela. This was about four kilometres long by nearly one kilometre in width. This was divided into lots, and sold to the first emigrants.[1]

During the four months from December 1850 to March 1851, the entire country was altered. A proper currency was introduced; the colonists built their houses, dug gardens, cut down the trees, and began all sorts of industries. In fact, Valdivia became, and has remained ever since, a monument of German industry.

[1] The names mentioned include Ebbner, Lechler, Kayzer, Rubeck, Hornikel, Hoffmann, Hacbler, Ineffer, Von Zush, Kruger, and especially Anwandter, Schneider, and Philippi.

During the first sixteen years about 1,400 emigrants arrived. The idea of making a new colony at Lake Llanquihue had occurred to some one. A road 21 kilometres long was made from the lake to the coast, where a seaport, the present Puerto Montt, was founded. This little town soon began to flourish. Its Plaza was planted with flowers and shrubs, it had a hospital, a fire-brigade, and a philharmonic society. It had also a library which, during 1854, was utilised by 2,123 readers out of a population of only 2,504 (Santiago with 100,000 people had only 8,000 readers).

In 1861, Puerto Montt had a trade valued at 284,759 pesos. There were roads which waggons could traverse, sawmills, flourmills, bakers' shops, tanneries, breweries and distilleries. Before their arrival wheat was imported from Concepción; now, not only wheat but other agricultural produce was exported. Of course the first two years of every colony's life are times of trial and distress. The German colony at Valdivia was not, in this respect, exceptional. At Llanquihue, during 1853 and 1854, the colonists nearly perished of hunger during a horribly severe winter. A plague of small birds devoured the crops in 1855, but in 1858 the settlers had 230 cuadras in cultivation, and were doing well.

But there were other drawbacks. The clergy could not bring themselves to accept a protestant population in Valdivia. Rosales had discovered at Cuyunco an abandoned mission station, where a few wild apple trees existed within some ruinous walls. The local tradition was that this ruinous enclosure, where travellers usually stabled their beasts, had been the chapel. He allotted this land to the colonists. But the *curé* of the parish used the apples for chicha, and at his instigation, certain Indians claimed the property. A peremptory order came down from Santiago insisting on the return of the land to its original owners.

The country also was unsettled, and the poor German colonists lived in terror; a pathetic letter which was received by Rosales will illustrate this.

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"High and well-born! If all Chilians were like yourself, Chile would be to us a real paradise, but unfortunately it is not so. In Union our women are outraged; in Valdivia we are assassinated, and in Osorno we are not even permitted to rest in our graves, for they dig up our bodies to feed the dogs."

Prompt enquiry was made, and it was soon discovered that the miscreant at Union was a German. The murderer at Valdivia was hanged, and the miserable Indians who had plundered the graveyard at Osorno were punished.

But the German colony at Valdivia not only survived these troubles, but has made this district entirely German. There are numbers of people who know no other language, and the province is an exceedingly prosperous one.[1] The official immigration lasted till 1870, but ever since Germans have continued to come, though at their own expense.

There has always been, however, a certain feeling in Chile, which is, indeed, quite justifiable, that wholesale monopolisation of any part of Chile by one nation, even if it consists of the very best kind of colonists, such as these industrious and hard-working Germans, has its dangers and disadvantages. Thus, of recent years encouragement has been given to English, French, Swiss, Boers and other foreigners, to settle in Chile. The most recent returns seem to show that the present tendency is to settle Chilians on the new lands in preference to foreigners.

Some of these attempts have been total failures, and especially that of turning Londoners into peasant proprietors in the islands of Chiloé. No one who had the smallest practical knowledge either of the town-dweller or of the soil and climate of Chiloé could have supposed that anything but ruin could result from such an undertaking.

On the one hand are seen in certain books high-flown and enthusiastic letters professedly from French, German, and Swiss colonists, in which Chile is described in the

[1] Kunz, "Chile und die Deutschen Colonien," and Rosales, "Recuerdos, etc.," give the best accounts of the first beginnings of German Valdivia.

most glowing terms.[1] On the other hand, one finds in other books, which are professedly quite impartial, emphatic and decided warnings against Chile as a country for Europeans.

Probably the best method of arriving at the truth is to study the government returns, which give, with the greatest care (though in a particularly tedious way), the actual cultivation, the possessions and the character of every emigrant's family.[2] The truth, so far as State-aided colonisation is concerned, is that, probably, an industrious, hard-working family can, at the cost of severe labour and some privation, distinctly improve their position and, indeed, become prosperous and comfortable to an extent which would be utterly impossible in their own country. At the same time, these returns do undoubtedly prove that thefts of cattle are very common. Moreover, Indians complain constantly that some other Indian has sold their land to the foreigners.

But State-aided colonisation is a very different and much more risky proceeding than the natural healthy development of colonisation independent of the government. By the latter process quite new country is being continually opened up.

Thus, recently, a Chilian exploring expedition cut a track with axes and machetes through dense, untrodden forest and tangled bamboos up the mountain-sides toward Nahuelhuapi and over a pass of 900 metres altitude. A few years afterwards, some enterprising merchants of Puerto Montt improved the rough track of the explorers, and now caravans of laden mules regularly traverse the road without any inconvenience whatever. This country about Lake Nahuelhuapi and the lake Todos los Santos is certainly one of the most beautiful spots on the whole globe, and yet it is to a large extent still unclaimed and ownerless land.

One very curious development has taken place near

[1] "Ce que disent les colons sur le Chili," 1885; "Resources for European immigrants, etc.," by Davila, Lorraine, etc.

[2] "Memoria de la Inspeccion Jeneral de Tierras i Colonisation," 1903.

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Malbarco. Chilian colonists farm over 480 square leagues across the Andes near the Tucuyo branch of the Neuquen river. When the snow melts in spring, they climb the mountains to sow their crops and pasture the cattle. They make cheese, and then, after reaping the harvest about the end of March, they bring their cattle back to the lower valleys of the Cordillera. During April they take their produce across the Andes to markets in Chile, returning to their winter work before the passes are closed. They have for centuries crossed by the passes and settled in the fertile and well-watered lands which are found on the eastern side of the Andes, and between them and the barren, waterless wastes of the Western Pampas and Patagonia.[1] As a matter of fact, the "hinterland" of Valdivia is probably an undeveloped temperate country with prospects far more promising than the wild land of oak scrub and pine forest in which our Celtic forefathers made their first settlements.

FORESTS AND TIMBER

Chile possesses probably more forest proportionally to its area than any other country in the world. The whole Western or Pacific slope of the Andes from the Beagle Channel to Valdivia may be roughly described as one immense forest out of which project the high summits or rock precipices of the Cordilleras. Even north of Valdivia, forest can be detected along the seaward slopes, and in ravines of the coast Cordillera as far as the Itata river mouth. Patches are also found along the foothills of the Andes to the east of the Central valley.

In the colonial days, it is not a little interesting to note that Valparaiso, of all places in the world, was selected as a seaport because the rich woods near at hand afforded timber for shipbuilding! One may therefore conclude that the original forest extended along the coast at least as far north as Valparaiso, and very nearly

[1] See "Statement on behalf of Chile," p. 480.

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A FOREST OF ANTARCTIC BEECH AT TEMUCO.

To face p. 299.

as far along the Andes. This is a point of great practical importance, for it goes to show that trees of a sufficient size to yield valuable timber might be grown not only all over Central Chile, but near Valparaiso and Santiago. Any one who has observed the growth of such trees as have been planted would, however, scarcely require assurance on this point. A forest which at its northern edge is in a Syrian or Neapolitan climate, and in the south touches the Antarctic regions, naturally shows great variations at different latitudes.

(1) Thus near Temuco (latitude 38° 50′) the trees are for the most part Antarctic beech. This grows very slowly and (see under Roble) is not generally of any great height or diameter. These trees are, in ravines and sheltered places, matted together by entanglements of the climbing bamboo (*Chusquiea kila*, and other species), which grow to a very considerable height and make the woods very difficult of access. A curious effect is produced by the great tufts of a parasite (*Myzodendron*), not unlike the lichen Old Man's Beard, though it is a flowering plant, of which huge tassels hang down from the upper branches. Sometimes a tree is covered by masses of *Loranthus* (allied to mistletoe), with dark-red flowers and sombre green leaves. In most places the lower branches and trunks are everywhere covered by soft cushions of delicate, graceful liverworts and green mosses. Filmy ferns, Polypodies, and other creeping plants spring out of this background, and their fronds droop over gracefully in the moist atmosphere.

On the damp ground there are also ferns, as well as violets, *Oxalis rosea*, *Gunnera chilensis*, *Salpiglossis*, and other flowering plants. Certain *Umbelliferae*, *Hydrocotyle*, *Ligusticum panul*, and *Osmorrhiza*, with its ingenious burrs, are very remarkable.

Many fuchsias, *Philesias*, the flaming red *Gardoquia*, and *Escallonias*, occur as shrubs in certain parts of it. The creepers *Lapageria*, with beautiful hanging waxy red or white bells, *Dioscorea*, *Bowallia*, etc., should also be mentioned.

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(2) Near Valdivia there used to be many groves of Chilian conifers, but they are now almost all cut out. The best idea of the natural wood is perhaps that given by Rosales of the path cut from Puerto Montt to Llanquihue.

"It might be described as a dark ditch, five leagues long, and cut through a moist and very thick entanglement of branches. The miry pathway being composed of roots, leaves, and the half-decayed trunks of trees."

Two German colonists, both fathers of a family, were lost in the mud along this road.[1]

The accumulations of peat below the trees is a very remarkable character of some of these forests. One sees under the branches nothing but stretches of black loathly slime and pools of unpleasant-looking water. The trees standing in this soft bottom are unhealthy-looking and draped with ragged tassels of moss, with here and there the crimson flowers of Sarmienta and other creepers.

In Chiloé, it was this sort of ground that disgusted the Londoners whom some misguided person had imagined would make good colonists. Sir Thomas Holdich has a good description of the peat in these islands.

"You will probably find yourself up to your waist in the depths of a slushy, moss-covered bog and entangled in a swampy growth of water plants of every conceivable variety."

These marsh plants consist of *Astelias*, *Gaimardas*, *Calthas* and other surface-growing plants.

(3) Puelo River.—Dr Steffen thus describes the forest at this point:

"Under the lofty trees grows the dense underbush mainly composed of 'colihuales,' so thickly pressed together that they do not allow of any other vegetation. Some of these colihue bamboos are 25 to 27 feet high, and 4 inches round the base.

"When the 'colihuales' are not so thick, the ground is

[1] Andreas Wehle and Lincke.

carpeted by a deep moss-covering saturated like sponges with rain water and a profusion of ferns. The abundance of moisture prevents evaporation and permeates the air with an intense smell of dampness proceeding from the numberless fallen tree trunks in course of decomposition, and from the dense layers of decayed leaves and mould covering the soil. Beautiful creepers (*Mitraria*, *Boquila*, *Luzuriaga*), with white or red flowers, are entangled between the trees.

(4) Forest of the western sea-board, near the Straits of Magellan:—Here the "forest" consists of stunted, gnarled, thickly-branched and entangled beech trees, covered with moss and forming thickets, into which it is almost impossible to force one's way.

(5) Near Punta Arenas at the Loreto Mine:—Here it is a light wood very badly grown, but still thick and dense enough to lose one's way in.[1] The trees are the Antarctic beech (*Nothofagus antarcticus* and *N. obliquus*). They are more like hornbeams or oaks (whence the Chilian name of Roble) than beeches. Probably the best trees had been cut out. Very few were tall, and others were often rotten, and decayed in the centre. Some might be three feet in diameter. There were shrubs such as *Pernettya mucronata* (Dingledee), a sort of currant (*Ribes glandulosus*), and many handsome *Senecios*.

The ground was often covered by trailing stems of *Acæna ovalifolia*, *A. adscendens*, and especially *Gunnera magellanica*. Generally there was but little leaf mould, though deep masses of black peaty humus occurred in the hollows. There were in such places fine orchids, *Cardamines*, the pretty violet of Magellan, and a *Valerian*.[2]

It is necessary to give in detail these differences before discussing the timber possibilities of Chile. It is obvious at once that no sort of estimate is possible as to the value of the natural forest, which covers an enormous

[1] A little boy wandered away from a picnic party here, and was never found again.

[2] *Valeriana lapathifolia*, *Cardamine geranifolia*, *C. glacialis*, and *C. nivalis*, *Chloræa*, sp.

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area, and varies very greatly at different altitudes, and at different latitudes.

Much of the forest has been already destroyed. Residents at Concepción say that within their own recollection it has been cut back at least fifty miles to the southward, and, indeed, in 1904 one could see the process at work (see p. 289). This wholesale cutting down of the forest to form agricultural land is, of course, inevitable, but it has its dangers. Unless care is taken to preserve the woods covering the springs, and unless a certain proportion of woodland is left in the valley, the desiccation of Southern Chile must inevitably follow. On this head Don Vicuña Mackenna remarks: "That which is coming to an end in Chile is not the rain, but the rivers, because of the disappearance of the trees overshading their sources." ("El Clima de Chile.")

But in addition to wholesale destruction, there has been for years past a steady cutting out of the valuable coniferous wood. From Chiloé, Reloncavi, and the neighbourhood, Indians in their light canoes have year after year explored the coast-line and rivers. Any good *Ciprés* or other coniferous tree was felled, floated down the river, or cut into rude planks. The only currency in Southern Chile used to be the "plank." There was no coinage, and trade was carried on by a rude sort of barter with the plank as unit.

How far are these Coniferous supplies exhausted? What are the difficulties in the way of exploiting those remaining? No answer can be given as to these questions. As a matter of fact, there are still hundreds of square miles of forest which have never yet been seen by a European! The following quotation gives the views of Sir T. Holdich on this point ("Countries of the King's Award," p. 408):

"Chile now possesses an almost unlimited space of forest country bordering the Pacific. The value of it is distinctly problematical, for we do not exactly know what these forests contain, and for the most part the upper valleys of the Pacific streams, which promise the best timber are also the most remote and the most inaccessible. Timber is cheap everywhere on the Chilian coast, even when imported from California, and much yet remains to be done in the matter of improved communications before the useful timber of the remote affluents of the Manso, the Puelo, the Yelcho and Palena can be brought to the market at remunerative rates."

Thus there is a possibly huge lumber industry awaiting development in Chile. The dangerous nature of the coast and difficult navigation must, however, be remembered. Moreover, scientific handling and a large capital would be necessary to get the timber down from the great rivers between the Straits of Magellan and Valdivia. But another method ought, one would think, to save Chile the necessity of importing so much timber. Plantations grow in a most satisfactory way. *Pinus insignis*, on the hills near Concepción, only twelve years old, seemed nearly double that age. Oaks of fifteen years are like British trees thirty years old. Eucalyptus, acacia, chestnuts, walnuts, figs, and all fruit trees grow splendidly.

It is a pity that plantations of *alerce*, *ciprés*, and *maniu*, have not been attempted (to the author's knowledge). They ought to give the best results of all; but to a passing traveller, the plantation of conifers for firewood and timber certainly seemed a very promising investment.

Chile imported in 1901 the following timber products: Pine resin, 116,020 dollars; wood manufactures, 126,978 dollars; barrel staves, 244,286 dollars; pinewood, rough, 1,322,347 dollars; furniture (wood), 228,818 dollars.

There are no doubt hundreds of subsidiary industries connected with forestry. Thus it is from Chile that many of our valuable garden shrubs and herbacious plants were obtained. It is the country of *Calceolarias*, *Alonzoas*, *Salpiglossis*, *Godetias*, *Œnotheras*, *Desfontainesia*, and many others. There are hundreds of species well worth cultivating, but which have *not* been introduced.

The "colihuales" (*Chusquiea* sp.) mentioned above

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are not useless, for horses graze on the young shoots. (See Appendix).

The monkey-puzzle tree (*Araucaria imbricata*), or Chile pine, is a native of Chile. Indeed, it was of great importance, for the Indians used to live on the seeds, which were regularly collected, and stored for future use. The name Pehuenche is said to be derived from the Indian name of the tree. It is now very rare, but there is said to be a forest on the hills not very far from Angol at Nahuelvuta (on the farm of Andreas Driaz).[1]

[1] On the authority of Don Manuel Bunster of Angol.

CHAPTER XX

SANDY POINT AND THE VALLEY OF LAKES

Sarmiento's instructions—His escapes from shipwreck—The ruin of the colony—Sarmiento bank—Sheep and cattle-farming in Tierra del Fuego—Mutiny of the convicts—Sandy Point as it is now—Goldmining by dredgers — Original land company—Boom in sheep-farming—Dangers of speculation—General trade and share of the United Kingdom—Different nations at Sandy Point and their work—The Valley of Lakes—A tectonic valley—Story of the discovery—Fertile character of land not always maintained—Tuco-Tuco — Nordenskjöld, Moreno, Holdich, Moyano, and Hatcher on Patagonia.

"PERU was at peace, when for our sins, some English pirates pressed through the strait of the Mother of God, formerly called the Strait of Magellan, into the South Sea under the command of Francisco Drac, a native of Plymouth, a man of low condition, but a skilful seaman and a valiant pirate."[1]

It was because of this gallant adventure by the great Sir Francis Drake that the Spaniards decided on establishing a colony not very far from the modern town of Punta Arenas.

The story is both fascinating and instructive. What could illustrate better the habit of mind of the Spanish conquistadores, and, indeed, Philip II. and the whole Spanish nation, than the tenor of the instructions issued to Sarmiento?

"For the honour and glory of God and of the Virgin Mary, His Mother and Our Lady, whom you, Captain Pedro Sarmiento, are to take for Advocate and Patron of the ships and crews under your orders for this discovery and enterprise in the Straits of Magellan."[1]

[1] "Voyage of Pedro Sarmiento," Markham (*Hakluyt Society*), 1895.

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Unfortunately, the habits of the Spaniards as concerned the natives were in no respect merciful or even prudent. Thus in Gente Grande Bay, ten Spaniards of Sarmiento's crews tried to capture one of the giants; they were scarcely able to hold him, and were, indeed, driven to their boats by a flight of arrows. Later, also, they could not help terrorising and ill-treating the natives, with disastrous results to themselves.

During the voyage Sarmiento encountered the usual gales, and was more than once in the utmost danger.

"The ship remained holding by a small hawser, of which two strands went and only two remained sound—each one of the thickness of a man's thumb. These, with the help of the most sacred Virgin Mary, Mother of God, held the ship so that it did not go broadsides on the rocks. The small cable was kept to be offered in the temple of the most serene Queen of Angels."

In passing the second narrows they were again in danger of total wreck, for the current caught hold of the ship and was drifting her on to the rocks. Then, however, a sail was filled by the wind, and she went ahead to weather the point of San Gregorio in safety.

But the greatest danger of all occurred at the great bank now known as the Sarmiento bank near Dungeness (Cape Virgins). This is an enormous accumulation of shingle always shifting and increasing under the complex and dangerous currents at the entrance to the Straits.

"We begun to steer E.N.E., and after two hours got 7½ fathoms; we bore away to the right hand to S. and S.S.W., when it increased to 40 fathoms, then S.E. and only got 13 fathoms, so turned S.W. and deepened to 22. Thus we continued in the greatest anxiety all night."

Eventually, the unfortunate colonists were landed. The first settlement was under the low land of the Cape of Virgins at the eastern entrance of the Strait, and 14 leagues from the first narrows. The colony consisted of 300 to

400 people, with 15 women. From the first they met with disaster. They encountered Indians who were at first not unfriendly, but soon became bitterly hostile. When the winter came on, the Indians migrated, following the herds of Guanaco. The wretched colonists starved all through the winter on shellfish, oysters, and berries. But another year passed with a second horrible winter of famine. After this only 15 men and 3 women survived, of whom one was carried off by Sir Thomas Cavendish on 7th January 1587. For details as to the sufferings and movements of these unfortunate people, the reader must be referred to Markham's interesting volume.

The curious and interesting point is that this very district has been found capable of supporting thousands of both sheep and cattle. There were, in 1878, 185 sheep in the territory of Magallanes. In 1894 there were 700,000, which represents an annual increase of 30 to 40 per cent. In the same year there were 60,000 cattle![1]

The settlement was founded by Chile in 1843 at Punta Arenas or Sandy Point. It was at first used as a convict station. In 1851 the convicts rose in arms, and sixty of the guards and inhabitants were shot. But, of course, this mutiny was very soon quelled. The rise to prosperity of this southerly colony of Chile has been of very recent origin.[2] In 1895 there were but 4,300 inhabitants in the town; now there are probably 7,000 to 8,000. The

[1] "Memoria del Ministro de Colonizacion," Chile, 1895.

[2] The present site of Punta Arenas was determined upon in 1849. The population was then about 700, of which 300 were convicts or political prisoners.

In 1851, the governor, Muñoz Gamero, seems to have lost control of a population which, indeed, was not at all easy to govern with only some 70 soldiers. A certain José Miguel Cambiaso organised a rebellion, which succeeded thoroughly. The Governor and his chaplain, many foreigners, and others, were killed, and the whole settlement burnt to the ground.

Cambiaso made himself ruler, formed cavalry, artillery, and infantry regiments out of his convicts, and succeeded in maintaining himself by horrible cruelties for several months. But he was captured, taken to Valparaiso, and shot. The convicts were removed. Since then, there seems to have been no disturbances.

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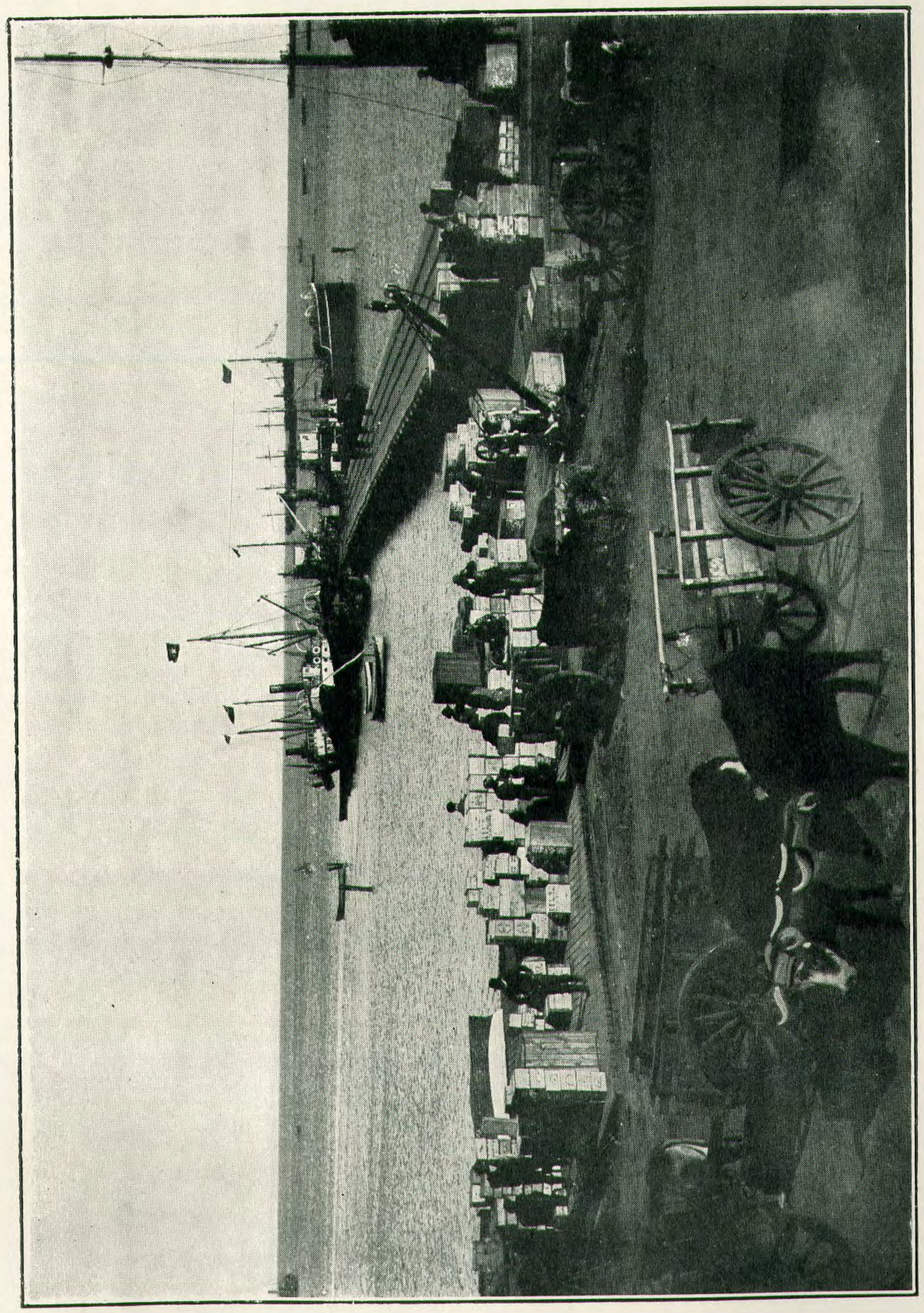
hovels of plank covered by corrugated iron roofs are already being replaced by well-built, permanent houses. Indeed, in a grossly unsuitable climate, there are even signs of the weakness for terracotta or rosepink-tinted stucco characteristic of wealthy Chilians.

The rise is not due to gold mining, although the whole of the sandy and stony bed of the Rio de las Minas has been turned over and over in the search for gold, and does, indeed, yield a small amount even now. In the last two years, six dredges have been built at Punta Arenas, and prospectors are apparently now investigating the rivers of Tierra del Fuego for the gold in their beds. It is not possible to say how much success they have obtained. The coal mines at Loretto, however, produce coal which sells at about twelve dollars per ton, and this is a source of wealth.

The main reason for the present prosperity depends upon a very simple scientific fact. The wool of sheep becomes longer, denser, and therefore more valuable in a very cold climate which is just not cold enough to kill them. The original Land Company was exceeding well managed. The managers were Australians or New Zealanders, and they ran the sheep farms on the lines usual in these colonies. But they chose their men with very great care. Scotch shepherds and their collie dogs were imported, and so far as one can judge from report, the success has been astonishing. They were also favoured by the drought in Australia, which raised the price of wool.

Originally, 125 dollars were enough to buy 500 dollars worth of stock. A friend of mine attempted to calculate the present value of one of the original shares (which was not a very easy task). So far as one could gather, the profit in one or two years amounted to about 312 per cent. The natural result of this success was a great "boom" in sheep-farming shares in South Chile, Tierra del Fuego, and Patagonia.

"In November 1904 a big upward move started, until in January and February of the following year, 1905, a wild wave of speculation, unparalleled in the history of the



LANDING PLACE, PUNTA ARENAS.

From Robinson Wright's "Republic of Chile," by permission of Messrs. G. Barrie & Sons.

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country, occurred. Fresh companies were formed daily, to develop grounds which nobody knew anything about, and much less cared for, so long as they secured shares to sell a few hours afterwards at a premium of 10 to 15 points. At the end of February shares were standing at a ridiculously high figure; 100 dol. shares, with only a few dollars paid up, and with heavy liabilities on them, were in many cases standing at 80 to 100 per cent. premium.

"In March the inevitable crash occurred, precipitated to a large extent by the banks becoming nervous and calling in their loans, the consequence being the ruin of numerous brokers, besides private people, who were unable to pay the differences on their shares, and much less able to take them up."[1]

This, of course, is in the highest degree unfortunate, for such wild speculation never assists either an industry or a colony. It must be remembered that the land suitable for sheep and cattle is only a very small proportion of the total area of the territory. If a line is drawn across Tierra del Fuego from Useless Bay to the Bay of San Sebastian, then the country south and west of this is for the most part forest and mountains, that to the north and east is a steppe of tussocky grass described by some as the finest natural sheep country in the world. Thus besides the good land, there is the useless forest-covered "Monte" country, as well as the arid Patagonian table-lands. These may or may not form part of any particular land company's territory. It is probable that by this date all the really valuable land has been sold by government. Besides hides, wool, and tallow, of which a value of 8,829,314 dollars was exported in 1905, a new industry has been established in Punta Arenas. This is frozen meat, of which about 75,000 carcasses were sent home, and which realised very satisfactory prices.

The United Kingdom takes about seven-eighths of the exports from Punta Arenas, and sends in return about one-third of the imports, 6,254,740 dollars.

The climate even in summer is somewhat cold, windy,

[1] No. 3465 "Chile Annual Series."

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and not particularly pleasant. But residents declare that it is healthy, and, indeed, most Europeans seem robust and vigorous enough. In some respects the climate might be described as an excessively trying one. Beef and mutton are very cheap—about 2½d. a pound—but prices otherwise are distinctly high.

A great deal of the labour is Austrian, though there are both Chilians and Indians. Norwegians and Swedes take a large share in the navigation of the Straits. The average wages ashore were said to be from five to eight dollars a day. One finds, as usual, that a large proportion of the most successful business men are of Scotch origin.

The business connection of Australia and New Zealand with this southern end of America is a very interesting point. It will be remembered, of course, that the voyage from Punta Arenas to Australia is comparatively a short one.

THE VALLEY OF LAKES

The great longitudinal valley lying on the east of the Andes and stretching from Lake Nahuelhuapi to Otway Water has been already mentioned. It is quite likely that it will in time be as important as the Chilian valley itself. For nowadays the world is getting peopled, and of good fertile land, well suited in every way to European colonists, and without owners, there is an exceedingly small supply. It was apparently the great Argentine traveller, Dr Moreno, who first realised that the great lakes lay in a huge tectonic fold or rift valley.

There is still a large area which is quite unknown, but the following lakes have already been discovered. After Nahuelhuapi follow lakes Menendez, La Plata, Buenos Ayres, Pueyrredon, Brown, Belgrano, Nansen, San Martin, and Argentino. The Last Hope Inlet, Obstruction Sound, Skyring and Otway waters, really belong to the same series, though they are now bays or inlets of the Pacific. The whole eastern part of Magellan's Straits, Lake

Fagnano, and part of the Beagle channel form also part of this longitudinal depression.

Almost all the lakes have been discovered in the last thirty or forty years. The period of discovery, which opened in 1867 with Gardiner and Captain Musters, was followed up so energetically by Dr Moreno and Don Carlos M. Moyano, that these lovely lakes cradled in lonely mountains are now becoming well known.

But, nevertheless, one should not forget the extraordinary energy and boldness of the sixteenth century explorers such as Ladrilleros, not to speak of Drake, Cavendish, Van Noort, and a host of others. The seventeenth century was extremely barren so far as geographical discoveries are concerned, and very little was done between 1610 and 1867.[1]

There are already great herds of cattle and vast flocks of sheep in many parts of the valley. Indeed there can scarcely be any doubt that much of it is of the greatest value. But it must be remembered that there has been a severe glacial epoch in this region. Even now moraines and glaciers exist; great heaps of shingle and boulders are sometimes scattered over the ground. Remains—indeed, a bit of the actual skin of the extinct Mylodon—were discovered recently in a cave near Otway water.

In this district there have been in recent times volcanic eruptions and flows of lava. The black basalt rocks are by no means fertile, and their distribution and extent has not been thoroughly surveyed. Moreover, on the east there is the arid desert of Patagonia. The outline of the dry country is probably very irregular, and the width of the fertile zone may be correspondingly narrow, or, indeed, it may be absent altogether. The drying up of the Pampean Sea, of which there are legends still existing amongst the Tehuelches (they have traditions of a deluge, according to Ramon Lista), of course, affects only the very northern part of the Valley of Lakes, and though climatic changes may

[1] "Réclus, Géographie Universelle," vol. xix., 1894, contains a good history of discoveries up to date. Cf. also Steffen, Lista, Moreno, *l.c.*

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be also occurring even in the South, it is not probable that they will be of very great importance.

An estate in the Valley of Lakes might consist of any of the following sorts of land: mountains covered by dense and inaccessible forest, barren lava-flows, shingle and boulders, spongy marshland, dry and arid plateaus or rich pastures. Much of it is made dangerous and at first useless by the burrows of a little rodent, the Tuco-Tuco (*Ctenomys*), but cattle and sheep soon break in his burrows, and no doubt this little nuisance is not a very important or permanent drawback.

The author has not had the privilege of seeing these beautiful sheets of water in the Valley of Lakes. It is therefore necessary to give a few quotations from the best-known writers. Almost every one, whatever his nationality, becomes enthusiastic and eloquent about them.

Dr Otto Nordenskjöld writing of a valley in 50° 50′ S. lat. and 73° 10′ W. long. says:

"A wild range of hills with peaks upwards of 6,000 feet in height, while before us is a low pass with an extensive ice-sheet, whence a big glacier descends into the valley. . . . A valley about a mile in width and shut in by steep ranges, roughly speaking 4,000 feet in height and clad on the lower slopes by dense forest of the Antarctic beech. The bottom of the valley is almost flat, and through it flows the outlet of the lake, a broad river which I have called the Rio Payne, its course displaying those strange meandering windings that are so characteristic of these regions."[1]

The following quotation is from Dr Moreno:

"This general valley forms one of the most interesting, most fertile and most beautiful zones of South America, owing to the variety of its topographical forms, the geological construction of the enclosing mountains, which breaks the monotonous grey of the alpine views, the flora with which it is adorned, and the immense glaciers, some of which send crystalline icebergs into the green

[1] Cf. *Geographical Journal*, October 1897, p. 403.

or blue waters of the lakes. Another Patagonian contrast is the white and blue ice on the black basalts, crenellated peaks, and cliffs of monumental shape reflecting themselves in the water of the western shores of the lakes, mingled with the leafy garlands formed by the woods . . . whilst to the East, bare of arboreal vegetation and monotonous, rises the precipitous plateau. At a jump, one passes from the elevated flats of the arid, volcanic plateaus to green fields and wooded valleys; from stiff and miserable bushes to the handsome Fern and Fuchsia region."[1]

Sir Thomas Holdich also speaks of:

"Glacier-fed lakes amidst granite mountains, undulating downs of morainic formation, wide grass valleys eroded and dotted with erratic boulders, magnificent forests, eternal snow, and stupendous cascades. We wandered through woods which were a blazing harmony (if that be possible) of scarlet, purple, and orange. The tints of the autumn-painted woods spread themselves in brilliant interlacing threads from the banks of the stream at our feet to the foot of the snow line of the rugged sierras above our heads. It was as if the mountains were hung with vivid sheets of Oriental carpeting. Scarlet and gold faded to purple in the distance, and could be traced in bluer, fainter lines to the foot of the grey granite cliffs above which hung the white masses of snowcap. Over all was there usually a dull grey sky and the white streaks of mountain mist."[2]

Don Carlos M. Moyano thus describes the great Lake Buenos Ayres, which is 20 miles long and 41 miles across, and which he himself discovered:

"Sus aguas cristalinas tienen en conjunto el mismo color azul oscuro indefinible que solo puede encontrarse en la escala de colorido que va tomando el mar a medida que se aleja de sus costas: y esto unido a los demas detalles que se armonizan entre si contribuyen a dar un aspecto riente aun hasta las dunas de arena cubiertas

[1] *Geographical Journal*, September 1899, p. 252.

[2] *Ibid.*, February 1901, p. 170. See also "Countries of the King's Award."

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de arbustos donde se rompen sus olas eternamente agitadas por el viento." [1]

Its crystal waves are of that indescribable rich blue colour which only occurs elsewhere far out in the ocean at a distance from land. All other details are in harmony; even the dunes of sand covered with vegetation, upon which the waves, eternally vexed by the winds, are for ever breaking.

Mr Hatcher [2] has the following description:

"Buried deep in the recesses of one of the most lofty and rugged mountain systems on the earth . . . they will be remembered as masterpieces of creative ingenuity. Extending from the barren lava beds and bleak, cheerless plains of the East, through the forest-clad slopes of the foothills on into the remote and silent recesses of the central range of the Andes, whose summits, rising ever higher, are finally lost in immense fields of snow and ice."

As regards the Patagonian tableland the difference of climate from Moreno's valley is very marked indeed. The rainfall is probably less than twenty-five centimetres annually. Here and there occur lagoons or lakes of brackish water which are in course of drying up. But for the most part it is an arid, desolate steppe with, according to Hatcher, "rather a bad climate." Whether water could be obtained artificially [3] or not is an interesting and as yet unsolved problem. Perhaps the character of the climate and its landscape is better given in the following quotation from Don Ramon Lista [4] than by any other writer.

"Arida y desolada es la meseta y el viajero que la cruza en verano apresura el andar de su caballo, buscando

[1] Carlos M. Moyano, "A Traves de la Patagonia." Buenos Ayres, 1881.
[2] Hatcher, Patagonia, Princetown University Publications.
[3] Cf. Holdich, *l.c.*
[4] Ramon Lista, "Mis Esploraciones i Descubrimentos en la Patagonia." Buenos Ayres, 1880.

con marcada inquietud alguna mata bienhechora que le cobije bajo su sombra. Pero en vano escudriñara el horizonte que sobre la arenosa superficie solo se vé uno que otro calafate raquítico o algunas matas negras que sirven de guarida a los lagartos. Sobre este antiguo lecho del Oceano cuya triste monotonia fatiga la vista y el espiritu reverberan los rayos del sol y ruedan sonoros los vientos del Occidente que despues de atravesar montañas lagos y rios van á encrespar las azuladas aguas del Atlantico."

"Arid and desolate is this tableland. The traveller, in summer, urges on his horse, searching anxiously for some well-grown tree under whose shade he can take shelter. But in vain does he scrutinise the horizon! On the sandy plains, there are only one or two rickety *Calafate* bushes, or a few blackish shrubs under which lizards can find shelter. Over this ancient bed of the sea, of which the depressing monotony is wearisome alike to the eye and to the spirit, reverberate the sun's rays. The sonorous westerly winds blow incessantly, crossing mountains, lakes, and rivers, in order to raise in foam the blue waters of the Atlantic."

There are also the accurate and careful descriptions given by Dr Steffen [1] of his travels in the valleys of the Pacific rivers which well repay examination.

[1] *Geographical Journal*, July and August 1900; Globus, vol. lxx., 1896.

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CHAPTER XXI

TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS

Father Kirchner's information—Easy nature of passage to-day—Closed five to six months—Details of the route in 1904—Objections to the Transandine Railway—Engineering difficulties—Picturesque and historic features of the Transandine—Flowers on the top of the Cumbre—Mendoza route—Other passes—Their low altitude and easy character—Perez Rosales pass—Vuriloche pass—Absurdity of the Cumbre route—Feeling in Santiago and Buenos Ayres—Defence questions—Coastwise trade—Olivares' account of the trade—Extraordinary variety of the products—National shares in shipping—Routes to Chile and passenger fares.

IT is, of course, the Andes that have isolated Chile and made of her a free and independent nationality. Yet, for her trade and future prosperity, it is obvious that she must have access to the Argentine and to the rest of South America. The passage of the Andes is undoubtedly very dangerous even now, except in the one track upon which traffic is organised, and where the difficulties are quite well understood. In ancient times it was an undertaking that required careful consideration, and was of a distinctly dangerous character.

"Father Anastasio Kirchner of the Society of Jesus, a notable mathematician of those times . . . says that in the mountains of Cordillera, travellers find themselves very frequently surrounded by fire and flaming vapours, that men seem on fire, and the animals belch fire through their mouths and nostrils. He spoke hyperbolically, a thing very dear to poets, in order to magnify the fiery

spirit of horses, when he said that they belch fire through the mouth and nostrils. I would take this author to be paradoxical, as it is generally said, if he had not been so informed. May be it is a poetical license and a manner of speech, for four times I have crossed the Cordillera and have never seen any horses belch fire."[1]

Probably the good Father had been a little timorous, and his guides improved the occasion.

The same sort of temptation befalls guides and hardened travellers to-day, and the ordinary route across the Andes has been, even by authors who should have known better, very absurdly calumniated. A baby twelve months old had crossed it only a few days before our arrival, and, provided travellers obey their guides and do as they are told, the danger is very small, and, indeed, a negligible factor.

The passenger proceeds from Valparaiso or Santiago to Llaillai and thence to Los Andes by an exceedingly comfortable and quite rapid express. Then he enters the train of the narrowgauge Transandine Railway, and is brought up by rather steep gradients, through tunnels, and over bridges, to Rio Blanco (probably he is taken to nearly Juncal by this time). This railway line has overcome great engineering difficulties, and is perfectly satisfactory. But to the eyes of a layman in engineering matters, the gradients seem steep, and the embankments decidedly narrow. In heavy rain there must be serious dangers to the permanent way.

From Rio Blanco, a good waggonette on the excellent government road transports him to Juncal, where there are two hotels of quite a satisfactory character, at least to those who understand the difficulties of organisation in such a place. After dinner and part of a night's rest, he mounts a mule in the darkness of early morning (3 to 4 A.M.) and is carried by bridle paths over the Cumbre, and down to the miserable inn at the railhead of Las Cuevas at about 7 A.M. He is now in Argentine territory, and takes

[1] Olivares.

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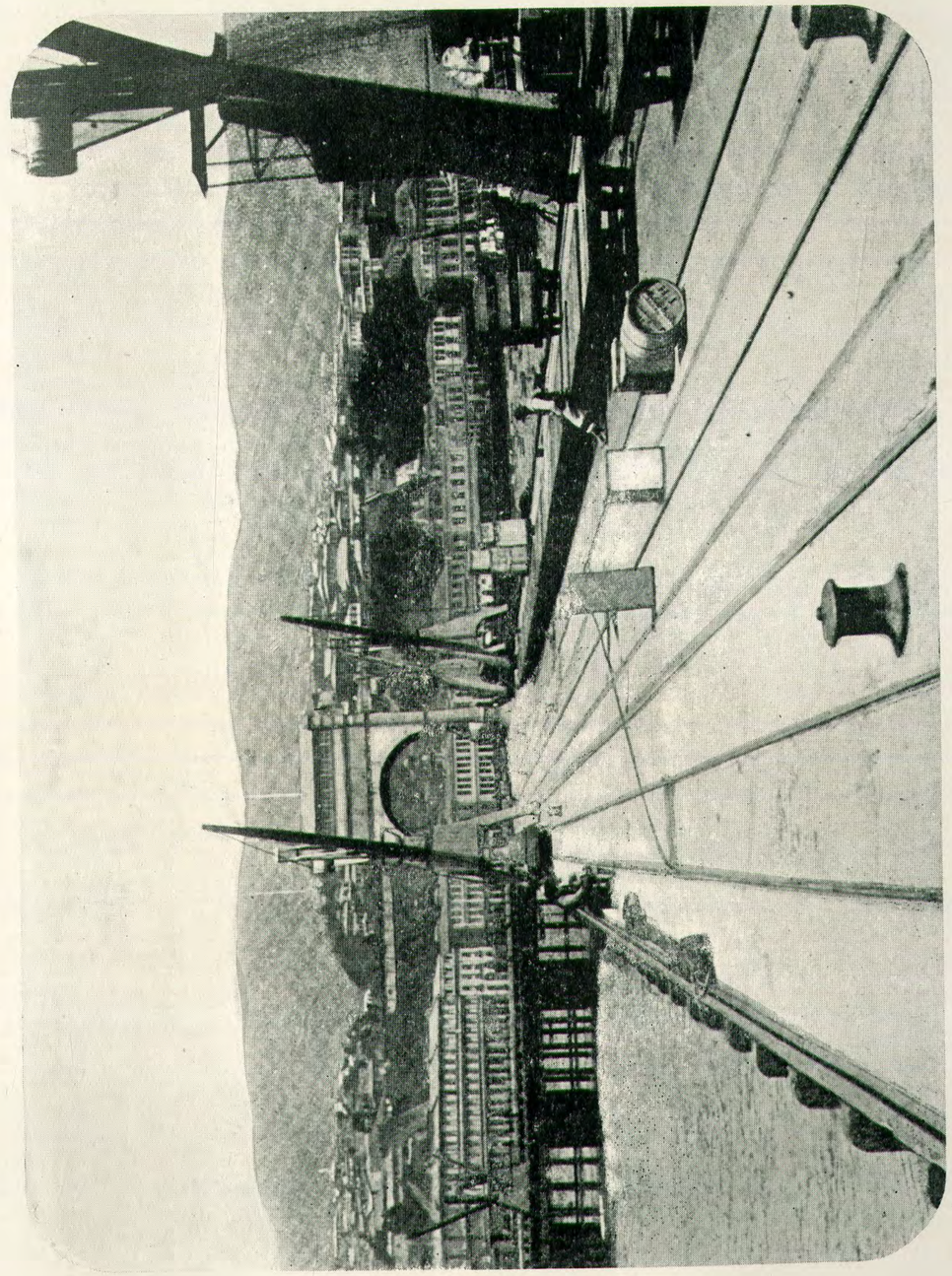
another narrow gauge line of railway by Puente del Inca and Vaca to Uspallata and Mendoza. This line has some rather sharp curves, and it is difficult to see how it is possible to travel at a very rapid pace without the train running off the rails. At Mendoza he finds the broad gauge railway, and a good express takes him direct to Buenos Ayres.

Thus nowadays the difficulties of crossing are reduced to a minimum. Indeed, not even the mules are necessary, for it is possible to cross the Cumbre in a waggonette, and the road is excellent. A party of ladies and children crossed in one of these machines (when we mounted our mules). The blinds of their waggonette were so tightly tied down that not a ray of sunlight or a breath of cold air could reach them. They emerged dressed in the most perfect Santiago fashions, without a curl out of place, and with all the usual South American embellishments to the natural complexion.

But the pass is closed for five or six months every year. It is very dangerous and difficult to cross the Cumbre after nine or ten in the morning, for the regular daily winds are of hurricane strength, and can blow a mule and his rider off the path. Moreover, from a commercial point of view, it will be observed that there are four changes or breakings of bulk. The Transandine railway in Chile and that in the Argentine are wholly unsuited to the carriage of bulky goods at a rapid rate, and at a reasonable charge. It is probable that the cost of altering them to the ordinary gauge would be prohibitive — almost as much as to build a new line. Then one asks oneself the question, Why on earth should this particular pass have been selected for a through railway?

The details of the route are as follows. They are taken from the books of the transport companies (Trasportes Unidos and Villalonga) which take entire charge of the traveller and his baggage, and, indeed, save him every possible trouble.



CUSTOMS' PIER, VALPARAISO.

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From 14th November 1903 to 30th April 1904.

Distances in Kilometres.	Heights in metres.	Stations and Hotels.	Days and Hours of Arrival and Departure.	Means of Transport
			Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday.	
	520	Santiago . dep.	8 A.M. .	State Railway.
		Valparaiso dep.	9.40 „ .	do.
		Llaillai change	10 „ .	do.
135	800	Los Andes arr.	12 noon . (breakfast)	do.
		„ dep.	1 P.M. .	Transandine Railway.
162	1262	Salto Soldado arr.	2 „ .	do.
		„ dep.	2.30 „ .	Waggonette.
187	2222	Yuncal . arr.	6.30 „ . (sleep)	do.
			Monday, Thursday, and Saturday.	
		„ . dep.	5 A.M. .	Mule or coach.
210	4000	La Cumbre pass	9 „ .	do.
218	3188	Las Cuevas arr.	10 „ .	do.
		„ dep.	10.30 „ .	Transandine Railway.
234	2780	Puente Inca arr.	11.30 „ .	do.
392	830	Mendoza . arr.	5.45 P.M. .	do.
		„ . dep.	6.15 „ .	Great Western
			Tuesday, Thursday, and Sunday.	and
1439		Buenos Ayres arr.	5.40 P.M.	Pacific Railway.

This short sketch gives all details of the route. It will be at once observed that the real difficulty consists in the 1778 metres of altitude between Juncal and La Cumbre which has somehow to be negotiated within a distance of 23 kilometres! On the other side the

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812 metres of the Cumbre above Las Cuevas has to be overcome in a distance of 8 kilometres.

Thus the Transandine has not solved the problem, but the real crux of the difficulty (so far as my information goes) remains untouched. Of course cycloidal tunnels, wire railways, stationary engines with cables, and other suggestions of the highest flights of engineering could somehow hoist the passenger over the pass. Nothing is impossible to the engineer — except to make extravagances pay a satisfactory dividend.[1] At present there are only from 66 to 75 passengers a week, and no goods traffic worth mentioning. It is true, there might be a great development in the traffic, but the cost of the journey is by no means small.

This Cumbre route is, both historically and from a scenic point of view, very interesting. Los Andes, Guardia Vieja, and other places speak of the Wars of Independence. The little refuge huts which one sees every here and there are the sort of refuge that was built by the first O'Higgins. Moreover, the roaring, white-foamed, chocolate-brown Rio Aconcagua, as it hurries down the steep-sided valleys over rapids and brawling eddies, to be eventually in part intercepted by the smooth, rich irrigation canal of El Sauce, is an interesting and appropriate sort of river. The valley is a typical V-shaped one, and especially towards its upper end. There is plenty of green by the waterside, where, indeed, fruit trees and gardens are not uncommon, but on the steep sides of the pass, vegetation rapidly dies away, and the bare rock screes, steep earth slopes, or crags, seem from a distance to be quite barren.

But they are not nearly so arid as they seem, for a careful search shows a great many plants, and some which are both beautiful and rare. The lovely dark-red *Mutisias*, with their curious leaves and straggling stems, grow on screes of stone. There are quantities of *Alstroemeria* of all colours, *Vivianas*, *Loasas*, and many others. Indeed, Juncal or Rio Blanco would be a splendid place for botanising.

[1] To be up to date one should suggest Mr Brennan's Gyroscopic Monorail.

Perhaps the most remarkable vegetation of all is that found on the very top of the Cumbre itself. To one's amazement there is flourishing here a plant at once recognisable as a near cousin of the garden nasturtium (*Tropæolum Polyphyllum*). The little spiny-tufted masses of nassauvia, purple phacelias, composites which look exactly like saxifrages and others, show the extraordinary types of plant, which are the only ones able to resist such evils as 4,000 metres of altitude, a very dry climate, and the teeth of hungry mules and guanacos. There is but one plant which seems at first sight ordinary: it is green, fresh, and happy-looking. It is, indeed, so different to the rest that everybody is inclined to stop and pick the large and sweetly pretty white flowers. But the first touch is more than enough to check any such desire, for it has a sting very much worse than that of the nettle (*Cajophora Coronata*). Amongst the few grasses there is one which appears to be a new species (*Festuca Elliotii Hackel*).

All the greenness and fertility disappears as soon as one enters Argentine territory. Indeed, almost the whole way to Mendoza is a desert.

Then again one asks the question: Why should this route be selected? Are there no other better and more convenient ways of crossing the Andes? A little further south there are plenty of passes. Between 36° 41′ and the Volcano Copahue (37° 41′) there are no less than twenty-one cols, ranging from 1,732 metres to 2,558 metres[1] in altitude! Some of these (Zaña Zaña, 1,797 metres, Nuble del Sable, 1,738 metres, Churreo, 1,785 metres) lead to the fertile district of Neuquen, already connected by railway with the Atlantic. Others (Atacalco, 1,732 metres, El Fuerte, 1,756 metres, etc.) belong to the Biobio river system. Towards the same valley, and still further south, there are tracks from passes which are still lower, such as Rahue, 1,665 metres, Pino Hachado, 1,824 metres, Mallin Chileno, 1,753 metres, etc.

Still further south there is the Rilul pass, which a

[1] "Chilian Statement," vol. iii. p. 1057.

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horseman can gallop across, for it is only 1179 metres altitude, and is very easy to traverse; the track has in places wide areas of bamboo and fruit trees. Both cattle and laden mules can cross this pass even in winter time. Perhaps the lowest of all the passes are those at Maipu, which are 871 and 898 metres only; these are in the Lacar Lago district.

Still further to the south there are the historic passes of Perez Rosales and Vuriloche. The former (101 metres, 41° 2′ S. lat. and 71° 40′ W. long.), which was known to the Jesuits, was rediscovered by Dr Steffen and Señor Fisher, who cut a path through the forest and bamboo thickets. This has now been improved into a trade route.[1] The Vuriloche was traversed by the Jesuit Father, Nicolas Mascardi, in 1673. It leads to Nahuelhuapi in three days by land by the south of Mount Tronador. It was lost, and again found by Father Menendez in 1791. It was again discovered by Captain Barrios in 1900. This pass nowhere reaches the snow level.

With all these ways across the Andes, of which some, at least, were explored before the War of Independence, it is at first sight very difficult to understand why these handsome, well-fed, and pleasant-mannered mules still carry heavy passengers up to a height of 4,000 metres in the Cumbre pass, in order to deposit them at the raw rail-head of a railway, which has to traverse a desert of about 170 kilometres in length (Las Cuevas to near Mendoza) before it reaches a respectable town. Indeed, from a purely commercial standpoint, the Cumbre route is obviously ridiculous. A through route from Santiago to Buenos Ayres by one or other of these southern passes could be built at comparatively small expense, without any sensational engineering, and through rich, undeveloped districts which, in themselves, would repay Chile and the Argentine for the expense of it. Moreover, there is a transcontinental route distinctly shorter than the present one. It is not even certain that

[1] "Chilian Statement," *l.c.*, p. 1170; also Steffen, "Zeit. f. Ges. Erdk.," Berlin, 32, 1897.

such a railway as now suggested between Santiago and Buenos Ayres would necessarily be longer in distance, and probably it would be at least a whole day shorter in time.[1]

But let us imagine an influential Santiago official discussing this matter with a Buenos Ayres aristocrat.

"Should we abandon the route of San Martin, of Carrera, of the days of Independence? Shall we ruin prosperous Mendoza? Any transcontinental line that does not pass through Santiago is impossible! Then, of course, all the Argentine trade would go direct to Southern Chile, and the great city of Santiago, which Valdivia founded, would lose much of its importance! I personally cannot support such a scheme. I and all my friends live in Santiago, and possess valuable property in the city, which every year increases in value. I would not encourage any trade route which might interfere with her future."

"There is much in your statement," would reply the Buenos Ayrean. "We had the same difficulty in the case of the city La Plata. All of us had property and interests in Buenos Ayres, and, therefore, we took steps to suppress La Plata in her infancy."

"Then, again, my very dear friend," would answer the Santiaguino, "we are now the best of friends, and admire one another with mutual respect. But, in years to come, when your rich pampas are swarming with millions of people, differences, alas, may arise between us! If there were one, two, or more railways leading direct through easy country to the heart of Chile, the defence of little Chile would be a very difficult strategical problem. Now it is quite simple."

Whether conversations of the type of this imaginary one ever took place or not, vested interests in Santiago, Mendoza, and Buenos Ayres would be certainly against any southern transandine route.

Defence questions in South America are of paramount

[1] Such a route by the Maipo passes has been strongly advocated by Colonel Olascoaga. See Mackenna, "A Traves de los Andes," in the "Statement on Behalf of Chile." Document, No. 29, p. 243.

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importance, as, indeed, they are in every country which is not corrupted by years of peace and luxury.

There is no question that Talcahuano is a better harbour than Valparaiso, but here again comes in the vested interests of foreigners who have sunk an enormous capital in the offices and public works of Valparaiso.

No doubt Chile will soon have a through railway from Arica in the north to Puerto Montt in the south, and, judging by her past history, the sooner this is built the safer she will be.

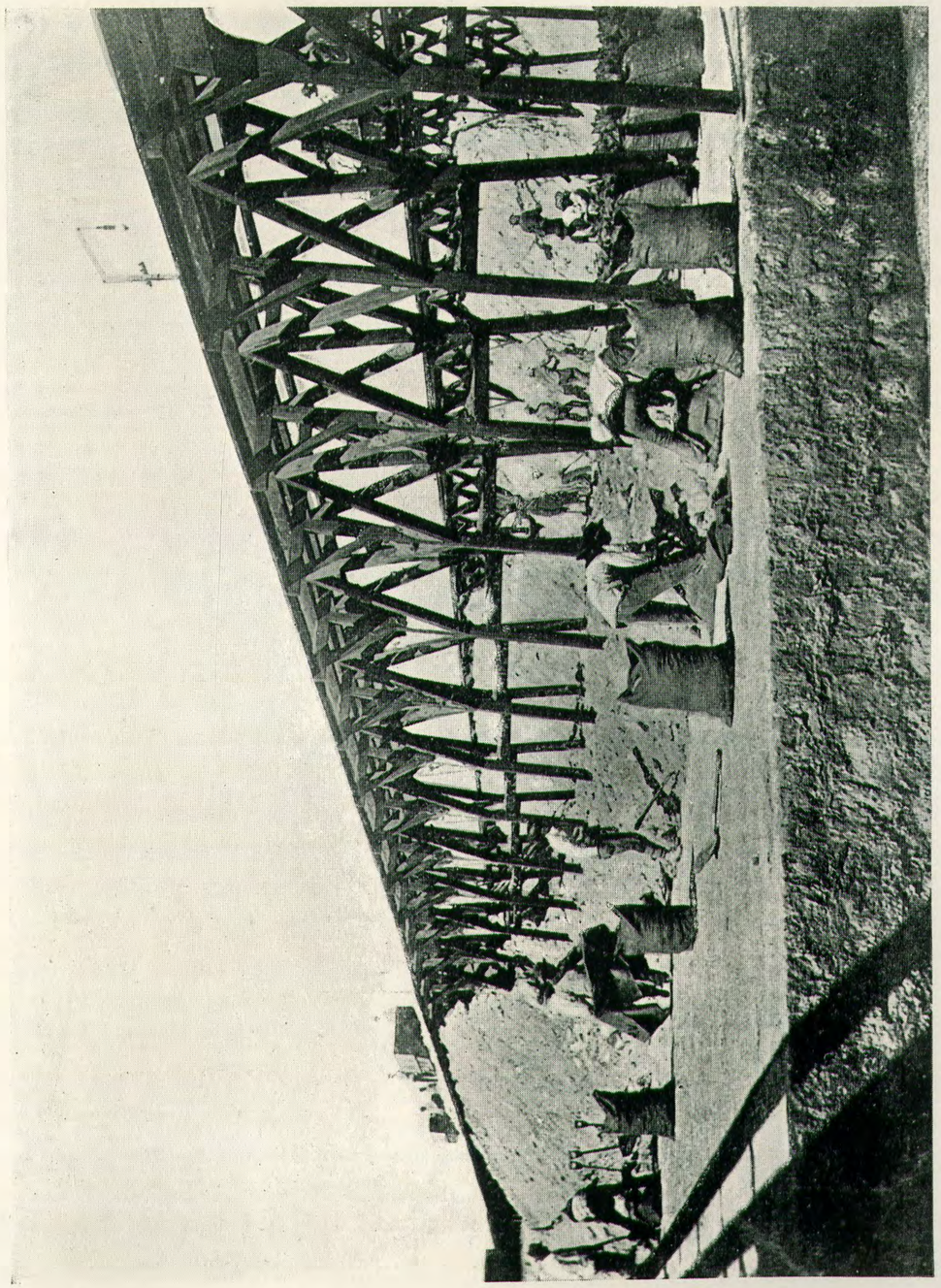
COASTWISE TRADE

THE purely marine trade routes in Chile are very interesting. In the time of Olivares Chile used to send 125,000 bushels of wheat to Peru, as well as 15,000 to 20,000 quintals of lard, and many hides and skins. Peru sent in return all the European goods which were required by the colonists. From both alike, gold and silver went in enormous quantities to Spain to be wasted in the horrible extravagances of Philip II. of Spain's impossible foreign policy. Indeed, it is necessary to follow the contemporary history of Spain, if one wishes to realise that of Chile.[1]

In the early days of the nitrate industry, wheat, cattle, vegetables, even fresh water and indeed all articles of consumption, as well as the men to work the mines, were brought by sea to the deserts of Tarapacá from fertile Chile. Recently, cattle have come across the Andes, and railways are projected from Copiapó into the Argentine. Water is now usually brought from the Andes by expensive lines of pipes.

Yet the nitrate ports still attract all temperate products from the south, as well as fruit and other tropical luxuries from the north. Not only so, but coal is brought from England, from New South Wales, and

[1] Cf. "Philip II.," "Spain: Its Greatness and Decay," "Modern Spain," and "The Spanish People," by Martin Hume.



SACKING NITRATE.

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even, though in very small quantity, from the United States, to both nitrate and mining ports. Gunny bags come from India, and a trade with China and Japan will no doubt develop before many years have passed.

The interest lies in the curious way in which along the Chilian coast different climates and different products characterise almost every strip of 100 to 200 miles. Of course, much is as yet undeveloped. Timber should not be brought from Norway, Sweden, or even British Columbia, when the Andes would furnish an inexhaustible source of lumber both for export abroad and consumption at home. On the cordillera there might be ideal forests on a gigantic scale.

Even now whaling ships leave Talcahuano for the frozen south, and bring back oil and whalebone. Surely oysters from Valdivia district might well be brought to Santiago and Valparaiso. So much, however, has been already mentioned on this interesting subject, that it is unnecessary to repeat the facts as to varying climate and produce, upon which all this commerce depends.

The steamers which visit Chile are for the most part British (211), German (90), and Chilian (55). There are but seven French, two each from Belgium, the Argentine, and Denmark, with one from Holland, Norway, and the United States. In the coastwise trade, Chilian ships are taking a larger share. Sailing ships are still common, but are diminishing here, as indeed everywhere else.

The best way of reaching Chile for passengers is no doubt direct to Montevideo or Buenos Ayres, and thence by the Transandine railway to Santiago or Valparaiso. By sea there is the Pacific Steam Navigation Company, Lamport & Holt's steamers, and other direct steamers (including the German Kosmos) which pass the Straits of Magellan. This route is, of course, by far the most interesting, and probably the cheapest, but involves some thirty to forty-two days at sea. The weather in the Straits of Magellan is, moreover, sure to be bad. The fares vary from about £35 to £70, or more for a first-class passage. In an English consular report writing in 1902, a remark

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is made which is of a nature unhappily very familiar to all who study these suggestions of our consular agents abroad.

"There is no doubt that the German tramp steamers are picking up an increasing trade on the west coast of South America, which with better management on the part of the British lines ought not to be possible."

CHAPTER XXII

EXPLORATION AND DISCOVERY

Magalhaens—His adventures and trials—Loyasa and others—Fire at sea—Spaniards abandon the route—Ladrilleros—Drake's voyage—The Jesuit Fathers — Vea — Garcia — Machado — Moraleda's chart—Parker King, and Fitzroy—British Navy and surveys—Modern explorers: Steffen, Mascardi, Falkner — Botanists: Poeppig, Gay, Reiche—Charles Darwin's work—Pissis—Alpine climbing—New exploration.

THE discovery of the Straits of Magellan was but the well-deserved good fortune which followed on gallant enterprise and resolute perseverance.

Fernando de Magalhaens was of Portuguese birth, and of noble origin. He left Seville on 10th August 1519, with a small fleet of tiny ships (the *Trinidad*, 130 tons and 62 men; *San Antonio*, 130 tons, 55 men; *Vitoria*, 90 tons, 45 men; *Concepción*, 90 tons, 44 men; and *Santiago*, 60 tons and 30 men). The journey was an arduous and interesting one; but, unfortunately, the account by Pigafetta, who accompanied the expedition in the not too exalted position of cook's boy, is not in all respects thoroughly accurate and trustworthy.

He describes, for example, birds which have no feet and never make nests; the female lays her eggs, and hatches them out on the back of the male in the open sea. Here, of course, one recognises the typical yarn of a somewhat bored third mate!

The expedition wintered at Port St Julian, where a mutiny broke out; the crews of no less than three of his ships rebelled against him, egged on by certain gentlemen-adventurers who were jealous of his Portuguese

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extraction. But two ships remained faithful, and by great skill or diplomacy, Magalhaens succeeded in getting the ring-leader of the mutiny strangled. They had suffered horribly from starvation; indeed they had eaten the very hides that were on the ship's yards; the *San Antonio* had deserted them, but Magalhaens "would make good his promises to the Emperor," and at last succeeded. On the Feast of St Ursula, 21st October 1520, they discovered the cape ever afterwards called Cape Virgins, at the eastern entrance to the Straits.

On 27th November, after unheard-of difficulties, they emerged from the Straits into the Pacific Ocean. Their subsequent adventures do not belong to the history of Chile, but their sufferings were terrible. Magalhaens himself was killed in a quite unnecessary attack upon the island of Zebu (27th April 1521). Indeed, of his whole fleet, only the *Vitoria* ever arrived in Spain, for the others were either wrecked, or seized by the Portuguese. In this little 90-ton barque thirty-one men returned to Seville, where they arrived on 8th September 1522.[1]

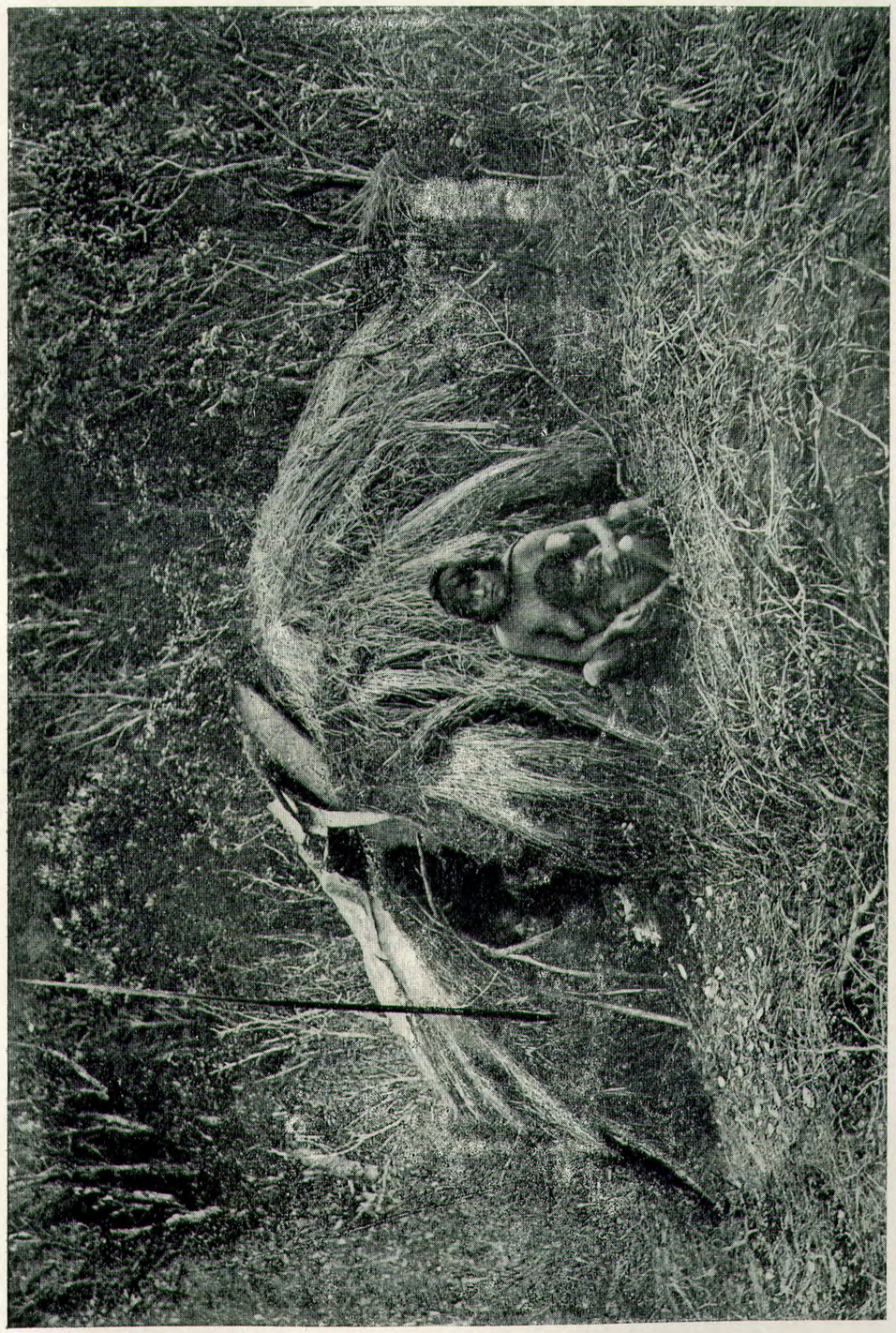
In 1526 Garcia Jofre de Loyasa passed the Straits. He lost one of his vessels, the *Santi Spiritus*, and his crews suffered heavily.[2] The subsequent expeditions by this route were all horribly unfortunate, for in almost every case, out of every three ships, one was wrecked and another deserted; often, indeed, the ships never got as far as Cape Virgins, and the expedition totally failed.

On one occasion, a magnificent, well-appointed ship, manned with reinforcements of Spanish noblemen and infantry, and carrying the new Governor of Chile and much treasure, was burnt at sea. This was on account of the inconvenient devotion of a nun, who insisted on keeping a light in her cabin in order to read her breviary. Every person on board was lost.

In fact, so dangerous and difficult did the voyage prove, that the Spaniards practically abandoned this route

[1] Burney, "South Seas," Part I.; Guillemard, "Life of Ferdinand Magellan"; *Hakluyt Society*, vol. lii.; Purchas, vol. i., etc.

[2] Burney, *l.c.*; Callander, vol. i.; Navarette, vol. v.



A YAGHAN HUT IN FUEGIA.

From "Mission Scientifique du Cap Horn" (Hyades and Deniker).

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altogether, usually reaching Chile by way of Panama and Peru, or, later on, by Buenos Ayres and Mendoza.

Attempts were made to explore the lower West Coast by several expeditions, which started south from Chile. Captain Francisco de Ulloa, in 1553, explored Chiloé and part of the Chonos Archipelago. In 1557 another expedition was sent with the same object under Ladrilleros. He and his companions had even more than the usual mutinies and other troubles to contend with, but the results were of extraordinary value, and, indeed, he might be described as the first scientific explorer of Southern Chile. Seventy men died in his ship, and, indeed, only he himself, one seaman, and a negro, returned to Chile.[1]

Then followed, in 1578, that "valiant enterprise accompanied with happy success, which that right rare and thrice worthy Capitain Francis Drake achieved in first turning up a furrow about the whole world."

We have already mentioned this well-known voyage, and it is unnecessary to describe its details, of which there are many classical accounts. But its importance in the history of Chile, and, indeed, in that of Great Britain, is not perhaps justly appreciated.

It must be remembered that England was then on the eve of a life-and-death struggle with Spain. The political importance of the proposed expedition was realised at the time, for it is clearly, though quaintly expressed in the introduction to "Sir Francis Drake: His Voyage," which has been already mentioned (see p. 63).

The result of Drake's voyage had exactly the effect intended, as, indeed (compare pp. 61, 62), can be seen in Chilian history.

"On 20th August Drake and his little flotilla had entered the Straits by the Virgins Cape, and for seventeen days struggled through the maze of channels and rapids, great towering peaks and glaciers over them, and an unknown world on either side. Two days after they

[1] Burney, vol. i.; Callander, vol. i. There is apparently a journal by Cortés Hojea which I have not seen. Cf. Steffen (*l.c.* below).

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had emerged into the Pacific at Cape Pilar, they were struck by a gale from the north-east, so violent as to cause the already terror-stricken men to regard it as a divine judgment against their temerity. Day after day, in sleet and darkness, they drove ever further south; and the *Marigold* disappeared for ever, leaving no sign. By the end of September they had drifted as low down as the 57th parallel, some 600 miles west of Cape Horn, but when the weather moderated, they were able to grope northward again to the neighbourhood of the Pacific end of the Straits, where they anchored.

"In a few hours a fresh tempest caught them, and one of the epoch-marking, geographical discoveries of the world was accidentally made. Drake appears to have had doubts even in his passage through the Straits that the land to the south of him was not the Great Austral Continent, as had always been represented, but a group of islands, and now, with gale drifting his ships towards the south and east, it soon became evident that there was an open sea, and not a continent, to the south. The *Elizabeth* drifted right round the Horn, and despairing of ever meeting the Admiral again, deserted, and found her way home; but Drake, after exploring some of the islands to the south of the Straits, proceeded on his plundering way, full now of the great knowledge he had gained, that the Straits of Magellan, firmly as they might be guarded by the Spaniards, were not the only road by which the Pacific might be reached. When he eventually found his way home to England, triumphant and gorged with loot, he endeavoured to keep secret the discovery he had made. But Winter, of the *Elizabeth*, had learnt it too, and so had the sailors, and before the *Golden Hind* dropped her anchor in Plymouth harbour, the Spanish Ambassador had written intelligence of the strange news to his master in Madrid. Drake, too, could not quite hide his elation, and boasted, that though the Spaniard might post all his navy at the mouth of the Straits, he knew of a way to baffle them. The importance of the discovery was seen by both Spaniards and English-

men as soon as it became known, and made the task of protecting the West Coast of the South American continent more difficult than ever, now that Drake had shown the English seamen adventurers how they could get to the land of gold without facing the deadly narrows and races of the Straits.[1]"

This great voyage (1578) resulted not only in valuable geographical discoveries. It also induced the Chilian governor to despatch Sarmiento de Gamboa[2] (in 1579) to the Straits of Magellan, where his colony came to the utter destruction already described. Useful exploration, however, was carried out by him in the Straits and in the Madre de Dios archipelago.

The settlement of the Jesuit Fathers in Chiloé in the year 1609 resulted in many missionary journeys, by which both this group and the Chonos Islands became much better known. In 1620 a Spanish pilot, Juan Garcia Tao, discovered the Taytao peninsula.[3] After the destructive raid of the Dutch pirate, Hendrik Brouwer, in 1643,[4] a surveying expedition under Antonio de Vea[5] (1675-1676) was despatched, probably with a view to colonising some part of the West Coast. He sailed past the Gulf of Penas and the Guayanecos Islands to 48° S. lat.

Then there was a long interval, during which there was very little geographical discovery. The Spanish governors believed that there was nothing to be gained by further exploration of the West Coast, and that no foreign enemy was likely to settle in that inhospitable country. In 1767 Father José Garcia finished his missionary journeys, in which he had explored the whole of that dangerous coast-line from 43° to 49° S. lat. He

[1] The above lines are due to Martin Hume; "Drake and the Tudor Navy," by Corbett; *Hakluyt Society*; and vol. iii. of the *Calendar State Papers* (Spanish), Martin Hume.

[2] Viaje al Estrecho de Magallanes en los años de 1579 y 1580. Madrid, 1768. Also Burney, vol. ii.

[3] Steffen, *l.c.*

[4] Callander, vol. ii.

[5] Burney, vol. iv.

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made a rough chart, which shows an extraordinary knowledge of the bays, river mouths, and inlets. Another important surveying expedition made by the pilot Machado in the next year resulted in a scientific survey of part of this region.

Soon afterwards, in 1787 and 1796, "a minute topographical survey of the long extent of coast-line and islands, including the mountainous adjacent land between 41° and 46°," appeared.

"This work was due to a lieutenant of the Royal Spanish Navy, Don José de Moraleda y Montero. His great spherical chart of that region, his numerous partial maps, journals of travel and navigation, must be considered as of the highest merit when we bear in mind that Moraleda had to carry out his work" "by means of rough Indian canoes (piraguas) fitted out to carry sail like a schooner."[1]

After this, in 1826 to 1836, Parker King and Fitzroy[2] surveyed the coast in a thoroughly adequate and scientific fashion. If one studies the charts of these regions, the great number of English names shows that the British Navy (or buccaneers and pirates) have performed an enormous proportion of the detailed and difficult work of surveying one of the most intricate coast-lines in the world.

This is not at all exceptional, for, indeed, all over the world it is English charts, drawn up mostly by British men-of-war, that the navigator must consult. About 1870, a whole series of modern explorers began to examine the coast-line and rivers. Most of them were officers of the Chilian navy, and they produced many maps which have been published by their own government. Amongst the best-known names are Francisco Vidal Gormaz, Enrique Simpson, Ramon Serrano, and Roberto Maldonado, but many others might be mentioned.

[1] Steffen, *Geographical Journal*, July 1900. This is an excellent brief summary of the history of geographical discovery.

[2] Narrative, etc., "*Adventure* and *Beagle*," 1826-1836.

There were also British expeditions, such as that of the *Nassau* in 1866-1869,[1] the *Alert* in 1879-1880,[2] and the visit of the German man-of-war *Albatros* in 1883-1884. For details as to these expeditions, we must refer to the original sources.

Recently there has been no more indefatigable explorer than Dr Steffen himself, who has made expedition after expedition into the West Coast of Patagonia, and whose valuable and interesting papers in the *Geographical Journal* and elsewhere must be recommended to the reader. Indeed, during the last few years the Mission Scientifique du Cape Horn, Dr Otto Nordenskjöld, Dr Dusen, Dr Hatcher, and many others, have made Tierra del Fuego and the district near Punta Arenas quite as well known as any other part of the world.

Before leaving the story of geographical discovery, it is necessary to mention three great explorers, all Jesuit Fathers, who accomplished quite extraordinary results and with the most modest equipment.

In 1672 Father Nicolas Mascardi,[3] the Jesuit, leaving the mission of Nahuelhuapi, traversed the whole of Patagonia and arrived at Port San Julian. Indeed the Jesuits seem to have established missions at many places on the eastern side of the Andes, and the groves of wild apple trees which are common in that neighbourhood are always said to have sprung from the plants introduced by them. Father Menendez[4] explored the region round Nahuelhuapi about 1794.

The work of Father Tomas Falkner,[5] who travelled with the Patagonian natives for many years, produced several Spanish expeditions up the Santa Cruz, Rio Negro, and Limay rivers, which added to the geographical knowledge of the time many important data.

[1] Cunningham, R.A., "Notes on the Voyage of H.M.S. *Nassau*," 1866-1869.

[2] Coppinger, "Cruise of the *Alert*."

[3] Steffen, *l.c.*

[4] Fonck, "Viajes de Fray Menendez."

[5] Falkner, "Description of Patagonia." Hereford, 1774.

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As regards the Botany and Natural History of Chile, there are many very famous names. Perhaps Poeppig, who collected 17,000 dried plants, as well as hundreds of specimens which were "embalmed" for preservation, made the first important step in our knowledge of the Flora. Bougainville, Commerson, D'Orbigny (1826-1833), Meyen (1830-1832), Lutke, Humboldt, and Bertero, all visited Chile. But as regards purely systematic botany and zoology, it is Claudio Gay, the young French naturalist, who laid the real foundations of the Chilian Flora and Fauna. His "Historia Fisica y Politica" was also the first satisfactory political history of the country.

In recent years the two Philippis and Dr C. Reiche have added enormously to our knowledge of the botany of Chile; and the as yet unfinished "Flora de Chile," by the last-named, is the standard work on the subject.

It was with the *Beagle*, that a young and almost unknown naturalist, Charles Darwin, visited Patagonia and Chile.[1] He did not stay a very long time there, but for all modern scientific knowledge, his visit must be regarded as a real revolution. It was a new departure, a starting-point for all these questions which are now being examined and followed up by modern explorers. Indeed, if one endeavours to trace the history of any one of the great problems, such as that of the Pampean sea, the extinct mammals of Patagonia, a land-connection with the Antarctic continent, or the geology and climate of South America generally, it is always some suggestion or observation of Darwin's that has given the initiatory impulse to modern research.

The work of Pissis[2] is, indeed, excellent so far as it goes, but for the geologist, there is no other country in the world so promising as a field for detailed and modern exploration. Wide extents of country have never been seen by a trained geologist at all, and there is room for minute investigation everywhere. The works of Domeyko, Gussfeldt, Gosse, and others, have been carried out on

[1] "Geological Observations on South America, and Journal of Researches."
[2] "Geografia Fisica de la Republica de Chile," 1875.

comparatively quite a small part of the immense territory of Chile.

There are many first-class ascents for the mountaineer. Indeed, if we except Dr Gussfeldt, Sir M. Conway, Mr Fitzgerald, as well as Mr Vines, and others who accompanied him, no mountain climbing of much importance has been done in Chile at all. There are many mountain systems in Patagonia of which not even a rough map exists, and no doubt there are still undiscovered lakes amongst them. The meteorology is also very much of an unknown field. No country in the world has such an interesting history in the matter of volcanic eruptions and earthquakes (see Stübel and Goll).

Moreover, it is not at all difficult to reach fresh and untrodden ground in Chile. Whereas in Asia and Africa there are but few places near the terminus of a line of steamers which have not been explored and exhaustively worked out, there are in Chile great districts only a few days from Punta Arenas or Puerto Montt of which really nothing is known definitely.

There are mines known to the Indians which await rediscovery, and, indeed, so far as one can tell from the mineral deposits which are known to-day, the whole territory of Chile seems to contain in greater or less quantity, gold, silver, copper, and coal.

As yet no petroleum has been discovered (at least to the writer's knowledge), but there surely must be many places where this or some of the other valuable mineral products are awaiting the prospector.

Nor is it difficult to travel in Chile. Mules and horses can be obtained easily, and at comparatively small expense. This is especially the case on the eastern side of the Andes, and a journey from Nahuelhuapi to Punta Arenas, for instance, might furnish all sorts of interesting possibilities in the way of exploration.

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CHAPTER XXIII

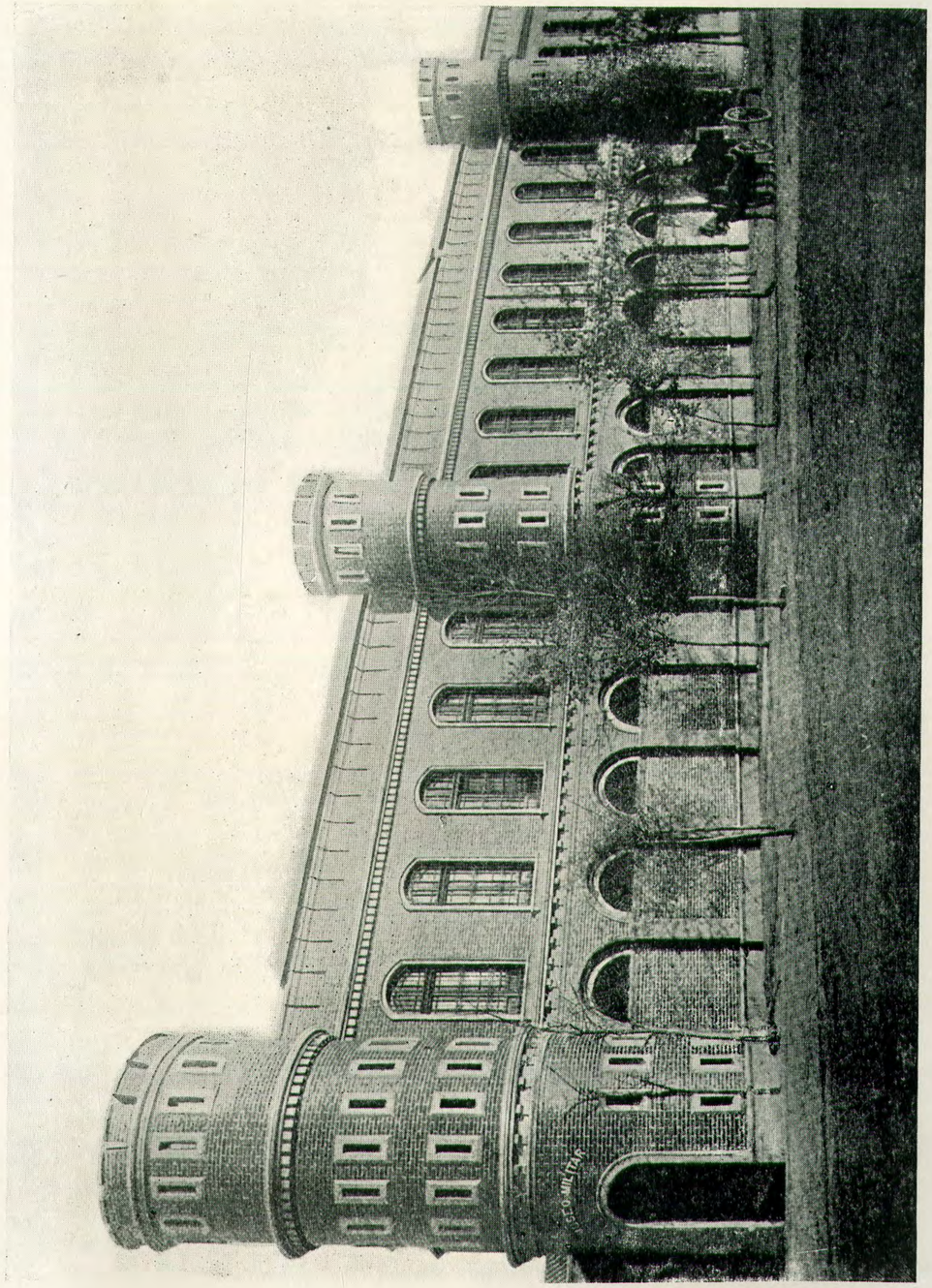
THE FUTURE OF CHILE

Defence of Chile — Soldiers — Chilian navy — Possible dangers — United States of South America—Monroe doctrine—Solidarity of Chile.

CHILE, like all sensible and prudent nations, realises that it is the privilege and duty of every able-bodied man to be able to defend his country in case of need. This compulsory service is not a "crushing burden," although every Chilian may be called upon for service in war between the ages of eighteen and forty-five.

One year is spent with the colours, and under careful instruction by foreign experts. The period spent in the first reserve or first line of defence consists of nine years: afterwards the conscript belongs to the second reserve, until he has attained the age of forty-five. Foreigners do sometimes grumble at their sons being obliged to serve in the army, for any child of foreign parents born in Chile is regarded as a Chilian, and must therefore pass through the regular training if called upon to do so.

It seems, however, that there are many exemptions and exceptions to this rule, for the army actually embodied consists only of about 12,000 men. The rifle used is the 7-mm. Mauser. On paper this seems a dangerously weak force considering certain possibilities which must be alluded to later on, but then the Chilian peon is living a very different sort of life to that enjoyed by a French or German conscript after leaving the barracks.



ARSENAL AND MILITARY MUSEUM, SANTIAGO.

To face p. 336.

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He is most likely in hard, physical condition, living on somewhat scanty fare and enduring hardships which keep him active, vigorous, and trained. It certainly takes a very short time to make an excellent soldier of a Chileno, as witness the Wars of the Pacific and of Balmaceda. He is brave, hardy, able to ride, obedient, and knows that he must look up to his officers, of whom he has the good sense neither to be jealous nor envious.

Moreover, the Chilian army is extraordinarily mobile, at least in Chile. Probably every man in it rides well, whilst horses and mules are to be found almost everywhere. Indeed, man for man, and judging from past records, the Chilian infantry and cavalry are more than a match for any army in the world, except, possibly, that of Japan.

The point on which one would like more information is the scientific training of the officers, especially in gunnery, tactics, engineering, and the like. Indeed, if one reflects on the history of the country, and on the ancestors of the race, it would be very strange if the conscripts did not show a natural aptitude for, and quick intelligence in war.

There is one regiment of horse artillery, two of garrison artillery, and four for mountain warfare, which are armed with Krupp guns of 7 and 7.5 cm.

The navy possesses a very handy fleet of belted and armed cruisers, with nominal speeds of from 19 to 24 knots an hour.

The finest ship is the *Esmeralda*, which can easily keep up a speed of 21 knots at sea (7,030 tons, 18,000 H.P.); she carries two 8-inch and sixteen 6-inch guns. The *O'Higgins* is very nearly as fine a vessel, and the *Blanco Encalada*, *Ministro Zenteno*, *Chacabuco*, and *President Errázuriz*, are good protected cruisers. Chile also possesses a battleship, *Capitan Prat*, built in 1890, of 6,966 tons, with 12,000 H.P. and a nominal speed of 18.3 knots. But the cruisers are modern ships, built for the most part between 1896 and 1898. There are also

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at least seventeen torpedo-boat destroyers and torpedo-boats. Such a force makes Chile quite able to hold her own with any South American power.

But we must remember the curious conditions which still prevail in this long and narrow belt of country, where the nitrate ports, the mining ports, Valparaiso, and Talcahuano are all exposed to an active enemy. Of course, Iquique and the nitrate provinces are not nearly so liable to be starved into surrender as they were in former times. Still, one suspects that a Chilian, looking towards the West, must be a little anxious when he reflects on the comparatively small numbers of the Chilian navy. He will, of course, remember that every other republic in South America is just as exposed, and, indeed, all are in greater peril than Chile, but yet there is a danger for each of them.

The railway system is being vigorously developed, and it is probable that not many years will elapse before it will be possible to travel from Arica to Santiago and Puerto Montt by a through line of railway. For the defence of the rich nitrate and mining provinces, the sooner this line from north to south is finished, the better for Chile.

In the distant future, no doubt, the population of Chile will be enormously greater. The area in the south suitable for colonisation is very great, and those unfortunate customs which at present check the natural increase of the people will no doubt disappear; but in the meantime, Chile has but three million inhabitants and a little over, and it is just in the meantime that the danger of attack may arise.

There is no reason whatever for Chile to quarrel with the Argentine Republic, and even if there were, those long, difficult, and desolate passes of the Cordillera form a magnificent natural frontier, which is easily watched and as easily guarded.

One hears sometimes of a dream of a United States of South America. It is generally from some North

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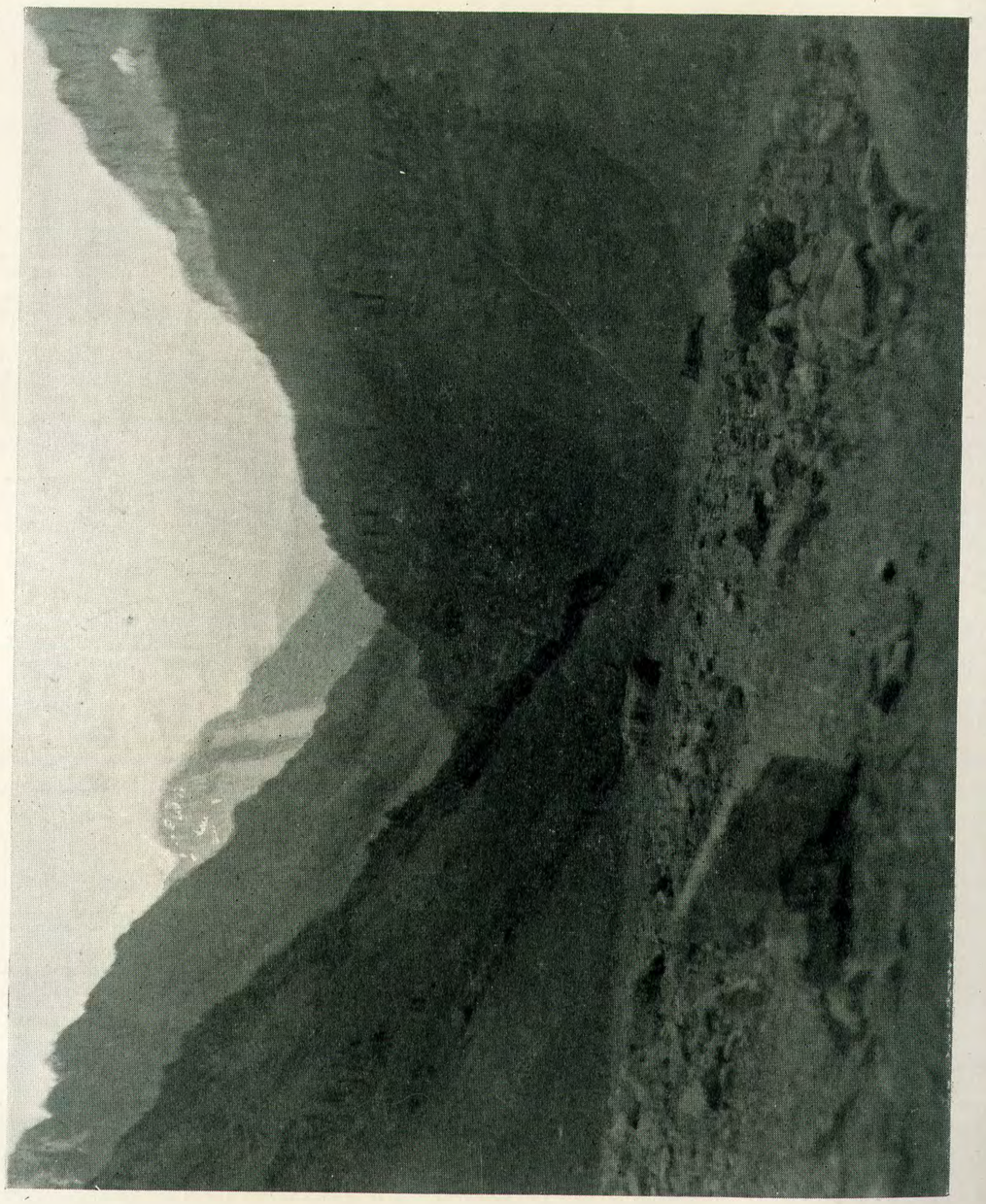

LAST VIEW OF CHILE.

To *face* p. 339.

American citizen who considers that it will, of course, be under the protection of the United States.

In a few years' time the pretensions of the States to a sort of suzerainty in South America, according to the doctrine of Monroe, will be regarded with a certain amount of amusement in both Chile and the Argentine Republic. But a United States of South America, including Bolivia, Paraguay, Uruguay, the Argentine, and Chile, does not seem at all impossible, and, of course, would be a safeguard against many dangerous possibilities.

Those who decry Chile, usually allude to the different character of the populations contained in the Republic. These differences have been explained as fully as possible in the preceding pages. They will, in many respects, always exist, for no human power can produce any resemblance between the products and the climates of Puntas Arenas, Santiago, and Arica. But the government is the same, for it is the Chilian aristocracy who govern the whole country, and over by far the larger proportion of its extent, one finds the same Chileno working-class, which is the most valuable of all Chile's assets.

As regards the foreigners, they form possibly one in thirty-five of the population. They belong to at least four or five nationalities. They are contented, at least, for the most part, and are exceedingly unlikely to give any trouble.

Moreover, it is only the actual immigrants, and not their children, who must be considered. The children are entirely Chilian in speech (except, possibly, in Valdivia), in ideals, and in patriotism.

The author failed to find a single German who had the slightest wish for the government of William II. Nor did he discover a Briton who had any desire whatever for the methods of the British House of Commons and of English political parties.

These wanderers do sing of the Vaterland, of "dear old England," and of "bonnie Scotland," but in so doing, they simply indulge that necessity of romantic enthusiasm,

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of poetic yearning for something ideal which is innate in everybody.

They do not really want to return "home" for a permanent residence. This may not be the case so far as the nitrate and mining districts are concerned, for there the *oficinas* are just factories to which one goes to make money. No one who has lived long in Southern Chile would seriously desire to return to live in Glasgow, London, Liverpool, or Manchester.

These exiles prefer the land of their adoption. It would be a mistake and a crime to ask them to fight against their mother country, but they would certainly not fight against Chile.

Chile is quite capable of assimilating all foreigners of the proper stamp; those that cannot adapt themselves to new conditions are best kept at home.

But there is a tradition in England that in all South American states, armed revolutions are ordinary daily occurrences, that no man's life is safe unless he carries a revolver, and that Indians in warpaint habitually plunder the settlers' houses in Santiago.

These traditions do not apply to Chile of the present day. There have been civil wars, and such may again break out. That is a possibility which must be faced in every country, whether new or old, but an owner of landed property in some of the older countries of Europe is much more likely to be despoiled of his possessions than he will be in Chile, and, on the whole, it cannot be said that there are any signs of revolution. The country is peaceful, self-respecting, and patriotic; it is far ahead of most South American republics, and to a passing traveller it is just as safe as any country in Europe.

It is very difficult to describe the charm which Chile exercises over leisurely travellers and most residents. There is the ineffable delight of being obviously and in practice one of the upper classes. There is a liberty and a freedom to which, in aged nations, one is quite unaccustomed. The sunshine and the invigorating air

no doubt account for much, but certainly the Chilian people themselves are largely responsible for the indefinite attraction which every one experiences in the "England of the Pacific."

Those who have any doubt upon the subject may be strongly recommended to go there and see for themselves.

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APPENDIX

(1) CHILIAN TIMBER

THE following are the more important coniferous woods:

Alerce (*Fitzroya patagonica*), from Corral to Valdivia and Nahuelhuapi. How far this tree extends southward seems a little uncertain. The great white stems (sometimes 240 feet high and 15 feet in diameter) have been compared to those of the Californian Bigtrees. One ancient tree is said to have been between 1,939 and 2,000 years old. The timber is excellent.

Ciprés (*Libocedrus tetragona*) is found south and west of Lake Nahuelhuapi (41°-42° S. lat.), and thence to Cape Horn. It is said to grow up to 2,000 feet altitude, and not far from the snowline. Another species (*L. chilensis*) occurs at 34° S. lat., and grows even at 4,500 feet altitude. Timber, excellent.

Maniu or **Mahiu** (*Saxegothea conspicua*) occurs on the lower slopes of the Andes, and south of Valdivia. The timber is also good.

The other coniferæ (*Podocarpus nubigena*, *P. andina*, and *Dacrydium Fonki*) are probably of much less importance.

As regards other timbers, Don Roberto la Court (of Concepción) has kindly given me the following notes:

Roble pellin (*Nothofagus* sp.) furnishes a very heavy timber. It is much used for posts in houses, bridges, piles and heavy work. It lasts for a century in water. Can be obtained in any quantity at from 4 to 5 cents per superficial foot.

Raulí. Wine barrels, all inside work, beams, flooring, ceiling, mouldings, planed and matched boards, etc. It is especially adapted to furniture work, and a variety of imitation woods can be obtained from it. It is rather abundant, though not nearly so much so as the preceding. Its price (first

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quality and dry) is about 7 cents per superficial foot, second quality, 6 cents, and third quality, 3½ cents per foot.

Lingue. A stronger timber and very heavy when green. Obtainable in quantity. It is used for beer casks, barrels, railway carriages, carts, and especially for furniture and carving. It is stronger than the preceding, and costs about the same. Resembles German oak.

Alamo. Poplar. A very light timber used for the commonest and cheapest furniture, planed and matched stuff, ceilings, mouldings, and doors. About 5 cents per superficial foot.

Laurel. Used more or less for the same purposes as above, and obtainable at similar prices.

Avellano (*Guevinia Avellana*?). A beautifully spotted wood, rather scarce, and used only for furniture. It is worth about 10 cents per superficial foot.

Radal. Similar, but also scarce. For small furniture.

Lleuque. Scarce. Used for bedsteads and large furniture. Price, 10 cents per foot.

Olivillo. Abundant. Used for furniture. About 5 cents per superficial foot.

COLIHUALES

The author must express his thanks to Dr Wyndham H. Dunstan for the following report:

IMPERIAL INSTITUTE ROAD,
LONDON, S.W., 13*th February* 1905.

DEAR SIR,—The sample of Kila fibre, a climbing grass common in Southern Chili and known as "Kila" or "Chusquiea," which accompanied your letter of the 6th August 1904, has been examined in the Scientific and Technical Department of the Imperial Institute, with special reference to its suitability for paper-making or brush-making, and I have much pleasure in sending you an account of the results.

The sample consisted of five ounces of hard, woody stems of a light brown colour, bearing tufts of grass-like leaves. The

botanical name of the plant was not stated, and I shall be glad if you can tell me what this is (the plant is *Chusquiea Kila* and *C.* spp.).

Chemical Examination

The chemical examination was carried out on an average sample of the entire product (stems and leaves), and also on a sample of the leaves freed from the stems. The following results were obtained:

	Entire product.	Leaves only.
Moisture	10 per cent.	10 per cent.
Ash (calculated on dried material) .	10.9 ,,	13.3 ,,
Silica ,, ,, .	6.6 ,,	...
Cellulose ,, ,, .	41 ,,	33.5 ,,

Length of ultimate fibre—.4 – 1.4 mm. (.016 – .056 inch).
Average—.7 mm. (.03 inch).

In the following table these results are compared with those given by different samples of esparto grass:

	Kila Fibre.	Esparto Grass.		
	Analysis of entire product.	Analysis made at the Imperial Institute.	Other analyses.	
	per cent.	Spanish. per cent.	Spanish. per cent.	African. per cent.
Moisture	10	12.8	9.4	8.8
Ash (calculated on dried material) . . .	10.9	2.5	4.1	4
Cellulose (calculated on dried material) . .	41	54.6	53.2	50.2
Length of ultimate fibre .	.4 – 1.4 mm. (.016 – .056 inch). Average—.7 mm. (.03 inch).	.5 mm. – 3.5 mm. (.02 – .14 inch.) Average length—1.5 mm. (.06 inch).		

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These figures show that the "Kila fibre" contains a smaller proportion of cellulose and a much higher percentage of mineral constituents (ash) than esparto grass, and that its ultimate fibre is shorter than that of the latter product. In all these respects the fibre is inferior to esparto grass as a paper-making material.

Commercial Utilisation

(1) As a Paper-making material.

There is no doubt that Kila fibre could be used for paper-making, but its exploitation for this purpose would probably prove unremunerative, as it would have to compete with esparto grass and other materials. It has been shown above that the fibre is inferior to esparto grass, and it would therefore be of lower commercial value. Moreover, the material might prove troublesome to work on a large scale owing to the large amount of silica which it contains, but this difficulty might be obviated by gathering the leaves in a young state, when a smaller proportion of silica would be present.

The present prices of esparto grass in the London market range from about £3 per ton for the African variety to £5, 10s. for the Spanish.

(2) As a Brush material.

The product does not appear to possess the properties necessary for a brush material, being brittle and lacking in elasticity.

In conclusion, the results of this investigation show that the Kila fibre could be used as a paper material, but that its commercial value would scarcely warrant its collection and exportation to this country for this purpose, and that it is unfitted for brush-making.

The Imperial Institute would be glad to learn the botanical name of the "Kila" plant, as the value of the work would be considerably enhanced if this could be ascertained and recorded.—I am, dear Sir, yours faithfully,

WYNDHAM R. DUNSTAN.

(2) PRODUCE IN DISTRICT OF CONCEPCIÓN

THE difficulty in producing any increase in the export of agricultural produce in Chile is not that there is any lack of material, but that the prices in Chile are often so high. Thus, in 1904, when lentils were about £9 per ton in Glasgow, the price in Chile was nearly double that sum.

By the kindness of Messrs Duncan, Fox & Co., and of Mr Henn, their representative in Concepción, I obtained a series of samples of the produce of the district which were exhibited in Glasgow.

It consisted of:—Flour (Central Valley, No. 1, Almendio-Linares, Southern Mills); bran, wheat (choice class, superior and Corriente); barley (Chevalier, brewing, forage); oats (black, white, and tawny); chick peas (Grandes, Regulares); peas (white grinding, *petitpois*); beans (white haricot; ditto, poor class; brown, large; ditto, small; Triquitos, Avalitos, Butter); rye and lentils.

At present Chile exports so much nitrate and wool that the difficulty of freight might be a serious drawback. If our poorer classes could be induced to use the excellent and nutritious beans so common in South America, it would be a great improvement on their ordinary diet. But it is doubtful if this could be made to pay at present prices.

Full details of the produce of Chile will be found in the Reports of Chilian exhibits at the International Expositions at Paris, Chicago, and Santiago. See also Mackenna, "L'Agriculture de Chile."

We also append a note on the trade of Talcahuano.

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(3) Chilian Products Shipped at Talcahuano during the Year 1904.[1]

Article.		Quantity.												
		United Kingdom.	Germany.	France.	Belgium.	Nether-lands.	United States.	Argentine Republic.	Peru.	Ecuador.	Brazil.	Uruguay.	Italy.	Guatemala.
Horns	Kilos	5,947	..	18,071	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bran	,,	1,644,973	2,264,206	..	..	..	..	..	487,102	..	..	..	..	..
Pollard	,,	536,556	499,540	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Oats	,,	3,580,085	2,106,360	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Peas	,,	356,197	2,483,658	637,973	50,000	15,000	..	453,260	..	..	280,000	13,000	11,760	..
Old Bronze	,,	3,572	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Whale beard	,,	..	..	4,542	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Barley	,,	2,482,890	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lingue	,,	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	33,025	..	..	..	..	..
Old copper	,,	14,487	..	..	..	..	..	60,000	84,500	..	..	..	..	..
Beer	Dozens	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Beeswax	Kilos.	18,558	30,246	649	..	..	..	..	80	..	..	..	..	..
Rye	,,	1,916,400	52,700	..	241,200	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Horsehair	,,	11,788	33,820	7,022	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bullock-hides	,,	..	33,789	61,613	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sheep-hides	,,	..	239	62,489	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sleepers	Standards	..	..	..	..	..	1,560	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Refined whale oil	Kilos.	3,763	..	..	..	..	..	32,877	..	..	..	..	..	..
Beans	,,	36,590	722,071	655,448	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Chickpeas	,,	54,100	..	..	..	..	..	1,500	20,000	..	54,800	..	..	..
Middlings	,,	270,195	55,200	..	..	..	..	60,403	..	..	18,000	..	..	..
Lentils	,,	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Maize	,,	..	..	..	..	..	..	18,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
Wood	Packages	..	2,216	64	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ginger berry	Kilos.	..	1,000	..	..	..	..	..	19,048	50	..	..	..	142,500
Honey	,,	77,925	161,430	34,723	22,000	..	..	..	..	3,000	..	..	..	..
Apples	Cases	..	25	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Nuts	Kilos.	1,270	18,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Quillai	,,	113,315	235,000	29,303	..	..	81,700	27,538	..	..	..	..	..	..
Cheese	,,	..	..	..	..	..	65,810	..	3,530	..	..	..	..	..
Leather	,,	..	72,748	..	..	..	..	..	1,240	..	..	..	..	..
Clover seed	,,	215,796	9,600	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Wine	Dozens	..	1,848	2	..	..	..	2,100	4,550	..	..	..	..	..

[1] No. 3465 Chile.

(4) SHIPPING.

The following tables give in detail the foreign and coasting trade of Valparaiso for the years 1905 and 1904[1]:—

FOREIGN TRADE.

STEAM.

Nationality.	Number of Vessels.		Tons.		Increase or Decrease over 1904.		
	1905.	1904.	1905.	1904.	Number of Vessels.		Tons.
Chilian	55	58	85,606	93,171	−	3	− 7,565
British	211	204	528,227	499,162	+	7	+ 29,065
German	90	87	265,462	248,012	+	3	+ 17,450
Dutch	1	...	2,327	...	+	1	+ 2,327
French	7	8	21,580	24,799	−	1	− 3,219
Belgian	2	1	5,966	3,009	+	1	+ 2,957
Argentine	2	...	2,442	...	+	2	+ 2,442
Danish	2	...	5,060	...	+	2	+ 5,060
United States	...	1	...	743	−	1	− 743
Norwegian	...	1	...	2,177	−	1	− 2,177
Total	370	360	916,670	871,073	+	10	+ 45,597

SAILING.

Nationality.	Number of Vessels.		Tons.		Increase or Decrease over 1904.		
	1905.	1904.	1905.	1904.	Number of Vessels.		Tons.
Chilian	8	6	7,268	4,681	+	2	+ 2,587
British	55	71	94,106	111,841	−	16	− 17,735
German	34	37	64,172	70,922	−	3	− 6,750
French	4	3	6,277	4,911	+	1	+ 1,366
Italian	8	7	10,077	11,400	+	1	− 1,323
United States	3	...	4,650	...	+	3	+ 4,650
Danish	1	2	608	1,979	−	1	− 1,371
Norwegian	3	2	3,234	2,231	+	1	+ 1,003
Russian	1	1	1,728	1,446	...		+ 282
Belgian	1	...	1,862	...	+	1	+ 1,862
Dutch	...	1	...	1,991	−	1	− 1,991
Austro-Hungarian	...	1	...	1,382	−	1	− 1,382
Swedish	...	1	...	1,331	−	1	− 1,331
Total	118	132	193,982	214,115	−	14	− 20,133

[1] No. 3698, Chile Annual Series.

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COASTING TRADE.

STEAM.

Nationality.	Number of Vessels.		Tons.		Increase or Decrease over 1904.	
	1905.	1904.	1905.	1904.	Number of Vessels.	Tons.
Chilian . .	387	341	345,696	337,059	+ 46	+ 8,637
British . .	171	160	212,830	213,061	+ 11	− 231
German . .	13	15	47,158	47,634	− 2	− 476
Dutch . .	1	...	2,327	...	+ 1	+ 2,327
United States .	...	1	...	743	− 1	− 743
Total .	572	517	608,011	598,497	+ 55	+ 9,514

SAILING.

Nationality.	Number of Vessels.		Tons.		Increase or Decrease over 1904.	
	1905.	1904.	1905.	1904.	Number of Vessels.	Tons.
Chilian . .	35	44	19,130	24,711	− 9	− 5,581
British . .	5	5	6,947	7,614	...	− 667
German . .	3	2	4,151	4,777	+ 1	− 626
Total .	43	51	30,228	37,102	− 8	− 6,874

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