CHAPTER XVI

NEW GRANADA UNDER AN AUDIENCIA

I. The establishment of the audiencia. II. The Benalcázar-Robledo episode. III. The creation of the archbishopric of New Granada. IV. The archbishop and the synod of 1556. V. The panic caused by the exploits of Lope de Aguirre. VI. The conflict between civilians and ecclesiastics. VII. The Archbishop of Bogotá. VIII. The president-governor and captain-general.

I

THE creation of an audiencia for Santa Fé de Bogotá, in 1549, marks an important step in the early social progress of New Granada, progress which resulted later in the organisation of the New Kingdom of Granada. When the audiencia was formed, provision was made through it to hold the residencia of Armendáriz, who resigned his office in favour of that body. Mercado, who had been appointed to be the president, was familiar with the procedure in cases of this kind, but after his death the power of the audiencia rested in the hands of two young and inexperienced lawyers, who were not disposed to assume the duty that had been particularly imposed upon the president. They were conscientious in their work, and won public favour by their amiability, their honesty, and their efforts to adjust differences peaceably, and to induce the colonists to avoid the contests of litigation. The period of their administration was, according to Acosta, "the golden age of Spanish justice in Santa Fé."[1]

The fact that the will of the Crown with respect to the residencia of Armendáriz had not been carried out, led

[1] Acosta, *New Granada*, 331.

to conflict between the local authorities and the agents of the Crown. And now, after several years, the visitador, Zurita, arrived to perform the neglected task. He found that, although certain complaints had been sent to the Crown concerning Armendáriz, that officer had been protected by the audiencia. The visitador was, therefore, obliged to withdraw without having been able to execute his purpose.

Captain Lancheros informed the Council of the Indies of the condition of affairs that led to Zurita's defeat, and thereupon Juan Montaño was sent to be a member of the audiencia, with orders to bring Armendáriz to trial. Under these orders, Armendáriz was seized, and treated with great indignity; the constables even stripped him of his clothing, which, it was said, they carried off as payment for their services. Finding Armendáriz in this predicament, Captain Lancheros magnanimously came to his assistance, and furnished him with the clothes and money needed for his journey to Spain, whither he was sent to be tried. In this trial, however, he was able to show that his conduct was justifiable. This case furnishes a fair illustration of one of the disagreeable features of official life as it was in the Spanish dependencies, where officers who had failed in the somewhat difficult task of pleasing everybody, were sometimes arrested and subjected to transportation to Spain to be tried, when no sufficient reason existed for imposing upon them this great hardship. This proceeding in some instances not only involved the accused in ruinous expenses, but it also robbed them of the opportunities of their best years. It often happened that the visitador sent by the Council of the Indies to examine the conduct of an official was worse than the person to be examined. This was clearly true in the case of Visitador Montaño. The tradition of his many acts of cruelty remained for decades in the community that had been afflicted by his presence. Having disposed of Armendáriz, he caused the oidores, Góngora and Galarza,

to be arrested for no other reason than because they had been disposed to countenance the acts of that officer; and this could hardly be construed as meriting punishment, since it was subsequently shown in Spain that there was no valid ground for the charges urged against him. Still, in his disregard for justice, Montaño caused the oidores to be embarked for Spain; but on the voyage thither they were lost in a shipwreck off the coast of Africa. Governor Pedro de Heredia and many other persons perished at the same time. The wrecked vessel carried also the documents in a case which had been prepared against Montaño. These were saved, and the visitador was later convicted and executed.[1]

Bogotá had become the capital of the kingdom of New Granada. The other colonies, Santa Marta, Cartagena, Popayan, and the rest, had local governors, who were subordinated to the president and audiencia of Bogotá; yet, in spite of this subordination, particularly with respect to judicial affairs, the several colonies, or provinces, continued to maintain a certain degree of independence.

[1] On Montaño's arrival in Bogotá, see Piedrahita, lib. xii. cap. i.; on the sending of Armendáriz, Góngora, and Galarza to Spain, and the loss of the oidores off the coast of Africa, see Piedrahita, lib. xii. cap iv.

"Y fué la residencia cometida
al licenciado dicho Juan Montaño,
que vino por oidor aquella era,
y para la tomar, por consiguiente,
á Góngora y Galarza que por causa
de ser al Miguel Díaz favorables
y los demás recuentros y pasiones
habidas con Alonso de Zorita,
estaban en consejo ya mal puestos,
pues fuera desta culpa no tenian
otra de que poder ser imputados,
antes en este reino tan bien quistos,
que les llamaban padres de la patria."

Castellanos, Juan de, *Historia del Nuevo Reino de Granada*, ii. 178.

Groot, *Historia de Nueva Granada*, i. 119; Simon, *Las Conquistas de Tierra Firme*, iii. 191.

In the years near the end of the first half and the beginning of the second half of the sixteenth century, a number of towns were established in the interior of New Granada. The most noteworthy of these were Pamplona (1549), in the territory of the Musos, and Ibagué (1551), in the territory of the Pijaos. Like many of the other settlements of Latin America, which were called cities, these were military outposts designed to bring into subjection the natives near whom they were established. Some of these settlements were not able to maintain themselves in the face of the hostile Indians, and were in the course of time abandoned. Others carried on the fight to a successful issue, and, having gained the mastery over the enemy, placed them under conditions which caused them rapidly to disappear. The tribes about Mariquita at the time of its foundation, in the middle of the sixteenth century, comprised more than thirty thousand men capable of bearing arms. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, there remained only two thousand five hundred. Of the eighteen thousand Indians of the Pijaos, all but six hundred disappeared in the course of fifty years. The bulk of these had been destroyed by smallpox, by work in the mines, and by the hopeless melancholy induced by observing the gradual ruin of their families and their tribes. Of all of the natives who came into contact with the Europeans in this part of America, the Pijaos were the most vigorous and the most barbarous. With respect to their force and their warlike disposition, they might be compared with the Araucanians, but, as to their customs, they were savages, and in their social practices many degrees below the natives of southern Chile. The early historians present them as cannibals, Zamora affirming that they had public markets for human flesh.[1]

[1] *Historia de la Provincia de San Antonio del Nuevo Reino de Granada, del Orden de Predicadores*, 349; Acosta, *Nueva Granada*, 332–7; Groot, *Historia de Nueva Granada*, i. 105–8; Simon, *Las Conquistas de Tierra Firme*, iii. 93–133.

II

Not long after the organisation of the audiencia, a third member in the person of Francisco Briceño arrived at Bogotá. A few months after his arrival, he went to Popayan to hold the trial, or residencia, of the governor, Sebastian de Benalcázar, who was charged with the death of Robledo. With the approval of Benalcázar, Robledo had made explorations and discoveries in the valley of the Cauca, and had founded there the city of Antioquia. Afterwards he went to Spain to obtain the governorship of this territory, which involved a request to have the territory subject to the governor of Popayan divided. Benalcázar was naturally offended at this action, and declared Robledo a traitor. In Spain, Robledo received the title of Marshal, and Armendáriz made him his lieutenant. When he returned from Spain, he was received by the inhabitants of Antioquia as their governor, but certain other towns stood firmly for Benalcázar, and resisted Robledo's pretensions. Benalcázar then made war on Robledo, arrested his messengers, and, on the night of October 1, 1546, took him prisoner, and charged him with being a traitor, a deserter, and a usurper. The case was brought before a council of war summoned by Benalcázar, and Robledo was condemned to death and executed. For this act Benalcázar was brought to trial before Briceño. The widow of Robledo had been active in instigating the prosecution, and when Benalcázar received the death sentence, it was said that Briceño, the judge, was influenced by the advocacy of the widow; for shortly after the trial he married her. Benalcázar appealed to the king, who annulled Briceño's decision. Groot, the historian of New Granada, affirms that everybody was surprised and scandalised by Briceño's act; for Benalcázar was regarded "as an honourable man, who had rendered great services, and who was generally beloved

for his personal qualities." In executing the judgment of the council of war, "he had not thought of playing the rôle of a criminal, and nevertheless, as such, under a sentence of death, he had appealed to the king. This idea filled him with melancholy, and preyed upon his mind in such a manner, that it caused his death when he was at Cartagena, in 1550, on his way to Spain." After the departure of Benalcázar, Briceño remained at the head of the government of Popayan.[1]

III

The return of Gonsalo Jiménez de Quesada from Spain to Bogotá was the beginning of the second period of his adventurous life. He had received the title of Marshal, and was made a life-member of the cabildo, with an income of three thousand ducats to be derived from the tribute of Indians not previously assigned. The inhabitants of the capital, who held the discoverer in esteem and affection, regarded the favours granted by the Crown as an inadequate compensation for the services which he had rendered. During the twelve years of his absence, the settlement which he founded had grown to be the political capital of an extensive territory. The Church recognised the importance which it had acquired, and caused Juan de los Barrios, Bishop of Santa Marta, to be transferred to Bogotá, where he was promoted to the office of archbishop. The papal authorisation of the

[1] Groot, *Historia de Nueva Granada*, i. 27, 105–11; Rodriguez Fresle, *Conquista y Descubrimiento del Nuevo Reino de Granada*, 41–3; Simon, *Las Conquistas de Tierra Firme*, iii. 280. Groot affirms, in a note, i. iii., that in the first edition of his work he followed Castellanos and Acosta, and expressed a very different opinion concerning Benalcázar from that given in the second edition, which is based on "el documento auténtico de la relación de meritos y servicios de don Sebastián de Benalcázar, presentada á la Corte de España." This document is printed as Appendix No. I of his *Historia de Nueva Granada*, i. 477–83; Mendiburu, viii. 281-3; Piedrahita, lib. xi. cap. viii.

transfer of the cathedral, with the prelate and the cabildo, to Bogotá, was issued at Rome, April 11, 1553.[1]

The elevation of Bogotá to be the seat of the metropolitan church excited great enthusiasm among the inhabitants, and when plans were formed for erecting a suitable edifice, a large number of persons were willing to contribute to the enterprise. Those who were able donated money or materials, and the poor gave their labour. The structure was built rapidly, but without the care and skill necessary for its stability. When it was completed, a day was fixed for its dedication, but on the eve of that day, it collapsed and became a useless ruin.[2]

IV

With the creation of the archbishopric of New Granada, the ecclesiastical organisation assumed a new importance by the side of the civil authorities. In 1556, Archbishop Barrios convoked a synod of the diocese, which, among other things, undertook to regulate the conduct of the clergy with respect to the Indians. The *Constituciones* issued by the assembly were designed to contain all the rules necessary for the guidance of the parish priests, the missionaries, the encomenderos, and all other persons whose duty it was to instruct the natives. The use of force to compel the natives to receive instruction was specifically prohibited. Although the priests did not always obey the injunctions of their ecclesiastical superiors, and sometimes set an evil standard for secular persons, by their greed, cruelty, and immoral practices, still the voice of the Church was almost the only voice that was

[1] Simon, *Las Conquistas de Tierra Firme*, iii. 191; Acosta, Joaquin, *Nueva Granada*, 343; Groot, *Historia de Nueva Granada*, i. 118, 484; Caicedo, Fernando, *Memorias para la historia de la catedral*.

[2] On the cathedral of Bogotá, see Vergara y Velasco, *Capitulos de una historia civil y militar de Colombia*, 20–23.

raised in favour of a just or charitable treatment of the Indians.[1]

If rules and investigations had been sufficient to produce and maintain right conduct on the part of civil and ecclesiastical officials in Spanish America, the Spanish dependencies would have presented an ideal state of political and religious life; but, unfortunately, the clergy did not always obey these rules, and the investigations into the conduct of civil officers could not obliterate the evil which they might have already committed. The visitador was not always an impartial judge, and sometimes he succumbed to temptations that made him blind to the errors he was expected to correct. The distance from court, and the infrequent communication, often rendered him confident that his malfeasance would not be discovered; and in this confidence his individual conscience was not always an effective check on his desire to share in the spoils of corruption.

On receiving a repartimiento, the encomendero assumed the duty to provide instruction in religion for the Indians, but from the beginning of the system this duty was neglected. When the organisation of the Church was completed by the creation of an archbishop, it began to assume with respect to the civil government the air of a co-ordinate, if not a superior, power. The synod uttered a protest against the neglect of the encomenderos in not having provided priests to instruct the natives, and to administer to them the sacraments, and in not having provided churches with the requisite ornaments and articles for the service. In view of this neglect, the archbishop and the assembly requested that the churches should be opened, that the encomenderos should provide and maintain religious teachers and priests, and all

[1] José Manuel Groot, the historian, has brought to light the *Constituciones sinodales*, and published them, or a large part of them, as Appendix III, in the first volume of his *Historia de Nueva Granada*. They are also referred to in the text of the same work, i. 120.

things necessary for divine worship. For their evil gains by reason of their carelessness and neglect with respect to religious instruction, it was desired by the Church that the encomenderos should make restitution and satisfaction in such form and amount as ought to be made, and that the manner in which this should be done might be determined by certain ecclesiastical officials.[1]

This attitude of the synod provoked opposition and resistance on the part of the encomenderos, who maintained that the utterance of that body involved a threat and censure, and was thus an offence to the civil authority. The cabildo, therefore, brought to the audiencia a complaint against the archbishop, and that body declared the action of the prelate and the assembly null and of no effect. This undue assumption of authority by the synod, although designed to promote the interests of the natives, was the cause of a temporary loss of ecclesiastical prestige. In the face of a repudiation of their authority by the audiencia, the *Constituciones* ceased to be regarded as important, and were soon forgotten. The episode is chiefly significant, therefore, merely as one of the numerous instances, in the Spanish dependencies, of ecclesiastical encroachment on the domain of the civil power, and of the rise of hostility between the encomenderos and the Church.[2]

With the establishment of the audiencia and the development of the government of the oidores at Bogotá, the prestige of the provincial governors declined. Bogotá became recognised as the seat of an authority which embraced within its jurisdiction the several provinces of New Granada. Cartagena, Popayan, and Santa Marta looked to the government established at Bogotá as to their superior; and when the dissensions that had arisen in the audiencia were allayed, the several settlements

[1] *Constituciones sinodales*, of June 3, 1556, titulo x. cap. ix.; printed as Appendix No. III. in Groot, i. 488–506.

[2] Groot, *Historia de Nueva Granada*, i. 123. 124.

constituting the new state appeared to be entering upon a period of peace and prosperity. But the prospect for a short time seemed to be less pleasing, when the inhabitants learned of the advance of Lope de Aguirre in Venezuela. The career of this remarkable tyrant furnishes a striking chapter in the history of crime. He was the evil genius of the Ursúa expedition into the valley of the Amazon.

V

Captain Pedro de Ursúa had been conspicuous in the military undertakings, and in the work of colonising in New Granada. He went to Lima in 1558, and appeared to the Marquis of Cañete, the viceroy of Peru, as the proper person to lead an expedition into the valley of the Amazon, with the design of continuing the search for El Dorado. The company of the expedition, when formed, embraced many persons whose desperate characters made the authorities of Peru anxious to be rid of them. The most perverse of these was Lope de Aguirre. Besides the recklessness of many of the men, another source of trouble was Inés de Atienza, a woman whom Ursúa was not willing to leave behind.[1] The company encamped on the bank of the Huallaga for the purpose of gathering equipment and constructing vessels for the voyage down the river. The first omen of evil was the assassination of the commander, Pedro Ramiro, prompted by jealousy and the disappointment of two other officers who had aspired to his position.

Towards the end of September 1560, the preparations for the journey were complete, and the company proceeded in vessels down the Huallaga and the Marañon. They were carried along by the current to the mouth of the Putumayo, and here, in the heart of the continent,

[1] Inés de Atienza was a daughter of Blas de Atienza, a resident of the city of Trujillo, and the widow of Pedro de Arcos, a resident of Piruta (Simon, i. 250).

they landed and formed an encampment. The lawless spirit that had shown itself in the murder of Ramiro, manifested itself here in open rebellion. The provoking cause was the appointment of Juan de Vargas to be Ursúa's lieutenant. The rebellion was led by Lope de Aguirre, and resulted in the death of both Vargas and Ursúa. The disappearance of the two principal leaders threw the affairs of the expedition into the hands of Aguirre, who became the maestre de campo, while Fernando de Guzman was proclaimed general. The extreme and uncompromising attitude of Aguirre is seen in the fact that while Guzman was disposed to seek to justify the course of the revolt, Aguirre was opposed to any action that would seem to suggest an apology; he even sought to have his followers renounce their allegiance to the king. At one time he contemplated a return to Peru for the purpose of establishing an independent government, and Guzman was selected to be the sovereign prince of that country. At a subsequent landing a number of persons were murdered, who were supposed not to be in sympathy with Aguirre's plans, or who might in any way hinder their execution. These murders were the beginnings of a long series of similar acts, directed by Aguirre and carried out in cold blood. Their details, as presented by Padre Simon, show the utter inhumanity of Aguirre and the terror he had inspired among his followers. Among those taken off at this time were Doña Inés, Captain Salduendo, who was conspicuous in his devotion to her, Alonso Montoya, the admiral Miguel Bodebo, Gonzalo Duarte, Miguel Serrano, Baltazar Cortés Cano, the chaplain Alonso Henao, and Fernando de Guzman, who had been proclaimed king of Peru.[1]

[1] Sir Clements R. Markham takes the part of Castellanos in that writer's chivalrous defence of Doña Inés. He says:

"Castellanos' version of the bloody career of Aguirre is remarkable because he stands up as the champion of the unfortunate lady who accompanied Ursúa, while all other writers, whether they be men of the world, like Vasquez and Orteguera, or greasy friars, like Simon and Piedrahita, unite in heaping reproaches and calumnies upon her . . .

The encampment where these murders were committed was called the *matanza*. Before the members of the expedition left the river, they constructed better vessels, with which they might venture upon the ocean. When these were completed, they proceeded towards the mouth of the river. For this last stage of the journey, Aguirre had selected two hundred men, and abandoned the rest to their fate, in a place where there were no available means either for escape or support. The expedition passed out of the river in June 1561, and shortly afterwards landed on the island of Margarita. Here Aguirre took as prisoners those persons who came out to receive him, killed Diego Alvarez and the two captains, Gonzalo Guiral de Fuentes and Sancho Pizarro, and gave up the town and royal treasury to be pillaged.

In Venezuela, Aguirre pursued a career of unparalleled brutality. He took and sacked one town after another —Burburata, Tocuyo, Merida, Trujillo, Valencia, Barquisimeto—and murdered without compunction some of his own men, the officials and the other inhabitants of the towns. While he lived the inhabitants of the regions through which he and his bloodthirsty followers passed were paralysed with terror.[1]

The terror which Aguirre inspired in Venezuela was communicated to the inhabitants of Bogotá. The government of New Granada was at that time in the hands of the audiencia, and the members were Grajeda, Arteaga, Angulo, and Villafañe. As they were civilians, without military experience, they organised a junta, or committee,

Castellanos, like the true gentleman that he evidently was, defends the memory of the poor young lady, the beautiful young widow of a citizen of Piura. . . . The very sublimity of this noble creature's devotion, which no terrors could daunt, no hardship damp, ought to have protected her from the cowardly sneers of dirty friars and the calumnies of gold-seeking adventurers."—Markham's *Introduction* to Bollaert's translation of Simon's *Sixta Noticia Historial*, xxxiv–xxxvi.

[1] Simon, *Las Conquistas de Tierra Firme*, i. 244–342 (Sexta Noticia Historial). An English translation of these chapters is found in the publications of the Hakluyt Society. Groot, *Historia de Nueva Granada*, i. 128–32; Baralt y Diaz, *Historia de Venezuela*, i. 213–20; Mendiburu, i. 74–8, viii. 170–3.

of notables to consider what acts should be taken to avert the impending danger. Before the junta, the oidor, Grajeda, made a comprehensive statement of the circumstances in which they were placed, of the information that had been received concerning the number of Aguirre's soldiers, the outrages they had committed, and of the fate that awaited the inhabitants of New Granada unless effective measures for defence were taken.

Messages were sent to Cartagena, Popayan, Santa Marta, and other towns, requesting them to raise such forces as might be necessary to check the invader. Captains were appointed, and the junta voted unanimously for Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada as the person best fitted to hold the general command. The anxiety and the preparations for defence continued until the arrival of an announcement of Aguirre's death. He had been deserted by many of his followers, and had become convinced that he had reached the end of his career. Finding himself at bay, he murdered his daughter, in order, as he said, that she might not fall into the hands of his enemies. Thereafter he was shot by his own men, and his body was delivered to Pedro Bravo, who was leading the company in pursuit of him.[1]

Aside from the fact that he caused the untimely death of a large number of persons, his career is not especially noteworthy, except as furnishing an example of extreme depravity and merciless brutality. He effected no important change in the public affairs of Venezuela. In its outward events, his life after he joined the expedition of Ursúa, might be compared, on a large scale, with that peculiar form of temporary madness known among the Malays as running amuck.[2]

[1] Groot, *Historia de Nueva Granada*, i. 127–32; Acosta de Samper, *Biografías*, 274–87; Piedrahita, lib. xii. cap. viii.

[2] Humbert, *Les Origines Vénézuéliennes*, 38–50; Rojas, *Estudios históricos*, 157; Bollaert, *Expedition of Pedro de Ursúa*, Hakluyt Society (London, 1861); *Relacion breve fecha por Pedro de Monguia*, in *Doc inéd.*, Col. of Torres de Mendoza, iv. 191, 215; Oviedo y Baños, lib.

VI

The danger of a conflict with invaders disappeared with the death of Lope de Aguirre; but a little later an internal controversy arose between the audiencia and the archbishop. The previous controversy, in which the archbishop, supported by the synod, attempted to prescribe the conduct of the encomenderos, resulted in the prelate's discomfiture; but in this instance he was more successful. It involved the question, whether the right of asylum in the cathedral should be respected by the civil government. It arose in connection with a priest, against whom legal action had been brought in Lima. The accused priest fled to Bogotá, and at about the time of his arrival in the city, the audiencia received a requisition, asking that he be returned to Lima as a prisoner. Without waiting to consult the archbishop, the audiencia issued an order for his arrest. The priest, learning that such an order had been given, took refuge in the cathedral. The audiencia then sent one of its members to take him from his asylum. On entering the church, the oidor and the constables were met by the archbishop and several members of the clergy, who attempted to prevent the proposed arrest. The constables, however, put down the opposition, unchecked by any respect for the office or dignity of those who made it. As soon as the criminal was taken from the church, the archbishop put forth demands for redress, and threatened the oidores with ecclesiastical condemnation. This was, however, ignored

iv. cap. i. and ii.; Baralt y Diaz, i. cap. xii.; Southey, R., *The Expedition of Ursua and Lope de Aguirre*, chap. i.; Deberle, *Histoire de l'Amirique du Sud* (1897), 41; Ortiguera, Toribio de, *Jornada de Río Marañon con todo lo acaecido en ella, y otras cosas notables dignas de ser sabidas acaecidas en las Indias occidentales*, in *Nueva Bib. de Aut. Esp.*, xv. 305–422; *Relacion verdadera de todo lo que sucedió en la jornada de Omagua y Dorado que el gobernador Pedro de Orsúa fué á descubrir por poderes y comisiones que le dió el visorrey Marques de Cañete*, in *Nueva Bib. de Aut. Esp.*, xv. 423–484.

by the audiencia, and the prelate, seeing the immunities of the cathedral violated without respect for the traditions of the Church, prepared to depart for Spain to present the matter to the attention of the Crown. This action had the desired effect. The people were aroused and alarmed, and the oidores, fearing a popular uprising, were compelled to yield. They sent messengers to overtake the archbishop, who were charged to ask him to return to the city, and to inform him that the priest had been restored to the sanctuary from which the constables had taken him. At the same time they were authorised to request the archbishop to absolve them from the censure of the Church. This he was willing to do, but he required the fiscal and the oidores to undergo a penance. When, therefore, they went out of the city to meet him, he absolved them, and, as a penance, they were compelled to dismount and return to the city on foot. Thus, surrounded by a great crowd of the populace, they walked back to the city, as a part of the triumphal procession of the returning archbishop.[1]

VII

The antagonism which arose between the Church and the secular elements of society, after the publication of the *constitutiones* of 1556, manifested itself also in the different designs of the two classes with respect to the Indians. Many of the ecclesiastics wished to secure for the Indians a large measure of independence, sometimes, perhaps, under entirely impracticable conditions; while the encomenderos were chiefly concerned in securing, on advantageous terms, as complete control over their services as possible.

A prominent champion of the Indians in New Granada was the Dominican priest, San Luis Beltran. He had been in Mexico as a professor of theology; had been

[1] Groot, *Historia de Nueva Granada*, i. 138.

prior of several monasteries; and had returned to Spain to advocate the interests of the Indians, when, in 1561, he was appointed Bishop of Popayán. He arrived in New Granada in 1562, and after the devoted labours of seven years among the Indians living between the Magdalena and the sierras of Santa Marta, he was recalled to Spain, "leaving," according to Groot, "the archbishop, Juan de los Barrios, the monks of the monastery, and all the inhabitants of the city of Bogotá full of grief." [1]

Archbishop Barrios died in 1569, and four years later Luis Zapata de Cárdenas arrived in Bogotá as his successor. Archbishop Zapata issued a catechism, and formulated certain *constituciones*, or rules, for bringing the natives to a knowledge of the Catholic faith, as well as for making them acquainted with some of the forms and customs of civilised life. These rules were designed also to serve as instructions for the ecclesiastics, prescribing their conduct, and specifying what they might properly require of the Indians under their guidance.[2] Zapata died in 1590, and the archiepiscopal see remained vacant for nine years, until the appointment of Bartelomé Lobo Guerrero, in 1599. In the intervening years three appointments were made before Lobo Guerrero was named. Two of these, Alonso López de Avila, Archbishop of Santa Domingo, and Bartelome Martinez Menacho, Bishop of Panama, died before they were able to enter upon their duties. A third, Andrés Caso, when about to go to Bogotá, accepted another appointment.

The reputation gained by some members of the clergy, and their uncompromising attitude towards secular affairs, often placed the civil government in serious embarrassment. This was the case when this government was conducted by an audiencia as a collegiate executive. It

[1] *Historia de Nueva Granada*, i. 137.

[2] Extracts from the *constituciones* of Archbishop Zapata are printed as Appendix No. 4, in Groot, *Historia de Nueva Granada*, i. 507–16, who describes them as "precioso monumento de nuestras antigüedades eclesiasticas" (*Ibid.*, p. 153).

might happen that a part of the members would be under the domination of ecclesiastical ideas, thus establishing in the body a breach which rational arguments could not heal; for men frequently hold most tenaciously to views which cannot be supported by either known facts or by arguments designed to appeal to their logical faculties. In New Granada, the supreme local authority was vested in the audiencia from 1550 till 1564, when Andrés Diaz Venero de Leiva arrived in Bogotá, appointed to be the first President-Governor and Captain-General. He had been Fiscal of the Council of the Indies, and in his new office he was clothed with the essential rights and prerogatives of a viceroy. His knowledge of American affairs derived through his connection with the Council enabled him to conduct the business of his government without neglecting the temporal interests or antagonising the Church.

VIII

It devolved upon the first President of New Granada to close the breach between the civil and ecclesiastical branches of the government, and this he was in a large measure able to accomplish by reason of his sympathy with the designs and purposes of the Church. Already many towns had been established, and these had contributed to the formation of peaceful relations with many of the native tribes; and now, in the period of Venero de Leiva's administration, much attention was given to the organisation of religious houses in these towns. This work was furthered by the royal decree of December 6, 1556, through which it was ordered that Dominican monasteries might be founded wherever they were believed to be necessary. It was, moreover, required that the expenses involved in these foundations should be borne by the royal treasury, where the natives were held

immediately under the Crown, but by the encomenderos where the Indians had been subjected to them.[1]

The harmony maintained between the civil and ecclesiastical branches of the government permitted the president effectively to carry on the work of administration. He secured the execution of the laws and ordinances respecting the alcaldes, the corregidores, and the police. He regulated work in the gold mines and in the emerald mines of Mozo; opened and repaired roads; built bridges; substituted beasts of burden for Indians in the transportation of goods; and encouraged the natives to devote themselves to agriculture. He provided for official interpreters, through whom the Indians might bring their complaints to the government; regulated the proceedings of the audiencia so that justice might be properly administered; and reformed the administration of the royal treasury. Hitherto the gold that had been used in exchange had circulated in its crude form, or as gold dust; but the president sought to set aside the inconveniences of this medium of exchange, by causing the gold to be coined, or officially stamped, and by prohibiting transactions with unminted gold In order to avoid the evils of absenteeism, he required the encomenderos to live in the districts where they held encomiendas. After conducting the affairs of New Granada successfully for ten years, President Venero de Leiva returned to Spain, in 1573, and resumed his former office of Fiscal of the Council of the Indies.[2]

It is sometimes said that President Venero established primary schools for both the children of the natives and of Europeans, but very little was done towards providing instruction in New Granada before or during his term of office. Bishop Loayza formed a plan for the instruction of the sons of caciques, and received a royal

[1] A number of laws relating to the president in his relations with the members of the audiencia may be consulted in *Leyes de Indias*, lib. ii. tit. xvi.

[2] Groot, *Historia de Nueva Granada*, i. 145.

licence permitting him to establish a school for that purpose; but before he was able to carry out this plan, he was transferred to the newly-formed diocese of Lima. By a decree of April 27, 1554, the Spanish Crown sought to provide instruction for the Indians. It was thus the desire to instruct the natives that prompted the first two efforts to found schools in New Granada. A little later, in 1555, a decree was issued to provide instruction for Spanish orphans and mestizos. These decrees, however, proved to be only resolutions of good intentions; for it was not until 1576, more than twenty years later, that the first school was actually founded. This appears to have been a secular institution, but it was not long maintained.[1]

On the withdrawal of President Venero, the administration fell into the hands of the audiencia, who conducted it for about two years, until the arrival of Francisco Briceño, the second president, in March 1575. Briceño had been an oidor in Bogotá, in 1553, and had later held the office of president in Guatemala. He died suddenly in December, a few months after he reached Bogotá, and left the oidores again in control of the government. Under the audiencia, instead of the internal peace of the

[1] Vergara, *Historia de la Literatura en Nueva Granada*, 61. It is interesting to note the judgments of some of the early writers concerning President Venero. Juan Rodriguez Fresle, writing in 1636, says: "El presidente mantenia á todos en paz y justicia; ponia gran calor en la conversion de los naturales, mandándolos poblar juntos en sus pueblos, fomentando las iglesias de ellos. Envió un oidor de la Real Audiencia á visitar la tierra y á dar calor á la poblazón de los naturales, y á defenderlos y desagraviarlos. Fué muy agradable el tiempo de su gobierno, y llamáronle el 'siglo dorado.'"—*Conquista del Nuevo Reino de Granada*, 51. Padre Zamora, in his *Historia de la Provincia Dominicana de San Antonio*, refers to the fact that all of the ecclesiastics thought of him as the *Padre del Nueva Granada*; but Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada, in his *Compendio Historial*, says, "Que Venero fué hombre rencoroso y vengativo; que tuvo competencias con los frailes dominicanos, y que las últimas fueron tales, que publicamente lo llamaron *Destructor del Nuevo Reino*." Undoubtedly the unpleasant personal relations that existed between the disappointed explorer and the president had much influence in determining Quesada's opinion.

preceding period, there were conflicts with the archbishop, and complaints about the despotic rule of the oidores, until, finally, in 1578, they were superseded by the new president, Lope Diaz Aux de Armendáriz.

In 1579, the inhabitants of Bogotá had reason to turn away from the disgraceful internal quarrels of the government, and mark the death of Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada. Forty years before he had led the survivors of his great expedition up through the tropical wilderness, and here laid the foundation of Bogotá ; and now that the stormy life of the old explorer was ended, the monks, the secular clergy, the president, the judges of the audiencia, the members of the other tribunals, and men of every sort turned from their ordinary occupations to unite in doing honour to their hero, and to place over his grave the standard of the conquest.

The circumstances of the officials at the capital were not favourable for the maintenance of internal peace. These officials constituted a small company, more or less apart from the society of the town. They suffered the evils incident to a little isolated community : they became the victims of jealousy and mutual hatred, which manifested themselves not only in attempts to defeat the practical projects which one or another designed to carry out in the work of his office, but also in efforts to undermine the characters of their opponents through correspondence with the king or the Council of the Indies. Suspicions thus aroused in the minds of the authorities in Spain led to the appointment of visitadores at irregular intervals, who, as already suggested, were often quite as vicious as the officials they were sent to investigate. Thus the institution of the visitador, which was designed to furnish a legal check on the conduct of the president, the judges, or any other officer who might be indicated in instructions, proved not infrequently to be only an additional source of local disturbance and social demoralisation. It sometimes happened that a visi-

tador, returning to Spain, took back with him as prisoners not only the visitador who had been sent out before him, but also a number of the officials into whose public conduct he had been commissioned to inquire. The affairs of the higher officials at Bogotá at this period present a case of serious confusion, which was aggravated by scandals, in which two or three of the especially prominent women of the community were involved.

The events of the last two decades of the century indicate that, with respect to its social affairs, the kingdom had approached very near anarchy. The audiencia had suspended President Armendáriz, and the antagonism between the visitador, Orellana, and the oidores of the audiencia had produced a division of the inhabitants into two parties; one party supported the visitador, and the other took the part of the audiencia. There were not wanting, moreover, persons to make misrepresentations to one party or the other, and the influence of these was to widen the breach between them. The division extended beyond the city, and persons who came from the neighbouring towns immediately ranged themselves on one side or the other. The audiencia undertook to depose the visitador, and that officer in turn proclaimed the suspension of the oidores. Each party had a small armed force at command, and not much was wanting to precipitate active hostilities. At this point the archbishop appeared on the scene and asserted his medieval pretentions. He required soldiers to lay down their arms and withdraw from the contest, and threatened excommunication in case of refusal. Although his first attempt to avert the struggle which seemed to be impending was without effect, now that it was proposed to launch the thunderbolt of divine wrath, it was thought by those who were ready for war that the time had come to run for cover; and within an hour not a man was to be found in the plaza, where the forces of the audiencia had been assembled.[1]

[1] Groot, *Historia de Nueva Granada*, i. 178–80.

This political comedy had a not unusual tragic ending. President Armendáriz continued under suspension until his death, in 1584. Orellana, the visitador, suspended Pérez de Salazar and Gaspar de Peralta, the two oidores who appeared to him especially obnoxious; and took them, together with the secretary, Francisco Velásquez, to Spain as prisoners. The Council of the Indies disapproved of these arrests, and sent Orellana himself to prison, where he died without property. Secretary Velásquez, whom he had imprisoned, paid the expenses of his burial. The oidores were exonerated. Salazar became the Fiscal of the Council, and Peralta was restored to his place as member of the audiencia of Bogotá.[1]

These internal quarrels, which left the civil government more or less discredited, gave the archbishop an opportunity to magnify his importance. He sought to complete the cathedral, in order that the ceremonies of worship might acquire a greater splendour, and the authorities of the Church thereby greater prestige. He celebrated a Provincial Council, in order through it to fix the discipline of the Church; and by providing for the proper education of priests, he hoped to increase their influence in public affairs. The refusal of the Bishop of Popayán to attend the Council, on the ground that his bishopric did not lie within the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Bogotá, gave rise to an ecclesiastical controversy, which, taken together with the disposition of the bishops to quarrel with the provincial governors, helped at least to avert social stagnation.[2]

While the interior settlements, in spite of their local quarrels, were slowly advancing towards civilisation, some of the towns on the coast suffered great losses through the assaults and plundering of Sir Francis Drake and his piratical followers. At Riohacha, in 1585, Drake

[1] Groot, *Historia de Nueva Granada*, i. 180.
[2] *Ibid.*, i. 181.

obtained a large quantity of pearls, and then burned the town In December of the same year, he entered Santa Marta, which he sacked and burned. On the 9th of February of the following year, he appeared before Cartagena with nineteen ships, flying the black flag, and threatening war to the death. A month before this date the inhabitants had been informed from Santo Domingo of Drake's proposed attack, and prepared for such resistance as they were able to make. But this was not effective, and for forty-eight days Drake held the city. From certain negroes he learned where the gold, silver, pearls, and jewellery were concealed, great quantities of which he carried off. He took also eighty pieces of artillery and the bells of all the churches. When he was able to find nothing more, he demanded four hundred thousand ducats as a ransom for the city. At a conference between Drake and a committee of the citizens, this sum was scaled to one hundred and seven thousand pesos, which was paid in money, pearls, and jewellery. Drake's receipt for this amount was dated April 2, 1586. The monastery and the slaughter-house were outside of the city, and Drake affirmed that these were not covered by the ransom paid, and that they would be burned unless an additional sum was advanced. The monks were, therefore, obliged to pay one thousand pesos, and give up four bells; while Alonso Hidalgo Bravo, the owner of the slaughter-house, paid five thousand pesos, for which he received a receipt executed in proper form. The spoils from Cartagena amounted to about four hundred thousand dollars. But this plundering of the coast of New Granada was not wholly disadvantageous to the colonies. It spread abroad the fame of the country's riches, which stimulated immigration and a consequent rapid increase of the population.[1]

In spite of the imperfect police control in the kingdom, thieving was not an especially frequent crime. One of

[1] Rodriguez Fresle, 111–13; Groot, i. 186–89.

the residents of Bogotá, Captain Taléns, had, therefore, reason to be surprised when masked burglars appeared at his bedside one night, and, with their daggers ready to strike, demanded the keys to the desk where he was known to keep a large amount of money. He surrendered the keys, and the thieves took the money and departed. No investigations could discover the burglars, or determine their identity, and no one was arrested. The captain had adjusted himself to his poverty, when three years later the burglars appeared again. He saw that it was impossible for him to defend himself against them, and he told them that he had nothing, because some persons who looked like them had visited him previously and carried off everything he had. "We are the same persons," they replied, "but we do not come to carry away anything, rather to bring back that which we then took, together with its proper interest. It was necessary for us at that time to resort to this means, in order to enter upon a certain commercial enterprise, not having any other resource; but always with the intention of returning the money to you." Having said this, the burglars retired, leaving the money on the table.[1]

After the suspension of President Armendáriz and the oidores, Salazar and Peralta, the government of Bogotá was conducted by Chaparro, the remaining member of the audiencia, until the arrival of the new president, Antonio González. González had been a member of the Council of the Indies, and arrived in Bogotá in 1590, accompanied by Gaspar de Peralta, who had been restored to his place in the audiencia after Orellana had arrested him and taken him to Spain. President González was also accompanied by Francisco Victoria and Antonio Linero, members of the Society of Jesus, and a lay brother of the same order. These were the first Jesuits to enter New Granada. They were taken to Bogotá for the purpose of founding a school; but Archbishop Zapata

[1] Groot, i. 192.

died in 1590, the year in which they reached the city, and they retired from the field with nothing accomplished.

Under orders, and with authority conferred by the king, the president issued ordinances for the corregidores of natives. These officers were agents of the government, appointed to protect the Indians, and to secure for them such treatment as would induce them to accept the teachings of the Church and adopt the ways of civilised life. They were expected to exercise an influence that would limit the arbitrary acts of the encomenderos, whose object was to derive the maximum advantage from the labour of the Indians. Under the president's ordinances the encomenderos were prohibited from forcing the Indians to work for them on their estates; they might receive the services of the natives only in case the natives were willing to work, and then on condition of paying them wages, in accordance with the provisions of the royal decrees. The corregidores of natives were, moreover, prohibited from trading with the Indians, and from holding estates within the limits of their jurisdiction as corregidores.[1]

Another reform proposed by President González was the introduction of the alcabala, a tax imposed on the price of articles at the time of their sale. This project was met with vigorous resistance, and the community was threatened with a revolt like that which appeared in Quito at this time, provoked by the same cause. But, at this stage of the proceedings, an argument in favour of the tax, made by the distinguished Dominican friar, Pedro Bedón, allayed the dissatisfaction, and removed most of the objections to the collection of the tax. But the recommendation of the friar to the contrary notwithstanding, the alcabala was an obnoxious impost. It

[1] Groot, i. 200–2. The more important parts of President González's Ordinances for the Government and Regulation of the Corregidores of the Natives are printed in Groot, *Historia de Nueva Granada*, i. 516–20, constituting Appendix No. 5.

hindered the transfer of goods, and thus, by tending to discourage buying and selling, it contributed to that commercial stagnation, which was a more or less prominent characteristic of Spanish civilisation in America.

González held the post of governor for seven years, and during this period he founded a number of towns: San Juan de Isima, San Juan de Pedrosa, Nueva Cordova, Nueva Sevilla, Becerril de Campos, and San Agustin de Ávila; but towns founded in this manner, by administrative caprice, might or might not be needed. For these there was no permanent demand, and they were all later abandoned. More foresight appears to have been displayed in conquering the region at the rapids of the Magdalena and establishing Honda there as a port for the capital. González resigned the presidency in 1597, and was appointed Fiscal of the Council of the Indies.[1]

The sixteenth century closed during the administration of Francisco de Sande, the successor of President González.

[1] Rodriguez Fresle, 115-22; Groot, i. 199-207.