
ANNEX I.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE EFFORTS MADE DURING THE 16TH, 17TH, 18TH AND PART OF THE 19TH CENTURIES (DOWN TO THE YEAR 1821), IN CONNECTION WITH THE DISCOVERY, CONQUEST, PACIFICATION AND CIVILIZATION OF THE TERRITORY OF TALAMANCA, IN THE PROVINCE OF COSTA RICA OF THE KINGDOM OF GUATEMALA, BASED UPON AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS, THAT ALSO DEMONSTRATE THE UNINTERRUPTED POSSESSION OF SAID PROVINCE IN THAT TERRITORY FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD OF THE COLONIAL RÉGIME TO THE DATE OF INDEPENDENCE.

ANNEX I.

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INTRODUCTION.

In various parts of the preceding Argument appears the statement of Costa Rica's centuries-long possession in the Talamanca territory known originally as the Province of *Hara*, and that possession has remained intact throughout a considerable part of the territory down to the present day.

Costa Rica, then, finding herself, as she does, in actual, effective, unopposed and quiet possession in that part of the Talamanca region, it is unnecessary, in strict legal observance, to show the antiquity of possession in view of the principle of law that relieves the actual possessor

from the obligation of proving prior possession; but out of abundant precaution Costa Rica exhibits the proofs establishing the fact that the possession she now enjoys is as old as her possession of the ancient capital of the province—Cartago—and of her present-day capital in the City of San José.

Costa Rica's first discoverer, conqueror and pacificator, the Licentiate Juan Cavallón, was the one who, in the person and name of the Crown of Castile, took possession of the sites of the cities named and, through the medium of his associate and lieutenant, Juan Estrada Rávago, also took possession of the numerous native villages that made up the Province of HARA, later called TALAMANCA.

I. FROM 1560 TO 1610.

(I) FOUNDING OF THE CITY OF CASTILLO DE AUSTRIA. CÉDULAS OF APPROVAL BY PHILIP II.

On the 21st of November, 1560, the Licentiate Juan de Estrada Rávago and the *Cabildo* (municipal council) of the City of Castillo de Austria, which had just been founded upon the Bay of San Jerónimo (also called *Almirante*, or Bay of the Admiral), wrote to the King, Philip II, advising him of its establishment and bespeaking the royal favor. The Monarch replied to both letters on the 4th of August of the year following; and in the response he approved in explicit and even enthusiastic terms the colonization enterprise that had been begun, encouraging those interested to carry it forward and promising them in due season the reward that their services merited. Following is an extract from one of the Royal letters (Docs. Nos. 45, 46):

“I have seen your letter of XXI November of the year (1560) last past, in which you made a report of the settlement which you had made of the town (the town of Castillo de Austria) AT THE PORT OF SAN JERÓNIMO, WHICH IS IN THE PROVINCE OF CARTAGO * * * and I have had much satisfaction with the exploration and settlement so far made * * * and therefore I thank you and acknowledge as service the hardships that you have suffered and the good order, which, it appears, you have preserved in everything; and I charge you that you shall continue that which you have begun; that you shall so provide that this settlement shall be improved and that from it the neighboring regions shall be explored; that the Indians thereof shall be well treated * * *.”

In the other letter the King speaks as follows:

“I have seen your letter of XXI November of the past year, 1560, dated at Castillo de Austria, WHICH IS IN THE PROVINCE OF CARTAGO AND COSTA RICA, and by it, and by the account sent to us, and by what the town wrote to us, we understand that you labored in the exploration and settlement thereof * * *. There is great satisfaction with what you have done, as, according to your account, I deem it to be very successful and I thank you and keep in mind the work that you have done. I hope through Our Lord that * * * the land will be explored and that we may know the secrets of it * * *. Therefore, I charge you that you continue what you have begun, and you shall so provide that settlement shall go forward * * *.”

On the same day, August 4, 1561 (Doc. No. 47), the King wrote to the Licentiate Juan Cavallón, as follows:

“* * * you arranged that the said Juan de Estrada Rávago should go by sea and you by land, and so it was that the said Juan de Estrada, with

sixty men departed and disembarked at the PORT OF SAN JERÓNIMO, WHICH IS IN THE PROVINCE OF CARTAGO AND COSTA RICA * * *. I have been pleased to learn what has been done in this exploration and settlement * * *."

(2) POWERS OF THE PRIEST ESTRADA RÁVAGO.

The Royal approval of the founding of the town of Castillo de Austria on the Bay and Port of *San Jerónimo*, in the Province of Cartago and Costa Rica, the exploration and colonization of which was entrusted to the Licentiate Juan Cavallón, could not have been more clear and explicit; and in its execution, which he undertook, the Priest Estrada kept and respected the directions given in his commission, as appears by the legal authority delivered to him by his immediate superior in the pursuance of his mission, the essential portion of which reads as follows (Doc. No. 41):

"I, the Licentiate Juan de Cavallón, His Majesty's Judge of the Royal Audiencia of the island of Española and his Chief Justice in the Province of Cartago, Veragua and Costa Rica;

"Whereas, being informed that it was desirable His Majesty and his Royal Audiencia of the Confines, committed to me the settlement of the said Province of CARTAGO AND COSTA RICA, which is all the territory that is left in the Province of Veragua, from sea to sea, inclusive, and which begins from where ends the square of twenty-five leagues that His Majesty granted to the Admira Don Luis Columbus, toward the west, they beginning from the Belén River, inclusive, counting by a parallel toward the western side of the Bay of ÇOROBARÓ * * * ; in such a manner that from where the said square of twenty-five leagues ends, measured in the manner stated there, begins the said Province of Cartago and it terminates as the Rio Grande, toward the west,

*on the other side of Cape Camarón * * * and for the execution of the aforesaid, and that it may have its due effect * * * it is desirable that there should be a person who may go with my power and authority to establish a city or town by the sea at the Port of San Gerónimo, with the people who at the present time are gathered and ready in the frigates which are in the Lake of Granada, by the Desaguadero * * **

*“Furthermore, you are to land at the Port of San Gerónimo, and as soon as you disembark you will arrange for the selection of a site and place on which to settle near the sea, taking care that it may be a healthful place and fertile * * *; and the place that you shall thus settle you shall call and entitle Castillo de Austria * * *.”*

(3) POWERS OF THE LICENTIAE CAVALLÓN.

Nor did the Licentiate Cavallón exceed his prerogatives or powers, for by the cédula of 1561 (Doc. No. 42), which directed the transfer to him of the charge that had previously been granted to the Licentiate Ortiz de Elgueta, there was assigned to the discovery and conquest of the *Province of Cartago and Costa Rica* the same extended area which had been designated for the “certain territory” spoken of in the cédula granting the Commission to the Licentiate Ortiz and dated February 23, 1560 (Doc. No. 37); this territory was embraced within the following district: “* * * *the Province of Nicaragua * * * on the side of the cities of Nombre de Dios and Panama, between the South Sea and that of the North * * **”

It is evident that the Bay and Port of San Jerónimo were included within the boundaries stated; and although the Dukedom of Veragua might seem to have been also included therein, the said dukedom was left quite un-

touched, it having been at that very time the subject of a "pacification" at the hands of Francisco Vázquez, acting under the instructions of the Crown which had been transmitted to the Licentiate Monjaraz, the Governor of Tierra Firme, and the execution of which was confided by the latter to the said Francisco Vázquez.

(4) JUAN VÁZQUEZ DE CORONADO, SUCCESSOR TO
CAVALLÓN.

The successor of the Licentiate Cavallón, Juan Vázquez de Coronado, in the capacity of Chief Justice and Captain-General of the Provinces of New Cartago and Costa Rica, on behalf of His Majesty and with the solemnities prescribed by the laws, took formal possession of the Valley of Coaza, within the jurisdiction of the said Province of CARTAGO AND COSTA RICA, and received personally the caciques, or chiefs, of the settlements called Yaranaba, Duiba and Duy, who became vassals of His Majesty the King of Spain. This appears by a notarial document executed before the notary, Cristóbal de Madrigal, in the village of *Hara* therein mentioned, on the 24th day of January, 1564 (Doc. No. 51); and on the 6th of March (Doc. No. 51), following, in the village and *palenque* of Quequexque, Province of Duy, Vázquez de Coronado likewise took possession, before the same notary, of the villages of Quequexque and Taranca, located in the neighborhood and within the region of the Islands of ZOROBARÓ. These villages of Hara, Quequexque and Taranca formed a part of the district assigned to Juan Vázquez de Coronado in consideration of his explorations and settlements, as may be seen by an examination of the Commission he received from the Audiencia of Guatemala for that purpose, which was the same that had been given to the

predecessor of Vázquez de Coronado, the Licentiate Cavallón, and to the one who preceded the latter, the Licentiate Ortiz de Elgueta.

These acts of taking possession were preceded and followed by many others of a like character, to-wit:

That of the village of *Ua*, received from the Cacique Quiribu, dated February 1; that of *Chichimecas*, received from the Cacique Yztolín, a Mexican, on February 5; that of the village of *Cabeaca*, received from the Cacique Quexeburu on the 1st day of January; that of the village and *palenque* of *Cutcurú*, between *Texbi* and *Quequexque*, Province of *Duy*, on February 17, received from the Cacique *Ururava*; that of the village of *Bitagara*, in the district of *Ururaba*, received from the Cacicques *Cengarao* and *Arcara*, on February 17; that of the villages of *Corcorú* and *Buquicara* and *Zarabarú*, received from the Cacicques *Cengarao* and *Quiquingaba*, February 17; that of the village of *Cutcurú*, received from its Cacique named *Ciquinibi* on February 17; that of the village of *Tervi*, or *Texbi*, received from the Cacique called *Quiquincua*, with ten headmen and sixty Indians, on February 20; that of the village of *Abebare*, Province of *Coaza*, received from the Cacique *Ucuburú*, on March 22; that of *Cintara*, Province of *Coaza*, received from the Cacique *Orobaca* on March 22; that of the village of *Botbe*, Province of *Coaza*, received from the Cacique *Mesabarú* on March 22; that of the village of *Orizco*, received from the Cacique *Cirururú*, on the same day, March 22; that of the village of *Tequemía*, received from the Cacique *Ayeaye* on March 22; that of the village of *Cabeaca* on March 24; that of the villages of *Mesabarú*, *Ucuburú*, *Duaquita*, *Ayeaye* and the other villages in that region, of which possession was taken at the village of *Ciruro*, Province of *Coaza*, on the

bank of the Flazquita River on March 24; and that of the village of *Minón* and many others of the Province of Tariaca and the rest as far as the city of Cartago, the enumeration of which would serve no purpose here.

The examination of all these documents¹ shows that Vázquez de Coronado went from one extremity to the other, and in all directions, over the province that subsequently received the name of *Talamanca*, then known under the name of *Hara*, which extended from the Tarire River to the Bay of Zorobaró, inclusive, and from the sea to the divide between the watersheds of the two oceans. That region, like all the rest traversed by Vázquez de Coronado, was left thoroughly explored and mastered by that conqueror, as humane and generous as he was untiring.

(5) PERAFÁN DE RIVERA, SUCCESSOR TO CORONADO.

Some years later the successor of Vázquez de Coronado, Perafán de Rivera, carried out a bold exploration in a direction the reverse of that made by Coronado, entering on the Atlantic slope and coming out on the slope of the Pacific. His interesting letter to the King, Philip II, dated at the city of Nombre de Jesús on July 28, 1571 (Doc. No. 58), sketched the story of that bold expedition. From this it appears that Perafán, together with the nobility and chivalry of the city of Cartago, including the Royal officials, and accompanied by his wife and sons, as well as religious persons for the preaching of the Gospel, made an entry into the hostile country, in compliance with the Royal *provisiones* and instructions, to found a new settle-

¹León Fernández, *Documentos para la Historia de Costa Rica*, Vol. IV, pp. 293-317.

ment or that from which he wrote; and after a weary year and a half among those mountains and enemies, struggling with all sorts of difficulties and privations, and even insubordination among his own followers (some of whom Perafán was compelled to severely punish, which was perhaps only pardonable under the peculiar circumstances which surrounded him) he traversed a hundred leagues along the North Sea over a rugged and broken country in the mountain region until he reached the limit of the Government of Costa Rica, toward the Dukedom of Veragua; he crossed the Cordillera and passed along the slopes of the South Sea for almost another hundred leagues, as far as the boundaries of his government, toward Natá, and finally founded in the Province of Coto the city that he called "Nombre de Jesús," with two ports, one of which he called "Coronado" and the other, "Golfo Dossa" (Gulf of Osa or Dulce Gulf), each distant ten leagues from the city. On the shore of the North Sea, according to the description given by Rivera, the province had two recognized ports; San Juan and San Jerónimo. With regard to the discovery of mines, they were numerous in the vicinity of the city of Nombre de Jesús and on the *Río de la Estrella* (Changuinola or Tilorio).

(6) PROCESS OF ARARIBA.

As appears by the important legal document known as the "Process of Arariba," begun in the year 1570 by order of the Governor and Captain-General Perafán de Rivera¹ (in which the proceedings resulted in the condemnation to death and the execution of the soldier Vicente del Castillo), most of the persons who accom-

¹León Fernández, *Documentos para la Historia de Costa Rica*, Vol. III, p. 3.

panied the governor had been especially induced to go for participation in the colonization of the Estrella River, above mentioned, a location which embraced within the limits of the Government of Costa Rica, had strongly attracted the attention of the discoverer, Juan Vázquez de Coronado, and numerous followers, on account of the abundance of gold that had been taken from its waters. But Perafán, tired of the struggle he had carried on against the natural difficulties of the northern watershed and seeking the riches that he supposed were easier to secure on the slope leading down to the other sea, was unwilling to found the new settlement referred to in the zone at the north; he gave his preference to that of the south which, from the previous experience of Coronado, he knew to be milder, well populated with natives and abounding in savannas suitable for the pasturage of cattle. This was the origin of the plot to desert from the camp, for which the unfortunate Castillo was held responsible.

(7) FOUNDING OF THE CITY OF NOMBRE DE JESÚS.

Governor Rivera laid out the site of the city of Nombre de Jesús and its district toward the city of Cartago as far as Quepo and the territory thereof, and expressly included therein Pococi, Aoyaque, Tariaca, Moyagua, Morore, Cirore, Mohoruboru and Cabeaca, *all the Province of Hara (Talamanca)*, Cicues, Teribí, Quequexque, Cuxcrinducagua, Arariba, Zeburín, Baxca, Bioro, and all the province then discovered, and the territory along the shore of the South Sea, toward Natá, as far as the limits reached by the district of the city, within which were comprised Cobto and Boruca, Cía, Uriaba, Xarixaba, Yabo, Duarca, Tarima, Tabiquiri, Cabra and its terri-

tory, Bericala, Orexuxa, and many other villages explored and to be explored, all of which he proclaimed and designated as districts and within the jurisdiction of said city of Nombre de Jesús. This founding document was verified with all the usual formalities, before Francisco Muñoz, notary of the Government, in the village of Cobto, on the 6th day of March, 1571.¹

This paper supplies a perfect demonstration of the exercise of jurisdiction by the Governor of Costa Rica, Perafán de Rivera, over the shores of the Bay of Almirante on the North Sea, and as far as the limits of Natá, on the South Sea, where many villages embraced within the district of the city of Nombre de Jesús were located.

(8) FOUNDING OF THE CITY OF ARTIEDA.

A new act of formal and solemn possession of the territories designated as an integral part of Costa Rica took place in 1577, on the 8th of December (Doc. No. 67), the day on which Diego de Artieda Chirinos, Governor and Captain-General of the Province of Costa Rica, founded the city called *Artieda del Nuevo Reino de Navarra* (Artieda of the New Kingdom of Navarre), two and half leagues up-stream from the mouth of a river discovered by that same captain at the mouths of the *Drago* and Bay of *Almirante*, in the mainland, to which river he gave the name of *Nuestra Señora de la O del Valle del Guaymí*, "PROVINCE OF COSTA RICA"; of this city, river and valley he took possession in the usual form, a notarial certificate having been prepared and executed before the notary, Juan González Delgado.

Artieda sent soldiers from his garrison up-stream for the exploration of that country, and at a distance of nine

¹Fernández, *Documentos*, Vol. V, p. 36.

leagues, more or less, the chief of the expedition, Captain Francisco Pavón, found a valley settled by numerous natives and well under cultivation in *pejibais*¹ and maize on both banks of the river. He took possession thereof in due legal form and gave to the place the name of the "Valley of the Pejibais and of Valderroncal," of the Province of Costa Rica, before the notary appointed, Andrés Villegas, on March 5, 1578 (Doc. No. 68).

(9) FULL APPROVAL OF THE SETTLEMENTS MENTIONED.

All of the foregoing acts by which possession was taken (those by Juan de Estrada Rávago and by Juan Vázquez de Coronado, as well as those by Perafán de Ribera and Diego de Artieda) were duly brought to the knowledge of the Audiencia of Guatemala and the government of the mother country, and they were fully approved, as appears by numerous documents, some of which have already been cited. Thus it was that the King wrote to Artieda on June 3, 1580 (Doc. No. 69), in response to the letter from the latter, dated March 28 of the previous year, expressing his Royal satisfaction at the fortunate outcome of his voyage, although the difficulties encountered by Artieda had delayed the execution of the matters he had in charge; and being then free from those troubles and knowing how important were the pacification and settlement of the Province of Costa Rica, the King charged him to proceed with the utmost diligence and industry, and assured him that his services would be remembered and rewarded. The King also addressed a letter on the same date to the Audiencia of Guatemala (Doc. No. 69), stating that he had been fully informed

¹*Guilielma utilis.*

of the entry made by Captain Artieda into his Government of Costa Rica and of certain settlements made by him at Bocas del Drago; and the action on the part of Artieda was in no wise criticized, inasmuch as it was simply in the execution of one of the provisions embraced in his contract.

(10) GONZALO VÁZQUEZ DE CORONADO, AUTHORIZED BY
THE AUDIENCIA OF GUATEMALA TO CONTINUE THE
WORK OF DISCOVERY.

On the 8th of October, 1601,¹ Doctor Alonso Criado de Castilla, Governor and Captain-General of Guatemala, and the President of the Royal Audiencia located there, delivered in its name a *provisión* (a form of writ or decree) authorizing the Adelantado of Costa Rica, Don Gonzálo Vázquez de Coronado, then the Governor of that province, to undertake an expedition therein for the purpose of subjecting the Indians and the provinces to be pacified, from the settled and pacified portions of Costa Rica as far as the borders of Veragua and Panama; that is to say, all the territory that was included from the North Sea to the South Sea and the Valley of Chiriquí.

(11) FOUNDING OF THE CITY OF SANTIAGO DE
TALAMANCA.

Afterwards, on April 1, 1605, the Governor of Costa Rica, Don Juan de Ocón y Trillo, successor of Don Gonzálo Vázquez de Coronado, granted authority to Don Diego de Sojo to go out and chastise the Moyaguas Indians, and others, in the neighborhood of the village of Tariaca, against whom complaint had been made by the inhabitants of the last named village for wrongs done

¹Fernández, *Documentos*, Vol. V, p. 106.

them in the effort to compel the latter to rise against the Spaniards whom they were serving. Sojo succeeded in completely subjecting the natives of Ateo, Viceita, Quequexque, Usabarú, Munagua, Xicagua, Acaque, and Cabécara; and in order to maintain these conquests he founded, at the *Real de Viceita* (Camp Viceita), Province of Ateo, in the Valley of Duy, on October 10, 1605 (Doc. No. 72), the city to which he gave the name of "SAN-TIAGO DE TALAMANCA." He provided that city with local officials and laid out its district as follows:

"In latitude all the land from the top of the Cordillera to the North Sea; and in longitude, from the Tarire River and the ford that is crossed going from the said city to the Province of Tariaca, all the territory which runs to the east, which is the length of that province, as far as the Escudo de Veragua, which is the end that separates this government from that of Veragua."

The founding of the chief town of the district of Talamanca, made by Don Diego de Sojo, as the Deputy of Governor Ocón y Trillo, was preceded by a formal reconnaissance of the Tarire River which was to serve as its port and as a route of communication therewith. The reconnoitering expedition was carried out by the order of Sojo on the 4th of September of the year mentioned (1605), by Captain Pedro de Flores and Sergeant Martín de Beleño, accompanied by eight other persons as assistants, all of whom certified that from the North Sea to Camp Viceita (the site of the settlement mentioned), the distance was eight leagues, more or less, over level and dry land, and that the river was navigable for rafts and canoes to within one league from the camp, and that at its mouth there was a commodious and safe port for frigates, for there was a depth of three *varas* (Spanish yards) on the

bar at low tide. This was sounded and a narrow bank of sand was found, running from east to west, which is crossed from north to south. The neighboring coastal land was all low, and on the northwest side there was a small hummock island about a quarter of a league from the mainland.

(12) ALLOTMENTS OF INDIANS MADE BY DIEGO DE SOJO.

On October 18, 1605, the same Captain, Diego de Sojo, proceeded to parcel out the conquered Indians among the *conquistadores* (those who had been engaged in the conquest) domiciled in the city of Santiago de Talamanca. This was done in the following manner: He first set aside one-third of the Indians of the Province of *Ateo*, who, with their cacique, called Ygrama, were allotted to the King; of the two-thirds remaining a part was taken by Simón Sánchez de Guido and Pedro Pérez, Spanish residents of that place; in the Province of *Viceita* a part were taken by Perafán de Rivera, Diego Sánchez Picón, Francisco Ferreto, Diego de Acevedo and Juan Esteves; the village (*pueblo*) of *Térrebe* was taken by Diego de Sosa and Juan Alonso; the village of *Curaqua* was taken by Pedro Sánchez de Oviedo; the village of *Quequexque* was given to Martín de Beleño and Antonio Rodríguez; the village of *Usabarú* was given to Pedro Flores and Juan Fernández; the villages of *Zucaque* and *Arán* to Pablo Milanés; the village of *Xicagua* to Felipe Monge; the village of *Muyagua* to Juan de Araya; that of *Cabécara* to Francisco Rodríguez and Domingo López; and the village of *Coxirón-Ducagua* to Luis de Fletes, Baltasar González and Juan Gallo de Escalada.¹

¹Fernández, *Documentos*, Vol. V, pp. 126-129.

All of these villages (*pueblos*) were embraced within the area between the right bank of the Tarire River and the west shore of the Bay of Almirante; and there were left for conquest and distribution the islands of the bay and the Indian settlements of Tierra Firme in the vicinity of the latter and in the interior to the line of the Dukedom or province of Veragua.

The village of Ciruro belonged to the Valley of the Duy, in the Province of Talamanca, the pacification and settlement of which were assigned to the Adelantado, Don Gonzalo Vázquez de Coronado. In this village an *encomienda* (allotment of Indians) was made by the Governor, Perafán de Ribera, in favor of Matías de Palacios, and on the death of the latter Catalina de Palacios, the wife of Gaspar de Chincilla, succeeded to the allotment, and in such capacity petitioned the Audiencia to be protected in the possession of said village, her rights having been disputed by Juan López de Ortega, Andrés Pérez and Francisco Rodríguez. The Audiencia of Guatemala heard the case and on August 20, 1609, issued a renewal of the decree affording the protection sought, as prayed for in the petition, and it was verified by the same Adelantado in person in the city of Santiago de Talamanca of the Valley of the Duy on March 14, 1610.¹

(13) SUIT BETWEEN GOVERNOR OCÓN Y TRILLO AND THE
ADELANTADO GONZALO VÁZQUEZ DE CORONADO.

As was natural to be expected conflicts arose between the two chief provincial officials, one the Governor of Costa Rica, Ocón y Trillo and the other the Adelantado of Costa Rica, Vázquez de Coronado, the former having

¹Fernández, *Documentos*, Vol. I, pp. 154-167.

been the founder of the city of Santiago de Talamanca, and the latter the authorized pacificator and settler of that territory under the Royal *provisión* issued by the Audiencia of Guatemala. The matter was determined by the *provisión* of the Royal Audiencia of March 6, 1610, in which it was declared that the said city was subject to the jurisdiction of the Adelantado.

(14) LETTER OF FRAY AGUSTÍN DE CEVALLOS TO THE KING.

On March 10, 1610, Fray Agustín de Cevallos, the Provincial of the Order of San Francisco, addressed to the King, Philip III, a long descriptive account of the Province of Costa Rica (Doc. No. 76), in which he stated that the said province was the end and conclusion of the Kingdom of New Spain on the eastern side, and bordered on the Kingdom of Tierra Firme, being 150 leagues in length from east to west and forty leagues at least—and undoubtedly more—in width between the North and South Seas. He described minutely the customs of the natives along the shore of the North Sea and, referring to the section extending from the Tarire River to the Escudo de Veragua, he gave the most interesting details as from one who knew every foot of the region. He devoted special attention to the Provinces of *Terribí el Grande* and *Terribí el Chico* (Big and Little Terribí), situated on the Bay of Almirante. He expressly mentioned the hills of *Corotapa*, likewise situated on the same bay at the place where the Estrella (Changuinola) River empties a prodigious river, the golden sands of which were defended and guarded by a warlike nation called the Horobarós, that lived along its banks on the side emptying into the sea. This coast also had many ports, both in the rivers,

which were large, as well as in Almirante Bay and Bocas del Drago, with good and safe anchorage. But, he said, all the greatness of this territory was lost because the Spaniards of Costa Rica were so few in numbers, and he concluded by recommending that people be sent out from Castile to settle along the Estrella River.

(15) REBELLION OF JULY 29, 1610.

On July 29, 1610, early in the morning, there was a general uprising in the Talamanca region, which resulted in the death of a number of soldiers, women and children, the wounding of other soldiers, the burning of the city of Santiago and the siege of its population, which took refuge for thirty-six days in the fort of San Ildefonso, until the arrival of aid sent from the city of Cartago by the Governor, Don Juan de Ocón y Trillo. In consequence of this general insurrection, the city of Santiago was abandoned, and on being informed of this unfortunate event, the Audiencia of Guatemala made arrangements for the reconquest of that region.¹

II. FROM 1612 TO 1700.

(1) MEASURES TAKEN BY THE AUDIENCIA OF GUATEMALA FOR THE RECONQUEST OF TALAMANCA.

The measures taken by the Audiencia of Guatemala for the reconquest of Talamanca, after the compulsory abandonment of the city of Santiago which had been founded by the Governor Don Juan de Ocón y Trillo in 1605, were energetic and effective. Pedro de Oliver, the *Alcalde mayor* of Verapaz, was charged by the Audiencia with the execution of such reconquest and, with the help of Don

Fernández, *Documentos*, Vol. VIII, pp. 136-138.

Sebastián Chacón de Luna, the old site of Santiago was occupied by Oliver, in 1612, and chastisement meted out to the rebellious Indians. Sickness and other troubles, however, made the result of the campaign of little value and matters went on as they had been before (Doc. No. 83).

(2) PROPOSALS MADE TO THE CROWN FOR RECONQUEST.

Later on repeated proposals were made to the Crown to undertake the formal reconquest of the Talamanca region, among them the following: by Diego del Cubillo, in 1617; by Don Gregorio de Sandoval, in 1638; by Don Francisco Núñez de Temiño, in 1648; by Don Andrés Arias Maldonado, in 1659, and by Don Juan Fernández de Salinas, in 1651 (Doc. No. 85). Of these, only the one before the last, that of Maldonado, had any result. It will not be necessary to refer to these proposals further than to take from them such data as they may contain in reference to that important region.

In the memorial of Captain Diego del Cubillo Calderón (Docs. Nos. 79, 80), a resident of the city of Cartago in the Province of Costa Rica, the petitioner stated that it had been six years, more or less, since the Indians of the Valley of the Duy and the Mexicans of that province had risen in rebellion against the city of Santiago de Talamanca, the population of which was Spanish, and asked to be authorized to subjugate and reduce the Indians of this valley of Duy and the Mexicans, that being where the city of Santiago de Talamanca had been located. The *Fiscal* objected and the petition was not acted upon.

Don Gregorio de Sandoval stated in his proposal (Doc. No. 81) that the province of Duy was forty leagues, more

or less, from the city of Cartago, and that in the year 1610 the city of Santiago de Talamanca was located therein, from which the said Province and Valley of Duy took its name, the said valley having a cordillera or range of mountains in its midst and bordering on the Province of Guaymí, the settlements of which extended from the river called Estrella (Changuinola), Bocas del Drago or Bay of Almirante, as far as the Government of Veragua. That the city of Talamanca had been located on the bank of a river named "Tarire," which emptied into the North Sea at a distance of fourteen leagues from the city, and was navigable for sailing vessels. This petition also came to naught.

The petition presented, by Don Francisco Núñez de Temiño (Doc. No. 82) bore date of November 26, 1648. It stated as the boundaries of the province, the North Sea from the *Desaguadero* (outlet) of the Lake of Nicaragua to a point near the river known as *Calobébora*, having in front, in the sea, the *Escudo de Veragua*, an island distant between eight and nine leagues from the main land. Temiño spoke very enthusiastically about the Bay of Almirante, which was included within the territory of the province, and was formed by the three islands named Toxa, or Bocas del Drago, and sometimes known as "*Islands del Viejo*," for which reason it was the best and safest port known in the greater part of the world.

Special mention should be made of the petition of Governor Don Andrés Arias Maldonado, dated July 8, 1659.¹ In it that official stated that on the 12th of May previous he set out from the city of Cartago, the headquarters of the province, to investigate a port on the North Sea (the name of which was not stated, but from the description he

¹Peralta, *Costa Rica y Colombia*, p. 52.

gives of it, it must have been the one known by the name of Portete in the Bay of Limón). It was a port sheltered from all winds, with an entrance large enough for two ships, while inside it could accommodate twelve or fourteen. The location was cool and there was a small stream of fresh water (the Piuta). He then explored the region along that shore, to the southeast, to see if it had any beach, and after traveling a short distance came to the end of the rough sea on the rocky coast and found a very smooth beach and a bay large enough to hold two hundred ships. The entrance was by two channels, separated by an island large enough for the erection of a fort to guard them. The entrance was to the eastward, where also the island sheltered the port. He found the country very pleasant and abounding in all kinds of products, the cacao groves being the best the governor had ever seen; there were also yuca and plenty of cotton trees and maize fields. Maldonado added that the Tarire River, in the Valley of the Duj, where the Talamanca and Ateo Indians lived, was some distance from the port that had been found. Six leagues from the latter was a river called Dugre and, in between, a fordable stream having but little water.

In a letter of the same date, addressed to the Secretary of the King,¹ he said among other things, that the Ateos lived on the banks of a river called Coyn (Coén).

(3) THE AUDIENCIA OF GUATEMALA AUTHORIZES DON RODRIGO ARIAS MALDONADO TO MAKE THE RECONQUEST.

Shortly afterwards occurred the death of Don Andrés Arias Maldonado, on November 25, 1661, and his son Don Rodrigo received from the Audiencia of Guatemala

¹Peralta, *Costa Rica y Colombia*, p. 54.

a *provisión*, delivered on October 17, 1662 (Doc. No. 86), authorizing the latter, in the capacity of Governor and Captain-General of the Province of Costa Rica, to proceed with the expedition he had undertaken into the territories along the Tarire River and the regions adjacent; these regions were inhabited by various tribes of Indians called the Urinamas, Ciruros, Moyaguas, Tariacas and others, which were subjected and conquered by Don Rodrigo and placed in a location on the bank of said river. And he likewise reduced and pacified the Talamanca Indians, all in conformity with the specific instructions detailed in the *provisión* mentioned. That *provisión* was based on the authority granted by the Crown to the Audiencia above named, by the Royal *cédula* of March 21, 1654.¹

Arias was deserted by his soldiers and left alone and abandoned in the heart of the Talamanca mountains, but

Tariqui, Tarici, Urinamas and Urarubos, who were embraced in that part of Talamanca which lay along the Tarire River on the North Sea as far as the Estrella (Changuinola) River and that there remained to be taught and baptized about five hundred families of the said tribes, which had been subjected by the efforts, and at the cost of the said governor; those who were baptized were settled in Coruro and Conemara.

In the report of Señor Sáenz to the Crown, dated December 25, 1676 (Doc. No. 90), that governor stated that the jurisdiction of the Province of Costa Rica extended from the mouth of the River *San Juan del Desaguadero* (outlet) of *Granada*, Nicaragua to the Estrella (Changuinola) River. It was proposed to make settlements and build churches in the territories where the Indians dwelt, between the Tarire and Estrella (Changuinola) River and as bells and furniture for such houses of worship were lacking, a request was made therefor.

(5) ROYAL CÉDULA OF 1691 RELATING THERETO. NARRATIVES OF BISHOP DELGADO, OF FRAY FRANCISCO DE SAN JOSÉ AND FRAY PABLO DE REBULLIDA.

By the Royal *cédula* of May 3, 1691,¹ orders were given to the Governor and Captain-General of Guatemala and the President of its Audiencia, to take steps in accord with the Council of the Indies, to arrange with Fray Diego Macotela, Provincial Vicar of the Order of San Francisco, for the advancement of the work of converting the Indians of the Province of Talamanca, in the Government of Costa Rica. A similar *cédula* was sent to the Governor and Captain-General of Costa Rica. On the same date the

¹Peralta, *La Géographie Historique*, p. 238.

King addressed a communication to Fray Diego Macotella telling him that the *cédula* referred to had been sent to the President of the Audiencia of Guatemala and to the Governor of Costa Rica and that he was very earnestly recommended to continue the work, for which purpose he was to put himself in communication with the said president and governor.

On December 24, 1692,¹ a very important report was made by the Bishop of Nicaragua and Costa Rica, Fray Nicolás Delgado, to the Supreme Council of the Indies, concerning the subjection of Talamanca by the Missionaries, Fray Melchor López and Fray Antonio Margil. In it that prelate stated that in compliance with the commands contained in the Royal *cédula* he laid before the Council the condition of the conversions among the Carib Indians who lived within the limits of his bishopric. He spoke very highly of the apostolic labors of the friars referred to. He alluded to their work in Talamanca among the Indians of that name--the Terrabas, Cabécaras, Chicaguas, Usamboros, Cabxes, Usuros, Moyagües, and many others-- and recommended that their subjection be accomplished by the Divine Word, by good example, poverty and patience, in the way that had been done by the Fathers Melchor and Antonio.

On October 18, 1697, the report of Fray Francisco de San Joseph was written to the President of the Audiencia of Guatemala (Doc. No. 137), wherein he described in great detail the tribes embraced within the Province of Talamanca, the occupations and trade of the Indians, the number of their houses and *palenques*, their food, the distances between the tribes, etc. He included in this

¹Peralta, *Costa Rica y Colombia*, p. 78.

Province of Talamanca the Terrabas, the Chánguenes, the Tóxares islanders, the Urinamas and the Cabécaras. Appended to that report was an itinerary of all the villages from the Tarire River to the Island of Toja (Island of Colón) in Almirante Bay, with a statement of the number of days required for the journey in passing from one to another, the number of their inhabitants, and the number of the Indians who had been married and baptized.

This report was confirmed and amplified on March 26, 1698 (Doc. No. 138), by the Apostolic Missionary, Fray Pablo Rebullida, with the addition of some data as to many other Talamanca settlements.

In 1699 (Doc. No. 139), the Missionaries, Fray Francisco de San José and Fray Pablo de Rebullida, wrote concerning the Uninamas, the Cabécares, the Talamanecas and Terrabas, the Chánguenes and the Tojas, saying that among the Chánguenes there still remained more than two thousand to be baptized, all within the jurisdiction of the Province of Costa Rica.

(6) THE MISSIONARIES GRANTED THE AID OF AN ESCORT.

In the year following, on July 22, 1700 (Doc. No. 140), Don Gabriel Sánchez de Berrospe, President of the Royal Audiencia, Governor and Captain-General of the Kingdom of Guatemala, with the advice and consent of the Board of the Royal Hacienda of that Kingdom and having before them the report sent in by the Reverend Fathers, Fray Francisco de San José and Fray Pablo Rebullida, the Apostolic Missionaries who had been engaged in the subjection and conversion of the heathen Chánguene Indians of Talamanca, in the Province of Costa Rica, recommended that these missionaries be given an escort

of thirty soldiers, each to be paid eight pesos per month. At their head was to be the Fieldmaster Don Miguel de Chavarría with a salary of sixty pesos amonthly. For this the necessary despatches were sent to the deputy of the Royal officials of Costa Rica, to arrange for the payment of the said leader and the thirty men, and for other expenses, both for maintenance as well as other things that might be needed by said men and the care and help of the Fathers, which expenses were to be paid out of the Royal Hacienda and take precedence over all other matters in accordance with the will of His Majesty and for his Royal service. The Governor and Captain-General of the Province of Costa Rica were required to enlist the thirty soldiers who were to support the said Fathers in the campaign of conversion.

(7) SEÑOR FAJARDO APPOINTED DEPUTY GOVERNOR OF
MATINA AND THE BOUNDARY OF HIS JURISDICTION
FIXED AT THE BAY OF ALMIRANTE.

The review of the documents relating to the 17th Century will be closed by noting one of considerable importance: the appointment by the Governor and Captain-General of Costa Rica, Don Francisco Serrano de Reyna, of Don Rafael Moximes Fajardo, on October 30, 1700 (Doc. No. 628), to the office of Deputy Governor and Captain-General of the Valley of Matina, Suerre and Reventazón, on the north coast of said province, its ports and jurisdiction, which were expressly extended by that instrument as far as Almirante Bay.

III. FROM 1703 TO 1749.

(I) REPORT OF GOVERNOR SERRANO DE REYNA TO THE
CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF GUATEMALA.

The events connected with the conquest of Talamanca during the 18th century will now be related.

And first, reference will be made to the report sent by the Governor of Costa Rica, Don Francisco Serrano de Reyna, to the President, Governor and Captain-General of Guatemala, dated July 21, 1703,¹ in compliance with the instructions given by the Board of the Royal Hacienda in that capital. In that report Señor Reyna stated that the Reverend Fathers, the Missionaries Fray Francisco de San José and Fray Pablo Rebullida, set out from the city of Cartago, the latter by land and the other by way of Matina with the thirty men that had been recruited by government order. When Padre San José reached the Island of Toxa, the Indians attacked him and he made his escape badly wounded, besides having the misfortune to lose the largest boat with all the supplies. On account of this mishap he was compelled to leave the commander and most of the men on the mainland. In a small canoe he proceeded to Chagres, and from thence to Panama, where he received assistance from the President of that kingdom. He returned in a sloop, gathered up the men and sought to enter Talamanca by way of the mouth of the Estrella (Changuinola), but for lack of a pilot he was not able to accomplish this and had to go on to Matina, where, when about to enter the said river the sloop was seized by the enemy with all it contained. This loss brought his enterprise to an untimely end.

¹Peralta, *Costa Rica y Colombia*, p. 95.

It was the opinion of Governor Reyna that the region in which he had sought to settle was not suitable for that purpose and in its stead he suggested the more desirable Boruca country on the South Sea. He added that in accordance with the orders given he was proceeding with the enlistment of the thirty men for the escort of the missionaries.

(2) REPORT OF GOVERNOR HERRERA CAMPUZANO.

On June 8, 1705, the successor of Reyna, Don Diego de Herrera Campuzano,¹ in his turn reported as he had been directed to do by the Reduction Committee concerning the heathen Indians of Talamanca in the Province of Costa Rica. He stated that the ten men who had been determined upon to undertake the planting of yuca and plantains, had been sent forward provided with everything necessary for that purpose. They had been instructed to begin the work at Tuis and end at Urinama, that being the best location for the camp and *plaza de armas* for the fifty soldiers who were to enter the country for the subjection of those heathens. According to the opinion of the Reverend Fathers, Rebullida and Andrade, who were then in the city of Cartago, although the winter having already set in, the maize-fields could not be worked, the clearing not having been done during the dry season.

With regard to the appointment of a leader for the company of fifty men that had been recruited by the committee under Captain Don Francisco de Noguera, with all due respect he objected to the latter on account of his lack of experience and knowledge of penetrating wild and rugged mountain regions, and respectfully recommended

¹Peralta, *Costa Rica y Colombia*, p. 99.

for the command two practical and capable men who were also brave and experienced, Captain Don Francisco López Conejo, who had been *alcade ordinario* and captain of infantry in the Valley of Matina and on the shores of the North Sea, and Captain Esteban Nieto, who had already been in the mountains and had brought out many Indians.

(3) REPORT OF THE PADRE MARGIL TO THE PRESIDENT OF GUATEMALA.

In that same year, the Padre Fray Antonio Margil,¹ Apostolic Preacher and Missionary of the Province of Talamanca, reported, under date of September 14, 1705, as he had been asked to do by the President of Guatemala. He stated that he went with the escort of fifty men, under the command of Don Francisco de Noguera y Moncada, accompanied by two friars, missionary associates of his, named Fray Antonio Andrade and Fray Lucas Morillo y Rivera, and preceded by another friar named Fray Pablo de Rebullida, charged with gathering all the *caciques* or chiefs of those regions and getting them to come out and meet the expedition. In this the last named friar was successful, but Fray Margil had to turn back in obedience to the command of his superior, the Commissary General, resident in Madrid, for the purpose of founding a missionary college near the city of Zacatecas ordered by His Majesty.

He then proceeded to give important details concerning the subjection and stated that he had appointed the Padre Andrade to take his place, as President of the Missions. Regarding the expenses of the expedition, it was defrayed by the four payments advanced to the men; to each of the friars a jar of wine was provided for the celebration

¹Peralta, *Costa Rica y Colombia*, p. 101.

of mass, and to all forty pesos for wax and bread for the sacrament. He also recommended that the leader of the party be allowed something for presents to the Indians, such as beads and iron articles with which to attract them the more easily.

(4) REPORT OF THE MISSIONARIES ANDRADE AND
REBULLIDA.

On January 10, 1709 (Doc. No. 145), the Reverend Fathers Andrade and Rebullida made a report concerning the progress of the missions, describing minutely Talamanca and giving the itinerary of the villages embraced therein.

The number of churches built numbered fourteen, and therein the Indians attended mass and received Christian instruction in their own tongue. Peace was made between the tribes of Térraba and Talamanca and 950 children were baptized. In the first settlements 34 marriages were celebrated and roads were opened from the city of Cartago to the Province of Térraba, that being the last one that was reached. The number of children that had died was given, and also the number of the inhabitants of the region. Peace was reigning with the Tójares or islanders who belonged to the Térrabas tribe. Minute details were also given as to the Chánguenes and information as to the Zeguas, Almirantes and Guaymiles, who lived beyond the Chánguenes. He was of the opinion that it was not desirable to settle Spaniards in Talamanca, but rather recommended the plan of removing the Indians to Boruca, Chirripó and Teotique.

The itineraries of the Talamanca villages are complete, as well as the census of the population of the numerous villages mentioned in the report.¹

¹See Bishop Thiel, *Map of the Missionary Stations of Talamanca* (map XLVI).

It appears that the reduction was carried out with the greatest success in January, 1709, the month in which the report was made.

(5) INSURRECTION OF SEPTEMBER 28, 1709.

This proved a grave miscalculation, for on the 28th of September of that very year a general insurrection took place among the Indians of Talamanca, an account of which was given by Padre Andrade to the Audiencia of Guatemala in his letter of October 21, following.¹ The rebellion extended to all quarters, from Urinama on the banks of the Tarire to the Island of Tójar in Almirante Bay. The Indians killed ten soldiers, one woman, a child and the Reverend Fathers Rebullida and Zamora, burning the bodies, setting fire to the churches and images of the saints, and carrying off the holy articles. The commander of the soldiers escaped with eighteen of his men, two of whom were wounded. The Cabécaras, Talamanca and Terrabas leagued together, the Chirripó Indians alone not taking part; as to the rest, those who did not actually join in the attack knew of it, consented to it and kept silence.

(6) PROCLAMATION OF GOVERNOR GRANDA Y BALBÍN.

On February 15, 1710 (Doc. No. 148), Don Lorenzo Antonio de Granda y Balbín, Governor and Captain-General of the Province of Costa Rica, in compliance with an order received from the Superior Government of Guatemala, made a public proclamation in which the natives of the said settlements of Boruca, the Téxabas and the Terrabas and the islanders of Tójar were notified that to all those who would come in and yield obedience to the governor and captain-general of the King and

¹Peralta, *Costa Rica y Colombia*, p. 105.

Master a pardon was offered in his Royal name for the offences committed; but that those who should not thus obediently submit themselves were declared to be rebels and traitors to both their Majesties, deserving of being burned alive, as they would be in the war that was there-upon declared against them.

On the 28th of the same month (Doc. No. 149) the said Governor Granda y Balbín wrote to the President of Guatemala that the T'exabas had yielded their obedience and that with them came from the north four of the T'errabas who promised that their tribes would also come in and do likewise; and they went with some of those from Boruca and two Spaniards to open the road to Viceita, that being the best settlement in Talamanca. The governor went forward with one hundred and twenty men, and Don José de Casasola entered Talamanca by way of Chirripó, with eighty more.

It was proposed to have the T'erraba Indians of the north brought into the settlements and not leave a single Talamanca Indian in the mountains, and also to seize the Island of Tójar and compel those of Bocas del Toro to surrender, so that there would be more than ten thousand natives comprised in the conquest of Talamanca.

(7) REPORT OF BISHOP GARRET Y ARLOVI.

A little before the general uprising His Majesty had directed the Bishop of Nicaragua and Costa Rica, Fray Benito Garret y Arlovi, to be very careful in regard to the maintenance and progress of the subjections and also to see that the natives were well treated; and that prelate undertook to report to his Sovereign concerning those matters shortly after the serious attack on the Talamanca missions. His report was dated November 30, 1711 (Doc.

No. 151), and it is a document historically of the highest rank; in it Bishop Garret lays before the Monarch the true and only justifiable reasons for the bad results of all the pacifications undertaken in the name, and with the authority of the King.

(8) ENTRY OF GOVERNOR GRANDA Y BALBÍN INTO
TALAMANCA. APPROVAL BY THE CROWN.

Governor Granda y Balbín made his entry into Talamanca and arranged a juncture at San José de Cabécar with the Fieldmaster Casasola, establishing his headquarters at that place, from whence various expeditions were made and more than five hundred natives of both sexes and all ages were gathered up and carried bound into Cartago, where they were distributed among the soldiers of the expedition.

The course pursued by Governor Granda y Balbin met with the entire approval of His Majesty, as appeared by the two *cédulas* of September 1, 1713 (Doc. No. 152), one of which was directed to the President of Guatemala and the other to the Governor of Costa Rica. In these the Monarch stated positively that *the Talamanca conquest belonged to the Province of Costa Rica*, and directed a committee composed of officials and persons familiar with that territory to meet with the Superior or Superiors of the Missions and discuss very carefully what was best to be done to reestablish the missions of Talamanca, or develop those of Boruca and put them in a condition for perfect defense, in order to prevent any possible communication by the Mosquito *Zambos* with the territory situated between Costa Rica and Panama. The punishment inflicted upon the principal head of the insurrection was also approved, as well as the distribution of the Indians taken from Talamanca.

(9) THE NATIVES OF TALAMANCA PERSECUTED BY THE MOSQUITOS. NEW PROJECTS FOR RECONQUEST.

Some time elapsed during which the Indians of Talamanca were neglected and the Mosquitos and their allies found opportunities for enslaving them. In this serious situation the Talamancas sought favor with the provincial authorities of Costa Rica; and it was to this new circumstance that reference was made in the despatch of the Governor, Don Antonio Vázquez de la Quadra, to the Captain-General of Guatemala, under date of May 23, 1736,¹ concerning the offers of submission made by the Talamancas. The governor asked for the assistance of friars to take charge of their instruction.

In accordance with the representations made by Governor Quadra, the President of Guatemala addressed a communication to the King, on the 10th of September of the year mentioned,² objecting to the plan of undertaking the subjection of Talamanca by the use of arms and warlike efforts, as had been discussed in the committees, recommending instead that mild and prudent means should be pursued, and that an escort of not more than twenty-five men with their officers should be provided. In that communication he makes it clear, by a very positive statement, that *the region of Talamanca belonged to the Province of Costa Rica*, and that it was within the district of the *Kingdom of Guatemala*, next to *Tierra Firme*.

¹Peralta, *C. R. y Col.*, p. 132.

²Peralta, *C. R. y Col.*, p. 134.

(10) ROYAL CÉDULA OF 1738 PROVIDING FOR THE
RECONQUEST.

Notwithstanding the very reasonable opinion of the President of Guatemala, His Majesty Don Philip V, by Royal *cédula* of May 21, 1738,¹ saw fit to provide that the subjection of Talamanca should be undertaken immediately, in the way that it had been determined upon by the committee at the meeting held in the city of Guatemala on June 5, 1726, and that the expenses for this enterprise should be appropriated for in preference to any others for which the collection offices in that city or in the rest of the jurisdiction of the Audiencia, might be liable to vassals resident in Spain, so that the subjugation and conversion of the Indians might take precedence over everything else, as provided by law. Therefore the President of Guatemala was commanded to give the most effective and necessary orders for the execution of the aforesaid Royal determination, as soon as he should receive the despatch.

In response to the order received, the President of Guatemala, in a letter addressed to the King, of November 4, 1740,² stated that although he had made preparations to carry out the Royal *cédula* of May 21, 1738, he had been compelled to suspend them and attend to other matters of greater urgency; he referred to the execution of the Royal order of August 30, 1739,³ in which he had been commanded to give his best attention to the extermination of the hostile Mosquito *Zambos* who threatened the Province of Guatemala. This course, he said, was all

¹Peralta, *C. R. y Col.*, p. 139.

²Peralta, *C. R. y Col.*, p. 157.

³Peralta, *C. R. y Col.*, p. 147.

the more necessary, because war against the English having been declared, he had been compelled to employ all the resources within reach in the defense of those dominions, without undertaking any new conquests of peoples who were doing no harm whatever, but were disposed to receive ministers who would instruct them without armed demonstration.

(11) ROYAL CÉDULA OF 1740 PROVIDING FOR THE RECONQUEST.

On May 24, 1740,¹ a Royal *cédula* was issued to the President of Guatemala, approving the steps taken by him for the subjection of Talamanca as set forth in the letter of November 15, 1737, and carried out in compliance with the Royal *cédula* of May 22, 1735. In it the Monarch reproduced—not only without correction, but with tacit approval—the words of the *Governor of Costa Rica*, by which he stated that from the year 1710 *the missions in the mountains of Talamanca, under the jurisdiction of said Governor*, had been suspended and had made no progress whatever.

The letter of the President of Guatemala, dated November 4, 1740, having been laid before the Council of the Indies, the suspension of the Royal *cédula* of 1738 was ordered; this was done by a further *cédula* dated October 31, 1742 (Doc. No. 165).

(12) THE CONVERSION OF THE NATIVES CARRIED ON WITHOUT AN ESCORT.

The work of teaching without escort went on under Fathers Mendíjur, Otalaurruchi, Vidaurre, Murga, Cabello and Núñez. In Cartago the Fieldmaster Fernández

¹Peralta, *C. R. y Col.*, p. 152.

de la Pastora deeming the missionaries in danger, determined to use twenty soldiers on his own account and with these and twenty-five of the King's men, all under his own command, he entered the mountain region and took out one hundred and twenty-three natives; these he settled near Cartago.

Subsequently, the same Pastora, with an escort of fifty men allowed him by the Superior Government of Guatemala and fifty more provided by himself, and some furnished by private individuals, made a second entry into Talamanca and brought out three hundred and fourteen natives, who were distributed among the villages of Atirro and Tucurrique, of Cartago.

(13) REPORT OF GOVERNOR FERNÁNDEZ DE LA PASTORA.

On June 1, 1749, the Governor Don Francisco Fernández de la Pastora,¹ made a report of his two expeditions into Talamanca to the Brigadier Don Alonso Fernández de Heredia, General Commander of Nicaragua and Costa Rica: The report was a very long one, the most important features of which are the facts that his work was carried on among the tribes of Viceita, Cabécar, Chánguene, the Nortés, Borucas, Franciscanos and Cabagras, and that three villages were formed with the natives brought out of the mountains: one at Cape Blanco, jurisdiction of Nicoya, with the adults and prisoners, for fear of their escape to the mountains; another with the smaller ones at Tres Ríos, near the city of Cartago; and another village, formed at their own request, by volunteers, in the section named Pejivaye, between Tucurrique and Atirro.

¹Peralta, *C. R. y Col.*, p. 168.

IV. FROM 1750 TO 1800.

(1) ROYAL CÉDULA OF 1756.

On November 30, 1756, the King of Spain issued a very important *cédula* (Doc. No. 170) concerning the Missions of Talamanca of the Province of Costa Rica, in which some very positive statements were made. Therein His Majesty approved the resolution taken by the Committee for the Royal Hacienda of Guatemala and communicated to the Monarch by the Governor and Captain-General of that Kingdom by the letters of June 10 and September 15, 1755; according to that resolution thirty men were to be added to the guard located in the city of Cartago, which had theretofore numbered but twenty, and had been designed especially to accompany and serve as an escort for the missionary friars occupied in the conversion of the natives in those mountains. The thirty soldiers thus added were to live with their families in the village of San Francisco de Térraba, so as to be there ready for the discharge of their duty. The appropriation for the friars was also increased to the sum of 450 pesos for each missionary. It was decided to suspend the Missions of Tologalpa (in Honduras), keeping up those of Costa Rica, and His Majesty, in closing, directed that two expeditions be made annually into Talamanca, in different places.

(2) REPORT OF PADRE URCULLU.

On November 3, 1763, the Padre Manuel Urcullu, Guardian of the College of the *Propaganda Fide* of Christ Crucified, of the city of Guatemala (Doc. No. 172), presented to the Superior Government of Guatemala, in compliance with the Royal *cédula* communicated thereto, a report concerning the missions and subjections of Tal-

amanca, of the Province of Costa Rica, distant from the city of Cartago more than eighty leagues. After describing the country, its situation, contour, productions, etc., he went on to say that the tribes known there as Talamancas were seven in number. The first of that name (Talamanca) embraced two others, called Cabécaras and Viceitas; the second, the Terrabas; the third, the Thóxares; by reason of living on an island of that name upon the shore of the North Sea.¹ The fourth was called Changuen and the fifth Zegua; the sixth Thorasque and the seventh Guaymí. Of these the three last named occupied the borders of the Kingdom of Tierra Firme and the four first above mentioned were located within Guatemala. So that it was the positive declaration of the superior head of the missions that the tribes of the Talamancas, Viceitas, Cabécares, Terrabas, Tójares and Changuenes unquestionably belonged to Costa Rica.

(3) ROYAL CÉDULA OF 1770 AND REPORT OF GOVERNOR
DÍEZ NAVARRO.

The Royal *cédula* of July 8, 1770 (Doc. No. 173), addressed to the council, the justices and *regimiento* (municipal administration) of the city of Guatemala is of much importance in the matter now being considered, because it distinctly appears therein, without room for question, that of the missions under the charge of the College of Christ Crucified of Guatemala, part belonged to the Kingdom of Tierra Firme and part to the Kingdom of Guatemala. It was the King who spoke: Tierra Firme, he decreed, embraced the four tribes of the Chánguenes, Doraces Dolegas and Guaymíes, who lived within the jurisdiction of

¹The Island of Tóxar or Colón in Almirante bay.

Panama, under the Government of Santiago de Veragua, BORDERING UPON THE MISSIONS OF TALAMANCA. As to the latter, although the Governor of Costa Rica approved the proposal of entry with an armed force—as did also the Committee of the Royal Hacienda and the Archbishop and the President of Guatemala—a complete report was asked for on account of its serious character.

To furnish the Crown with the data, the Superior Government of Guatemala procured the fullest information and the Engineer, Don Luis Díez Navarro, who was Governor of Costa Rica, reported on April 4, 1771 (Doc. No. 240), to the following effect. He stated that the Talamanca Missions were more than a hundred leagues distant from Cartago, the capital of the Province of Costa Rica. In that city the Reverend Fathers of the *Propaganda Fide* had their headquarters and there they had also a hospice from whence its missionaries went forth over the rugged, marshy and mountainous country, crossing numerous large rivers and passing through regions inhabited by those savage tribes. The Indians belonged to various nations, but there were two in particular that were the strongest, the Terrabas upon the South Sea and the Nortés upon the North Sea. These were bounded by the Almirante or Estrella River and by an island called Tójar, which they themselves had settled. This and the Talamanca coast was held by the Norte Indians of Talamanca. From thence the Zambos and Mosquitos went to the shores of the Province of Veragua, belonging to Panama; and from Veragua they returned again to their own habitation.

It was his opinion that if the Reverend Fathers proceeded apostolically they would not achieve any useful result; he advised, therefore, that the method used in the year 1743 be employed, and that San Francisco de Terraba be con-

verted into a center of operations, it being moreover a locality desirable for settlement by families of peaceful natives.

Another of the reports brought forth in compliance with the Royal *cédula* mentioned, was that made by Don José Joaquín de Nava, Governor of Costa Rica, which bore date November 15, 1771.¹ In that report Señor Nava supported the idea of an expedition, which the Reverend Fathers sought to make for the conversion of the natives of Talamanca. He advised that operations should begin early in January and terminate at the end of June or July, and considered that it would be necessary to have a hundred and fifty soldiers, with their commander, a second in command and sergeants, which force would occasion an expense to the Royal Treasury of \$9,756. He declared that the natives of Talamanca included the Cabécaras, Nortes and Viceitas, at one time pacified "*under the jurisdiction of the city of Santiago de Talamanca embraced under this Government.*" He recalled the two great insurrections of 1610 and 1709 and ended by saying that these Indians, being rebellious subjects, could be subdued and subjected by force of arms to obedience to their Sovereign—and this without any lessening of the benevolence in which they were held by His Majesty.

(4) REPORT OF THE GOVERNOR OF VERAGUA, BEJARANO.

In order to afford the Crown the utmost information possible concerning the Talamanca Missions and in conformity with the Royal *cédula* of July 8, 1770 (Doc. No. 173), the *Ayuntamiento* (Municipal council) of Guatemala asked the Governor of the Province of Veragua, Don Félix Francisco Bejarano, for a report. The report was pre-

¹Peralta, *C. R. y Col.*, p. 195.

pared on September 15, 1775 (Doc. No. 175), at considerable length, and showed a good knowledge of the subject. According to Señor Bejarano, the name "Talamanca" is generic and embraces three tribes of Indians, to wit, the Cabécaras, Vizeytas and Norte-Térrabas, situated upon the north side between Matina and Bocas del Toro. The Cabécara and Vizeyta tribes were subdued in early times on the plains where the city of Santiago de Talamanca was located; from that city, at regular intervals, were established many and large villages of Indians, along the Royal highway as far as the city of Cartago. He referred to the rising in 1610, to the apostolic labors of Fray Antonio Margil and Fray Melchor López and to the new rebellion in 1709. He added that the Norte-Térrabas were subdued in great part, the village of San Francisco de Térraba upon the south coast and the village of Nuestra Señora de la Luz de Cabagra having been formed therefrom. He then gave the distances between the principal villages of the north and the south and between them and their headquarters in the city of Cartago. He approved the idea of expeditions for the conversion of the Indians, advising that they be removed to the south coast, since they were not numerous enough to settle the territory occupied by them. He deemed the expense suggested to be useless and excessive, and proposed a plan of operation that he thought would be better. He spoke at some length of the missions in the territory of Veragua and referred to the founding of the villages of San Francisco de Dolega, Nuestra Señora de los Angeles de Gualaca, San Antonio de Guamías and Jesús de las Maravillas of the Chánguina tribe, which five villages of Veragua were subjected to a civil and political administration and there was hope of increasing them and founding others, "by reason of the

abundant harvest of heathens presented by the mountain regions *as far as the frontier of Talamanca and the end of this jurisdiction.*" He then sets forth the facility with which the conquest of Talamanca could be made in comparison with the difficulties met with in the pacification of the Chánguenes, Doraces and Gualacas Indians of Veragua.

(5) DATA FURNISHED BY GOVERNOR FERNÁNDEZ DE BOBADILLA.

A map of Talamanca in considerable detail was asked for by the Court and on November 24, 1780, the Governor of Costa Rica, Don Juan Fernández de Bobadilla¹, forwarded it to the Audiencia of Guatemala. The Governor stated that Talamanca was composed of three tribes, to wit, the Talamancas, Viceitas and Térrabas, the last named made up of nine smaller tribes or groups, namely, the Duas, Zuerses, Zoerbie, Cunzones, Esecogros, Domogros, Donomogros, Maruncs and Curquines. These tribes, he said, had upon their border the four tribes of the Chánguenes, Dorasques, Zeguas and Guaymies, who lived in the Province of Veragua.

On June 14, 1781, the King issued a Royal *cédula* to the Audiencia of Guatemala,² in which he directed the immediate preparation of the reports asked for regarding the need for making the expedition among the Talamanca Missions which had been requested by the friars of San Francisco of the College of Christ Crucified of San Francisco of Guatemala.

¹Peralta *C. R. y Col.*, p. 215.

²Peralta *C. R. y Col.*, p. 217.

(6) ROYAL CÉDULAS OF 1781 AND 1787.

On November 19, 1787 (Doc. No. 178), the Monarch issued a Royal *cédula* addressed to the Audiencia of Guatemala concerning the conquest of Talamanca, planned by the missionaries, in which he traced the history of that matter beginning with the Royal *cédula* of July 8, 1770. In the first mentioned *cédula* clear distinction was drawn between the missions belonging to the Province of Costa Rica and the missions belonging to the Province of Veragua, both of which had been entrusted to the same friars; and it was provided that the petition of the said missionaries be denied, wherein they sought to be relieved from the subjections under their care in the Province of Veragua, which were to be carried out upon the conquest of Talamanca; and he further charged the friars—the Observantines of San Jorge de Nicaragua, who were in control of the subjections of Boruca, Atirro and Tucurrique—that they should help on their part in any way that they could in order that the missionaries of Talamanca might carry through the enterprise in question.

This was the condition of affairs at the end of the 18th Century. Then came the troubles that followed the French Revolution; and very little could be done at the beginning of the 19th Century under the Spanish domination in Costa Rica, toward the civilization of Talamanca or in any other matters of public administration.

V. FROM 1801 TO 1821.

(1) THE EFFORT TO CIVILIZE THE NATIVES OF TALAMANCA ALMOST ABANDONED FOR VARIOUS REASONS.

The grave difficulties that arose in Spain at the beginning of the 19th Century by reason of the war with Great Britain; the troubles in which she then became involved

with the Napoleonic Power, and finally those that the nation encountered later growing out of the rebellion of the Spanish colonies in America, had the natural and inevitable result of stopping entirely all efforts to secure the subjection of the natives who had not as yet fully submitted to Spanish domination. This result was also helped by the wise law, passed by the Spanish Cortes, that swept away all differences between the subjects of the Spanish Monarchy in Spain and America and freed the natives from the hateful servitude to which they had for so many centuries been subjected. The main stimulus that led to the conquests was then missing—the allotment (*encomiendas*) of the Indians, which had really been no more than a disguised slavery.

(2) ROYAL CÉDULAS OF 1802 AND 1803.

Mention will only be made here of two Royal *cédulas* that were issued: one on December 19, 1802, and the other on January 14, 1803—both addressed to the President of the Audiencia of Guatemala. The first one referred to and provided for the execution of the Royal *cédula* of November 19, 1787, to which reference was made at the proper place; while the second one confirmed anew that same Royal *cédula*. The 1787 *cédula* was noteworthy because it provided for the unification of the various settlements which, with the principal and original settlement, made up the Province of Talamanca; that is to say, the village of Pilar de Tres Ríos, that of San José de Oroqui, that of Nuestra Señora de Garabito, and that of San Francisco de Terraba, situated, as is well known, within the jurisdiction of the city of Cartago—a jurisdiction that had never been disputed. As a matter of fact, the four villages had been founded with Indians brought

out from the mountains of Talamanca, and this was the reason why in the Royal *cédula* of 1787, above cited, they were considered as a part or dependency of that native province, yet not entirely conquered.

(3) REPORT OF PADRE ROXAS.

IN 1815, on the 3d of July (Doc. No. 217), Fray Ramón Roxas, Commissary and Prefect of the Order of San Francisco, to whom the Mission of Talamanca had been entrusted, made a report that had been asked for by the Illustrious Señor Bishop of Nicaragua and Costa Rica. The narrator went on to say that the conquest of *Talamanca* lay *within the confines of the diocese of Nicaragua and Costa Rica*, on the side that adjoined with that of Panama; he referred at length to the good condition of the Mission at the beginning of the 18th Century and to the insurrection that put an end to it in 1709; and also to the punishment that was inflicted upon the Talamanca Indians by the Governor of Costa Rica, who brought out of the mountains more than five hundred rebels, and hanged two of the ringleaders. With these rebels the village of *Pilar de los Tres Rios*, near Cartago, was founded and a portion of that of *Garabito* near Esparza. He recalled the founding of the village of *Térraba*, on the south coast, with Terbes or Nortes Indians; that of *Cabagra*, destroyed later by the Nortes and that of *Guadalupe*, subsequently added to Térraba. He referred to the efforts of the college in the new conquests of the Guaymies, Charibas and Chánguinas Indians, *in the Bishopric of Panama*, out of which five villages were afterwards turned over to the college that was founded in that diocese by the college in Guatemala.

This document, which is the last of those belonging to the Colonial Epoch that relates to the conquest of Talamanca, traces perfectly the line of separation between the apostolic labors of the friars of San Francisco that were carried on in the two dioceses; that is to say, in that of Nicaragua and in that of Panama, for the evangelization of the respective aborigines. The Guaymics, Charibas and Chánguinas, with the five villages that were taken from them, *belonged to Panama*; and *Talamanca*, including the four villages made up of people taken out of the mountains, *belonged to Costa Rica*, it being the same apostolical college that labored in both of these dioceses.

(4) THE VIRTUAL ABANDONMENT OF THE EFFORTS MENTIONED OF LITTLE IMPORTANCE, SO FAR AS REGARDS THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE TERRITORY OCCUPIED BY THE INDIANS.

It is to be remembered that at the time Costa Rica and Panama attained their independence, in 1821, the aborigines of neither of these provinces were entirely under the control of the government of the mother country; but under the unquestioned principles of American International Law that fact has little importance so far as regards its effect in depriving the new nationalities that had been founded by the call to arms and had secured their independence of the full and entire sovereignty over the whole of the territory over which, in each of these provinces, the Spanish sovereignty had extended.

ANNEX II.

BOUNDARIES OF THE MOSQUITO TERRITORY.

I. AUTHORITIES AND WRITERS ON THE SUBJECT.

- (1) ROYAL CÉDULA OF 1714.
- (2) LETTER OF THE JUDGE SANTAELLA.
- (3) LETTER OF THE BISHOP GARRET Y ARLOVI.
- (4) REPORT OF DON CARLOS MARENCO.
- (5) ENUMERATION OF MOSQUITO SETTLEMENTS, MADE BY GOVERNOR CARRANDI Y MENÁN.
- (6) THE COUNCIL OF THE INDIES.
- (7) STATEMENT BY COURTENAY DE KALB.
- (8) NARRATIVE OF DON JOSÉ LACAYO.
- (9) DON DOMINGO CABELLO.
- (10) DON LUIS DÍEZ NAVARRO.
- (11) THE COUNCIL OF JAMAICA.
- (12) GOVERNOR DON JUAN FERNÁNDEZ DE BOBADILLA.
- (13) THE "FULL ANSWER TO THE KING'S OF SPAIN LAST MANIFEST."
- (14) COLVILLE CAIRNS.
- (15) INSTRUCTIONS OF THE VICEROY OF MEXICO.
- (16) DON ANTONIO DE ALCEDO.
- (17) MONTGOMERY MARTIN.
- (18) DON JOSÉ DEL RÍO.
- (19) DON JOSÉ DOMÁS Y VALLE.
- (20) THE BRIGADIER ABARCA.
- (21) DON DOMINGO JUARROS.
- (22) THOMAS STRANGWAYS.
- (23) SIR WILLIAM S. WISEMAN.
- (24) COLONEL HODGSON.

- (25) JOHN WRIGHT.
- (26) PATRICK WALKER.
- (27) LORD PALMERSTON.
- (28) LONG, THE HISTORIAN OF JAMAICA.
- (29) MACGREGOR.
- (30) BRYAN EDWARDS.
- (31) JOHN BAILEY.
- (32) GEORGE SQUIER.
- (33) DON PEDRO FERNÁNDEZ MADRID.
- (34) LORD RUSSELL.
- (35) DON VICTORIANO DE D. PAREDES.
- (36) MR. MARCY.
- (37) FELIPE PÉREZ.
- (38) ABBOTT LAWRENCE.
- (39) DON ANTONIO MAURA.
- (40) DON ANTONIO RAMÍREZ FONTECHA.

II. WHAT THE GEOGRAPHICAL CHARTS SHOW.

III. RECAPITULATION OF THE PRECEDING DATA.

- (1) THE SOUTHERN LIMIT OF THE MOSQUITO TERRITORY AT THE RIVER SAN JUAN DE NICARAGUA.
- (2) THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER OF MOSQUITO AT PUNTA GORDA.
- (3) SOUTHERN BOUNDARY OF THE MOSQUITO COAST AT BLUEFIELDS.
- (4) SOUTHERN BOUNDARY OF THE MOSQUITO COAST AT PEARL LAGOON.
- (5) CENTER OF THE MOSQUITO COAST, CAPE GRACIAS A DIOS AND THE RIVER SEGOVIA.
- (6) MR. MARCY FIXES THE RIVER SEGOVIA AS THE BOUNDARY.

- (7) THE COUNCIL OF THE INDIES DECLARED THAT THE MOSQUITO COAST EXTENDED FROM THE JURISDICTION OF COMAYAGUA TO THAT OF COSTA RICA.

IV. ROYAL ORDER OF 1808.

I. AUTHORITIES AND WRITERS ON THE SUBJECT.

(1) ROYAL CÉDULA OF 1714.

The Mosquito territory is correctly defined by a document of unquestionable authority in this litigation—the Royal *cédula* of April 30, 1714 (Doc. No. 154), which reads as follows in this connection:

“* * * the settlements of the Carib Indians, Negros and *Zambos*, who are in the region called the Island of Mosquitos, between the North and South Seas, on the side of the Province of Nicaragua * * * and there are on the coast of the North Sea more than fifty or sixty leagues over which their settlements are known to extend, *beginning at a distance of twelve leagues from the River San Juan in the jurisdiction of Nicaragua*, where they have settlements and camps, *up to twenty leagues from the city of Trujillo.*”

Given such distances, the western extremity of the Mosquito Coast coincides with the outlet of the *Tinto* River in Honduras, and its eastern extremity with the outlet of the *Rama* River in Nicaragua.

(2) LETTER OF THE JUDGE SANTAELLA.

The Judge of the Audiencia of Guatemala, Ambrosio Santaella y Melgarejo, advising the mother country of the execution of the aforesaid Royal *cédula*, adds some interesting details (Doc. No. 587). He says:

“It appears that in past times, in the year 1652, an English ship loaded with negroes having been wrecked upon the shoals that are called *Los Cajones* or *Tiburones*, lying to the eastward of Cape Gracias a Dios, the people and the negroes reached the shore upon the said coast, and being afraid of the Carib Indians they settled upon a ridge of keys lying to the south of said shoals, and in the course of time they succeeded in getting into friendly communication with said Indians; and having done this, free from danger, they crossed to the mainland of Cape Gracias a Dios * * *. From the *Brazuelo* (small arm) or mouth of the San Juan, the coast runs north, and traveling along the shore for a distance of fifty leagues are the settlements and Island of Mosquitos. * * * *The said settlements are extended as far as the mouth of the River Pantasma, also known as Segovia, which runs to Cape Gracias a Dios, and from said Cape as far as that of Honduras, which must be about thirty leagues. These Zambos also occupy the land which is formed by three outlets of the river, Segovia, Paraca and Pantasma, by which it empties into the North Sea. * * * They live also upon the shores of the North Sea, upon some of the level savannas, where they have a large lagoon in the middle, which empties into the sea through the mouth of an inlet, the entrance of which is difficult to find * * *. Here the one who rules them is located * * *. At a distance of four leagues from the mainland is the island they call Mosquitos. * * * The section called *Punta Gorda* is upon the banks of the Jaramillo River.”*

These two papers are enough to fix very accurately the Mosquito territory, which never extended down to the River San Juan de Nicaragua, and still less did it reach to the south of that stream; but, to satisfy any possible doubt, the scattered data that relate to this matter will be reviewed—both that of Spanish origin

during the colonial period and that from foreign sources, prior and subsequent to the time of independence.

(3) LETTER OF THE BISHOP GARRET Y ARLOVI.

Fray Don Benito Garret y Arlovi, Bishop of Nicaragua and Costa Rica, as appears by two statements he addressed to the King of Spain from the city of Granada, on November 30, 1711 (Docs. Nos. 150 and 151), concerning the urgent need of subjecting the Mosquito Indians and the *Zambos*, believed that the territory occupied by them and the lands of the aforesaid Mosquitos, extended along the *shore of the sea, from the mouth of the San Juan River to the city of Trujillo in the Province of Honduras, the length of which was about sixty leagues. Their first settlement was the one called "Punta Gorda," twelve leagues from the San Juan River toward the north; and their last settlements were located upon what were called the "Mosquito lagoons,"* so that the territory actually occupied by them must have had a length of about forty-eight to fifty leagues. The width of their lands was not exactly known, nor was it uniform in width. The settlements of those Indians, of which he had knowledge up to that time, were as follows: First "*Punta Gorda*," which was separated into three hamlets or villages, about a gun shot distant from each other; then, making the circuit of the *Laguna Grande* (Great Lagoon), within the distance of a pistol shot were three villages, one called "*San Cristóbal*" and another "*Panamacá*," but the name of the third was not known; in still another lived the governor, called *Piquirín*, and fourteen leagues further inland the Indians had the big village where the petty king lived, who was called *Guitune*.

The southern limit of the Mosquito country was believed by Bishop Garret to be *Punta Gorda*, twelve leagues to the north of the River San Juan de Nicaragua.

(4) REPORT OF DON CARLOS MARENCO.

In a report addressed by Don Carlos Marengo, at San Felipe de Puerto Belo, on February 11, 1731, to General Don Manuel López Pintado, concerning the Mosquito Indians and *Zambos*, the territories occupied by them, the depredations they committed and the way to exterminate them, he used the following language:

“The Provinces of Nicaragua, Comayagua and Costa Rica have for many years suffered from the incursions, the robberies and the ravages perpetrated by the hostile *Zambos* of Mosquito and their English allies and pirates, who have settled and mingled with them upon the shores of the North Sea, *extending from the mouth of the River San Juan and Punta Gorda to Honduras*, in the jurisdiction of Comayagua, the distance of which, according to the experience of the pilots, is more than two hundred leagues from east to west, and this is held and possessed by the *Zambos* and those with them, in different settlements and upon different plains and rivers.¹⁷”

(5) ENUMERATION OF MOSQUITO SETTLEMENTS MADE BY GOVERNOR CARRANDI Y MENÁN.

Don Francisco Antonio de Carrandi y Menán, in a report sent by him to his superior, the Captain-General of Guatemala, dated April 5, 1738 (Doc. No. 625), enumerated the settlements making up the territory of the *Zambos* Mosquitos, as follows:

“*Agualatara, Tumla, Gualpasigsa, Guagua, Suinta, Sanyaguala, Cabalara, Aguastara, Norosbila, Taulavera, Dacora, Suculinlaya, Oliguita, Casca, Aguadacora, Xinasdacora, Cabalara, Guane, Culuque, Guanquil, Sane, Tabancana, Cruta, Caorquera, Suynta, Catasqui, Cutuca and Gualpasigsa.*”

¹⁷León Fernández, *Documentos para la Historia de Costa Rica*, Vol. IX, p. 194.

Not one of these settlements ever belonged on the north coast of the Province of Costa Rica.

(6) THE COUNCIL OF THE INDIES.

At a meeting of the Council of the Indies, held on July 8, 1739 (Doc. No. 162), the following statement appears in relation to the territory called Mosquito:

“* * * they (the *Mosquitos* and *Zambos*) occupy at the present time more than sixty leagues of land, extending from the jurisdiction of *Comayagua* as far as that of *Costa Rica*, of the dominions of Your Majesty, adjoining the coasts of the North Sea, their territory being in width only three leagues of productive and habitable land extending up to the slope of the mountains. * * * In those sixty leagues they have established for their dwelling places twenty-four settlements * * *.”

The Mosquito Coast, therefore, did not embrace the littoral of Costa Rica.

(7) STATEMENT BY COURTENAY DE KALB.

From the work entitled: “*Nicaragua: Studies on the Mosquito Shore in 1892*,” by Courtenay de Kalb (pp. 7, 8), the following facts are taken:

“The first authentic statement of the territorial claims of the Mosquito Indians is found in the work entitled: “The Mosquito Indian and his Golden River,” written by one “M. W.” in 1699, eleven years after the end of piratical control, and printed in 1746 for Henry Lintot and John Osborn, at the Golden Ball in Paternoster Row.”

“According to this traveler, who was an Englishman, the Mosquito territory began at *Cape Camaron*, on the coast of what is now *Honduras*, and extended as far as 165 miles to the south from *Cape Gracias a Dios*. This would end in *Pearl Lagoon*, thirty miles north of *Blue-*

fields, and 100 miles north of Greytown (*San Juan de Nicaragua*). * * * Later the English laid claim to Bluefields, but it appears to have been an invasion by the British and their Mosquito 'allies' of the territory held by the Cookra Indians. From 1836, however, the limits were rapidly extended westward and southward, until at length the entire coast was claimed as far south as the *Rio San Juan del Norte*, including that river as far west as the Machuca Rapids, and its port of Greytown, then known as *San Juan de Nicaragua*.

(8) NARRATIVE OF DON JOSÉ LACAYO.

Don José Lacayo, Governor of Nicaragua, in a narrative dated in September, 1745 (Doc. No. 626), stated that at a distance of five or six leagues from the mouth of the *San Juan* lay the mouth of another large river that emptied to the left of the former, in the direction of Honduras; and thence, distant four or five leagues, lies *Punta Gorda*. A few leagues further on, he said, there were four large settlements, two of *Zambos Mosquitos* and two of *Carib Indians* allied with them. *And from thence to Honduras*, extending over more than a hundred leagues, were many settlements of *Zambos Mosquitos* and *Carib Indians*.

(9) DON DOMINGO CABELLO.

Don Domingo Cabello, Governor of Nicaragua, on January 20, 1770, declared that within the Government of Comayagua the *Zambos* and *Mosquitos* were established from *Cape Gracias a Dios* to *Cape Camarón* or *Román*, which point forms the Port of Trujillo.¹

¹*Historia Documentada*, by Antonio R. Vallejo; Vol. I, p. 142.

(10) DON LUIS DÍEZ NAVARRO.

Colonel Don Luis Díez Navarro, engineer and director of the Royal forces, and the stations and frontiers of His Majesty, as appears by a report, dated April 4, 1771 (Doc. No. 240), made in compliance with a decree by the Audiencia of Guatemala, described the territory of the *Zambos* and *Mosquitos*, as follows:

“From here [Cape Gracias a Dios] they [the *Zambos* and *Mosquitos* Indians, on their forays] go to the coasts of the Province of Veragua, belonging to the Kingdom of Panama, from whence they return to their homes, which are along the coast, *from the three mouths of the River San Juan, Bahía Grande, Punta Gorda, the Pearl Islands, San Andrés, Santa Catalina, Cape Gracias a Dios, and as far as the River Tinto*, these being the localities inhabited by the aforesaid *Zambos* and *Mosquitos* Indians and English, all in a mingled condition.”

(11) THE COUNCIL OF JAMAICA.

In a report submitted by the Council of Jamaica to His Honor Lieutenant-Governor Dalling, dated July 16, 1774, concerning the *Mosquito Coast*, the following appears:

“The boundaries and extent of the *Mosquito Shore* we find it difficult to define precisely: Cape Gracias a Dios, in fifteen degrees of north latitude, is reckoned the center of the sea coast, which extends *from Cape Honduras to the northern branch of the Desaguadero of the Nicaragua River San Juan*, about one hundred and eighty leagues.¹

¹Correspondence Respecting the *Mosquito Territory*, 1847-1848, British and Foreign State Papers, 1849-1850; Vol XXXVIII, p. 673; London, 1862.

(12) DON JUAN FERNÁNDEZ DE BOBADILLA.

The Governor of Costa Rica, Don Juan Fernández de Bobadilla, in a letter dated June 20, 1776, concerning the project on the part of the English of founding a formal establishment on the Mosquito Coast, stated that at "Blackriba" (Black River), at a distance requiring twelve or fourteen days navigation by canoes from the Port of Matina, there was a settlement of English, under the command of Robert Hodgson, the superintendent of that coast, to whom the Indians and Mosquitos were subject. Black River is the *Rio Tinto* of the coast of Honduras.¹

(13) "A FULL ANSWER TO THE KING'S OF SPAIN LAST MANIFEST."

From a pamphlet bearing the above title (pp. 64, 65), published in London, in 1779, the following description is taken:

"The Mosquito Shore extends by sea eastward from Point Castile, the boundary dividing it from the Bay of Honduras, to Cape Gracias a Dios, 87 leagues; and southward from Cape Gracias a Dios to St. John's River, 94 leagues."

(14) COLVILLE CAIRNS.

When the proposed evacuation of the Mosquito Coast by the English was under discussion, the Ambassador of His Catholic Majesty in London, entered into some negotiations with one Colville Cairns, in order to obtain from him data for the purpose of facilitating that operation and the subsequent colonization of that coast by the Spaniards. In the plan submitted to the Ambassador by Cairns, the following statement was made:

¹Peralta, *Costa Rica y Costa de Mosquitos*, p. 182.

“In the first place it is recommended that, as soon as the possession of that country [the Mosquito Coast] shall have been taken by His Catholic Majesty three forts shall be established, one at Black River (*Rio Negro* or *Tinto*), another at Cape Gracias a Dios and another at Bluefields (*Campos Azules*). The Cape being located *in the very centre of the Mosquito Coast*, it should be protected with a much greater force and be fortified in the best manner that the low situation of that region will permit in the beginning * * *. From the head of the *River Negro (Rio Tinto)* to *Bluefields (Campos Azules)* it is 300 miles.”¹

(15) INSTRUCTIONS OF THE VICEROY OF MEXICO.

In the instructions given by the Viceroy of Mexico, under date of April 18, 1784, for the removal of the English from the Mosquito Coast, in the execution of the treaty entered into between Spain and England in 1783, the boundaries of that coast were referred to as *the River San Juan de Nicaragua* and *the Rio Tinto* (Black River).²

(16) DON ANTONIO DE ALCEDO.

Don Antonio de Alcedo, in his *Diccionario Geográfico-Histórico de las Indias Occidentales ó América* (Madrid, 1786), defines the word “*Mosquitos*,” as follows:

“A country of northern America, between Trujillo and Honduras of the Kingdom of Guatemala, in 13° and 15° of north latitude and between 85° and 88° of west longitude. *It borders on the north and east upon the North Sea; on the south upon the Province of Nicaragua and on the west upon that of Honduras.*”

¹Peralta, *Costa Rica y Colombia*, p. 236.

²Peralta, *Costa Rica y Costa de Mosquitos*, p. 231.

It should be noted that the parallel of 13° corresponds to Bluefields, as may be seen on the maps of Central America, issued by the American Hydrographic Bureau.

(17) MONTGOMERY MARTIN.

Montgomery Martin, in the "British Colonial Library," Vol. I, p. 136, referring to the Mosquito Coast, assigns to it, as boundaries, *from Capè Honduras to the River San Juan de Nicaragua*.¹

(18) DON JOSÉ DEL RÍO.

The Naval Lieutenant, Don José del Río, in the account given by him of his voyage to the Island of San Andrés and the *Mosquito Coast*, made by direction of the King of Spain, dated August 23, 1793 (Doc. No. 179), did not state the boundary of that coast on the north and west, but he did give the boundary *on the south* and fixed it at the *River San Juan de Nicaragua*.

(19) DON JOSÉ DOMÁS Y VALLE.

In a report signed at Granada on March 5, 1800, addressed to Señor Don José Domás y Valle, Captain-General of Guatemala, it was stated:

"The lands where the *Moscós* and other wild Indians or Caribs live extend *from the banks of the River Tinto to those of the River Mies*, which empties into the Bay of Bluefields, both inclusive; this space being about a hundred leagues in a straight line or in extent."²

¹British and Foreign State Papers; Vol. XXXVIII, p. 672.

²Manuel Serrano y Sanz, *Relaciones Históricas y Geográficas de la América Central* (Historical and Geographical Narratives of Central America), p. 289.

(20) THE BRIGADIER ABARCA.

The Brigadier, Don Roque Abarca, in his report to the Captain-General of Guatemala, dated May 9, 1804 (Doc. No. 194), also gives the southern boundary of the *Mosquito Coast* at the farthest, as *the River San Juan de Nicaragua*.

(21) DON DOMINGO JUARROS.

The Historian of Guatemala, Domingo Juarros, referring to the Provinces of Taguzgalpa and Tologalpa, settled by the uncivilized tribes of Xicaques, Moscos and Zambos, said that those provinces extended along the Atlantic coast, *from the Aguán or Román River to that of San Juan de Nicaragua*.¹

(22) THOMAS STRANGWAYS.

From another work, entitled "Sketch of the Mosquito Shore, Including the Territory of Poyais," etc., by Thomas Strangeways, the following extract is taken (pp. 4 and 5):

"The Mosquito Shore *extends from the Point of Castile or Cape Honduras, being the northern point of Trujillo Bay, to the River St. John's, called by the Spaniards San Juan de Nicaragua, being 182 leagues of shore. * * * The area of the latter, which is one-third larger than the Kingdom of Portugal, forms an irregular triangle, of which Cape Gracias a Dios makes the apex. * * * Its greatest length from north to south may be estimated at 340 miles.*"

(23) SIR WILLIAM S. WISEMAN.

In 1820, Sir William S. Wiseman, Commander of the ship *Sophie* of the Royal British Navy, stated that the

¹British and Foreign State Papers; Vol. XXXVIII, p. 672

Mosquito Shore, properly so called, extended *from the port of San Juan de Nicaragua*, with a northerly trend and a little to westward, a distance of eighty leagues to *Cape Gracias a Dios*.¹

(24) COLONEL HODGSON.

From another work, entitled "Some Account of the Mosquito Territory," by Colonel Robert Hodgson, late Superintendent, Agent and Commander in Chief of the Mosquito Coast for Great Britain, the following extract is quoted (p. 12):

"The Mosquito Shore lies between 16° 10' and 10° 25' north latitude, and between 83° 55' and 87° 50' west longitude. The sea-coast (in a general view), forms an angle somewhat obtuse at Cape Gracias a Dios, in latitude 15° 0' and longitude 83° 55'. From this cape the extent westerly is 85 leagues, and southerly 95, making in the whole a coast of 180 leagues. The westerly extremity is Cape Honduras, latitude 16°, and the southern boundary is that branch of the Lake of Nicaragua River, in longitude 84° 10'."

(25) JOHN WRIGHT.

From another work entitled "Memoir of the Mosquito Territory," by John Wright (pp. 10, 12), the following is taken:

"The Mosquito Shore extends from the Point of Castile, or Cape Honduras, being the south point of Trujillo Bay, to the northern branch of the River Nicaragua called Saint Juan, on the southward, being 182 leagues of shore."

¹British and Foreign State Papers; Vol. XXXVIII, p. 672.

(26) PATRICK WALKER.

Mr. Walker, in his correspondence with Lord Palmerton, dated May 20, 1847, from Bluefields, fixed the boundaries of the so-called "Kingdom of Mosquito," *from the Román River to the mouth of the San Juan de Nicaragua.*¹

(27) LORD PALMERSTON.

Lord Palmerston, in a memorable diplomatic document, dated June 30, 1847, stated that the Government of Her Majesty were of the opinion that the coast frontier of the territories of the supposed "King of Mosquito," her protégé, "** * * should be maintained as extending from Cape Honduras down to the mouth of the River San Juan.*"²

(28) LONG, THE HISTORIAN OF JAMAICA.

In the collection of British and Foreign State Papers, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 708, an extract is given from the "History of Jamaica," by Long (Vol. I, p. 314), which says:

"The territory belonging to the Mosquito Indians (properly so-called) extends from St. Juan's River, a little to the southward of Punta Gorda, to Cape Honduras, or, as the Spaniards call it, Punta Castilla, running about 500 miles or upwards, uninterrupted by an Spanish settlement."

(29) MACGREGOR.

This same collection contains an extract from MacGregors' "Commercial Tariffs," (part xvii), which says:

"The Mosquito Shore, in America, extends from the northern branch of the Desaguadero (evidently the San

¹British and Foreign State Papers; Vol. XXXVIII, p. 673.

²British and Foreign State Papers; Vol. XXXVIII, p. 642.

Juan), in $10^{\circ} 21'$, to *Cape Gracias a Dios*, in 15° north latitude, and from *Cape Gracias a Dios* in $82^{\circ} 40'$ to *Cape Castile*, or *Cape Honduras*, in 86° west longitude from Greenwich."¹

(30) BRYAN EDWARDS.

These same State Papers (p. 791) also contain an extract from Bryan Edwards' "Account of the British Settlements on the Mosquito Shore, Drawn Up For the Use of the Government in 1773" as follows:

"From Cape Honduras to the northern branch or mouth of the Lake Nicaragua, commonly called St. John's River, in latitude about $10^{\circ} 25'$, lies the sea coast of the country commonly called the Mosquito Shore."

(31) JOHN BAILY.

John Baily, in his work on Central America, published in 1850, (p. 110) gives as the boundaries of the Mosquito territory, *Cape Honduras and the mouth of the San Juan River*.

(32) GEORGE SQUIER.

In his "Adventures on the Mosquito Shore," (p. 335), E. George Squier writes as follows:

"The designation of 'Mosquito Shore' can only properly be understood in a geographical sense as applying to that portion of the eastern coast of Central America lying between Cape Gracias a Dios and Bluefields Lagoon, or between the twelfth and fifteenth degrees of north latitude, a distance of about two hundred miles. The attempts which have been made to apply this name to a greater extent of shore have had their origin in strictly political considerations."

¹British and Foreign State Papers; Vol. XXXVIII, p. 778.

(33) DON PEDRO FERNÁNDEZ MADRID.

Don Pedro Fernández Madrid, in his opinion submitted to the Government of New Granada, under date of November 29, 1852 (Doc. No. 298), fixes with entire precision the limits of the Mosquito Coast. The text of that passage reads as follows:

“What the Spanish Government maintained, as you know perfectly well, Mr. Secretary, and what the geographers and navigators of America have always understood as the Coast of Mosquitos, is that which extends for more than a hundred and eighty leagues along the Atlantic littoral of this continent, beginning on the westward at Punta Castilla or Cape Honduras, the boundary which separates it from the bay of that name, latitude 16° north. From its start at that point, the Coast of Mosquitos continues in an easterly direction, toward Cape Gracias a Dios, forming a somewhat obtuse angle, and running from that point in a north-south direction it terminates at Punta Gorda, near the most northern arm of the River San Juan de Nicaragua, at 11° north latitude.”

Señor Fernández Madrid, in referring to the determination of the British Government, which “* * * after having examined various documents relating to the Mosquito Coast, is of the opinion that said Coast embraces the territory situated between Cape Honduras and the mouth of the River San Juan, * * *,” went on to say:

“ * * this declaration, I say, was considered by our Government as a thing that should be taken up, because it narrowed the sphere of the question, giving to it precise terms, and BECAUSE REDUCING THE MOSQUITO COAST TO WHAT IT REALLY IS AND OUGHT ALWAYS TO BE UNDERSTOOD TO BE, it amicably settled in advance a basis for some compromise or bargain in case of need, as circumstances might make desirable.”*

(34) LORD RUSSELL.

In a note addressed by Lord Russell to the Minister of Her Britannic Majesty in Washington, Mr. Crampton, dated January 19, 1853, he stated that the *Mosquito Coast* was a region that extended *from the River Román on the north to that of San Juan de Nicaragua on the south.*¹

(35) DON VICTORIANO DE D. PAREDES.

In 1855 Don Victoriano de Diego Paredes, Chargé d'Affaires of New Granada in Washington, published a booklet, entitled "The Coast of Mosquitos and the Boundary Question between New Granada and Costa Rica," in which will be found the following very important passage:

"The Coast of Comayagua or of Taguzgalpa and Tologalpa, or of *Mosquito*, as it was afterwards called, did not extend farther than the *River and Lagoon of Las Perlas*, as it is only lately, and for a particular purpose, that the name had been extended as far as *Punta Gorda*. More recently, with views whose qualification it is better to omit, it appeared very convenient to comprehend under the same name the Port of the *River San Juan*; and that which is most to be admired is that *these encroachments*, having met with little or no resistance, THE ATTEMPT WAS MADE TO CONVERT INTO MOSQUITO COAST THE ATLANTIC SEABOARD OF NICARAGUA AND COSTA RICA, AND EVEN A PART OF THE PROVINCE OF VERAGUAS."

¹British and Foreign State Papers, Vol. XLII, p. 157 (No. 142).

(36) MR. MARCY.

In a communication by Mr. Marcy, Secretary of State of the United States, to Mr. Dallas, the Minister of that country at the Court of St. James, dated July 26, 1856, referring to Bonnicastle's map, published in 1818, he stated that the *Mosquito Coast* appeared to extend on the south to the mouth of the *Segovia River*, at the twelfth degree of north latitude; and he added:

“That respectable author never could imagine it as reaching on the south to the *River San Juan de Nicaragua*.”¹

(37) FELIPE PÉREZ.

In the work by Dr. Felipe Pérez on the geography of Colombia, 1883, the following statement was made:

“*The coasts of Comayagua*, first called *Taguzgalpa* and *Tologalpa* and afterwards *Mosquito*, did not extend beyond the *Lagoon of Las Perlas*, formed by two small peninsulas lying in front of the Islands of *San Andrés* and *Providencia*; but then, for certain reasons, the latter name [*Mosquitos*] was extended as far as *Punta Gorda*, then to the *Port of the River San Juan*, and finally, without any warning the name of *Mosquito Coast* was applied on the north and on the south to the whole of the *Atlantic littoral of Nicaragua and of Costa Rica*, and to a portion of that of *Colombia*. NOW THE NAME OF MOSQUITO COAST IS GIVEN NECESSARILY TO THE ENTIRE LITTORAL EMBRACED BETWEEN OMOA ON THE NORTH AND THE RIVER SAN JUAN ON THE SOUTH.”²

¹Senate Ex. Doc. No. 74, 58th Congress, Second Session.

²*Geografía General Física y Política de los Estados Unidos de Colombia*, by Felipe Pérez, p. 137.

(38) ABBOTT LAWRENCE.

In a despatch addressed by Hon. Thomas F. Bayard, Secretary of State of the United States of America, to Mr. Phelps, the American Minister in London, dated November 23, 1888 (Doc. No. 378), he used the following language:

“*The Mosquito Coast was a name bestowed in the last century to a tract of land of considerable but imperfectly defined extent, stretching along the shores of the Caribbean Sea to the southward and the westward of Cape Gracias a Dios,* and was inhabited by a sparse population of wholly uncivilized Indians, between whom and the inhabitants of the British Colony of Jamaica some relations are said to have early existed. The meaning and character of these relations have been the subject of elaborated and careful consideration in correspondence between my predecessors and the Ministers of the United States in England and Central America, especially in a despatch from Mr. Abbott Lawrence to Mr. Clayton, of April 19, 1850, and in numerous other documents, long since given to the world by the Governments both of the United States and of Great Britain.”

The most interesting part of the despatch of Mr. Abbott Lawrence (Doc. No. 629), cited by Secretary Bayard, reads as follows:

“Before entering upon their discussion, however, I desire to say a word as to the *geographical limits of Mosquito*, which are by no means accurately defined, even in the claim made by Her Majesty’s Government.

“There is upon the eastern coast of Central America, between *Cape Honduras on the north* and the *San Juan River on the south*, (possibly extending as far even as Boca del Toro), a tract of low, swampy, unhealthy land, of a various width, and rising in its

western border into highlands and mountains. The lower part of this country has never been much occupied by Europeans, in consequence of its insalubrity. The mountainous parts are said to contain but little valuable mineral stores. At the time of the discovery by Columbus, and until within a comparatively recent period, it was inhabited by some fifteen or sixteen tribes of Indians, speaking different languages, and often at war with each other; and, among others, there was a *tribe known as the Mosquitos*, (so called by the early voyagers from the abundance of *Moscas* found on the coast), living between *Cape Honduras* and *Cape Gracias a Dios*. They gradually overcame and almost exterminated the more southern tribes, aided perhaps by the *Bucaniers*, and by degrees the name of *Mosquito* came to be applied to all *living north of the Bluefields*; and I think, in all the discussions of the last century relating to this subject, *the Mosquito country was never understood to extend far, if at all, below that river*. It is now defined by Lord Palmerston as reaching to the *San Juan River*, embracing the northern bank, so as to take in *San Juan de Nicaragua* (Anglicized into *Greytown*), and command the mouth of the river. In my opinion, it is quite immaterial where the Royal geographers are directed to draw the line, as I am satisfied the whole claim is without just foundation. *All the good maps of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, French, Spanish, Dutch and English, carry Honduras from coast to coast, Nicaragua the same, and fix the southern terminus of the Mosquito shore at or near where I have indicated.*"

The geographical maps of the 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th centuries fully confirm the conclusion set forth, being unanimously in accord in not assigning to the ancient Province of *Taguzgalpa* or *Tologalpa* and the territory of *Mosquito* a single inch of land to the south of the *River San Juan de Nicaragua*, that stream being also known under

the name of the *Desaguadero* (outlet or drainage channel) of the Lake of Granada, as may be seen in the list hereto appended.

(39) DON ANTONIO MAURA.

Don Antonio Maura, who was legal adviser of Colombia in the boundary arbitration with Costa Rica, afterwards defended Nicaragua in a similar proceeding with Honduras which was submitted to the arbitration of the King of Spain. In the *Alegato*, or Argument, subscribed by Señor Maura in 1905 (p. 115), he expressed himself in the following manner:

“Numerous proofs show as the extent of said zone (the Mosquito Coast), *from the River San Juan as far as the Port of Trujillo*, situated far to the west of Cape Camarón.”

(40) DON ANTONIO RAMÍREZ FONTECHA.

In a paper published in 1908 by Dr. Don Antonio Ramírez Fontecha the distinction that exists between the Mosquito Coast and Costa Rica was clearly brought out. In it he said:

“In order to justify its right * * * Nicaragua cited no other document than the Royal *capitulación* or agreement made with Diego Gutiérrez. Taking this title at its proper value it related to *what is now Costa Rica and not to the Mosquito Coast.*”¹

II. WHAT THE GEOGRAPHICAL CHARTS SHOW.

If the most noteworthy maps covering the period under discussion are examined separately, and in connection with the numerous texts that have been cited, it will be found that the situation of the Mosquito Coast, as shown

¹*El Arbitraje entre Honduras y Nicaragua*, p. 90.

by the geographical charts enumerated below (each with the year of publication and name of the author) appears to be indicated as follows:

1698. Van Keulen	}	Punta Mosquitos to the south of Gracias a Dios and Island of Mosquitos to the east of Punta Mosquitos.
1715. Sikkena.		
1703. De l'Isle.		Taguzgalpa to the south of the Yarapa (Segovia) River.
1754. Bellin.		Mosquitos to the west of Gracias a Dios.
1780. Bonne.		Mosquitos to the west and southwest of Gracias a Dios.
1785. Vaugondy.		Island of Mosquitos to the southeast of Gracias a Dios.
1785. Pownall.		Taguzgalpa to the south of Gracias a Dios.
1786. Faden.		From <i>Punta Gorda</i> to Cape Honduras.
1805.	}	Between the Yare and <i>Bluefields</i> Rivers.
1809.		
1825. Navarrete.		Between the Tapatí and <i>Bluefields</i> Rivers.
1825. Brué.		Between Gracias a Dios and <i>Bluefields</i> .
1829. Thompson.		Between the Segovia River and Pearl Lagoon.
1849. Squier.		From Wanks to <i>Bluefields</i> .
1850. Wyld.		Between Cape Honduras and <i>San Juan River</i> .
1851. Fitz-Roy.		Between Barba, or Patook, and <i>Bluefields</i> .