

READINGS IN
HISPANIC
MEXICAN HISTORY

CLEVELAND

READINGS IN HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORY

BY

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AND THOU, BELOVED COMPANION, ENJOY THE BEAUTY OF THESE
FLOWERS, REJOICE WITH ME, CAST OUT FEARS, FOR IF PLEASURE
ENDS WITH LIFE SO ALSO DOES PAIN. . . .

/ / /

I FEAR NO OBLIVION FOR THY JUST DEEDS, STANDING AS THOU
DOST IN THY PLACE APPOINTED BY THE SUPREME LORD OF ALL,
WHO GOVERNS ALL THINGS.

/ / /

ALL THE EARTH IS A GRAVE AND NAUGHT ESCAPES IT; NOTH-
ING IS SO PERFECT THAT IT DOES NOT FALL AND DISAPPEAR. THE
RIVERS, BROOKS, FOUNTAINS, AND WATERS FLOW ON AND NEVER
RETURN TO THEIR JOYOUS BEGINNINGS, THEY HASTEN ON TO THE
VAST REALMS OF TLALOC AND THE WIDER THEY SPREAD BETWEEN
THEIR MARGES THE MORE RAPIDLY DO THEY MOULD THEIR OWN
SEPULCHRAL URNS. THAT WHICH WAS YESTERDAY IS NOT TO-DAY;
AND LET NOT THAT WHICH IS TO-DAY TRUST TO LIVE TO-MORROW.

Nezahualcoyotl, the famous literary light of the Aztecs, died forty-seven
years before the Cortesian conquest. The above excerpts from his poetry
were translated by Herbert Joseph Spinden and were published by the *Forum*
in its issue of September, 1925, in Dr. Spinden's article "What is Civilization?
The Answer of Ancient America."

PREFACE

This volume has been prepared to meet the need for collateral readings in Hispanic American history. It is meant to be one more tool in the study of that subject. It has been my purpose to impress upon the student the wealth and variety of materials of which Dr. Robertson treats in the introduction; for his statement that the editor "has suffered from an embarrassment of riches" is more than a mere figure of speech: it is the statement of a fact. The materials in the various archives of which he writes, added to those which have already been made available, are well-nigh inexhaustible. In this collection I have freely culled from a variety of sources: from royal decrees and instructions; from laws and decrees of legislative bodies; from official and semiofficial reports; from addresses; from proclamations; from declarations of independence; from treaties; from awards of arbitrators; from diplomatic correspondence; from memoirs; from diaries; from letters; from observations of travelers, etc. I hope that the readings will help to arouse a sustaining interest in this field of study, and that there will be those who will dedicate their lives and talents to a search for truth in the Elysian fields of Hispanic American history.

It has been my plan to place the greatest emphasis on the documents themselves. For that reason the explanatory materials have in most instances been purposely made brief. This volume is not intended as a history text; it is a modest selection of sources from which history may be made. They are merely intended to do what all readings should do: *aid in illuminating and enlivening the textual narrative*. I have not thought it necessary to provide either a separate bibliography or a set of sug-

gestions of how to use these materials. The first can be taken care of by the syllabi, the textbooks, and the monographs which have already been published or which will shortly be published; the second can safely be left to the instructor himself. A glossary giving briefly the meaning of the foreign words and phrases which appear in the book has, however, been appended. A word must be said about the documents themselves. The two selections from Prescott (Nos. 22 and 23) were translated for this collection. The others were taken from materials already published. I have not thought it feasible to tamper in any way with these. I have taken great care, therefore, to reproduce them faithfully. That errors will have crept in is unavoidable. I shall be glad to have attention called to these, so that corrections can be made in a future revised edition.

I desire to express my appreciation of the friendly manner in which authors and publishers have responded to requests for permission to incorporate materials over which they have control. The acknowledgments to each and every one from whom materials have been selected are made in their proper place and in their proper form, but I must add that I have met with a most generous response from all concerned.

The number of co-workers from whom I have constantly received aid and assistance in the preparation of this work is naturally very large. I shall name only those who have rendered the greatest services. I am under lasting indebtedness to that prince among historical scholars Dr. Herbert Eugene Bolton. Without his kindly sympathy and unfailing support it would have been impossible to undertake this work. It was to him that I first took my problems, and it is to him that I have freely gone ever since. I owe to that other prince among the scholars of our field, Dr. James Alexander Robertson, my grateful thanks. He has given generously of his time and thought to make the work a success. I am especially grateful to him for the excellent introduction which he was kind enough to write for this volume. The other member of this inner trio is Dr. Isaac Joslin Cox.

He has read the greater part of the manuscript. I want to thank him for kindly but invaluable criticisms. I also owe a word of grateful appreciation for kindly and sympathetic support to Dr. Mary Wilhelmina Williams, Dr. Herbert Ingram Priestley, Dr. Charles E. Chapman, Dr. J. Fred Rippy, and Dr. Charles Wilson Hackett. The unfailing courtesy and intelligent assistance of the members of the staff of the library of the University of Pittsburgh and of the Carnegie Public Library of Pittsburgh have greatly facilitated the work. I wish especially to mention by name Mr. J. Howard Dice, the librarian of the University of Pittsburgh, and Miss Irene Stewart, the reference librarian of the Carnegie Public Library of Pittsburgh.

To my wife, Hilma Willd Cleven, I am under great obligations for her kindly and considerate coöperation. It would have been impossible to do the work without her constant, vigilant, and intelligent support.

N. A. N. CLEVEN

INTRODUCTION

One of the strangest things in the world, yet, after all, one of the most natural, is the sureness with which Time drives his bargains and forces an interest in historical movements. Who would have had the rashness, even as late as a quarter of a century ago, to predict the present widespread interest in the United States in the history of the Hispanic American countries? Of course it would be an exaggeration to assert that interest in those countries is an entirely new thing, for most decidedly it is not. But that interest was of the few rather than of the many. Few students, a comparatively short while ago, thought of majoring in the history of the lands south of the Anglo-Saxon republic. Today it is a commonplace. Not only has the history of Hispanic America become a main study, but in ever-increasing proportion men and women are making its teaching their life work.

It is easy to account for this deepening of interest. It has come about through the rapid development during the last fifty years of the Hispanic American countries. The old interest in Hispanic America was in large measure dependent on its European beginnings and background. Now, while these European beginnings are even more intensively studied than formerly, we are led to that study rather because of the Hispanic American countries themselves. That is to say, those countries have themselves become entities. The European expression has become subordinated to the American expression.

During the period when Hispanic American patriots were struggling in the field and in parliamentary halls for their independence, statesmen and politicians in the United States, as well as the people at large (if these last thought about the matter

at all), were sympathetic toward aspirations they could so well understand. When independence was achieved the people of this country were not slow in expressing their satisfaction. Diplomatic relations between this country and the new states tended to bring about closer acquaintance. Commercial relations did still more. We were prone, however, to look askance at the new countries and perhaps smile a bit at the efforts toward self-government, and to predict that frequent revolutions and dictatorships would end in anarchy and ruin; and unfortunately we have not yet entirely escaped from that idea, so slowly do prepossessions vanish. But by and by we saw in some countries a greater stability, a greater sense of sureness, a more perfect solving of government ideals and practical life. And then we saw countries arise which are daily acquiring added dignity and influence throughout the world. We saw the building of beautiful cities. We witnessed the birth of strong literatures and the coming of graceful poets. We saw men of all sorts come forth in these countries who would take a foremost place among any people the world over — great thinkers, great lawyers, great lawgivers, and others. All this we saw and much more. And, above all, we saw the Hispanic beginnings of parts of our own country more clearly, and we began to read our own history more accurately. Then, too, we began to talk in terms of Pan-Americanism and, in general, to take Hispanic American countries more seriously. We began to watch events more closely and to see that reactions are not confined necessarily to the borders of a single country. And all this time an expanding commerce was working in favor of better acquaintance. It was daily becoming more advantageous to know something of the countries that lie at our door.

All these were Time's tools in the evolution of the study of Hispanic America. It is probably true that outside of a few of the educational institutions in the United States in which the earliest courses for the study of the history of Hispanic America were inaugurated, the commercial factor was of most weight in

leading to such instruction. At the present time, however, the study has been more nearly placed on a purely cultural basis. From a very slender beginning the multiplication of courses has progressed so rapidly that the Pan-American Union has recently distributed a questionnaire among universities, colleges, and normal schools in an endeavor to ascertain where Hispanic American history is taught and how it is taught. Doubtless the next few years will see regular courses introduced into many more institutions.

A quarter of a century ago students were feeling their way along somewhat blindly. Comparatively few of the instructors themselves had studied in the *Archivo General de Indias* or other archives of Spain, much less in those of any Hispanic American country. There were no textbooks on Hispanic America, and instructors were at a loss in presenting their material. Perforce the lecture method had to be adopted with requirements for outside reading, which varied according to the resources of the libraries of the different institutions. It was unusual to find the earlier books outside the largest libraries, and secondary books formed the chief readings in most institutions.

But the increasing importance of the study demanded more tools, and a few years ago we had our first textbooks. Teaching has also been simplified through the publication of many excellent monographs and a number of excellent syllabi. The next development has come with the publication of this book of readings which has been compiled by Professor Cleven, and to which he has been good enough to ask me to write this introduction. That a book of this nature can find a publisher is proof of the development of this study. It is highly doubtful whether it could have been published ten years ago. This means that the study of Hispanic American history is on a firm and expanding basis. This book furnishes to teacher and student alike a tool of importance, the lack of which has long been felt.

I doubt whether any book of collateral readings can entirely satisfy every person. Teachers, like other human beings, have

their frailties and special likings; and doubtless some will wonder why this or that document was included at the expense of another document. Lack of space has something to do with the omission of many documents in this book. Professor Clevens has suffered from an embarrassment of riches, and yet in the face of this difficulty he has accomplished his task in an admirable manner. It has been no slight labor to examine the vast amount of material that he has had to turn over, and he has doubtless suffered those pangs that the student so often experiences at having to discard some much-loved material, not because it was irrelevant but because of physical limitations. The table of contents shows the wide extent of his reading, the patience he has had to exercise, and the discrimination with which he has made his selections. In the compass of this book he gives an orderly arrangement of documents touching all phases of Hispanic American history. That the volume will prove a great help to all students of this branch of history, as well as to teachers, is certain. Indeed, it is not too much to say that this book of documents creates a new epoch in the study of Hispanic American history.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON

CONTENTS

PART I. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE IN THE NEW WORLD

LIFE AMONG THE PEOPLES OF ANCIENT AMERICA	PAGE
1. Customs and Manners of the Inca Indians. <i>Ynca Garcilaso de la Vega</i>	3
2. The Feast of the Situa. <i>Christoval de Molina</i>	19
3. Lake Titicaca and its Sacred Island. <i>Ephraim George Squier</i>	31
4. The Art of Trepanning among the Peruvian Indians. <i>Ephraim George Squier</i>	35
5. The Agricultural System of the Ancient Peruvians. <i>O. F. Cook</i>	37
6. What is Civilization? The Answer of Ancient America. <i>Herbert Joseph Spinden</i>	43
7. Pyramid of Cholula. <i>Alexandre de Humboldt</i>	50
8. The Exhortations of a Mexican to his Son. <i>Abbé D. Francisco Saverio Clavigero</i>	56
9. Exhortation of a Mexican Mother to her Daughter. <i>Abbé D. Francisco Saverio Clavigero</i>	59
DISCOVERY, EXPLORATION, AND COLONIZATION, 1492-1810	
10. The Capitulations of Columbus with the Catholic Monarchs. <i>John Boyd Thacher</i>	62
11. The Port of Palos ordered to supply Columbus with Certain Ships. <i>John Boyd Thacher</i>	69
12. The Treaty of Tordesillas. <i>Frances Gardiner Davenport</i>	71
13. Reception and Honors for Vasco da Gama. <i>Gaspar Correa</i>	78
14. The Lettera Rarissima. <i>John Boyd Thacher</i>	87
15. Letters by Peter Martyr. <i>John Boyd Thacher</i>	93
16. Letter from Vasco Nuñez (de Balboa) to the King of Spain. <i>Pascual de Andagoya</i>	98
17. Contract of Charles I of Spain with Ruy Falero and Fernão de Magalhães. <i>Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson</i>	111
18. Letter from the King of Castile to the King Don Manuel of Portugal. <i>Blair and Robertson</i>	114
19. Account of Magellan's Voyage around the World. <i>James Alexander Robertson</i>	116
20. The <i>Residencia</i> of Cortés. <i>Don Pascual de Gayangos</i>	126
21. The Conquest of New Spain. <i>Bernal Díaz del Castillo</i>	138

22. Contract between Francisco Pizarro, Almagro, and Luque. <i>William H. Prescott</i>	153
23. Capitulation of Francisco Pizarro with the Queen of Spain. <i>William H. Prescott</i>	157
24. A Narrative of the Conquest of Peru by Francisco Pizarro. <i>Francisco de Xeres</i>	164
25. Narrative of the War between the Spaniards and Araucanians from the Year 1550 to the Defeat and Death of Pedro de Valdivia on the 3d of December, 1553. <i>Robert Kerr</i>	174
26. Original Report of Alvar Núñez (Cabeza de Vaca). <i>Estanislao S. Zeballos</i>	187
27. The Judicial Murder of Túpac Amaru. <i>Captain Baltasar de Ocampo</i>	191
28. Letter from Oñate to Viceroy Velasco. <i>Charles W. Hackett</i> (Ed.)	194
29. Account of the Discovery of the Buffalo. <i>Herbert Eugene Bolton</i>	200
30. Drake's Famous Voyage. <i>Edward John Payne</i>	207
31. Letter from Viceroy Francisco de Toledo to the Governor of Rio de la Plata. <i>Pedro Sarmiento de Gambóia</i>	218

THE SPANISH INDIAN POLICY

32. Decree declaring Las Casas Official Protector of the Indians. <i>L. A. Dulto</i>	221
33. Speech of Las Casas to Charles V on the Treatment of the Indians in America. <i>L. A. Dulto</i>	222
34. The Bull <i>Sublimis Deus Sic Dilexit</i> . <i>L. A. Dulto</i>	225
35. The New Laws for the Indies. <i>Pedro de Cieza de León</i>	226
36. Pronouncements of the Ecclesiastical Council of Mexico City. <i>L. A. Dulto</i>	233
37. Memorial of the Procuradores of New Spain to the King concerning Permanent Encomiendas. <i>Charles W. Hackett</i> (Ed.)	235
38. Letter from Peralta to the King of Spain, dealing with the Jesuit Reductions of Paraguay and Paraná. <i>Father Pierre François Xavier Charlevoix</i>	238
39. Letter from Figueroa to Palacios (relative to the Mission to the Chiquitos). <i>Father Pierre François Xavier Charlevoix</i>	243
40. Decree extending the Tenure of Encomiendas. <i>Blair and Robertson</i>	245

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS OF THE INDIES

41. Bull, <i>Eximiae</i> — November 16, 1501. <i>Blair and Robertson</i>	248
42. Instructions concerning Ecclesiastical Patronage in the Indies. <i>Blair and Robertson</i>	250
43. Report and Relation of the New Conversions in Pimeria Alta. <i>Herbert Eugene Bolton</i>	258
44. Decree expelling the Jesuits from Spain and her Possessions. <i>Bernard Moses</i>	284
45. Letter written to Pope Clement XIII by his Majesty Charles III, on Occasion of the Total Expulsion of the Jesuits from his Kingdom. <i>J. P. and W. P. Robertson</i>	285

CONTENTS

xi

PAGE

ECONOMIC AFFAIRS OF THE INDIES

46. Royal Decree prohibiting Trade between the Indies and China. <i>Blair and Robertson</i>	287
47. Excerpts from Two Letters from the Count of Monterey to the King of Spain concerning the Trade of New Spain. <i>Blair and Robertson</i>	289
48. Royal Decree regulating the Commerce with New Spain. <i>Blair and Robertson</i>	295
49. Decrees establishing Way Stations for Philippine Vessels. <i>Blair and Robertson</i>	302
50. Summary of Grau y Monfalcón's Memorial to the King. <i>Blair and Robertson</i>	313
51. Informatory Decree in Regard to Opening the Commerce between the Kingdom of Peru and Nueva España. <i>Blair and Robertson</i>	316
52. Laws regarding Navigation and Commerce. <i>Blair and Robertson</i>	320

ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEMS OF HISPANIC AMERICA

53. Royal Ordinances concerning the Laying Out of New Towns. <i>Mrs. Zelia Nuttall</i>	331
54. Instructions to José de Gálvez. <i>Herbert Ingram Priestley</i>	337
55. Secret Instructions of Viceroy Lavradio to Vasconcellos e Souza, his Successor as Viceroy of Brazil. <i>John Armilage</i>	347
56. Political Conditions of the Province of Louisiana, described by Colonel Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, Governor of the Place and Districts of Natchez. <i>James Alexander Robertson</i>	363
57. Military Report of Louisiana and West Florida. <i>James Alexander Robertson</i>	368

IMPRESSIONS OF THE OLD RÉGIME IN HISPANIC AMERICA

58. A Voyage to South America. <i>Don Jorge Juan and Don Antonio de Ulloa</i>	373
59. A Voyage to the Eastern Part of Terra Firma. <i>François Raymond Joseph Depons</i>	393

PART II. HISPANIC AMERICAN WARS OF EMANCIPATION

60. Letter from James Biggs to Mr. R. S. G. on Miranda's Expedition to Venezuela in 1806. <i>James Biggs</i>	405
61. Notices of Miranda. <i>James Biggs</i>	408
62. The Declaration of Independence of Venezuela. <i>The Annual Register</i>	414
63. Official Account of the Execution of the Mexican Insurgents. <i>Niles's Weekly Register</i>	421
64. Letter from General Bolívar to Governor Hodgson. <i>British and Foreign State Papers</i>	422
65. Royal Cédula of His Catholic Majesty for the Prevention of the Slave Trade. <i>British and Foreign State Papers</i>	429

	PAGE
66. The Address of Simón Bolívar at the Congress of Angostura. <i>Francisco Javier Yánes</i>	434
67. Propositions of the Cortes of Spain to the Spanish American Deputies. <i>British and Foreign State Papers</i>	444
68. San Martín declines the Supreme Command of the Peruvian Army. <i>Thomas Sutcliffe</i>	446
69. San Martín's Farewell Address to the People of Peru. <i>Thomas Sutcliffe</i>	448
70. Letter from Bolívar to Riva-Agüero. <i>The Annual Register</i>	449
71. Decree of the Constituent Congress of Peru, conferring the Supreme Dictatorial Power of the Republic on Simón Bolívar. <i>British and Foreign State Papers</i>	452
72. Proclamation of Bolívar to the Allied Army on the Plateau of the Sacramento. <i>F. Lorraine Petre</i>	454
73. The Battle of Ayacucho. <i>Niles's Weekly Register</i>	455

PART III. THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATION STATES IN HISPANIC AMERICA

THE REPUBLIC OF ARGENTINA

74. The Declaration of Independence of the Provinces of Rio de la Plata. <i>British and Foreign State Papers</i>	459
75. Papers relative to a Secret Project for Erecting the Provinces of South America into a Kingdom, and Placing the Prince of Lucca on the Throne. <i>British and Foreign State Papers</i>	460
76. Darwin's Impression of Rosas. <i>Charles Darwin</i>	478
77. Address of General Rosas to the House of Representatives of Argentina. <i>Charles S. Stewart</i>	483
78. A Visit to the Battlefield of Monte Caseros. <i>Charles S. Stewart</i> . .	487
79. The Public Entry of Urquiza and the Allied Armies into Buenos Aires; and the <i>Te Deum</i> commemorating the Overthrow of Rosas. <i>Charles S. Stewart</i>	490

THE REPUBLIC OF CHILE

80. Proclamation by Bernardo O'Higgins. <i>Thomas Sutcliffe</i>	497
81. Impression of Life in Valparaiso. <i>William S. W. Ruschenberger</i> . .	498
82. Résumé of the Conversation between Mr. Hervey and President Balmaceda. <i>Maurice H. Hervey</i>	501
83. The Last Letter of Ex-President Balmaceda. <i>Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1891</i>	505

MEXICO

84. Plan of Government for Mexico, proposed by Don Augustín de Itúrbide to His Excellency the Count de Venadito, Viceroy of New Spain. <i>American State Papers</i>	507
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

CONTENTS

xiii

	PAGE
85. Decree of Congress announcing the Election of Don Augustín de Itúrbide as Constitutional Emperor of Mexico. <i>British and Foreign State Papers</i>	510
86. Proclamation of Don Augustín de Itúrbide to the People of Mexico on his Election as Emperor of Mexico. <i>British and Foreign State Papers</i>	511
87. Itúrbide's Message to Congress. <i>Niles's Weekly Register</i>	514
88. Recommendations of the Special Commission of the Mexican Congress on the Abdication of Don Augustín de Itúrbide. <i>Niles's Weekly Register</i>	516
89. Impressions of Life in Mexico. <i>Madame Calderón de la Barca</i> . .	517
90. Aberdeen to Bankhead on the Policy of Great Britain toward Mexico in the War against the United States. <i>George Lockhart Rives</i>	522
91. Amendments of 1859 to the Mexican Constitution. <i>Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States</i>	524
92. Speech of President Juárez at the Closing of the Session of Congress. <i>House Executive Documents, 37th Congress, 2d Session</i> . .	525
93. Circular of Ocampo explaining the Reason for the Expulsion of Pacheco, Barrio, and Clementi from Mexico. <i>Correspondence Relative to the Present Condition of Mexico, 1862</i>	528
94. Napoleon III to General Forey. <i>Senate Documents, 38th Congress, 2d Session</i>	530
95. Decree of the Assembly of Notables establishing a Monarchy in Mexico. <i>Senate Documents, 38th Congress, 2d Session</i>	532
96. The Offer of the Mexican Crown to Maximilian. <i>Senate Documents, 38th Congress, 2d Session</i>	534
97. Reply of the Archduke Maximilian to the Mexican Deputation. <i>Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States, 1865</i>	537
98. Official Account of the Proceedings of April 10, 1864, at Miramar. <i>Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States, 1865</i>	538
99. Maximilian's Proclamation on Entering Mexico. <i>Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States, 1865</i>	546
100. Maximilian's Address at the Inauguration of a Monument to Morelos. <i>House Executive Documents, 39th Congress, 1st Session, No. 73</i>	548
101. Letter of Pope Pius IX to the Emperor Maximilian. <i>Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States, 1865</i>	549
102. The Character of Maximilian. <i>Felix Salm-Salm</i>	553
103. Opposition to American Railroads in Mexico. <i>Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1878-1879</i>	556
104. Impressions of the Mexican Revolution of 1911. <i>Mrs. Edith O'Shaughnessy</i>	559
105. Progressive Constitutional Party's Platform. <i>Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1911</i>	567
106. The Plan of Guadalupe. <i>Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1914</i>	570
107. Mexico building a New Citizenship. <i>José de Vasconcellos</i> . . .	571

	PAGE
BRAZIL	
108. Decree of the King of Portugal and Brazil, respecting the Removal of the Seat of Government to Lisbon; the Appointment of the Prince Royal to the Provisional Government at Rio de Janeiro; and the Election in Brazil of Deputies to the Côrtes in Portugal. <i>British and Foreign State Papers</i>	579
109. Manifesto of His Royal Highness the Constitutional Prince Regent and Perpetual Defender of the Kingdom of Brazil, to the People of that Kingdom. <i>The Annual Register</i>	581
110. Address of the General Extraordinary and Constituent Côrtes of the Portuguese Nation to the People of Brazil, on the New Constitution of the Monarchy. <i>British and Foreign State Papers</i>	592
111. Proclamation of Dom Pedro I to the Inhabitants of Minas Geraes. <i>John Armitage</i>	598
112. Proclamation of the Brazilian Assembly (after the Abdication of Dom Pedro I). <i>John Armitage</i>	600
113. Impressions of Dom Pedro II and his Court. <i>William S. W. Ruschenberger</i>	603
114. Darwin on Negro Slavery in Brazil. <i>Charles Darwin</i>	604
115. Proclamation investing Dom Pedro II with Full Power. <i>British and Foreign State Papers</i>	606
116. Law declaring Slavery abolished in Brazil. <i>British and Foreign State Papers</i>	608
117. Speech of the Emperor of Brazil on Closing the Assembly in 1888. <i>British and Foreign State Papers</i>	609

PART IV. INTERNATIONAL AMERICAN RELATIONS

THE PANAMA CONGRESS

118. Circular of General Bolívar proposing a Congress at Panama. <i>International American Conference</i>	612
119. Bases for a General Confederation of America. <i>Joseph Byrne Lockey</i>	615
120. Bolivar's Memorandum on the Congress of Panama. <i>Joseph Byrne Lockey</i>	616
121. General Instructions to the Delegates of the United States at the Congress of Panama. <i>International American Conference</i>	618

NAVIGATION OF THE AMAZON RIVER

122. Memorial presented by Maury to the Congress of the United States on the Free Navigation of the Amazon to All the Nations of the World. <i>William Lewis Herndon and Gardner Gibbon</i>	635
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

EUROPEAN INTERVENTION IN MEXICO

123. The Convention of London. <i>House Executive Documents, 37th Congress, 2d Session, VIII</i>	647
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----