

1-1-1968

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Recommended Citation

Adams, Eleanor B. and Keith W. Algier. "A Frontier Book List - 1800." *New Mexico Historical Review* 43, 1 (1968). <https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/nmhr/vol43/iss1/3>

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A FRONTIER BOOK LIST—1800

ELEANOR B. ADAMS & KEITH W. ALGIER

THE PARRAL REGION in southeastern Chihuahua was first visited by Europeans in 1557 when Francisco de Ibarra passed through on his march through northwestern Mexico. Impressed by its agricultural possibilities and by its potential as a mission field, he sent Franciscan friars into the area, and they were responsible for the establishment of the first permanent settlement, a mission founded in 1560 near the present town of Allende, Chihuahua.

Prospectors soon followed the missionaries. Although, during the 1560's, small amounts of gold and silver were recovered from weathered surface deposits and streams near what is now the town of Santa Bárbara, the chief occupations of the few Spaniards who migrated here were the cultivation of wheat and the raising of livestock. The economic emphasis did not shift to mining until 1631, when two significant silver strikes were made north of Santa Bárbara. The town of Parral was founded in the same year and became one of the leading silver-producing centers in northern Mexico, despite almost constant harassment by marauding Indian tribes.

Parral also became an important administrative center for the province of Nueva Vizcaya. The seat of government was nominally the city of Durango, but most governors spent the majority of their respective terms of office in Parral. From here they could personally direct punitive operations against the troublesome Indians, and keep an official eye on the rich mines of the district.

SOME TIME during the second half of the eighteenth century a Basque merchant named Joaquín de Amézqueta arrived on the northern frontier of New Spain. Although we first hear of him, in 1783, as the commander of a militia garrison at the presidio of Guajoquilla—a position he held until his death in 1800¹—he seems to have made his mark more as an entrepreneur than as a military man. Undoubtedly, like many another, he had emigrated in the hope of furthering his fortunes, and so he did. In Pamplona he had dealt in such overseas products as cacao beans, sugar, and ginger.² In New Spain he soon established extensive business relationships, and his account books for the year 1786 show that he dealt with concerns and individuals in Chihuahua, Guadalajara, Mexico City, Durango, and Zacatecas.³ The fact that he shipped twenty thousand silver pesos to an associate in Mexico City indicates the substantial nature of his business interests.⁴ He also acted as a banker for many leading hacendados and militia officers, and during 1786 he extended credit to twenty-four individuals, liquidating their debts and making cash advances. By the end of the year they were in his debt for amounts ranging from one hundred to thirty-five hundred pesos.⁵ A partnership he formed with one Vicente Legarreta on January 1, 1789, illustrates the profits he realized from his enterprises. Starting with a joint investment of 19,800 pesos, the partnership was dissolved eighteen months later with a net profit of more than 10,000 pesos.⁶

Amézqueta also owned two profitable haciendas where he raised wheat, which he sold at various northern mining camps, and cattle, which he sold to meat contractors.⁷

And so in two important respects Joaquín de Amézqueta personifies the attempt on the part of the Bourbon monarchs in the last half of the eighteenth century to infuse new life into Spain's overseas empire. He represents the reforms effected in New Spain's military establishment by the formation of militia units to augment regular forces, and he reflects Bourbon concern for revivifying and invigorating commerce. At the same time, in his obvious interest in land ownership, he exhibits an inclination toward the traditional Spanish way of life.

THE BOOK LIST which follows appears in the inventory of his belongings made after his death in 1800. As always, the thirty-eight titles include a number of works undoubtedly acquired for everyday reference: A dictionary (13), two sets of military regulations (12, 38), a copy of the new mining ordinances (11), and an edition of Álvaro Alonso Barba's famous treatise, *Arte de los metales* (21), first published in Madrid, 1640. Barba's work won a wide reputation, and there are a number of seventeenth and eighteenth-century English, German, and French translations, as well as Dutch and Italian editions. Although we have been unable to make a positive identification, we suspect that the *Tesoro de pobres* (31) may be one of the many editions or revisions of the fifteenth-century *Libro de Medicina* of Maestro Julián, with the *Regimen* of Arnaldo de Vilanova. Various editions appear on colonial Mexican book lists.

Amézqueta also owned the usual proportion of religious and devotional works, including the Franciscan Fray Clemente de Ledesma's *Despertador Republicano* (30), the works of Bishop Palafox and his life (33, 34), and a translation of the French Jesuit Jean Croiset's *Parallèle des moeurs de ce siècle et de le morale de Jésus-Christ* (26).

History, in one form or another, claims nearly a third of the titles. Five deal with the exploits of Spain in the Indies, beginning with Ercilla's famous sixteenth-century epic poem on the wars with the Araucanian Indians of Chile (5), the first part published in 1569, a few years after the poet returned to Spain. Others on this list who dealt with the American past also had some personal knowledge of the scene. Ribadeneira's *Pasatiempo* (20), a didactic poem in fourteen cantos, "embracing the most notable sacred and profane events . . . from Creation to . . . Fernando VI," includes lengthy passages on the history of Mexico. The author was a native of Puebla who became an *oidor* of the Audiencia of Mexico. The Italian-born chronicler of North America, Boturini (37), spent several years in Mexico; Lorenzana (35) served as Archbishop there; the Jesuit Murillo Velarde (36) saw service in the Philippines. On the history of Spain we find the old stand-by,

Mariana (15), and Isla's translation of Duchesne (28), plus a history of Gibraltar by Ignacio López de Ayala, an admirer of French style, who occupied the chair of Poetics at San Isidro de Madrid. *El Teodosio* (25) is probably another Isla translation, of Valentin-Esprit Fléchier's *Vie de Théodose le Grand*. Perhaps the most interesting historical work of French derivation on the list is the *Establecimiento de las naciones europeas* (3), based on Abbé Raynal's *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des européens dans les deux Indes* (Amsterdam, 1770). Raynal's attacks on colonizers, the Inquisition, slavery, and other institutions gave his work a place on the *Indice Expurgatorio* in 1779. It was also banned in France in that year, and a copy of a revised edition was burned in Paris by the public executioner in 1781. Raynal had retired to Switzerland in 1779, and from there moved on to Berlin and St. Petersburg. He was allowed to return to France in 1787, but forbidden to live in Paris. It is small wonder, then, that the Duque de Almodóvar found it inadvisable to acknowledge his debt to Raynal or to put his own name on the title page of his version, even with the omissions necessary to preserve it from censorship.

P. José Francisco de Isla seems to have been Amézqueta's favorite author. In addition to the two historical translations mentioned above, the list includes his *Mercurio General de Europa* (29) and *Cartas familiares* (8). He was also responsible for an eight-volume translation of Giuseppe Antonio Constantini's *Cartas Críticas* (10). Amézqueta's edition, however, was in twelve octavo volumes. A translation of this description was published in Madrid in 1779, the translator, according to the title page, being one Antonio Requart. Last, but by no means least, we must mention Isla's famous translation of Le Sage's *Gil Blas* (19).

Cervantes is represented by *La Galatea* (4), the *Viaje al Parnaso* (6), and a volume of the *Novelas Ejemplares* (7), but *Don Quijote* is missing from the list. This seems especially strange in view of the fact that Amézqueta did have a none too successful eighteenth-century imitation which continues the life of Sancho Panza and satirizes aristocratic customs (9). Perhaps Amézqueta

had loaned or lost the *Don Quijote*. The Cervantes items could well have been the handsome editions printed by Antonio de Sancha in Madrid in the 1780's.

Perhaps the most significant titles in Amézqueta's library are three works by Pedro Rodríguez, Conde de Campomanes, the Spanish statesman whose *Industria Popular* (27), published in 1774 under the auspices of the Council of Castile, led to the founding of the Madrid Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País in the following year. This call for a rational and practical approach to solving the serious economic problems of the Spanish world was supplemented by Campomanes' *Educación Popular* (23), which appeared in 1775, and the four volumes of the *Apéndice de la Educación Popular* (24), 1775-1777. Amézqueta also had several volumes of the *Gazeta de Madrid* (32), which carried news of the activities of the Economic Societies. Amézqueta came to America from the Basque country of northern Spain, where the first of the Spanish societies was founded in 1765. The Sociedad Vazcongada had considerable influence in the colonies and a surprising number of American members. Whether or not Amézqueta belonged to the Society, he was obviously interested in their ideas and aims and one of those who spread their influence in northern New Spain.⁸

Scholarly research and publication of the twentieth century have refuted beyond doubt the traditional misconception that censorship insulated residents of Spain's overseas empire from new trends in European thought. The literate element of the population was comparatively small, to be sure, but this was equally true in the Old World. Those who could—and wished—to read were able to carry their books and ideas to the farthest frontiers.⁹ Joaquín de Amézqueta's library is that of a practical man of his time, interested in the material world and ways and means of improving it. It reflects contemporary concern for promoting popular education and industry, for probing political and social problems, and for developing the physical and natural sciences. But there are some works that show another side to his character and indicate that he was also a devout man and a man of some literary taste.

DOCUMENT

IN THE LARGE CEDAR BOX, THE FOLLOWING BOOKS:

- Bound in *pasta*
- (1) *Libro Provisto Canonico* by D. Bernardo Baldes, in 002 0
4°
- (2) Id. *Historia de Gribalta [sic]* by D. Ignacio López, 002 0
id. [Ignacio López de Ayala, *Historia de Gibraltar*,
Madrid, 1782.]
- (3) Id. *Establecimiento de las naciones europeas* por 006 0
Eduardo [sic] Malo, at 2 pesos [Eduardo Malo de
Luque (pseud. of Pedro Francisco Luxán y Suárez
de Góngora, anagram of his title, duque de Almo-
dóvar), *Historia política de los establecimientos
ultramarineros de las naciones europeas*, 5 vols.,
Madrid, Antonio de Sancha, 1784-90.]
- (4) Cervantes, *La Galatea*, 2 vols. at 2 pesos¹⁰ [Miguel 004 0
de Cervantes Saavedra, *Los seis libros de Galatea*,
1585; probably the Sancha 2 vol. ed., Madrid,
1784.]
- (5) Ercilla, *La Araucana*, 2 v. at 12 reales [Alonso de 003 0
Ercilla y Zúñiga, *La Araucana*, 1569; 2 vol. Sancha
ed., Madrid, 1776.]
- (6) Cervantes, *Viaje al Parnaso*, 1 volume¹¹ [Miguel 002 0
de Cervantes Saavedra, *Viaje al Parnaso*, 1614;
Sancha ed., Madrid, 1784.]
- (7) Cervantes, *Novelas*, 1 volume¹² [Miguel de Cer- 001 4
vantes Saavedra, *Novelas ejemplares*, 1613; per-
haps 1 vol. of 2 vol. Sancha ed., Madrid, 1783.]
- (8) Ysla, *Cartas familiares*, 6 v. in 8° at 10 reales [P. 007 4
José Francisco de Isla, *Cartas familiares . . . es-
critas a su hermana D.^a María Francisca de Isla
y Losada y a su cuñado D. Nicolás de Ayala*, 1785-
86; ed. Madrid, Viuda Ibarra, 1789-94, 6 vols. 8°.]

- (9) *Adiciones al Quijote*, 1 volume in 8° [Jacinto María Delgado (pseud. of Juan Francisco de la Jara y Sánchez de Molina), *Adiciones a la Historia del Ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha, en que se prosiguen los sucesos ocurridos a su escudero el famoso Sancho Panza, escritas en árábigo por Cide-Hamete Benengeli, y traducidas al castellano con las memorias de la vida de éste por D. J. M.^a Delgado*. Madrid, (1786). 8°.] 001 0
- (10) Costantini, *Cartas criticas*, 12 v. in 8° [Probably José Antonio Constantini, *Cartas críticas sobre varias cuestiones eruditas, científicas, físicas y morales*. Traducidas del italiano por Antonio Requart. Madrid, Blas Roman, 1779. 12 vols. 8°.] 015 0
- (11) *Ordenanzas de Minería*, 1 v. in 8° [1783] 006 0
- (12) *Ordenanzas Militares*, 3 v. in 8° at 1 pesos [Probably *Ordenanzas de S. M. para el regimen, disciplina, subordinacion y servicio de sus Exercitos*, Mexico, 1770, 3 vols. 8°.] 006 0
- (13) *Diccionario castellano*, 1 v.¹³ [Probably *Diccionario de la lengua castellana*, Madrid, 1780.] 010 0
- (14) 2 v. in folio *Instancia de San Miguel de Eselsis* at 20 reales [Not identified.] 005 0
- (15) Mariana, *Historia de España*, 2 volumes in folio at 2 pesos¹⁴ [Juan de Mariana, *Historia General de España*, 1601; 2 vol. eds. in folio, Madrid, Joaquín de Ibarra, 1780, Madrid, Andrés Ramírez, 1780-82.] 004 0
- (16) *Paso del Jordan*, 1 v., id. [Not identified.] 002 4
- (17) *Discrecion del Escorial*, 1 v., id. [Possibly Fray Francisco de los Santos, *Descripción breve del Monasterio de San Lorenzo el Real del Escorial*, Madrid, 1657, and later eds.] 002 4
- (18) *Tratado de la vanidad del mundo*, 1 v. [Fray Diego de Estella, *Libro de la vanidad del mundo*, 1547.] 002 0

Various 18th century editions published under title *Tratado de la vanidad del mundo* include *Meditaciones devotísimas del amor de Dios*, 1572.]

- (19) *Gil Blas*, 7 volumes in 4° [José Francisco de Isla, *Aventuras de Gil Blas de Santillana robadas a España y adoptadas en Francia, por Mr. Le Sage, restituídas a su patria y su lengua nativa por un español celoso que no sufre se burlen de su nación*, Madrid, 1787-88, 2 vols.; an edition of Madrid, 1791, is in 7 vols.] 010 0
- (20) Riba de Neira, *Pasa tiempo*, 2 volumes [Antonio Joaquín de Ribadeneyra y Barrientos, *El Passatiempo para uso del Excmo. Sr. D. Manuel Bernardino de Cavajal y Lancaster, Duque de Abrantes*, 3 vols., Madrid, 1752-53. The second edition, Madrid, 1780, was in two vols. 4°: *El Pasatiempo, obra útil para instrucción de todos los jóvenes.*] 002 4
- (21) Barva, *de Metales*, 1 volume [Álvaro Alonso Barba, *Arte de los metales en que se enseña el verdadero beneficio de los de oro y plata por açogue. El modo de fundirlos todos, y como se han de refinar y apartar unos de otros*, Madrid, 1640. Probably the edition of Madrid, 1770, "Nuevamente ahora añadido con el tratado de las antiguas minas de España, que escribió Don Alonso Carrillo y Laso."] 001 2
- (22) *Instrutivo de la Orden del Carmen*, 1 v. in 8° 000 5
- (23) *Educación Popular*, 1 volume in 8° [Pedro Rodríguez, Conde de Campomanes, *Discurso sobre la Educación Popular de los artesanos y su fomento*, Madrid, Antonio de Sancha, 1775.] 001 2
- (24) *Apendice de la Educacion Popular*, 4 v. at 10 rs. 005 0
[Pedro Rodríguez, Conde de Campomanes, *Apéndice a la educación popular*, 4 vols., Madrid, 1775-77.]
- (25) *El Teodosio*, 2 volumes in 8° [Probably José Francisco de Isla, trans., *El Héroe español, historia del* 002 0

- emperador Teodosio el Grande, 1730 and later eds.]*
- (26) Croist. *Paralelo de las Costumbres*, 2 v. [Jean Croiset, *Paralelo de las Costumbres de este Siglo, y de la Moral de Jesu-Christo*. Trad. por D. Joseph de Palacio y Viana. Madrid, 1789, 2 vols. 8°.] 002 0
- (27) *Yndustria Popular*, 1 volume [Pedro Rodríguez, Conde de Campomanes, *Discurso sobre el fomento de la industria popular*, Madrid, Antonio de San-cha, 1774.] 000 6
- (28) Ysla, *Compendio de España*, 2 volumes [José Francisco de Isla, *Compendio de la historia de España*, 2 vols., Madrid, 1771, and later eds.] 002 0
- (29) Ysla, *Mercurio de Europa*, in 8°, 1 volume [José Francisco de Isla, *Mercurio general de Europa: Lista de sucesos varios, primera y segunda parte. Año 1758*, Madrid, 1784, 8°.] 000 6
- (30) *Despertador Republicano*, 1 volume in 8° [Clemente de Ledesma, O.F.M., *Despertador Republicano que por las letras del A. B. C. compendia el Segundo Tomo del Despertador de Noticias Theologicas*, México, 1699, 8°.] 000 4
- (31) Medina, *Tesoro de pobres*, 1 volume [Probably one of the many editions or revisions of Maestro Julián, *Libro de medicina llamado Tesoro de los Pobres, con el regimiento de Arnaldo de Vilanova.*] 000 3
- (32) *Gacetas de Madrid*, 5 volumes in 4° 007 4
- (33) *Obra del Sr. D. Juan de Palafox*, 14 volumes [Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, *Obras*, Madrid, 1659-71; an ed. Madrid, 1762, 13 vols. in 14.] 030 0
- (34) *Vida de dicho*, 1 volume in folio [*Vida del Ilustrissimo, y Excelentissimo Señor Don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, . . . por . . . el P. Antonio Gonzalez de Rosende de los Clerigos Menores*. Sometimes added to set of *Obras*. See no. 33.]
- (35) *Cartas de Cortes por el Sr. Lorenzana*¹⁸ [Francisco 003 0

- Antonio Lorenzana y Buitrón, *Historia de Nueva España, escrita por su esclarecido conquistador Hernan Cortes, aumentada con otros documentos y notas*, México, 1770.]
- (36) Murillo, *Geografía*, 6 v. in 4° [Pedro Murillo Velarde, *Geographia Historica, donde se describen los reynos, provincias, ciudades, fortalezas, mares, montes, ensenadas, cabos, ríos, y puertos, con la mayor individualidad y exactitud y se refieren las Guerras, las Batallas, las Paces, y Sucessos memorables, los Frutos, las Riquezas, los Animales, los Comercios, las Conquistas, la Religión, los Concilios, los Gobiernos, las Lenguas, las Naciones . . . y los Varones insignes*, Madrid, 1752.] 006 0
- (37) Botturino, *Historia de Indias*, 2 v. in pasta [Lorenzo Boturini Benaduci, *Idea de una nueva historia general de la América Septentrional*, Madrid, 1746.] 003 0
- (38) *Ordenanzas Militares*, 2 volumes in 8° [Cf. no. 001 4 12.]

NOTES

1. Archivo Municipal de Hidalgo de Parral (hereinafter cited as AMP) 1785, Administrativo y Guerra, G-1, *Papeles y cartas*. Guajoquilla was established in 1752 as a regular presidio at the site of an abandoned hacienda. Ciudad Jiménez is located on the original site. Guillermo Porras Muñoz, "Datos sobre la fundación de Cd. Jiménez," *Boletín de la Sociedad Chihuahuense de Estudios Históricos*, vol. 4 (1945), p. 21.
2. AMP 1769, Civil, G-10, *Inventario de deudas*.
3. AMP 1786, Administrativo y Guerra, G-7, *Libro de caja no. 2*.
4. AMP 1785, Administrativo y Guerra, G-1.
5. AMP 1786, G-7.

6. AMP 1785, *Administrativo y Guerra*, G-1.
7. AMP 1800, Civil, G-6, *Expediente . . . contra el albacea del finado Joaquín de Amezqueta. . . .*
8. For the history and influence of the Economic Societies see Robert Jones Shafer, *The Economic Societies in the Spanish World (1763-1821)* (Syracuse University Press, 1958).
9. See Irving A. Leonard, "A Frontier Library, 1799," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, vol. 23 (1943), pp. 21-51; Eleanor B. Adams and France V. Scholes, "Books in New Mexico, 1598-1680," *NMHR*, vol. 17 (1942), pp. 1-45; E. B. Adams, "Two Colonial New Mexico Libraries, 1704, 1776," *NMHR*, vol. 19 (1944), pp. 135-67; E. B. Adams and Fray Angelico Chavez, *The Missions of New Mexico, 1776* (Albuquerque, 1956), pp. 220-33. It is of some interest to compare Leonard's 1799 list of the books belonging to Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, governor of Spanish Louisiana, with that of Amézqueta. As we might expect, Gayoso's library was much larger, 173 titles. We find eight items on both lists: three works of Cervantes, Isla's *Gil Blas*, the histories of Mariana and Lorenzana, a volume of military ordinances, and a Spanish dictionary. In spite of his more limited collection, we feel that Amézqueta's list has special significance because he was neither an official nor a member of the clergy.
10. Appraised, along with *Gil Blas*, on Gayoso list at four pesos, and the lot sold at auction for eight pesos. Leonard, p. 50. It will be noted that Amézqueta's seven-volume edition of *Gil Blas* (19) was appraised at ten pesos.
11. Appraised on Gayoso list at one peso. *Ibid.*
12. Two volumes appraised on Gayoso list at two pesos.
13. *Diccionario de le Academia Española* appraised on Gayoso list at ten pesos, sold at auction for twenty-one pesos. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
14. Appraised on Gayoso list at four pesos, sold at auction for sixteen pesos. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
15. Appraised at one peso on Gayoso list, sold at auction for three pesos, six reales. *Ibid.*, p. 44.