SMITHSONIAN MISCELLANEOUS COLLECTIONS VOLUME 102 (WHOLE VOLUME)

# COMPENDIUM AND DESCRIPTION OF THE WEST INDIES

BY ANTONIO VÁZQUEZ DE ESPINOSA

> TRANSLATED BY CHARLES UPSON CLARK



(PUBLICATION 3646)

CITY OF WASHINGTON PUBLISHED BY THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION SEPTEMBER 1, 1942



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#### INTRODUCTION

In 1929 the Smithsonian Institution received from its Regent, Gen. Charles G. Dawes, a fund for research in European archives, in the hope of finding documents which should throw more light on the early American civilizations, especially that of the Mayas. I was sent abroad on this quest in October, and remained in Europe till October 1931, filling with my notes and excerpts 12 large notebooks now at the disposition of scholars in the Smithsonian, and sending long monthly reports describing my finds. These reports are ready to be published when funds are available.

Most of my time was spent in Spain and Portugal; and in the Seville Archives of the Indies, thanks to a hint of Don Manuel Serrano y Sanz, I came across the oldest known document of any length in Maya—a village account book of San Juan de Amatitlán (Guatemala) for the years 1559-1562; the record of the first year is in a Pocomam dialect of Maya called Achí or Aché; the other three constitute our earliest documents in Pipil. A transcript of this document is at the Smithsonian Institution. But before going to Spain I visited Rome, recalling that three of our finest Aztec MS came to light there; I started in with the inventory of the Barberini collection in the Vatican, and came at once upon a beautifully illustrated Aztec herbal of 1552 (Barb. Lat. 241), which has now been published in facsimile by the Johns Hopkins Press, "The Badianus MS," and the Maya Society, and is to be published in Mexico City by Federico Gómez de Orozco and Demetrio S. García, with a Spanish commentary.

Next to this MS under "Indies" in the inventory came, as "Anonymous," Barb. Lat. 3584; the compiler of the inventory remarked that the name of the author did not appear, but that it would be easy to identify it, since part of it was printed. The MS, beautifully bound in red morocco with the Barberini bees in the corners, consists of a First Part of 80 printed pages, two columns,  $30\frac{1}{2}$  by  $21\frac{1}{2}$  cm., plus 79 MS folios; after a blank sheet, a Second Part with 32 similar printed pages, and 194 MS folios. It proved to be a detailed itinerary of Spanish America, written in 1628 or 1629; and since a chapter in the printed sheets dealt with the Quichua and Aymará languages, and Prof. P. Rivet, the distinguished Paris anthropologist, had asked me to send him a transcript of all early documents dealing with those languages, I copied the chapter and sent it to him before leaving for Spain. But his best efforts failed to identify the author; from my scanty notes, Dr. Ernst Schäfer, the learned historian of the Council of the Indies, hazarded the guess that I might have unearthed the famous lost compilation made by León Pinelo about that time for the Council; and both urged me to make a further study of the MS. My commission having been renewed for a second year, I returned to Rome and transcribed from the MS all the data I could find casting light on the author's career and personality; I mailed these to various scholars, and was soon rewarded by Dr. Schäfer's positive identification of him as the Carmelite missionary Fray Antonio Vázquez de Espinosa.

In 1930, just three centuries after his death, all that we knew of Fray Antonio was comprised in some references made by León Pinelo, and the scanty data on which is based the following biographical sketch in the great Espasa Spanish-American "Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Europeo-Americana" (1929), vol. 67, p. 377:

Barefoot Carmelite friar and Spanish author, born in Jerez de la Frontera in the last third of the 16th century, and died in Seville in 1630. He embraced the ecclesiastical career and applied himself to study with great success, becoming a distinguished theologian. In the exercise of his sacred charge he resided in Jerez, but in his desire to make greater sacrifices for the saving of souls and the spreading of the Faith he went over to America and in traveling through the Kingdoms of Peru and Mexico, became known as one of the most fervent missionaries in the New World. Returning to Spain about 1622, he resided for some time in Malaga, Madrid, Seville, and other places. He had been Censor of the Holy Office, and wrote the following works: Confesionario general, luz y guía del cielo y método para poderse confesar (General Confessional, Light and Guide to Heaven, and Rules for proper Confessing); Viaje y navegación del año de 1622 que hizo la flota de Nueva España y Honduras (Malaga, 1623) (Voyage and Route of the New Spain and Honduras Fleet in 1622); Sumario de indulgencias (Madrid, 1623) (Summary of Indulgences); Circumstancias para los tratos y contratos de las Indias del Perú y Nueva España (Malaga, 1624) (Data for Commercial Contracts with Peru and New Spain, in the Indies); and Indiae descriptionem (Description of the Indies).

This last is our present work, and so little known to the compiler of this sketch that he cites it with a Latin title.

We did however know enough about Fray Antonio's magnum opus to realize that it must have been one of the leading works of his day. León Pinelo in his "Bibliotheca," the first great bibliography of Americana, writes of his contemporary, Vázquez de Espinosa : "Description of the Indies. It is an extensive work giving many details, and the most exhaustive produced up to the present time, and almost entirely based on personal inspection. He is endeavoring to print it." Professor Rivet calls attention to León Pinelo's later testimony in his "Libro del Chocolate," f. 91v: "Fray Antonio Vázquez de Espinosa, friar of the Carmelite Order, well versed and proficient in all matters pertaining to the Indies through having lived many years in Peru and New Spain, from which he brought back many documents, maps and reports to this capital, which were useful in important negotiations, and he had begun printing the 'Description of the Indies' mentioned in my 'Biblioteca,' when he died, his death depriving us of what would have been the most valuable work available on the subject."

So the "Description" vanished; but some sets of the sheets already printed must have got into circulation, for in 1738 the reprint of León Pinelo's "Bibliotheca" lists among anonymous works, in volume III, col. 1408-9: "Compendio, y Descripcion de las Indias Occiden-tales: we have only seen two books: I, of the origin of the Indians, and whence came their rites and customs; and the routes followed to them by the fleets and galleons and their return voyage." I found also in a letter of the Jesuit scholar Joaquín Camaño to his colleague, the encyclopedist Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro, dated May 1, 1783, and in the MS Vat. Lat: 9802, a reference to the Añadidor (Reviser) of Fray Gregorio García as quoting in book 3, chapter 8, 1, from the author of the "Compendio, etc." with regard to circumcision among the Guaicurú Indians (our paragraph 1802). I found also in the British Museum another uncataloged and unpublished work by Váz-quez, on the defences of Peru—frequently mentioned in this "Com-pendio"—and dated 1629. His earlier pamphlet on the route of the treasure fleet is also to be seen in the British Museum (Department of Printed Books 1324 K6), together with a similar memorial from León Pinelo. Vázquez here refutes indignantly the charge that a friar was not competent to deal with such practical matters, and says that throughout his life he has pursued the interests of the King of Spain as well as the King of Heaven. That this is true, and that Vázquez was accustomed to have his recommendations considered with respect, is indicated by many references scattered through our work. In our paragraph 1422 he appeals directly to the Council of the Indies to follow his recommendations. He urges the creation of posts of Bishop for Florida (323), for Cuenca or Loja in Ecuador (1140), Chacha-poyas (1154, 1188), Huánuco (1364 f.), and Arica (1390, 1410, 1416, 1422). Guatemala should become an Archbishopric, and Panama, now under the Archbishop of Peru, should be attached to it (634). A University should be established in Guatemala City (610) and another in La Plata (Sucre; 1710). Cartagena should become the seat of an Audiencia (Circuit Court, the chief judicial and ad-

ministrative authority) (923), and Buenos Ayres another (1828). Juan de Lezama should receive aid from His Majesty for the defense of Guiana, threatened by Walter Raleigh, of whose expeditions and defeats he gives graphic accounts (157, 159; 135 ff., 141, 156 f.). Capt. Carrasco should be sent soldiers to subjugate the Cumanagoto Indians, especially as he is opposed by the Governors of Cumaná and Caracas (250). A subvention should be given someone to subdue Honduras (710). The Corregidor of Cuenca should be directed by the Council to pacify the Jibaros Indians (1129); in 1787 ff., similar recommendations are made for Tucumán. Santo Domingo should have a naval force for its protection (113), and Jamaica, a garrison (336). The Arica fort should have more artillery (1415), and Valdivia be made a fortified city (1982); reference to the index will show his intense interest in fortifications to keep off the Dutch and English heretics. Vázquez was also keenly interested in the economic side of Spanish dominion and gives us a wealth of data about prices and commerce (see index). He even recommends that the King send slaves for the mines to Tegucigalpa (704) and Bogotá (945, 951), and that the miners receive further aid by a devaluation of the silver dollar (1675), as urged in his own memorial printed in 1623.

But Vázquez' prime purpose, as he remarks in 1612, is "the description of the provinces," with "a bit of everything for the reader's entertainment" (96), and an occasional "story for dessert" (1123). And through the dates he gives, we can follow in part the journeyings on which his keen observations are based; but it is impossible to outline them in detail. His descriptions of Tucumán and Paraguay, e.g., are obviously those of an eyewitness, but there is no personal reference; neither is there in Chile, though he remarks (1953) that he spent the best part of his life there. The earliest year mentioned is 1612, when . he was in Mexico City (434). In 1613 he visited León, Nicaragua, "for the first time" (739) and was at Amapala on Trinity Sunday (665). He mentions being in San Antonio de Zaruma, Ecuador, in 1614 (1132). Ill in 1615, he took the baths at Cajamarca (1183), and became Chaplain Major of the abortive expedition gathered at Chachapoyas for the conversion of the Motilones Indians (1191); his preparations cost him over 4,000 pesos, and all for nothing, thanks to the Devil's efficient solicitude for his poor savage devotees. In 1616 he visited Huánuco (1363) and Chavin, near Huailas (1372), inspected the Huancavelica mines (1471) and was awe-struck by the Pucará (1474). The dates he mentions in 1617-1619 are all in Peruin 1617, at Chincha (1343); lost in the desert south of Pisco (1359); near Arequipa (1387); and on Ash Wednesday, 4 leagues from

Aucará. On the day of the Presentation, 1618, he said Mass near Arequipa (1393), and he was at Arequipa at the end of the year (1390); he was in Arica (1396) and inspected Indian villages near Arica (1416), burning one where the inhabitants were too idolatrous. He spent Lent of 1619 in Lima (1157, 1405). Then he went north again, and mentions being in Guatemala City in 1620 (602) and 1621 (614). He boasts (43) of "having . . . . seen . . . . the greater part of . . . . New Spain, Honduras, and Nicaragua, and all the Kingdom of Peru . . . . also . . . . the Indian tribes." Constant references show his Andalusian origin, as well as his knowledge of other parts of Spain. "The large river issuing from the great Lake of Chucuito is as broad as the Guadalquivir at Cordova" (1620); the Río de Vilcas at Uramarca is as wide as the Genil at Écija (1478); the Río de Tucay is the size of the Genil at Écija or the Jarama at the Aranjuez highway (1526). Potosí covers more ground than Seville (1661). In 760 he refers to the volcano of Ternate as one of those he had seen.

Vázquez does not consider himself a historian; he refers to "the histories" for further details (305, 889), the "historians of the Indies" (1182), the "ancient histories" of Pizarro's conquest of Peru (889). He is well versed in these histories, and his frequent quotations and references enable us to reconstruct much of his schooling and his special reading for his task. He knew his Bible thoroughly and speaks of Hebrew as if he had some slight acquaintance with it; but his one example of Greek derivation (20) is wrong. Of the ancients he refers to Plato (30), Pliny (29, 1464, 1469 f.), and Seneca (30), Jerome (66), and Zosimus (67); of his predecessors on the New World, he utilizes Solórzano (24, 98, 289, 324, 424, 898), Herrera (404, 431, 605, 737), Acosta (57, 422, 1467, 1510, 1518), the Inca Garcilaso (57, 1120, 1363, 1490, 1510, 1518, 1553, 1595), and Gómara (98, 102 f., 397 f., 404 f., 409, 605; he generally writes the name Gomora; 737 and 741 f. are good examples of his method of supplementing his sources by personal observation). He knew the "Bibliotheca" of León Pinelo (1363). All in all, he was admirably qualified for his theme through his familiarity with the great previous descriptions of America and the 10 years he himself had spent between Mexico City and Chiloé; and in spite of his disclaimer, he makes considerable contributions to Spanish-American history, the most notable being the long account given him by Capt. Altamirano of the Ursuá-Aguirre expedition down the Marañón in 1559 (1197 ff.) and the description of the Arequipa earthquake of 1600 which he got from Pedro de Vivar, a Guardsman who was caught in it. He does not mention his sources for the detailed and apparently accurate descriptions of the mouths of the Orinoco (188 ff.; cf. 208) and the Amazon (213 ff.), though he does say in 223 that the latter is confirmed by Capt. Roque de Chaves Osorio. Vázquez had a decided scientific and practical bent, as is shown by his elaborate descriptions of mining processes (see index) and of the causes of volcanic eruptions, and particularly in the care he lavishes on accounts of animals and plants (especially medicinal) in these new countries; he provides us with the first known statement of the curative properties of quinine (1714 ff.; the book was written in 1628, and corrected in 1629; Vázquez received his permission to print November 12, 1629) and the earliest descriptions of numerous trees and fruits, generally full enough to be recognizable.

As regards his style, Vázquez cannot be absolved of the charge of diffuseness, in spite of valiant and frequently mentioned efforts to abridge on his part; the MS is full of words, phrases, and occasionally whole paragraphs crossed out; but as these several times contain valuable information, they are included (within square brackets) in the translation; cf., e.g., his criticism of the Corregidor of the Vitor Valley in 1392. Two features of his style exercise the translator: inversion and the use of two synonyms (we may be thankful he didn't follow Ciceronian rhetoric and use three). The inversion may occasionally be avoided by a simple reversal, but must generally be followed because of modifiers of the inverted subject; but one has to keep the rhetorical doublets, like (in 888) traders and merchants, ships and frigates, made and built, woods and groves, much as one hates the waste involved. Vázquez seems to avoid the word "pero" (but), using "aunque" (although) in its stead, or a simple "y" (and). He has a rich Spanish-American vocabulary; I have tabulated over 200 words he uses which are not in the great Spanish Academy dictionary of the language either at all or in the sense here found. The great majority are of animals and plants, but there are several which were evidently in current Andalusian use-agalgado (990, 1339), anchoveta (1294), arena azul (310), armado (1729, 1752), barbasco (284), barbudo (1024), cabeza (mining term; 1654), cloquilla, (1116), cobo (1452), compuesto (1442), conaturalizado (1470), confianza (2048), desbarrumbadero (1613 f.), desocado (315), estruja (1360), filipote (142), goza (1722), Caja de Granos (1451), habada (40, 487), hogazuela (1367), jugoso (1979), mujeres de manto (1795), melinje (675, 1356), mingado (1451, 1636), mojonería (1441, 1707), mollar (1387), palmicha (1000), officios de pluma (2022), quebrantatinaja (662), ronchas (326), sanefa (1511, 1514), sínodo (salary; 1450, 1888), sopada (1815), tejita (515),

vibora (plant; 1792), and zarzuela (teal; 1020). I hope to publish this list in full elsewhere.

It was originally hoped to publish the Spanish text opposite the translation, and I deeply regret that this plan had to be abandoned. In the first draft of the translation and index, which assumed the presence of the Spanish text opposite, I kept the original spelling of proper names; but with the decision to omit the Spanish came a request to put all proper names in their modern form, which required hundreds of corrections in the text and the recopying of the index. Then my own practice in spelling, punctuation, word division, and word usage, had to be altered to conform with the prescriptions followed in this series; and I fear that numerous inconsistencies remain. I have tried to reproduce in the translation as much as I could of the classical Spanish style of the old Carmelite, without doing violence to English idiom. I have kept the Spanish titles of Corregidor and Alcalde Mayor (see index) but have translated Adelantado as Commander; indeed, Ovando is called both Adelantado and Comendador in the same paragraph (see index). I translate Audiencia by Circuit Court rather than Supreme Court; it was not a Supreme Court, cases being appealed, e.g., from the Audiencia of Guatemala to that of Mexico City and from there to Spain or Rome; and the Justices did actually go on circuit; of course an Audiencia was like our Great and General Court of Massachusetts Bay-the chief governmental and judicial authority for its territory, whose boundaries in every case Vázquez is very precise in giving. While I have in general translated in full all words and passages deleted in the MS, enclosing them within square brackets, I have often omitted deleted y (and or but), and words which were obvious errors immediately corrected. Spanish terms defining measure, coinage, etc .- vara, league, real, peso, and the like-are explained in the index, which serves as a glossary and a concise explanatory commentary.

There are indications that the MS had not received its final revision. Paragraphs 359-360 repeat 345-347, and the chapter on Trujillo and Saña is duplicated (1167 ff.); 1427 ff. show confusion; 1679 is left unfinished. 362 has a blank for the number of cannon in the fort; 372, for the surname of Brother Aparicio; 1352-1353, for a date and name; 1427, for the latitude of Guamanga; 1590, for the date of Inca Garcilaso's death. In 1137 he omits the name of the founder; in 1193 he evidently could not remember the name of a certain fruit; in 1274 he admits forgetting the names of certain religious benefactors, recorded however in the Book of Life.

We have seen that León Pinelo praised our MS as the most valuable contribution yet made to the literature on the Indies. Even with a delay of 300 years in its publication, it is not to be considered for a moment as merely a historical curiosity. Of course its prime interest is geographical; it is a descriptive itinerary of Spanish America; and Vázquez' painstaking account, a veritable Baedeker, will be authoritative in the whole field of historical geography. But it is full of original documents. Whole chapters are taken up by the vivid stories of the ill-fated Amazon expedition of Gen. Pedro de Ursuá and the subsequent career of the freebooter Lope de Aguirre (1198 ff.), the awe-inspiring eruption of the Ubinas volcano near Arequipa in 1600 (1397 ff.), and the destructive Potosi flood of 1626 (1668 ff.). Vázquez gives us the text of several official letters (275, 414, 416, 557); and he takes pleasure in recounting the life stories of various doughty pioneers, like Hernando de Cifontes (1611 f.), in order, as he says after his praise of early Venezuelan explorers, that the memory of such men should not perish but that they might receive the reward of their labors (269). Botanists will revel in the detailed descriptions of trees and other plants, with his valuable accounts of their use in Indian medicine; specially noteworthy are his surprise when confronted by the milk tree (283) and his tribute to the efficacy of quinine (1717) and the universal usefulness of the coconut palm in the East Indies (779); the Philippines come within his scope, since they were dependent on the Spanish authorities in Mexico City. He takes keen interest also in the manufacture of vegetable products, like indigo (674 ff.). He was fascinated by the mines at Huancavelica, Oruro, Potosí and elsewhere, and his detailed account is a valuable supplement to Acosta (1467)-in fact, the fullest survey of early mining in South America.

But the greatest interest aroused by the resurrection of Vázquez has been among the anthropologists; in fact, the first publication of any part of the text was the chapters on the customs of the Arawak and Carib Indians (183-187), with a Dutch translation by C. H. De Goeje in "De West-Indische Gids," 1931. Still more important perhaps are the data which he gives on the little-known Pampas, Charrúas, and Guaicurú Indians; the index references to these and other tribes, especially under the heading "Indian," will greatly enlarge our knowledge; see particularly "Indian languages."

I am not sure however but that Vázquez' greatest contribution lies neither in geography, botany, nor anthropology, but in the field of Spanish colonial and ecclesiastical administration. Here his picture is so complete that the book will be required reading for any investigator into Spanish American history. Nor does he confine himself to the mechanical framework. The honest and earnest old Carmelite is a fearless critic and does not hesitate to condemn weakness and corruption; our index headings "Treatment of the Indians" and "Depopulation" furnish an indictment perhaps more telling than Las Casas' because so obviously without exaggeration; it ranges from the sly hint in 84 that the Nutabé Indians use the same word for Spaniard and Devil, to the eloquent attack on the Indian Administrators and Protectors in 1941-1942. No more concise statement of the weakness of Spanish colonization has ever been made than his comment on the failure to maintain the magnificent Inca highways: "no one looks beyond his personal advantage to the common benefit" (1578). The Council of the Indies has tried to remedy the abuses, but they still exist (51). Maladministration meets with frequent reprobation, as in 931 and 1112; and low business morals are criticized in connection with the pitch traffic (722), cheating on gold dust (1133), and the stealing of ore (1471); and he remarks on the ease with which governing officials enrich themselves (747, 1392). Indeed, he attributes in 600 much of the Indians' low estate to the bad example set them by the Spaniards. Nor does he confine his disapproval to administrative and business circles. One cannot help feeling that he presents Lope de Aguirre's strictures on the quality of the judges sent out from Spain, with a certain relish (1215); and his praise of the Franciscans' high ideals (615) inevitably reflects upon worldliness in other orders. He is severe in dealing with the indifference of the priests about Arica (1416), and has no patience with curates drawing salaries of \$4,000 who do not even bother to put doors on their churches (1413); in passing, I would draw attention to the index references to ecclesiastical and other salaries, particularly in connection with the prices of labor and staples (see "Prices"). Yet from his remarks in 1339 about the use of coca and tobacco, it is clear that he is no bigoted Puritan but an experienced executive and sympathetic observer.

And this wide experience and generous sympathy give his narrative a peculiar charm, especially as he is a born story teller and rises at times to sustained eloquence, as in his magnificent passage about the Maya ruins at Cobán (697) and his reflections on the past greatness of the Inca Empire (1343). Of the stories, let me recommend that of the woman eaten by alligators (744), the chieftainess who captured an alligator (1123), the whale fishery (1753); for picturesque descriptions, the arrival at La Rioja (Tucumán) by the avenue of orange trees in blossom (1776), the mosquitoes on the Guayaquil River (1117), methods of crossing streams (1187 f.), the christening of a Guaicurú Indian chieftain's son (1804 f.), the disappointment of new arrivals on the arid Peruvian coast (1175). This charm extends to many tiny details, like the information that the Rector of the College at La Plata (Sucre) gets an allowance of 4 reals a day for grass for his mule (1741). We share Vázquez' enthusiasm for the University of Lima (1275 ff.) and the city's admirable hospitals (1272 ff.); it is amusing to find the complaint three centuries ago, that the University was turning out more graduates than could find places (1276).

It was my good fortune to spend years of my young manhood editing one of the great characters of antiquity—the historian Ammianus Marcellinus, whom a recent critic has pronounced the leading literary figure between Tacitus and Dante. It is now my high privilege to introduce to the modern world one of the noblest and ablest of those scores of thousands who carried Spanish civilization and ideals to the New World; and I end the 3 years I have spent in communion with him, with a respect and an affection which I hope are conveyed by this translation.

CHARLES UPSON CLARK.

## COMPENDIUM AND DESCRIPTION OF THE WEST INDIES

#### PART I

#### BOOK I

Of the Origin and Lineage of the Indians; from What Ancestry They Are Descended; When and by What Route They Came To Inhabit the Indies; Much about Their Rites and Customs, with Other Characteristics Worthy of Note; the Course Navigated by the Galleons and Fleets to the Indies, and the Return Voyage to Spain.

#### CHAPTER I

Of the Course Laid to the Indies, and the Return to Spain.

1. The galleons, fleets, and other ships which sail to the Indies of New Spain, the Spanish Main and other parts thereof, leave Sanlúcar de Barrameda or Cadiz, which are at 37° N.; sailing from there, they round the island of Salmedina, which is half a league SE. of Sanlúcar; in summer they steer SW, and in winter SW.<sup>1</sup>S, to Cape Cantín, at 32°, because of the breezes blowing from the Barbary coast; from there they steer SW.<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>W., to Point Anaga on the island of Teneriffe in the Canaries, which is at 28° and 250 leagues, sailors' reckoning, from Spain, and they usually pass within sight of those islands. Thence they sail through the Great Gulf WSW. to 20°, and from that latitude they steer W.<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>SW. to 15°30', from which point sailing W. they make the island of Deseada, and if they sail along 15°, the island of Marigalante, which will be over 750 leagues from the Canaries, and 1,000 from Spain; the galleons and fleets take on water at these Guadeloupe islands, and some fresh provisions of poultry, fish, and native fruit, which the heathen Indians of those islands bring them in exchange for axes, knives, and other articles.

2. There will be on those islands, and on that of Granada, over 18,000 Indians, who go naked, belong to the Carib tribe, and call themselves Camajuyas, which means thunderbolt, since they are brave and warlike. The islands have a warm, moist climate, with great forests and groves, which seem a bit of Paradise. From there the fleets for New Spain sail within sight of the islands of Puerto Rico and Santo Domingo, to the S. of them, some 500 leagues, to Cape San Antón, the westernmost point of the island of Cuba. From there they sail to the port of Vera Cruz; the due course and time for the voyage are known by the pilots, who take care to plot a good course.

**3.** From the above-mentioned islands to Cartagena and Puerto Bello there is a direct E.-W. route, but for greater safety they pass between Dominica and Matarino and sail 50 leagues WSW. and then W.4SW. to 12°, sighting a headland on the Cape de la Vela; immediately upon recognizing the Sierra Nevada which lies above Santa Marta, they sail WNW. until they sight the light-colored water of the Rio Grande, whereupon they steer SW., aiming at Morro Hermoso and the Point de la Canoa, up to Cartagena; from Cartagena they sail to Puerto Bello, a matter of 90 leagues.

4. From Vera Cruz it is 300 leagues' sail to Havana; on leaving port they head NE. up to  $25^{\circ}$ ; from there they steer E. till they sound at the Tortugas, and from them they run to Havana. From Puerto Bello it is also 300 leagues' sail to Havana. On leaving the harbor they steer E. till they make a N.-S. line with Cátiva Head; then ESE. to the island of San Bernardo, from which they sail E. to Cartagena. From there they steer NE. to  $13^{\circ}$ ; from  $13^{\circ}$  to  $16^{\circ}30'$ lie the shoals of Serrana, Serranilla, etc., where they navigate cautiously on account of the shoals; on the same course they sight the Isle of Pines, passing within view of it, and then Cape San Antón, to which they have to give heed on account of shoals; right afterward they come to Havana harbor.

5. From Havana the galleons and fleets leave by the Bahama Channel and once out, they steer NE. up to  $32^{\circ}$ ; thence E.<sub>4</sub>NE. to  $38^{\circ}$  or  $39^{\circ}$ ; on this course they make the Terceras Islands; this is the summer route.

6. On the winter route they steer from the Bahama Channel E. for the island of Bermuda, which lies at  $32^{\circ}30'$ . Passing along its southern coast and following the route, they sail as far as  $37^{\circ}$ , on which lies the island of Santa María; for the island of Tercera, they sail to  $38^{\circ}$ ; for San Miguel, to  $37^{\circ}$ ; at these they take on necessary fresh provisions. From there it is 300 leagues to Spain; 40 or 50 of them are sailed E. and then they turn and steer E.<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>SE. till they sight Cape St. Vincent; from the cape they sail an E.-W. course to Sanlúcar. That is the most usual and secure route set and followed by the galleons and fleets, to go to the Indies and return to Spain.

#### CHAPTER II

In Which the World Is Stated To Be Round; Its Extent; and How, in the Countries Belonging to His Majesty, at Every Hour Mass Is Being Said.

7. In order to continue with greater clearness and precision in the description I am writing of the West Indies, New Spain and its other dependencies, and the southern provinces of Peru, as well as the tribes which settled this New World and their different languages, it will be advisable to discuss the whole world in passing, since in practically every part of it the valiant Spaniards have conquered with invincible courage innumerable provinces, kingdoms, and nations, winning them for the monarchs of Spain; in all of which the Holy Gospel has been preached with such success for the Church and the monarchy of Spain that (in contrast to the various nations and monarchies which have not permitted it, from the perfidious and hypocritical heretics of the North, and the Turks and the Persians, as far as Great Tartary and the Chinese, who have not known God or served Him in genuine divine worship) the very Catholic and puissant King of Spain has sheltered, extended, and upheld the Holy Catholic Faith through the great valor and effort of his Spanish vassals, in consequence of which at every hour without pause praise is continually offered to God and agreeable sacrifice made to Him; and thus His Divine Majesty will be served, that all may come to real knowledge of Him.

8. It is well known and agreed that the world is round, since the curve the sun makes over it from E. to W. indicates the fact, even if it had not been described and discussed by so many geographers, mathematicians, and other writers; and that the parts of it are like the whole, is evident; that is shown out on the high seas, where only water and sky are seen, and the sea forms a curved horizon, visible as far as sight can reach, and the same is seen when one travels on land over a plain. The earth is the center of this visible universe, which is fixed and fastened upon itself in accordance with the disposition of Divine Providence, as is indicated by the Equinoxes; it sustains and holds everything within itself; the sea, even though it is very great and deep, neither swings nor tilts one way or the other, nor covers the earth, being obedient to the command of God: "Thou hast set a bound that they may not pass over; that they turn not again to cover the earth."

**9.** In addition to this there are reckoned to be on earth five zones or bands: the two outermost very cold, consisting of the Arctic and

Antarctic polar regions, N. and S.; the two temperate, where the sun reaches the Tropics of Cancer and Capricorn, keeping them as its limits, without being able to go beyond them; and the median zone of the earth, which is the equinoctial and is called the Torrid Zone. Since these are so well known and obvious, as are the parts of the world included in them which are inhabited, I would say that from the Torrid Zone to either of the Poles, Arctic or Antarctic, there are 90 degrees, of  $17\frac{1}{2}$  leagues each; from one Pole to the other, 180 degrees; another 180 degrees from E. to W., measured in a straight line. Thus the universe contains 360 degrees, of  $17\frac{1}{2}$  leagues each, making on a great circle 6,300 leagues from one Pole to the other, and from E. to W.; as for the circumference, God alone can measure it, and not human understanding.

10. I asserted that in all the countries which His Majesty holds under his empire, continually, at every hour, and without pause, the Holy Sacrifice is being celebrated; that is certain of the Mass, considering the course of the sun and its retardation over the great distance which separates some countries from others; e.g., when it is midday in Spain, in the Indies, which are 2,000 leagues from Spain to the W., it is between 5 and 6 a.m., because there the sun rises above the horizon, on account of the remoteness, that length of time later than in Spain, which is to the E. with reference to the West Indies; and so it goes with the rest, according to the greater or lesser distance between one country and another. In fact, if one considers the countries in the Indies from Cartagena, which is at 10°N., to the city of Castro in the Kingdom of Chile, in the Chiloé Islands, which are at 43°S., there is a distance of over 1,400 leagues, in which there is a retardation of the sun in its rising and setting, not only with regard to our hemisphere but also to Cartagena for another fraction of time; so that with the Kingdom of Chile, which is on the same parallel with Spain but toward the other Pole, one has to consider that in a general way it is nearly at the antipodes of Spain, and that consequently when it is day in Spain, it is night down there.

11. And if we consider the distance from Chile to New Mexico, which is likewise in the latitude of Chile, but in the opposite direction, and the great distance from New Spain to the Philippine Islands—over 2,000 leagues of navigation to Manila, which is at 14°N.,—we have likewise to admit that in this vast expanse the sun has to suffer great retardation, with many hours of difference; then come the Moluccas, 400 leagues to the S., and India, which is 500 E.; so that if one makes the reckoning and computation in fine detail of the path traced successively by the sun in the countries held by His

Majesty, over those regions as a whole, day is unceasingly to be found, and in consequence agreeable sacrifice is always being made and offered to God in over 70,000 churches which exist in those countries.

12. Besides this, there exists, in the territories of His Majesty, a difference of entire days, within a short distance; the reason is that in sailing from E. to W., and from W. to E., one makes a complete circle of the globe; some arrive in India going E., others going W. reach the Philippines which are close to India and China, to Goa and Macao, which are some 80 or 100 leagues from the Philippines; and in that distance which is so slight, there is a whole day's difference, so that when it is Sunday in Macao, it is Saturday in Manila. The reason is that those sailing from W. to E. gain a day, for the sun keeps constantly rising earlier for them; whereas for those who sail from E. to W., the sun keeps rising later every day; so that the farther they keep traveling E. or W., the earlier or later day dawns on them.

13. And so when the Castilians have sailed from E. to W. via New Spain, and the Portuguese from W. to E., finishing the journey to Macao and the Philippines, which are not far from each other, those who have sailed from W. to E. have gained 12 hours, and those coming from W. to E. have lost 12 other hours, for the reason stated above; and thus at one and the same moment, though Macao is so near Manila, they find a difference of an entire day, that is 24 hours. And so when it is Sunday in Macao, in Manila it is Saturday, because those who have sailed to Macao have followed the rising sun, and so kept reckoning the day earlier, since the sun rose before them at an earlier hour; and thus on the contrary in the case of those sailing to the Philippines from E. to W., the sun has kept rising later. Thus the diversity of meridians causes a difference in the reckoning of days, and since those who sail E. or W. keep altering meridians without noticing it, and keep following the same reckoning they started with, it is perfectly certain that when they have made the entire circuit of the globe, they find themselves one whole day out, as we have said.

#### CHAPTER III

Of the World-Wide Flood and the Confusion of Tongues in the Building of the Tower of Babel.

14. When 1,056 years had passed since the creation of the earth, Noah was born, son of Lamech; and when Noah was 500 years old, God decided to put an end to the earth with a universal flood, on account of the serious and abominable sins of mankind; and in order that the holy Patriarch Noah and his sons might escape the Flood and the human race be preserved in them, He commanded him in the year 1556 to build the Ark, which took 100 years in the making; that same year of 1556 there was born to him his eldest son, Japhet, and 2 years later, Shem in 1558, and the third, Ham, in 1562.

15. On finishing the Ark in the hundredth year of its building, in the year 1656, at God's command the holy Patriarch Noah entered it with his three sons and his wives, making eight in all, in whom was preserved the human race; and together with them there entered all the animals and birds, as Holy Scripture records. In that same year 1656, after everything had been arranged as God had ordained and commanded the holy Patriarch, it rained 40 days and nights without stopping, and all the springs and fountains gushed forth water, which caused the world-wide Flood, in which perished and died not only men but animals and birds, only those escaping who had entered the Ark for reproduction and sacrifices. The waters lasted from the Flood (before it was possible to dwell on earth again) that whole year of 1656, during which the First Age closed; and the Second began in 1657.

16. After the Flood had passed and the waters had ceased and abated in the year 1657, Noah left the Ark with his sons, and in offering thanks to God he made sacrifice of clean animals and birds, and God being pleased with the sacrifice blessed them and said: "Increase and multiply and fill the earth, for I promise you and give my word that I shall never again drown you or your offspring"; as is stated in the 9th chapter of Genesis in the following words: "And God said: I will establish my covenant with you; neither shall all flesh be cut off any more by the waters of a flood; neither shall there any more be a flood to destroy the earth; and when I shall obscure the sky with clouds, my bow shall appear in the clouds, and I will remember my covenant, which I have established with you, and there shall never again be waters for the destruction of all flesh."

17. After the passing of the Flood, there began the Second Age, in the year 1657, which lasted till the year 1949, when Abraham was born—a period of 292 years. The sons of Noah scattered over various parts of the world. Japhet, the eldest, went with his seven sons and their descendants to Europe and settled it, and to Spain, and the northern part of Asia. Ham, the third son, went with his offspring in the direction of Africa and settled Bactria, Judaea, Arabia, Egypt, Ethiopia, and al! Guinea, and it appears that the curse which his father Noah laid upon him, reached especially all his descendants in those regions of Ethiopia and Guinea, not merely because they are mostly slaves, but in the dark color, a result of the curse going into effect—if it be not that the temperature and the climate have contributed. Shem, the second son, whom Holy Scripture calls Melchisedek, King of Salem, and Priest of the Most High God, went off with his family to the eastern part of Syria, and settled the banks of the River Euphrates and all that country; and there was born to him, 2 years after the Flood, which was 1659, Arphaxad his firstborn; and when Arphaxad was 35 years old, in 1694, Salah was born to him; and in 1724 when Salah was 30 years old, Eber was born to him, who was righteous, and prophesied the dispersion of tongues.

18. And when the sons and descendants of Noah had gone out, at the beginning of the Second Age, after the passing of the Flood, to the Orient, looking for land, taking as their chieftain Nimrod, who was vigorous and powerful beyond all others, the son of Cush, grandson of Ham and great-grandson of Noah, they found fertile and pleasant fields in the land of Shinar, where they settled. Considering the Flood over, and forgetting with scant loyalty the promise and the word which God had given them, they went into council and said: "Before we scatter over the countries of the world, let us celebrate our name and make it famous. Let us make ourselves a city and a tower, whose top may reach to Heaven (Gen. XI). Let us make a city and tower whose columns and turrets may reach and vie with Heaven, so that if there be another flood like the one past, those who are living may escape and save themselves in it and not perish, as happened in the past flood"; being ungrateful and forgetful of the promises God had made them; and so they began building and constructing in the year 1758, and continued the construction, making much progress, up to the year 1996. And when God considered the grave sins of mankind, the ingratitude and lack of faith they had had in His divine word and promise, and that they did not cease continuing the construction of their proud and lofty tower, peeping into the balconies and belvederes of Heaven, he said: "So come, let us go down and let us confound their language, so that each will fail to understand his neighbor's speech"; and so God scattered them from that spot over all lands, and they stopped building the city, and for that reason its name is called Babel, because there the speech of the whole world was confounded—i.e., "Since they have been ungrateful and faithless to the word I gave them, come on then, let us go down and let us confound their language there, so that they may not understand each other." And thus the Lord scattered them from that place over all the earth, and they stopped building the city; for which reason that spot was called Babel, because it was there that the natural and

holy language was confounded, which God had given our father Adam when he created him, and which had remained the sole language up to the year 1996, when he confounded it, 339 years after the passing of the Flood, when Abraham was 45 years old.

## CHAPTER IV

Continuing the Description of the Preceding Subject.

19. After the natural and holy language had been confounded through the ingratitude and sins of mankind, it remained with Eber, who was righteous, the great-grandson of Noah, who likewise assisted in the construction of Babylon and its tower, as many saints and learned doctors hold; and that is why it is called Hebrew, and they even assert further that if a child were brought up without hearing any language spoken, it would naturally speak Hebrew. Among the others who assisted in the building of the city and the tower, it was confounded into 72 principal languages, in such a way that they neither understood the original language nor one another. Thereupon the construction ceased and they scattered over all the countries of the world and the languages, as we see and recognize by experience all over the world.

20. After the passage of 1,704 years from the confounding of the original language into 72, in the year 3700, the King of Egypt, Ptolenny Philadelphus, sent a present to the High Priest Eleazar, brother of Simon the Just, whom he succeeded in the priesthood, and at the same time requested that Eleazar send him some of the most learned rabbis that he had, to translate the Holy Bible from Hebrew into Greek; and the High Priest Eleazar (not without mystic significance) chose from each of the Twelve Tribes, 6 of the most learned rabbis, thus making 72, to translate it; since if the original holy language had been confounded into 72 mother tongues, there should be 72 interpreters to clarify and interpret it, translating it into Greek. These are the 72 translators, who are so renowned; for if it was true that through men's ingratitude and sins the original language was confounded and obscured, nevertheless through the clarification of these translators, one comes to understand many of the mysteries which the Holy Bible contains within itself. All this was done at the request and cost of Ptolemy Philadelphus, which means "lover of sciences."

21. And since the confusion of tongues had gone on increasing over all the regions and provinces of the world, so that men were

living blind and savage in slavery to the Devil, who kept them deceived with countless varieties of sacrifices, unclean, loathsome and cruel, of human beings whom they offered to him; for the cure of such great evils and sins, Christ our Redeemer and Lord came to the world in the year 3967 after its creation, and 2179 after the confusion of tongues. Herewith the Seventh Age commenced, and at 30 years of age He began to preach; and in order that the Holy Gospel might be preached and might come to the notice and knowledge of all the nations which had split up and scattered over the earth with such confusion and diversity of tongues, in addition to the holy Apostles, He designated 72 other Disciples, as St. Luke states, chapter X: "The Lord appointed other seventy also, and sent them two and two, and said to them: The harvest truly is great, but the laborers few." If the original and holy language was confounded into 72, with which men scattered over the world and forgot God, sunk in their vices, sins, and idolatries, the Lord nevertheless appointed 72 disciples for their cure and in order to extricate them from the blindness in which they were living, and sent them out to preach two by two, saying to them: "The harvest is great, and the laborers few."

22. And in order that they might do this better, and preach His Divine Word among so many and such diverse nations with such different languages, He prepared and enriched them with gifts of tongues, so that all might understand them, as is told in chapter I of the Acts of the Apostles: "But ye shall receive the power of the Holy Ghost coming upon you, and ye shall be witnesses upon me in Jerusalem and in all Judaea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth." And in chapter II, he says: "They were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with various tongues, as the Spirit gave them what they should speak. They spoke in various languages of the wonderful works of God." And in chapter XIX he says: "When Paul had laid his hands upon them, the Holy Ghost came on them; and they spoke with tongues and prophesied."

**23.** By the prophet Joel, in chapter II, he had promised this: "I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh." And by Zephaniah, chapter III, he had promised them the same: "For I shall return and give to the people a choice language, that they may all call upon the name of the Lord and serve Him with one consent; from beyond the rivers of Ethiopia, even from there the suppliant sons of my dispersed and scattered children shall bring me gifts and presents."

## Chapter V

Discussing the Condition of the Countries Which Had Just Passed Through the Flood, and How They Split Apart, and How the First Settlers Crossed to the Indies.

24. These are very difficult matters to handle-how, when, and by what routes those tribes crossed to settle the New World of the Indies, and by what genealogy and lineage they could have issued and descended; for with regard to those colonies of New Spain and Peru and the other regions comprised in the New World, as large as the three of the Old World of Europe, Asia, and Africa, there was no word or trace until, in the year 1492, the renowned Don Cristóbal Colón (Christopher Columbus) made a beginning of his discoveries, and in so doing underwent great risks and excessive difficulties-the world's foremost achievement, for which it ought to be called Colonia, as is stated by the most learned D. Juan de Solórzano, most erudite Justice of the Supreme Council of the Indies, in "De Indiarum Jure," ff. 38-39, book I, chapter 4; in all of that he argues it should be called Colonia from Colón, and not America. And I do not know with what justification Americus Vespuccius usurped the name, poor mariner that he was, neither first in crossing to those regions, nor accomplishing anything sufficiently notable to have his name immortalized with the glory of such a discovery, since he was not the one who made it.

25. I would remark that there are several important authors who have written on this subject all that they could dig out and arrive at, without however reaching any conclusion approaching certainty, but rather leaving it more in doubt, as a consequence of the antiquity of its immemorial age and duration; for it was not known until courageous Christopher Columbus, with the support of the Catholic monarchs, discovered it, not without divine order and providence, in order that the Holy Gospel might be preached to those peoples, and that they might come to the knowledge of His most Holy Name, as He had promised through Zephaniah, chapter III: "For then I will give those peoples a choice language (which is the Gospel), that they may thus call upon the name of the Lord, and serve Him."

26. And since both in this as in all else I desire and aim at brevity and clearness, I will state as best I can formulate it with my limited talent, what seems evident to me and I understand, leaving to one side the views of previous authors, except as I choose those which seem to me most apposite. Accordingly I assume that the whole earth, both the New World and the Old (and well-known), either were all one or else at least communicated with each other. In the deep waters of the world-wide Flood, rising 15 cubits deep over the peaks of the highest and loftiest mountains, as is stated in chapter VII of Genesis, "all the highest mountains, that were under the whole heaven, were covered, and the water was 15 cubits deeper than they, over all the mountains it covered." After the passage of the Flood, the waters were gathered again to the seas, in which process the force of the waters expanded and made some slight division of the earth, and some narrow straits through the softest stretches, in the union of one large body of water with another; and there are even opinions that at the present day the land of the New World is connected with that of the Old, in a northerly region; but it has not been possible to verify this, on account of its great elevation and because that region is frozen and uninhabitable through its extreme degree of excessive cold.

27. We know and are well acquainted with the coast and mainland of Labrador, and 200 leagues farther N., up to the Río Nevado (Snowy River), and in that quarter it is some 40 leagues from the island of Greenland, and near Iceland; these are distant 50 leagues more from Finmark, a Scandinavian province of the Kingdom of Sweden, in the northernmost part of Europe. The Strait of Anián lies between Tartary and the northernmost territory of New Spain, beyond Quivira, and from Cape Mendocino it runs N. and S. from 56° to 68° 30′, and it is this strait which alone divides the New World from the Old; it is 6 leagues across, and it connects the one sea with the other, and divides the mainlands.

28. Cape St. Augustine and Cape Blanco are points of land, or promontories, lying between the great River Marañón and Brazil; they have opposite them to the E., Cape Verde, African territory, and they are distant from each other only 350 leagues; it may be that in the beginning these lands were closer together, shortly after the end of the Flood, so that there was easy communication between them, and that they became separated by the long passage of time and of centuries, both because water keeps continually eating away and hollowing out land, and likewise in consequence of great worldwide earthquakes which have occurred in various epochs. In the year 3165 after the Creation of the World, 802 before the birth of Christ our Lord, when Azariah was reigning in Judah, there was a great earthquake and convulsion, which almost broke up the bounds of the earth. And in the times of the Emperor Valentinian, 364 years after the birth of Christ, there was another tremendous universal earthquake, over all the world, which bent and broke up the bounds of the carth. So that not only long lapse of time, which changes and terminates everything; the currents which normally exist; the prolongation of the sea into some land areas—all these have penetrated into the land and eaten up much of it; but earthquakes have contributed their share to it by extending the sea and breaking up the land and cutting it apart, of which fact there are many examples which I have seen with my own eyes in the Indies, but for conciseness' sake I do not instance.

#### Chapter VI

Continuing the Subject, and How the First Settlers Crossed to the Indies.

29. The doubt which presents itself is whether the first settlers of that New World came there by sea or by land; if by sea, they must have gone and arrived there by one of two ways, either driven by some overpowering tempest which carried them there, as has happened frequently in various epochs, as related by various trustworthy authors, and in other cases in our own times. Pliny states in books 2, 6, and 69, that when Quintus Metellus was Proconsul of Gaul, the King of the Suevi consigned to him some Indians, who when sailing from India or China on business, had been carried by a driving storm to the German Ocean; and in the days of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, some Indians reached Lubeck in a dugout, carried by another storm. The Andalusian pilot who was trading among the Canary Islands and got carried off by another storm to the discovery of the Indies, by name Alonso Sánchez, a native of the city of Huelva in the County of Niebla, in the Archdiocese of Seville, about the year 1480, had such ill fortune that through his death, the result of the trials undergone in the storm and the exploration he carried out, he was unable to leave his name immortalized, but he left to the renowned Christopher Columbus for his kind hospitality the journals and notes which he had kept on the voyage, by virtue of which Columbus later made the great discovery of the Indies.

**30.** Bartholomew Carreño in another great storm caused by the evil spirits, not without divine permission, resisting them valiantly like another Job, came in one night from the Indies to Spain, and numerous others made long voyages. Hanno, a Carthaginian captain, sailed from Gibraltar and coasted the whole of Africa, as far as the extreme tip of Arabia; and Eudoxus fled in the opposite direction from the King of the Latiri, by the Red Sea and along the African coast up to Gibraltar; and there are many others mentioned by

ancient and modern writers, whom for brevity's sake I do not enumerate. The famous Andalusian Spaniard Seneca, a native of Cordova, recounts many shipwrecks in his tragedy "Medea"; so do Plato and others, as may be seen from their writings.

**31.** Or else the first voyages were deliberate, with a fleet or armada, to explore and settle that New World. How ancient long voyages were, with flotillas across the ocean, is evident from I Kings, chapter X, and II Chronicles, chapter IX, when Solomon sent his fleet with skilled pilots and seamen, vassals of King Hiram, for gold and other valuables which they brought from Ophir, or Tarshish; in such long voyages they took 3 years to go, stay, and return, sailing from the port Ezion-geber of Idumaea in the Red Sea, in the strait which it forms to empty into the ocean, which the pilots and seamen used to navigate the same way as our fleets do. And it is certain that Solomon, whom God enriched with the gift of wisdom and science combined, by which he came to know the virtues and properties of all herbs, stones, and other things, so that the virtues and properties of the lodestone could not be hidden from him, in order to send the fleets for the valuables of which Holy Scripture speaks, would teach those pilots and seamen the route and how they should follow it, for them to know how to make so long a voyage. This truth is confirmed by the Book of Wisdom, chapter XIV: "For Thou gavest a way in the sea and a most secure path between the waves"; and in the sea there can be neither path nor road, for one sees only sky and water there, without acquaintance with the particular virtue and property possessed by the lodestone, of looking to the N.

32. There are many other passages in Holy Writ which confirm this truth. The Chinese for their voyages used and took advantage of the lodestone from time immemorial, without having learned its use from Europeans, but learning from Solomon or his pilots. Later, the Hebrews must have forgotten its use and their acquaintance with it, what with their continual wars, trials, and captivities, and the fact that they made no voyages; that is not surprising, for many things are known and later people fail to use them and they then become forgotten and no longer known. So it is no cause for astonishment that in European countries people were unacquainted with this special virtue and property of the admirable lodestone, until Flavio, a native of Amalfi, a city in the Kingdom of Naples, devised the marine compass needle, some 300 years ago, as stated by Blondus and Maffeo Girardo; and the fact that up to the period just mentioned, such virtue was not recognized in the lodestone, does not invalidate its having been known and utilized in Solomon's day.

#### Chapter VII

Continuing the Preceding Subject, and How Those Peoples Crossed to Settle the Indies, and the Animals Living in Them.

**33.** If they went overland in search of new countries, it is certain that when the Flood had recently abated, the earth was more closely joined together and united, because the sea had not penetrated so far into it; and since in the neighborhood of the Poles the mainland of the New World borders so close on that of the Old (and well-known) World, there is no doubt that with the continued encroachment of the seas upon the land, and their currents in the straits, plus the world-wide earthquakes which have occurred over the earth, the seas themselves have expanded and penetrated deeper into the land, and in conjunction with the long passage of time, which alters everything, they have separated and split up the land.

**34.** This is considered certain, since with the passage of so many centuries and the events recorded in them, we know that toward the N. the country of Labrador runs to the Río Nevado (Snowy River), and keeps on farther, without our knowing where it ends or how far it extends, since it lies beneath the Pole; and in any event, as has been said, the territories of the New World are near neighbors to the known Old World, if indeed they are not really connected and united in that quarter. Over the Strait of Anián the mainland of Tartary is in sight of that of the New World, at the northernmost point of New Mexico and the Kingdom of Quivira, beyond Cape Mendocino; the Strait separates the two worlds by a distance of 6 leagues.

**35.** From Cape Blanco, or Cape St. Augustine, between the River Marañón and Brazil, it is no more than 350 leagues at present to Cape Verde, which is over E. on the African continent, where the River Niger (likewise called the Great River) empties by many mouths into the ocean. It is certain that in the beginning the two continents were not so far apart and the ocean had not eaten so far into them, expanding and penetrating into them, as for many centuries it has done for the reasons mentioned; that has been aided by the powerful currents of great rivers, putting out from land; and this does not contradict the statement of the Psalm: "Thou hast set a bound that they may not pass over; that they turn not again to cover the earth."

**36.** Near the Strait of Magellan is what is called Tierra del Fuego, which is still not well known or explored, and there are numerous other quarters where the mainland of the New World could have

communicated with that of the Old, or at least have lain so close as to afford passage not merely for the peoples who settled the New World, but the various kinds of animals which live in them—many of species well known in Europe and elsewhere, and others peculiar and unique in the world, like the Peruvian sheep, the guanacos, vicuñas, and tarugas. These sheep, or llamas, as the Indians call them, have no horns; they are the size of large deer, with long necks like camels, and they look like small camels. These sheep or llamas are of two kinds, some woolly, which they call pacos, and others smooth-skinned with little wool, which are the best for beasts of burden; they are of different colors, some white, some black; there are dark gray ones, and others streaked black and white, which the Indians call moromoro. Their wool is as good as that of merino sheep; the Indians make the cloth for their garments from it, and they derive great benefit from this animal, as is well known.

**37.** The guanacos are of the same species as the tame domesticated llamas, except that they are wild. The vicuñas are of the same figure and build, but slenderer; their wool is of a lustrous chestnut color, or that of lye-cured raisins, and finer than silk; their belly is white; they are very timid and swift-footed; they live in general up by the snow, for they have the cold and frozen upland as their headquarters. The tarugas are somewhat larger, and are also wild. All these animals grow bezoar stones in their stomachs, owing to the medicinal herbs which they crop and chew. These animals are only to be found in the Kingdom of Chile and the cold regions of Peru; they have not been seen in any other part of the world; ordinarily they breed and graze in frigid country; taken away from it, they die off.

**38.** With regard to these animals, my judgment is that when the Flood had only recently abated and the mainland of the one world was connected with the other, or at any rate so close that the sea had not yet severed them, they moved from one country to another, grazing along, and in what they call Tierra del Fuego, which still is not well explored or known, they passed into that New World in that quarter, and spread over the Kingdom of Chile and Peru; there alone have they persisted and multiplied, for only in that region are they to be found, and it is not known that they exist in any other part of the world; and in their case it is not necessary to assume a new creation, for we know from Holy Writ that of every kind of animal, God commanded that at the time of the Flood a pair should enter the Ark, for breeding, nor with them does one have to assume a new product, for they are perfect animals, not of the imperfect products

of the earth, like mice, frogs, and others of the sort, which are produced by the putrefaction of the earth.

39. Neither should we theorize and conclude that they crossed at the Strait of Anián, for if that were so, they would exist in that region, since it is generally cold up there on account of the high latitude where the Strait lies; and as in that country and Quivira the woolly humpbacked buffalo have bred and perpetuated themselves, which are likewise unique in the world, the llamas could have persisted there----if indeed it is not the case that the varying conditions and climates have accidentally differentiated them, as has been known to happen with some animals in taking them from one country to another; of this there are examples in La Guaira and Villarica, localities in the Diocese of Paraguay. The cows and bulls which are taken there grow hair that is thick and very long, and at the same time they lose their moo; still, that is not sufficient reason for considering that the Peruvian llamas and other species mentioned, must have been changed by accident, and were not bred from the beginning just such as they are today. If by chance they moved elsewhere, they perished and could not perpetuate their kind; and since they live only in the region mentioned, we have to assume as certain that they crossed over to it as has been stated.

**40.** And it is not astonishing that they are found only in these countries and not in others, since that is according to divine disposition and providence, just as elephants also are only to be found in one region, the East Indies, and not in others; the same is true of rhinoceroses, and in Africa with camels, and many other genera of animals which live in some regions and not in others, according as divine providence ordained and disposed, and according to their natural fitness for breeding and perpetuating their kind.

**41.** There are many other animals in the New World of the genera found in Europe and Africa, like lions, tigers, ounces, bears, stags, deer, wolves, foxes, wild pigs, and other families and genera of animals; both those of the countries referred to and others which live in those regions, very strange and peculiar. Of them all it is certain that after the Flood abated, they came by land, some in the quarter mentioned, others crossing from Tartary by the Strait of Anián, others by the northern route over that country of the Río Nevado and other regions, and then they moved on inland into the mainland, and thus they have increased and perpetuated themselves in those wide, extensive territories, each species of animal in the region it required for its increase and preservation, according to its nature. And in these regions referred to, passage by flight was available with greater

ease for the uncounted diversity of birds, large and small, which live in them—all disposed and ordained according as it appeared suitable to divine providence for their propagation and preservation.

## CHAPTER VIII

Discussing the Origin of the First Settlers of the Indies, and at What Epoch They Arrived There, and by What Route.

42. It seems bold, and even foolhardy, to venture into this wide gulf of conjectures about the antiquity of the first settlers in the Indies, to try and bring to light the point from which they started and came there, since we have no knowledge or compass or guide for tracing out certainty or truth in the matter; for up to the present time neither the saints nor ancient and modern authors on this subject, have written a word that is authoritative. To be sure, there are varying opinions on the part of those who have written about this. Genebrard, in book I of his "Chronology," states that they are descended from the Hebrews; the same is asserted by Father Maestro Malvenda in his "Antiquities," book III, chapter 18, and by Fray Gregorio García, Candidate for the Master's Degree, of the Dominican Order, in his book which he called "On the Origin of the Indians," and by many other saints and doctors. There are other opinions of various writers expounding other theories, for which one can see the reasons and arguments in the book on the origin of the Indians written by Father Fray Gregorio García; as they do not fit in with my purpose, I shall not recount them.

**43.** But, through having traveled, seen and considered not only the greater part of that New World of New Spain, Honduras and Nicaragua, and all the Kingdom of Peru, but also the members of the Indian tribes in general and in particular, their languages, social conditions, usages, ceremonies, rites, superstitions, and idolatries, about which I have made various conjectures and statements, I shall speak to the best of my ability and present my theory of their ancestry and where they came from.

44. And now that we have reached this point, I would say first that as soon as God our Lord had confounded the natural and holy language into those referred to in the building of the Tower of Babel, the Lord scattered them over all the countries of the world; and that the earth was then more closely connected and united, the New World with the Old, or nearer together, for the sea had not entered so far inland; and that Japhet, son of Noah, was the first to sail overseas when with his sons he colonized Europe and Spain. At the same time or somewhat later, in imitation of him, others could have sailed across that section of the S., for it is certain that then the mainlands were not so far apart one from the other, and in some quarters they would have lain so close and near at hand that people could have crossed on foot, colonizing step by step; and what rivers or small arms of the sea there may have been, they could have crossed in boats or rafts, according as necessity taught them.

45. Or, since the confusion in the building of the Tower of Babel was in Gabaea near the banks of the Nile, they could from there have gone and settled over all that part of Africa to the Kingdom of Cape Verde, and from there by a short voyage pass over to the region of Brazil and Cape St. Augustine, since the distance even today from the one country to the other is only 350 leagues, and in this way they could have continued settling over all that country and the Spanish Main of the New Kingdom of Granada, thus colonizing these and various other parts of the New World just as the Old World had been peopled.

46. Then I would state, besides what has been mentioned, that by virtue of certain hints and conjectures which would point out the least dubious course, and certain passages of Holy Writ which appear to indicate it, the first colonizers of the Indies sprang from the best nationality existing at that time in the world, namely, the Ten Tribes of Israel, when King Shalmaneser drove them out and transplanted them to territories which were uninhabited, as will be told in due course; and in especial, the Tribe of Issachar, as seems to be established from Genesis, chapter XLIX, when, after having conferred his blessing upon his sons, the holy Patriarch Jacob, being at the point of death, prophesied to them what was to take place and happen to them and their descendants. After having conferred his blessing on the older sons, to wit, Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah, he conferred it upon Issachar, and it seems that the entire prophecy and the characteristics which the holy Patriarch foretold in it for his son Issachar, have been inherited and kept in toto by the Indians.

47. The words of the prophecy are as follows: "Issachar, a strong ass, crouching between boundaries, saw rest, that it was good, and the land, that it was excellent; and he bowed his shoulder to bear, and became a servant unto tribute."

**48.** He called him a strong ass because, just as donkeys bear their load, and often blows as well, without turning against those who load and abuse them, the Indians likewise resemble strong donkeys in carrying heavy burdens many leagues, and it is astounding and disconcerting that carrying these heavy burdens, they can travel

farther than Spaniards can without any, as I have seen and noted during the time that I was in those Kingdoms of Peru, New Spain, Honduras, and Nicaragua, and in most cases they are treated harshly and are belabored and kicked and beaten, without turning against those who maltreat them, as I have noticed and remarked all the time I was in those kingdoms, and though they are so far apart, one from the other, the character of the Indians runs in the same mold.

## CHAPTER IX

Continuing the Description of the Same Subject, and the Interpretation of the Prophecy with Respect to the Qualities and Characteristics of the Indians.

**49.** He that sits down within the boundaries, i.e., the Indies, because the most thickly populated part of them lies within the Tropics, which is the central part of the globe, and the limits and boundaries are those which God set for the sun, those which it should reach in its natural course to bring light to the earth and the other benefits which it causes for the welfare of living creatures and plants, without being able to pass beyond the boundaries mentioned.

50. He saw rest that it was good, and the land excellent, and for that reason be settled down in it; for it is the best in the world in fruitfulness and charm, with even and uniform temperature. The whole year through, one sows and reaps; the trees are always covered with leaves and flowers and loaded with fruit; the plains, valleys, and woods are full of pastures for cattle, and among the herbs are many with remarkable virtues. In the rivers and streams of sweet and crystal-clear water, there are various kinds of delicious fish; its wealth in gold, silver, and other metals is well known; there is abundance of pearls and precious stones; and there are in the Indies bezoar stones, cordials, aromatic gums, balsam and other drugs and valuables, so that they lack for nothing, and so he settled there, since it was rest for him, and very good. The days are of the same length as the nights, for that country lies between the Tropics, and it does not have the excessive variations of temperature we experience in Europe, with our hot summers and cold winters; and since the land is good, with the advantages and characteristics referred to, the Indians do not like to leave it and they have no desire to wander in search of new territories, as do we and other nationalities.

**51.** And just as the ass put his shoulder to the burden, since they have always carried on their shoulders their burdens and products, both in the days of their heathendom and since the Spanish conquest,

and there have been great abuses in this matter, the Supreme Council of the Indies, with sainted zeal, passed regulations to remedy them; and although there was some improvement, they are carrying the burdens (not to stultify the prophecy of the holy Patriarch). In the days of their heathendom they were always tribute payers, and that the prophecy may hold in every respect, they keep paying tribute, though Christians. So that all the peculiarities and characteristics mentioned are possessed by the Indians, without a single one missing, and thus it appears quite certain that the Indians come from the Ten Tribes, and in particular, from that of Issachar, since they have the qualities mentioned; in addition, their temperament, customs, rites, ceremonies, superstitions, and idolatries are those of the Hebrews.

52. This truth or statement is supported by the words of Esdras, book IV, chapter XIII, which are to the following effect: For you saw thus gathered together another peaceful multitude; those are the Ten Tribes which were led captive in the days of King Hoshea (as is related in II Kings, chapters XVII and XVIII) by Shalmaneser, King of the Assyrians, uprooting and transplanting them from Samaria to other countries, uninhabited and remote, and he took them over to the other side of the river, and they were transferred to another country; and they, seeing they were deprived of their natural home, entered into council to abandon communication with the Gentiles, and departed from there to another distant region, where the human race had never dwelt, to see if there they could keep the law and customs of their ancestors, which they had not kept in their own country. They made their way into some narrow passages of the River Euphrates, where the Most High performed miracles, holding back the current of the river till they had crossed (as He did in the Red Sea when that same people of Israel went out of Egypt, fleeing from the tyranny of Pharaoh and his Egyptians), for their journey through that region was a very long one, of a year and a half. That region is called Arsareth, and they lived there until a very late period. And so, since this exile and emigration of the Ten Tribes took place about 3,228 years after the Creation, the date when Shalmaneser took Samaria, and 774 years after the Flight out of Egypt, which occurred in 2454, i.e., 739 B.C., by this calculation it would appear that from the settlement of the Indies by the Ten Tribes to the present year, 1630, there have elapsed 2,369 years.

**53.** After crossing the River Euphrates they were able to go on and they kept traveling slowly across Great Tartary, some stopping in the cities of the Medes, and others in the course of so long a journey among the Tartars and other peoples through whom they passed;

and from them they picked up their languages and their idolatries, both those who stayed there and those who kept on to settle in the New World; for although they had resolved on reform, they went from bad to worse, blind in their evil deeds and idolatries, without remembering their Creator or worrying over their sins, as is stated in Ecclesiasticus, chapter XLVIII: For all their sins and idolatries, the people felt no regret, nor did they abandon them, till they were driven out of their country and scattered over the whole earth, few having stayed behind; for although the priests and the Levites of the Ten Tribes, and those who were good and faithful, went over to the Tribe of Judah, which was the noblest and most faithful, the rest of the Ten Tribes, who were wicked and idolatrous, were scattered and spread over all the countries of the earth.

**54.** And so the greater part of them kept traveling slowly across Great Tartary and other nations, God allowing and ordaining it thus for His own righteous judgments, in this extended journey of a year and a half, as stated by Esdras, until they arrived at Mongul; and from there they crossed the Strait of Anián, and went on and colonized the countries of New Spain, beginning at the northernmost part of it, until with their wars and their search for land they had colonized all of it.

55. Esdras says that at the close of this extended journey they colonized and lived in that region which is called Arsareth. That very learned author Genebrard, in book I of his "Chronology," states that Arsareth is the extreme point of Great Tartary, or Scythia; that it is a cape or promontory which is the boundary or landmark dividing the Old World from the New, above the Strait of Anián, and near which they crossed from that country to New Spain. So they could have gone by that route, or by India and China, since there, in the region of Cathay, the people inhabiting that country keep the Old Testament and the Law of Moses, although with many superstitions besides. This is a full and sufficient proof that members of the Ten Tribes passed through there, and settled there, since that is clear from their observation of the Law; and from there they could easily cross the strait or channel which lies between China and the Kingdom of Anián, as may be seen on the globes or maps. And from the Kingdom of Anián they went on exploring and colonizing those countries of the New World never before seen or settled by human beings.

#### CHAPTER X

Continuing the Description of the Origin and Ancestry of the First Settlers in the Indies.

56. Besides what has been stated, there is another basis for the proof of the descent of the Indians; for Ophir, son of Joktan and grandson of Eber, colonized the Oriental ocean seaboard, and his sons and descendants went over and colonized the lands of the Indies, as is told by Genebrard in book I of his "Chronology," Árias Montano in volume 7, book Phalcus, chapter 9, and other important authorities; they traveled via India and China until they crossed at the Channel or Strait of Anián; for at that point one is in sight of the northern territory of the New World, up beyond the Kingdom of Quivira; and from there they proceeded slowly colonizing, in the year 2024 after the Creation, 367 after the passing of the Flood, 430 before the Flight of the Sons of Israel out of Egypt, and 1943 B.C. It may be that since that year of 2024 just mentioned was the date when Abraham left Haran for Canaan, at the age of 75, on account of the widespread dearth and famine which was abroad in the world, the sons and descendants of Ophir also may have left for that same reason, fleeing from the famine in search of new lands, and by the route indicated they reached the Indies and settled there, so that up to the present year of 1630, the Indies will have been inhabited 3,573 years.

57. Or else the sons and descendants of Ophir, forced by this universal dearth and famine caused by the crop failure all over the world at that time, and having been brought up on the ocean coast and thus losing fear of it, and having learned in many cases the art of navigation from Noah and his sons, who were still living, and thus becoming great mariners, they went on shipboard and sailed to the W.; there they arrived at the territories of the New World, in Brazil, the Río de la Plata and other regions, and kept colonizing them and intercommunicating back and forth. And as the universal Flood had only recently abated and they still had it fresh in their memories, from having heard about it from their elders and in particular from Shem, who with his father Noah and his brothers had escaped alive in the Ark; and when they crossed to colonize the Indies, Shem was alive and it was only 17 years since Noah's death, and so, as it was only a short time since the Flood had abated, when they went and colonized the Indies they had it so clearly in memory that they have kept it in tradition, passed down from one to another, up to the present day, for the Indians remember and know about it, through the tradition of their ancestors, although with the long lapse of time

and the lack of writing, they have intermingled with the truth various superstitious falsehoods, with which they have darkened the light of truth, although they had some inkling and glimmering of it, as is related by Father Acosta, book VI, chapter XIX, and the Inca Garcilaso in book I of his "Commentaries," chapter VIII, and other writers.

58. Or another possibility: 3,235 years after the Creation and 7 after King Shalmaneser had captured Samaria and expelled the Ten Tribes from it to distant lands, Sennacherib came down upon Jerusalem and had encircled it when in one single night the Angel slew 185,000 men of his army, as is stated in II Kings, chapter XVIII, in the days of the sainted King Hezekiah. On that occasion there came to the relief of Jerusalem and Egypt, Tirhakah, King of Ethiopia, against Sennacherib, and he favored the Jews, who were afflicted by unceasing war with the neighboring kings; for although the Hebrews had been very powerful, and feared by all the surrounding nations from the year 2891 on, when David began his reign, a great warrior and favored by God-that was the time when the Tyrians founded Cadiz-until he died in 2931 and his son, the peaceloving and all-wise Solomon, reigned till he died in 2071; after that date, on account of the abominable sins of commission, of ingratitude, and of idolatry on the part of the Hebrews and their kings for the period of 264 years which elapsed from Solomon's death till 3235, when Sennacherib came down upon Jerusalem, and for a long subsequent period, they were war-ridden, exiled, and carried off captive. On that occasion many of the Hebrews fleeing from danger went off with King Tirhakah to Ethiopia, and others went across Egypt to the Kingdom of Nubia, which lies in inner Africa beside the Nile, by the sources of the River Niger (called the Great River), which runs from E. to W. through the Kingdoms of Zafará, Gangará, Sabá, Mandinga, and others, and flows into the ocean in the Kingdom of Cape Verde through many mouths, opposite Cape St. Augustine and Cape Blanco. At that period they could have worked down through those kingdoms and, with only a short voyage in their search for new lands, crossed over in the direction of Brazil and the River Marañón, and proceeded to colonize and inhabit those countries.

**59.** Besides the foregoing considerations, it would appear that the Indians are derived not merely from the tribes which we have mentioned as crossing at various times to colonize the New World, but from others also, following different routes and courses; some were carried over by storms, others made voyages deliberately in search of new territory, which they landed on and settled. Thus

various writers affirm that the Carthaginians, who were great sailors, and skillful, discovered the island of Hispaniola and colonized that and the other Windward Islands and part of the Spanish Main. Others might have come from the direction of Sweden (the so-called Scandinavia) and other northern nations of Europe, to settle the country of Labrador and all those northern regions, and with the passage of time they could have worked inland and peopled that region. Likewise there may have crossed over from Africa those of that district, and the Tartars and Chinese intermingled and confederated with the members of the Ten Tribes and of other nationalities in the course of the voyages and the migrations already referred to. For with the great diversity and variety of languages, laws, customs, rites, ceremonies, superstitions, and idolatries found among the Indians, it is clear that they borrowed and learned them from different peoples, and in fact, from everywhere-if indeed it is not true (as I consider more likely) that the Father of Lies, who kept them deceived and blinded, himself taught them this abundance of ceremonies, superstitions, idolatries, and revolting human sacrifices, with which he had them worship him, holding these blind heathen tribes under his tyranny until God our Saviour with His divine providence and mercy sent them the light of His blessed Gospel, to bring them out of that blind darkness in which those poor heathen were cowed by the tyranny of the Devil. And so, although I think that from all the regions and peoples mentioned there may have been immigration at various epochs for the settlement of that New World, the most reasonable theory seems to be that they are descended from the Ten Tribes, as is indicated by many of the customs, rites, and ceremonies which the Hebrews used to observe and the Indians observe today, as will be related in the following chapters and is made clear in the prophecy of the blessed Patriarch Jacob which has been already explained.

## CHAPTER XI

How the Indians Are Similar in Every Respect to the Hebrews, from Whom They Are Derived.

**60.** The Indians are very much like the Jews and similar to them in all respects, both in physique and temperament and in other characteristics, such as their customs, rites, ceremonies, superstitions, and idolatries, although we would not base this statement on what is asserted by some inquisitive commentators, that sufficient (or at least suitable) reason is to be found in the similarity of their names, both being written with the same letters except merely the u of the first syllable; if you change it to n, you will say Indio (Indian) instead of Iudio (Judio, Jew), as is clear from the letters and the names; but while that is not a sufficient argument, it does at least weigh in favor of our opinion. It is no slight evidence in favor of our thesis that when they conquered the provinces where at present the city of Antioquía has been founded, in the New Kingdom of Granada, the local king (or cacique) was named Isac and his wife Iudit (Judith).

61. Nor is there much weight in the argument that Ophir is the same as Peru, as maintained by our most learned Spanish writer Arias Montano in volume VII, book Phalcus, chapter IX: for although his opinion is of very great authority, and should have the respect due to so important and learned a scholar, in the discussion of a matter so remote from us, we should put more faith in experience and the observation of our own eyes, than in the opinions of scholars who have neither seen nor experienced. Furthermore, the name Peru, although there are rivers of that name in that region, e.g., near the Equator, as described by the writers on Peru, and the river of San Miguel de Piura, was quite rare in that kingdom, and the Indians did not know it or recognize it. Calling all that extensive kingdom "Peru" dates from after its discovery and conquest by the Spaniards, and not before; in my judgment, and I hold this opinion as assured, it was in that locality of Piura, an insignificant spot, that they built and set up the first altar on which was offered a sacrifice pleasing to God, and that was the original beginning of it; and as sign of occupation commemorating the introduction of the light of the blessed Gospel and the driving out of the obscurity and darkness of heathendom, in which the enemy of the human race held them in deceit and bondage, God desired to honor the city of Piura, where He had been offered the first sacrifice, even though in buildings poor and humble; and so all that rich and far-flung empire was named after it from that time on. And so little weight is to be given to the explanation offered by the learned Árias Montano, that Ophir is Peru-Peruaim or Paruaim.

**62.** Nor is our thesis invalidated by the statements of the Very Rev. Fr. M. Malvenda, "De Antichristo," book III, chapter XVI, (and De Marineo, "De Rebus Hispanicis," book XIX, chapter XVI), that in the Spanish Main, where Fray Juan de Quevedo, of the Order of St. Francis, was Bishop, some miners, dismantling a gold mine, found a coin with the image and name of Augustus Caesar, which came into the possession of Don Juan Rufo, Archbishop of Cosenza; and since that was such a remarkable and extraordinary

circumstance, he sent the coin to the Pope—a fact tending to prove that the Romans came over at that time to explore and colonize the Indies.

63. The great majority of the Indians kept, followed, and observed the customs, rites, and ceremonies of the Hebrews; accordingly in all the provinces of those countries they had priests and diviners consecrated to the worship of their false gods and to the service of the temples, and these priests were conscientious observers of their vain and false religion. In New Spain there was a High Priest and various lesser priests, who were anointed with a certain liquid like balsam or liquidambar, mixed with the blood of children whom they circumcised. These false priests wore their hair long like the Nazarenes, and in almost everything they copied the priests of the Old Law; just as they offered animals in sacrifice, so the Indians offered them also; and just as the Hebrews of the Ten Tribes sacrificed children (as is clear from II Kings, chapter XVII, and many other passages of Holy Writ, which I omit citing in order to avoid prolixity), so the Indians, descendants of the Ten Tribes, sacrificed them also. Besides this, misled and instigated by the Devil, they offered cruel human sacrifices, as is described in all the histories of the Indies, and as is well known to us all who have traveled there.

64. God commanded Abraham (as is affirmed in chapter XVII of Genesis) that boys 8 days old should be circumcised; the same custom is followed by most of the Indians of New Spain, Yucatan, Cozumel, and other regions, and the Guaicurús of Paraguay: the Moors also are circumcised, since that miscreant Mohammed took over the custom from the Hebrews. Consequently the Indians must have adopted it from the Hebrews, from whom they are sprung.

65. God commanded Moses (Leviticus, chapter VI) that there should always be a fire burning before the altar, without fail; the same rite was observed by the Mexican Indians and other tribes in New Spain, and by the Peruvian Indians in the temples of the Sun, and other shrines (guacas). Other laws, rites, and ceremonies from Leviticus, Deuteronomy, and the Decalogue, observed by the Hebrews, were found among the Indians, which for brevity's sake I omit.

## Chapter XII

How the Indians Resembled the Hebrews in Their Burial Usages, and in Other Matters.

66. The Hebrews were accustomed to have their burial places in the fields and on the hillsides outside their towns, and buried their dead with part of the riches which they possessed. Aaron (as is stated in chapter XX of Numbers) was buried on Mount Hor, Joshua on Mount Ephraim, and in like manner all the others. King David, who died in the year 2931 after the Creation, 477 after the children of Israel left Egypt, and 1036 B.C., was laid in his sepulchre on the mount by his son Solomon with great wealth of gold, jewels, and precious stones of inestimable value; these were utilized by Duke and High Priest Hyrcanus, son of Simon Maccabeus, in the year of the Creation 3835, 904 years after the death of blessed King David; since he was in great need, as is told by Josephus in his "Antiquities," he took from the tomb 3,000 talents of gold to finance the war against his enemies and to meet other needs; and even Herod, inflamed and made covetous by the report of the riches existing in the tomb of the sainted Prophet King, attempted the same exploit, being miraculously frightened away and threatened by an angel. The blessed King David died 1,036 years before the birth of Christ our Lord, and with all the passage of time since his death, his tomb was still standing, as St. Peter states in chapter II of the Acts of the Apostles, "his sepulchre is with us unto this day"; and St. Jerome says that it lasted till the time of the Emperor Hadrian, who began reigning in A.D. 117; at which time he says that through its great age, it collapsed.

67. Zosimus says that in the days of the Emperor Honorius there was discovered the body of the blessed Prophet Jeremiah, and at his feet a child with a crown and shoes of gold, and robes of inestimable value. And the tomb of Christ our Lord stood outside the city in the plain beside Mount Calvary, as is stated by St. Paul in Hebrews, chapter XIII, and the blessed Evangelists. So that it was a very common practice among the Hebrews to have their tombs in the open country and to bury their dead there with most of their valuables and precious jewels.

**68.** The same custom was observed by the Indians over all the Indies, doubtless learned from the Hebrews from whom they are descended; both in New Spain and in the New Kingdom of Granada they buried their dead with all their wealth of gold and precious stones, and at the same time, by inspiration of the Devil, they buried, along with the bodies of the chiefs, their most beloved wives, and other persons, to keep them company, as is fully described by all writers on the Indies.

**69.** On the plains of Peru they built sumptuous guacas or tombs, on which they centered all their happiness and their solicitude, planning to be buried in them with all their riches, etc., as is recounted by the historians; and at the present day one can see the ruins of

these superb constructions, and from many of them the Spaniards have derived great riches; in one case, in the valley of Trujillo in Peru, the so-called Shrine of the Sun, huge and uncouth, they told me when I was in that kingdom that merely the 20 percent tax accruing to His Majesty amounted to 85,000 pesos. Others were rifled at Chimocapac, near Trujillo, and in many other sections of that kingdom, and much wealth has been taken out of them; and I have seen many vagabonds hunting for guacas in their eagerness for the wealth stored up in them; those of Cuzco were very famous. Furthermore, throughout the whole Peruvian Sierra the open country is full of tombs shaped like turrets, which even today are full of skulls and bodies of those heathen, dried up and mummified by the uniform climate and thin air; I myself have seen both, and this fact will be attested by all who have traveled in those kingdoms. So this custom of the Indians was learned and inherited from the Hebrews from whom they are descended; and the same practice is also observed by the Moors, who, like the Indians, bury some of their wealth, with meat and drink for the journey; their false prophet Mohammed adopted all this from the Hebrews.

70. In addition to the foregoing, one finds among the Indians over that wide territory many Hebrew words, with the same pronunciation and meaning as among the Hebrews. In New Spain, in the Province of Zapotitlán called of the Suchitepéquez, 36 leagues from Guatemala, the Indians designate a language which is intelligible by vinac, which is pronounced like the Hebrew word meaning intelligence. There are many other similar cases in those provinces, while in those of Peru some of the wives of the Inca kings were named Anna, which is a Hebrew name and means gracious; and the wife of King Pachacuti Yupangui was named Anna Huacha Cuyac, gracious lover of the poor. The tribe of the Puruaes near Riobamba, and the Indians of Otavaló and other provinces of the district of Quito, say abbá for father, which is a Syriac word adopted by the Hebrews through having lived long among the Syrians. There are countless other Hebrew words which I do not mention, to avoid diffuseness. which indicate with certainty the origin of the Indians from the Ten Tribes.

71. And it is not surprising or disconcerting that the Indians, being so remote and isolated in the New World from any commerce and intercourse with the Hebrews, should have grown forgetful and lost the observance of the Law and divine worship, the use of letters and the other good habits which their ancestors had learned from their education and good doctrine. Since all that was lacking in those

distant and remote regions, they became remiss in all that is good (not without God's permission) and went from bad to worse, forgetful of their Creator; the long passage of time aided in this, and it was no new thing for them to be ungrateful and idolatrous; even when God was showing them mercy and working miracles to their benefit, taking them out of Egypt from the tyranny of Pharaoh and his Egyptians, on whom he inflicted chastisements and plagues for the benefit of the Hebrews, and when He made a way for them to pass through the Red Sea, and other countless mercies which He showed them, as is told in the books of Exodus, Leviticus, Deuteronomy, and elsewhere-even then they showed boundless ingratitude, they committed sins, abominations, and idolatries; and yet, besides the favors they received, they had prophets who lectured and upbraided them, threatening them with the punishments which came upon them when they were conquered, crushed, and taken captive by foreign kings. That being the case with those who possessed preachers and prophets, the ones who crossed to the Indies without them forgot and lost what good they knew and were left with what was bad in their harvest, abandoning themselves to idolatry and other abominations. Furthermore, they are by nature impassive, sly, apprehensive, shrewd, untruthful, formalistic, and superstitious, so that in everything, traits of character as well, they resemble the Hebrews, and most copy them in their dress-a cloak and shirt-which is that of Judges, chapter XIV, the tunic and shirt which Samson offered on a wager; and to prove complete similarity, they wear for shoes a kind of sandals which they call ojotas; which confirms all the more my thesis, that the Indians are derived from the Hebrews. And since there is a countless diversity of Indian languages in both kingdoms, exceeding 50,000, since they have become confused one with another, and new languages of special import have been invented and adopted, I shall say something about them in the following chapters.

## CHAPTER XIII

Of the Confusion and Diversity of Languages Existing in the Indies.

**72.** The members of the Ten Tribes, passing through various nations (on their expedition to the Indies), had of necessity to learn their languages in order to converse with them and so mixed their vocabulary, as is seen and recognized in many languages all over the world. The very learned Bishop of Ávila, otherwise known as El Tostado, in commenting on Genesis, chapter XI, paragraph 2, states

that after the confusion of tongues, the original holy language was called Hebrew, since it had been preserved by Eber; and later on it did not persist in all the children of Israel, but only in those in direct descent, like Peleg and Reu, and not in all the sons of Abraham, but only in Isaac, and after Isaac, not in Esau but only in Jacob, and from Jacob to the Ten Tribes descended from his sons. At that time the Hebrew language was complete and perfect, which it is not today, for only the words which are written in the Law have come down unchanged, and not the rest; for since the sons of Jacob and their descendants who were born in Egypt, lived among the Egyptians and other nationalities, they adopted many of their words and kept mixing them in with their own, which led to the introduction and invention of various different languages.

73. In the same way in Spain, since at different times so many diverse nationalities have governed there, the original natural language was corrupted and disappeared, so that at present it is not what it was in the beginning, for in our Castilian speech we have words from the Gothic, the Latin, the Romance, the Arabic, etc., in consequence of their rule over Spain; this is so generally and widely known that I discuss it no further, to avoid diffuseness. In addition, the diversity of the nationalities which entered Spain at different epochs, occasioned a diversity of tongues, e.g., Basque, Valencian, Catalan, Portuguese, Galician, and others still different, mutually unintelligible, which is remarkably surprising in so tiny a corner of the world as Spain. Our Castilian language of today differs greatly from that spoken a century ago, in that we have adopted and use currently many words from other nations with which we have intercourse, so that Spanish serves very generally as a means of intercommunication all over the world among different nations which have dealings with each other.

74. The same thing happened in the Indies with the first settlers there, members of the Ten Tribes; they lost their language, or at least adulterated it with words imported from the various nationalities through whom they passed; the invention of man helped in this, and alongside it, the tricks and schemes of the Devil, to cause greater confusion and keep them from mutual understanding, and thus hold them in blindness and deceit; and in the course of time the confusion increased so materially with this diversity of tongues over so widespread and extensive a territory, that their number surpasses 50,000. And to give some comprehension of them, I will cite some selected words of some of them, with their meanings, and tell in what provinces and kingdoms they belong.

**75.** By divine permission and righteous judgment of God, the Devil kept those blind tribes deceitfully in slavery under his tyrannical sway; and with their multitude of different languages, they lived like savages and barbarians for long centuries, worshiping idols, without God, law, or reason. They worshiped mountains, cliffs, trees, rivers, animals, serpents, and other objects as unreasonable and barbarous; they lived like beasts of the field, not to be distinguished from unreasoning brutes, staying out in the open like wild animals, without houses or cultivation of the fields, until in the year 1030 there arose in the Kingdoms of Peru one of those savages whom Heaven had endowed with unusual intelligence, Mango Capac by name, from whom are descended the Incas, the kings who conquered and governed that empire.

76. This Mango Capac founded the city of Cuzco at the date mentioned, capital and imperial court of those kingdoms; deceiving those savages with his claim to be child of the Sun, by the shrewdness of his character, the friendliness of his bearing, and the excellence of his reasoning, he won over those wild creatures to a better manner of life, rescuing them from their animal existence in the fields and on the hills. He taught them how to build houses, how to plant and cultivate their land, and how to lead a different life more in harmony with reason and the law of Nature; he continued to bring them under allegiance to him, increasing his authority every day and winning over new adherents; at the same time he taught his own language to those whom he annexed. This was continued by his sons and successors for the period of over 500 years of their reign and administration of that far-flung monarchy; all the provinces and nations which they conquered formed a bloc of over 1,300 leagues from N. to S., beginning with Pasto, which lies on the northern frontier, down as far as the Río de Maule on the S., in the Kingdom of Chile, which they adopted as a boundary on that side, and the Kingdom of Tucumán on the E, to a point over 400 leagues from Cuzco; they kept introducing their language into all those nations, to make themselves understood to the Indians living in them. For as they kept winning them over and subduing them, they commanded and ordained that the sons of the ruling class and of the caciques should come to Cuzco and grow up in the imperial court, both for the purpose of using them as hostages to hold the conquered territory securely under their sway, and to have them learn the language of the court and its laws, rites, and customs. In this way they introduced over those widespread realms the lingua franca of the Incas, the language called Quichua, although they had other special mother tongues, as will be stated in the following chapter.

## Chapter XIV

Some Notes with Regard to the Quichua, Aymará, and Other Languages of Those Kingdoms of the Districts of Peru, Chile, the New Kingdom of Granada, and the Río de la Plata.

77. Seeing that in the preceding chapters I have discussed the confusion of tongues in the Tower of Babel (caused by the ingratitude and sins of mankind) and the origin of the first settlers in the Indies, and that after this first confusion of tongues there followed numerous others, which kept increasing, as we have seen and learned by experience, especially in the regions of the New World, I shall now set down some of the most important and frequently occurring words, with an explanation of their meaning as clear and concise as I can make it.

**78.** The Quichua language of Peru is the most widely spoken in those kingdoms; introduced by the Inca kings, as has been described, it is very polished and sententious. They count as we do up to 10, as follows: 1, su; 2, iscai; 3, quinça; 4, tagua; 5, pixca; 6, socta; 7, canches; 8, pacalcó; 9, ixcon; 10, chunga, or chunca, for in this language there is no g, or letter so pronounced. What is your name? imasuticanci? where are you from? imallacta canqui? may the Son of God keep you, churi Dios huacaichassunqui; are you a baptized Christian? Christiano bautizacachucanqui? who baptized you, where, and how? pim baptizassurcanqui, muipim, y mahinam?

**79.** And I would remark that, in order to express certain features of Christian doctrine, they make use of our words after their fashion, for they had no conception of them; e.g., for crossing one's self: In the sign of the Holy Cross, set us free from our enemies, O Lord our God. In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost: Amen, Jesus—Santa Cruz pa unancharaicú, aucaicú cunamanta, quispi chihuaicú Dios apuicu. Yayap Churi, Spiritu sanctopsutimpi, Amen Iesus. The word for man is runa; father, yaya; son, churi; mother, mama; sun, inti; moon, quiclla; Devil, supai; cori, the stars; camayu is a generic term, like workman in our language; e.g., to express shepherd, they say michí camayu; porter, puncu camayu, and so on in all other occupations and callings. These notes on the lingua franca (Lengua General) of Peru must suffice if I am to say something about the other languages.

and important in that kingdom, it is spoken in many provinces, over an area of more than 400 leagues. In this language, when they make the sign of the cross, they say: Sancta cruzana unancha pa laicu, aucana cahata nanaca quispijta, nanacana Dios apuha. Padre auqui na, Hijo yocansa, Espiritu santo, Spiritu sanctonsa sutipana, Amen Iesus. Have you offended anyone by word or deed? quisti haque aromampi, lurana mampisa cacsichiritati? have you done justice in that in which you had authority? cuna hucha tari pasina checati tari pirita, justicia luriritati? The numerals are: 1, maya; 2, paya; 3, quima; and so on up to 10, like Quichua. To express: to draw out a weapon, they say: escama. This is also a polished language.

**81.** The language of the Kingdom of Chile has numerals after our model: 1, quine; 2, epo; 3, quila; 4, meli; 5, quechu; 6, cayu; 7, rerga; 8, ailla; 9, pura; 10, mari; 200, epomari, mari mari mil. What is your name? inepingueine? give me something to eat, mangache; give me some water, quipalcó; give me some light, quipalquetal; give me some meat, quipalsoó—and so on with many other words.

82. The Guaraní, who live on the banks of the great Río de la Plata and extend up into Brazil over other great provinces, say for what is your name? maera erera? where do you come from? maèra de retamé? give me some water, eruhí; give me some milk, erucambú hues; give me some wine, erucambi; give me some bread, eru embuyapé. Their system of counting goes up to 3, and not beyond; 1, peteilan; 2, mocoí; 3, emboapug—and then immediately, to express indefinite numbers, cobaerapicha.

**83.** The principal language spoken by the Indians of the New Kingdom of Granada (although there are numberless other native tongues) is the Muxca; e.g., Give me some bread, fun socó; give me some water, xic socó; give me some wood, xa zocó; give me some light, juta socó; give me some meat, chica socó. They call the Spaniard Iuc, which means Lord; the Indian, Muzca; the Negro, Xiu mugú; birds, chichagui; hen, caina; where were you? equacaná? come here, sompcá; adios, nacó; I have not, na puesa; wait, sabó.

**84.** In that same New Kingdom, in the district of Antioquía, the Indians of the province in which is established the city of Cáceres, speak the Nutabé language. They call the Spaniard, Ai (and they apply the same name to the Devil); old woman, guacú; old man, tobé; lightning, urichiquisi; come here, noretó; go away, netó; water, ni; light, quia; he is well, guare mé; I am well, si guarero; bread, amiquiá; night, tebuna; morning, machiquí; very early, macasa; I am leaving for my home country, sine manascua; I am weak or ill,

fi apacudi; kettle, ur; glass or jar, tatasi; hen, otocaró; egg, tanâ; come quick, necumurtu; come on the run, necu murtiqui; the moon, Eua; star, papa; salt, nacú; pepper, napa.

85. In the province where the city of Antioquía is established, the Indians talk Catía, e.g.: light, quira; water, nira; give me, be; give me some water, nira be; one's own wife, amajú. These notes on the languages mentioned refer to the Indians in those districts specified, belonging to the Secretariat of Peru, where there are countless languages, beyond all power of human understanding to count and describe them; such is the confusion caused by the enemy of the human race among these peoples, to keep them in bondage to his idolatries; and although God said through Isaiah: "Because ye have refused or rejected my word, ye shall have everlasting destruction," and although these words have reference to the Jews, who not merely did not receive it, but were aggressors in the death of Christ, for which act although earlier in the written Law they had been the leading nationality in the world and the people chosen of God, through the death of Christ and through not having accepted His Divine Word, there have been fulfilled in them the words spoken by the mouth of Isaiah and consequently they remain the lowest and vilest people in the world, as is evident-nevertheless this does not apply to the Indians descended from the Jews, since they lived in countries so remote and widely separated as the Indies, for which reason they were neither aggressors nor accessories in the death of Christ; and when the light of His Divine Word reached their territories, at once they admitted it and embraced it. And so, in view of what had preceded, we must consider them as one of the noblest peoples in the world, even though they were previously idolaters.

## Chapter XV

Of Some Words in the Mexican Language and in Others of New Spain and the Spanish Main Falling within the Secretariat of New Spain.

86. The valiant Mexicans, after having ended the long journey they had undertaken from Nauatlán, on recognizing the indications given them by their false god Vizilipuztli for their settlement, in the year 1202 founded their city in the midst of reeds and cattails; and since they saw themselves intimidated and surrounded on every side by powerful enemies, for their better defense against them and for the expansion of their new city, they resolved to choose a king to govern them in times of peace and defend them in war. So they chose as their first king a grandson of the King of Culhuacán, son of a Mexican prince; and once they had kings, they managed so well that in a short time they emerged from their previous low estate and overcame and subdued all their enemies, and made themselves so powerful that their monarchy endured for 319 years, up to the year 1521, when the valiant and most Christian Don Fernando Cortés, Marqués del Valle, took Mexico and conquered many kingdoms and provinces, aided by Heaven, so that the Holy Gospel might be preached in them as we see it preached in so many kingdoms and provinces.

87. I would state further that during this period of 319 years, the duration of the Mexican monarchy, while the kings of Mexico kept conquering and taking over into their empire the kingdoms, provinces, and nationalities which they subdued, like the Incas of Peru they introduced the Mexican language, ordaining and prescribing that all should learn it. For this reason the sons of the lords and chieftains flocked to their court, and thus the Mexican language spread over that vast area more than 800 leagues in length, up to the extreme limits of the Provinces of Honduras and Nicaragua in that direction, and over all New Spain. This is a lingua franca spoken over all the kingdom, although in each province and tribe, and even in each village, they speak their own special mother tongue; but the Mexican language is so rich and polished that it ranks among the best which are known in those parts.

**88.** Their numerals run like ours, as follows: 1, ce; 2, ome; 3, yei; 4, nague; 5, maccuile; 6, chicuassen; 7, chicome; 8, chiquei; 9, chinague; 10, matlacte, and from there on the numbers increase like ours; what is your name? tlemotoca? find something to eat, xictemo tacuale; where do you come from? campatiguala? adios, Dios me chichagua; bring some bread, xicualica tlascuale, and other graceful phrases, in which the language is very rich, but I omit further mention in order to say something about the others.

**89.** In the Archdiocese of Mexico, slopes of the Sierra de Mestitlán as far as the Sierra de Huaxteca, there is the Tepegua Indian language, e.g.: you confessed last year, in chó alazalaguananta inoachitinano; we have confessed, alazalaguananta; you have accomplished your penance, inchó macaguata penitencia; priest, impayagá. In the Otomí language, which is almost a lingua franca, they say: where are you from? apaningó? give me some water, inde hé; hat, puuchi; dish, manzá; frogs' eyes, acuxcuahí.

**90.** In the Diocese of Guatemala, passing along the King's Highway for 280 leagues from Mexico City, from one town to another, there are 335 distinct native dialects, although the Mexican language

is spoken in every province. In the Mame language, spoken by the tribe living near Verapaz next the Lacandones, they say: may God keep you, Dios quique lente man; how are you? van petiguis? how are you? van petete? Their numerals run as follows: I, jun; 2, cabe; 3, ojé; 4, caxí; 5, oé; they count no higher than that.

91. The Aché language, spoken by the Indians of Guatemala, has: may God keep you, Dios cachagenta; may He go with you, gueta; how are you? uspesala aguache? I am well, usjala; bring some bread, tipe guai; bring some eggs, tipe sac moló; bring some water, tipe yá; where are you from? aguehoc? They count as follows: I, jun; 2, cai; 3, ojí; 4, caxí; 5, oó; 6, guacaqui; 7, jucu; 8, guaxcaqui; 9, velché; Io, lajú, and from there on like us.

92. The Pipil language, on the Guatemalan coast in the Provinces of Isquuintepeque and Guazacapán, has: mother, nagué; it is ordered, pasultiquî; mouth, itencú; I will cut you in half, tineque nimis tacujuta; I don't want to, intenicnequi; the face, yayán; the tongue, ichel. In the same district of Guatemala: bring something to eat, chacan chulotiguic; salt, asan, and this word is general in all these languages. The Cachiquel language has: bring a hen, tipejun act; bring some bread, tipelec; bring some water, tipeha; bring some wood, tipesi. In addition to the above, there are countless other languages among these tribes, so that it is impossible to try to describe them or reduce them to order; the preceding will have to suffice, in order to say something about other languages spoken on the Spanish Main, in the following chapter.

## CHAPTER XVI

Of Various Other Languages Spoken on the Spanish Main, in the Dioceses of Caracas and of Puerto Rico, Belonging to the Secretariat of New Spain.

**93.** Besides what has been stated in the foregoing chapters for the comprehension of the confusion existing among those blind and heathen nations, with the diversity of such different languages as they spoke—a device of the Devil to keep them in subjection and enslavement to his tyrannical sway, until God in His divine mercy was moved to rescue them from it and to cause the light of His Holy Gospel to shine upon them—I shall make some brief notes regarding the type of the languages and dialects they spoke.

94. The Caraca language has: what is your name? atiyeseti? where are you going, Indian? asauter itoto? companion, emiaro; friend, guanter; I am very fond of you, apunesasa; give me some light,

gapoto onque; give me some water, tuna onque; give me some bread, arepa onque; thus they always set the verb first. Their numerals run as follows: 1, toi; 2, asaque; 3, asergau; 4, ispe; 5, petpe; 6, asergauesne; 7, petpesne; 8, ispesne; 9, emiateméré; 10, asaqueemi, or apona, meaning both hands; to express 20, they say ispe emiapona, meaning four times my hands; let's go, maicomó; master, iesem; and thus this language continues.

**95.** The Indian tribe of the island of Trinidad, Nepuya by name, and those of the Province of Guiana, speak practically the same language, e.g.: I tell you, amuere; give me something to eat, chareyerepare; wait, tamacare; there isn't any, ipura mana; you lie, acayaremate; I am telling the truth, quanene; I am dying of hunger, coropiase; make haste, yomeyomese; I am doing my best, tamacareseapone; light, guapot. The Aruaca tribe, which lives round about the mouths of the Orinoco, has: quick! jurace; come here, vacuna; cassava or bread, cale; to the house, vadahabó; to the road, cayure; to the light, iquigî; to the sky, casacomuín; to the wind, aguadule; to the water, guine; to the thunder, curacale. Their numerals run as follows: I, abarúa; 2, viama; 3, viauite; 4, cabuin; 5, abadacabo; their reckoning does not go beyond 5; to express 10, they say viamadacabo, i.e., the two numerals 2 and 5, and they follow this system for higher numerals.

**96.** The Carib tribe Garina who live at the mouths of the River Orinoco, have: kill, sipocá; give me something to eat, yareyare aguachemé; I already understand you, tó; I am glad you understood me, tare tó; come here, paguanaretó; I am a friend of Christians, apapurató; companion, pabonare; light, guato; to the knife, maria; to the house, aute.

**97.** The Guayanes, Nepuyos, Guayqueries, Cumanagotos have guapot for light; the Chaguanes and Tibitibes, fe. The Ajaguas have: wait, mata; to the water, une. There are countless other tribes as far as the Marañón and inland, living as savages in blind heathendom, and speaking more than 50,000 different languages; those mentioned above are of tribes which have been Christianized and brought to the knowledge of our faith. This brief sketch must suffice as an account of the confusion of tongues at the Tower of Babel, the origin and descent of the Indians, and the languages just described with an explanation of words and meanings; thus the reader will have a bit of everything for his entertainment; now we must undertake the description of the Indies, beginning with the island of Hispaniola, largest of the Windward Islands, the first one conquered and colo-

nized and the home of the first Christians in the Indies; for it was from there, as from their mother, that they went out and conquered all the others and preached the Holy Gospel in them. It appears therefore that it was the City of Refuge of all the explorers and missionaries of that New World, and so I shall begin with a description of Hispaniola as both the womb and the religious center of the Indies, so as to continue with greater clearness and sharpness of outline in the following book.

#### Book II

Of the District of the Circuit Court of the Island of Hispaniola (Española), in Which Is Given a Description of That Island and the Others, Together with All the Provinces within Its Jurisdiction; the Characteristics of Its Territories and Their Products; the Rites and Customs of the Indians; the Spanish Cities and Towns Established in Them; the Governorships and Other Offices to Which His Majesty Appoints in Them, as also the Religious Establishments and Other Matters Worthy of Record; All This Is Described in the Books of This Part I.

## CHAPTER I

Of the Island of Hispaniola, Its Size and Characteristics, and When It Was Discovered by Christopher Columbus.

**98.** The island of Hispaniola, which the Indians called Haití, meaning rugged country, and which they also called Quisqueya, meaning large country, was discovered by Christopher Columbus in the year 1492, on Thursday, October 11. He called it Española, and it has kept this name to the present day. From E. to W. it is 150 leagues long; its breadth from N. to S. varies from 40 to 60 leagues; and its circuit is over 400, as is stated in the admirable description of Sr. D. Juan de Solórzano in his "De Indiarum Jure," folio 64, book I, chapter VI, No. 10. At the time of its discovery it contained 1,800,000 Indians, not counting old people, women, and children; they were the first Christians in the Indies; today there is not one Indian in all the island; it was a just judgment of God. As for the manner in which they were consumed and wasted away, it is described in Gómara, folio 47, and other historians.

**99.** The climate of this island is warm and damp; it is summer all the time; the days and nights are of equal length, since it is within the Tropics; it is fertile and rich in produce. The regular or everyday bread eaten on the island is cassava, made of a root called yucca, like rutabagas. To make the bread or cassava, they grate the yucca and squeeze out its juice, which is deadly poison, although when cooked it is the chief food of the Indies. From the grated yucca they make cakes as large as small shields, light in color and texture; it is the everyday bread of this island and the others and of

many other sections in the hot country of the Spanish Main. There used to be also an abundance of Indian corn, which is the wheat of the Indies; they made their wine for drinking from yucca and from Indian corn, and the Indians do so today, as well as from other fruits and roots of which there is abundance on the island. As for wheat and other Spanish products, they neither existed here nor do they grow, for the soil is too rich, although up in the sierras and other temperate parts of the island they would grow well. They have wild grapes in quantity, though they did not know how to make wine from them.

100. They have most of the kinds of fruit that grow in the Indies, such as various sorts of plantains (bananas), which are a great help for every occasion and need, since they ripen the whole year round; mammees, which are like large quinces, but with the coloring and flavor of peaches; the pineapple is a delicious fruit, growing on plants like thistles; the alligator pear (aguacate) is a very delicious fruit; there are various sorts of guavas, wild and cultivated, which look like pears; there are also coco-plums and other kinds of fruit, of which we shall describe the characteristics and the appearance in due season.

101. Over all the island there is abundance of game—wild pigeons and ringdoves, turtledoves of several species, guinea hens, pheasants, paujies, turkeys, and other game birds. In the rivers there is abundance of delicious fish of various sorts. They have tough and valuable timber, both for shipbuilding and for other uses, and numerous kinds of fruits, roots, and herbs of great efficacy in all sorts of diseases; they gather quantities of excellent cassia.

102. The island contains mines very rich in gold of the highest grade, like those of Cibao, and others, from which in early days great wealth was derived; the same is true of the rivers, in which, among numerous valuable nuggets, an Indian woman came upon one which weighed 3,300 castellanos, as is related by Gómara, folio 45. There are mines of silver, copper, cobalt (azul; lapis lazuli?) and other minerals, but for lack of labor the mines are not exploited nor the rivers used for washing ore, as was done at the start when there were natives. Consequently through depopulation no benefit is derived from all this wealth; indeed, the mountain ranges of this island are paved with minerals and veins of gold, silver, and other metals.

#### CHAPTER II

Of the City of Santo Domingo and the Circuit Court Located There, and Its District.

103. The city of Santo Domingo is the principal one on the island of Hispaniola, and the whole island is named after it. It is the first and the oldest of all the Indies. It was founded by Bartolomé Colón, brother of Christopher Columbus, Permanent Admiral of the Indies. He called the city Santo Domingo because he founded it on Sunday, feast day of the glorious Patriarch St. Dominick, and his father's name was Domingo also, as is stated by Gómara, folio 48. With this city there began the preaching of the Gospel over all that New World. It was founded in the year 1494, 2 years after the discovery of the island, on the banks of the Río Ozama, at 19° N. Afterward Commander Nicholas de Ovando, when he came to the island as Governor in 1502, moved the site to where the city now stands, on the banks of the same Río Ozama at a sightly spot. It has a famous harbor, for the river is deep, so that vessels, no matter how large, can tie up alongside or with bow to the shore, and nothing more than a gangway is needed to get on or off. After the discovery of the island and the establishment of Santo Domingo, the first fleets or small armadas which sailed from Seville with merchandise. Columbus having died, were under the charge of Gen. Pedro de Cifontes, a noble aristocrat of Seville. After making a number of voyages, he died in Santo Domingo and is buried there; and for his services the Emperor graciously bestowed upon Hernando de Cifontes, his son, the post of Paymaster of Santa Marta; and it was from there that he went as Captain in his career to Peru, against the usurper Francisco Hernández Jirón, as will be told in due season.

104. The city counts 600 Spanish residents, among them many noblemen and people of distinction, with numerous merchants and traders, since the city and harbor are frequented by ships from Spain and other parts of the Indies, coming with merchandise in exchange for the products of the country, abundant as a result of its fertility. Quantities of sugar are produced in the numerous sugar mills over the island; they grow ginger, tobacco, balsam, cassia, brazilwood, guaiacum, and other valuable products. They have countless stock ranches, and every year the ships leave loaded with livestock as well as with hides and other exports; they could ship much more if boats were sent for them, and the country would be better off for it. There are in the island for the stock ranches and work on the other plantations, over 4,000 slaves belonging to the residents of Santo Domingo; there are many free mulattoes.

105. The Admiral Christopher Columbus was Governor of the island till the year 1499. Francisco de Bobadilla followed him as Governor, and in consequence of charges made against him, sent him in chains to Spain. Bobadilla governed 3 years; in 1502 he was succeeded by Commander Nicholas de Ovando, who governed the country in most Christian fashion for 7 years, up to 1509, and moved the city to where it now stands, as has been said. He was followed as Governor by the Admiral of the Indies, Don Diego Colón, son of Christopher Columbus, who governed for 7 years, till 1516; then as a result of charges brought against him, he went to Spain, and in his place the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo, Don Fray Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros, ruler of Spain after the death of King Don Fernando the Catholic and in the absence of the Emperor Charles V his grandson, sent over as Governors Fray Luís de Figueroa, Prior of La Mejorada; Fray Alonso de Santo Domingo, Prior of San Juan de Ortega; and Fray Bernardino Manzanedo, all Hieronymites. They governed the island some 3 years, and after their arrival there was established a Circuit Court (Audiencia) in the city of Santo Domingo; this was the first in the Indies. The first Justices were Marcelo de Villalobos, who founded the city of the island of Margarita; Juan Ortiz de Matienzo; Lucas Vázquez, who went to Cuba and Vera Cruz to keep Diego Velázquez and Panfilo de Narváez from interfering with Fernando Cortés in the great exploring expedition he was conducting; and Cristóbal Lebrón; later, the President of the Chancery was Don Sebastián Ramírez de Fuenleal, who held the same post in Mexico.

106. The Court has a President, 4 Justices, an Attorney (Fiscal), Secretaries and the other officials needed for its wide jurisdiction; from E. to W., it covers over 550 leagues, and over 300 N. and S.; it comprises 8 State Governments (Gobiernos), I Alcaldía Mayor, I Archdiocese, 3 Dioceses and 2 Abbacies, plus over 100 other islands included in the district. The State Governments are those of Puerto Rico, Santiago de Cuba and Havana, Florida, Venezuela, Cumaná, Margarita, Guiana, and that of the island of Jamaica, which is under the Duke of Veragua. The Alcaldía Mayor is that of the Tierra Adentro (Inland), plus part of the State of Santa Marta, since the whole valley of the Río de la Hacha belongs to it. The Prelacies are the Archdiocese of Santo Domingo, the Dioceses of Puerto Rico, Cuba, and Caracas, with the Abbacies of Jamaica and Guiana. This covers the jurisdiction of the Circuit Court. In addition, His Majesty appoints in this district 15 Royal Officials; of these, 2 are the Paymaster (Contador) and the Treasurer of this city of Santo Domingo; the others are the Paymasters and Treasurers of Puerto Rico, Havana, Florida, Venezuela, Cumaná, and Margarita, and the Treasurer of Río de la Hacha.

#### CHAPTER IV (!)

Continuing the Description of the City of Santo Domingo and the Court District on the Ecclesiastical Side, and of the Cities and Towns Established on This Island.

107. This city of Santo Domingo has a garrison of 200 Spaniards, with a fort, on whose platforms (and in another small fort) there are 40 pieces of artillery for the protection and defense of the harbor and the city, which contains, besides the residents and the soldiers, a great number of Negro and mulatto servants; and inland on the island, engaged in the care of the livestock and in service on the plantations, in the sugar mills, and in handling produce, there are over 4,000 Negroes and mulattoes, both free and slaves, dependent on residents of the city. The latter has a broad and noble situation; the whole fabric of its architecture is substantial and sightly. Its church is the Archiepiscopal Metropolitan Cathedral, Primate of the Indies, mother of all those existing in them; it was from here that they set forth on all their conquests and discoveries; it was the station from which the Gospel was preached and spread over all those remote and far-flung territories of New Spain and Peru, with all their dependencies; from which, by the goodness of God, so many savage and heathen nations have been converted and have come to the knowledge of His Most Holy Name. There are Dominican, Franciscan, and Mercedarian convents; two very strict nunneries; a hospital for the indigent sick; a college of university type, where they lecture and teach the sciences to the young men of the country; and other churches and pilgrimage shrines.

**108.** In the early days of discovery, the island, with its great size and fertility, was thickly settled with cities and towns with Spanish residents. Those that are left today are: the village of Tucui, 18 leagues from Santo Domingo; Concepción de la Vega, 25 leagues out, where there came to light that most precious relic of the Indies, a most holy cross; the city of Santiago de los Caballeros, 30 leagues from Santo Domingo, and built on the banks of the River Yaque; here resides an Alcalde Mayor, entitled "Of the Inland," and appointed by His Majesty in consultation with his Royal Council. 109. The town of San Antonio de Monte de Plata is 10 leagues away, and the town of Higüey is 30; this is the home of Our Lady of High Grace (Alta Gracia), Patroness of the island; Our Lady of Holy Waters (Aguas Santas) is 10 leagues away. The other localities existing on the northern coast of the island were abandoned under the presidency of Don Antonio Osorio, as a consequence of raids by enemies and for other reasons which made it seem desirable.

110. The city of Santo Domingo should be very wealthy and important, and the whole island with it, thanks to the richness of its soil and its animal and vegetable products, and also to the excellent harbor it possesses, visited by many ships from Spain bringing in varied merchandise and exporting local products; but since it is so deserted and abandoned, without the defense of a navy to protect its coasts, all the ships arriving loaded with merchandise, run serious risks from enemy freebooters, lying in wait in their inlets or pirate rendezvous to plunder them when they start up the Saona; this has happened to numerous ships that they have plundered, leaving the residents of Santo Domingo, business men and shipowners, impoverished and ruined, since there is no protection and the ships arrive defenseless.

111. This happened, e.g., in the year 1626 to Captains Juan de Paternina and Juan Vázquez; they had served His Majesty for many years; in the previous year, 1625, Capt. Juan Vázquez had fought with two Dutch vessels and routed them, and had sunk a Turkish galleon with 280 Turks; in this year 1626 the ship Candelaria left port, belonging to Capt. Domingo de Zúñiga, with Pedro Enríquez de Almeida and Gil López de Almeida, merchant, who owned a share in the ship Capitana, which was of more than 900 tons burthen; Almeida was chosen General, and the Candelaria, Admiral's vessel, with Capt. Juan de Paternina as Master, and accompanying him, Capt. Juan Vázquez and Francisco Vázquez his brother. In the Saona on Good Friday morning they were attacked by three Dutch Navy vessels, which began firing on our ships; Pedro Enríquez' Capitana let go a broadside from its nine cannon on the enemy, and immediately spread sail and fled. It is said by those who were present that the reason was protests from the Portuguese Gil López, and Andrés Sánchez his brother-in-law who was acting as Master, and another Portuguese Diego Méndez, and the pilot Francisco Rodríguez; the sailors did not want to hoist sail but wanted to aid their companions; however, the cowardly sentiments of the ship's staff prevailed, and they turned tail, with great inhumanity and cowardice, abandoning their Admiral vessel, saying that theirs was

not a King's ship, and was under no obligation to fight. So they left the flagship surrounded by foes; her men defended themselves with great courage against the enemy until a ball killed Captain Paternina, Master of the vessel.

112. Thereupon Capt. Juan Vázquez went about stimulating the men who were left and doing great damage to the enemy, though receiving more at their hands, for they had her surrounded on every side; but they sent one enemy ship to the bottom and put a cannon shot into another at the water line, so that she had to drop out and go to pumping. At this point Capt. Juan Vázquez received a musket shot in the kidneys; although the wound was mortal, he tied it up with a towel and kept on fighting and spurring on the few who remained, until at midnight he died without witnessing defeat, having had the ship run up on some rocks so that the enemy should get no benefit from her or her cargo. As for his brother who was fighting in emulation with him, a ball took off his arm, and another lost both legs, both dying in the way just described, as well as many others whom I forbear mentioning lest I stir up grief, nor do I speak of the wounded; all this was due to the flight of the flagship, and heed should be given, in the designation of men to posts at sea, to the question whether they are worthy of them, since the enemy admitted that if the Capitana had made up to them together with the flagship, they would not have dared to fight, since the flagship, a smaller vessel, had done them so much damage and killed many of their men.

113. The lack of a naval force for this island cost these poor fellows their lives and their property; every day the ships leaving there run the risk of being boldly plundered and scuttled like the *Candelaria*. This would be obviated by the authorization of the naval force which Don Luís Garabito de Aguilar, resident of Santo Domingo, proposes to raise with the funds he offers; not merely would this put an end to the losses, but the enemy freebooters would flee and stop their piracy.

## Chapter V (!)

Of the Island of Puerto Rico, and the City Established There, Capital of That Diocese.

114. The first country in the Indies settled by Spaniards, which lies nearest Spain, and the Guadelupe Islands, is the island of San Juan de Puerto Rico, which the Indians call Boriquén. It lies NW. of the islands mentioned, at 18° N.; it is about 50 leagues long and

20 across. Its climate is warm and healthful. It was discovered by that first matchless Admiral and Perpetual Viceroy Christopher Columbus, who gave His Majesty so many kingdoms, and Heaven so many souls; thanks to his courage, the Holy Gospel has been preached over all those far-flung territories. He discovered Puerto Rico on the second voyage which he made.

115. In the year 1509 there arrived to take possession of it, Juan Ponce de León, a nobleman of Seville, with orders and authority from Commander Nicholas de Ovando, Governor of Hispaniola; he was actuated by news of the wealth of gold, silver, and other valuables to be found on the island. He brought along in his company Capt. Juan Montes, who aided him in subduing the island and founding the city of Puerto Rico, and then settled there, the Commander making him a grant of Indians, inherited by his daughter Elvira de Montes, who married Juan de Torres, likewise a pioneer settler of the island and city. He was succeeded by his son Juan de Torres Montes, who rose through his courage to be Captain and served in many campaigns in the district of Panama, and on other occasions against the Negro Cimarrons (fugitives) and the freebooters; he was Captain General of the city and port of Nombre de Diós, serving always at his own expense, until, after undergoing many trials, he came to the city of Seville and retired; he left his home and property there to his son, Don Juan de Torres Montes. There were in the island when he took it over, more than 600,000 Indians, not counting women and children; of all that number at the present day only the memory remains. He started subduing the island, and for the better attainment of his ambition, he established and colonized on the N. coast, where there is a famous harbor, safe and deep, in the following year 1510, a city which he called San Juan, from the name of his saint's day, and he added the surname Rico (Noble) for the excellence of its harbor; so both island and city keep the name of San Juan de Puerto Rico. It lies at a distance of 90 leagues from the city of Santo Domingo, seat of the Circuit Court; the two islands are from 15 to 20 leagues apart.

116. When Commander Juan Ponce de León began his conquest of the island and his settlement of the city, he collected a large amount of gold, of which there is abundance on the island, and other valuables which the Indians gathered and brought in to him; of the quantity existing in the mines it possesses, and in the rivers, none is extracted by mining or panning today, for lack of labor. The land is fertile and bears abundantly, the climate being favorable; there are high mountains, good tough timber for shipbuilding, and great abundance of guaiacum, called palo santo, since it is highly medicinal and of value for the French pox and other maladies; it has other valuable kinds of wood, common to the Windward Islands.

117. This island contains the above-mentioned city of San Juan de Puerto Rico, which will count 300 Spanish residents; there is in it a Cathedral with Bishop and Prebendaries who serve it and reside there; a Dominican convent and shrines of St. Anne; La Concepción is a hospital where the indigent sick are cared for, and for the soldiers there is the Hospital of San Nicolás. Outside the city stand the shrines of San Sebastián and Santa Bárbara, where one goes to watch the ships come in and enjoy the fresh breeze which usually prevails in that spot which overlooks the ocean and where the ships fire a salute before entering the harbor, beside the sea; under the fortress lies the shrine of Santa Catalina.

118. His Majesty, in consultation with the Supreme Council of the Indies, appoints a Governor in this island and city for its proper administration, with title of Captain General. It possesses an excellent fort in the Morro, at the harbor entrance, with 60 pieces of artillery, mostly of bronze. There are in this fort 300 Spanish soldiers as a garrison, plus artillerymen, and two companies with their captains, provided by His Majesty; and there are two more of natives of the city and the island, whose captains are appointed by the Governor. Furthermore three other Spanish settlements have been established on the coast, viz, Arecibo and Guadianilla on the E. side of the island, and Coamo on the W., in all of which there are likewise Negroes and free mulattoes, of much importance for the stock ranches and other farming establishments.

119. The chief foodstuffs of this island are Indian corn and cassava, which is their ordinary bread, made from yucca, which is a bush or small shrub. It grows on poles or stakes, and has leaves like hemp; its fruit buds and grows off the root, like potatoes or turnips; when it is ripe, they gather and grate it; then they squeeze out the juice, which is deadly poison, and from the grated flesh they make large white tender cakes, which when baked form the bread generally eaten on this island and the other Windward Isles and in other hot countries of the Indies, where they grow it with abundant returns; in soup it makes an excellent food.

**120.** On this island there are large cattle ranches and breeding establishments, and they get quantities of hides, which are exported to Spain. They have good horses, the best ginger that comes to Spain from the Indies, and some tobacco. This island possesses excellent sugar mills and plantations, in which and the cattle ranches and other

farms, the natives having died out, there are Negroes and free mulattoes to the number of 2,000, held by the residents of the city and the island for the working of these plantations. Furthermore there are large herds of swine, both on the farms and wild on the hills, on which there is also excellent hunting for game birds like guinea hens, pheasants, wild pigeons, doves, etc.

121. The Diocese of Puerto Rico has very wide jurisdiction, comprising four State Governments to which His Majesty appoints, in consultation with the Supreme Council of the Indies—three of them with the title of Captain General, viz, Puerto Rico just described, Cumaná and Guiana, which only became an ecclesiastical province in 1629 and has no ecclesiastical head as yet; and Margarita, which is over 150 leagues of dangerous sea voyage from Puerto Rico, with obvious risk of freebooters' attacks also. He appoints another in the city of Cumaná on the Spanish Main, 12 leagues from the island of Margarita and its provinces; and another in the city of Santo Tomé and Province of Guiana and island of Trinidad, which is over 250 leagues from Puerto Rico; Guiana lies over 100 leagues from Margarita, and the island of Trinidad comes in between—all this with great risk at sea and from pirates, if the Bishop is to make his official visits and confirmations, as the true pastor and prelate is bound to do.

## CHAPTER VI (!)

Of the Island of Margarita, in the District of the Diocese of Puerto Rico; Its Description, and Other Matters.

122. The island of Margarita lies in 12°30' N. It is 15 leagues long from E. to W., and 7 across from N. to S. It has the mainland to the S., 8 leagues distant; in between lie the islands of Goche and Cubagua, from which has come great wealth in pearls. The soil on the island is dry and covered with thorns, thistles, and spiny bushes, but when it is cultivated the crops bear admirably and in profusion; in fact, a fanega of corn bears 300- or 400-fold.

123. The city of La Margarita is established on the highest point of the island, in its eastern section, 2 leagues from the coast. Its winter climate is like that of Spain; at the other end of the island, to the W., where Macánao is situated, at a distance of 14 leagues from the city, the winter is like that of the mainland, very different and quite the opposite of that of the capital. This latter was founded by Licentiate Marcelo de Villalobos in the year 1525; it will have some 250 Spanish residents, not counting Negroes, mulattoes, and other servants. There are in it a very fine parish church, Dominican and Franciscan convents, a hospital for the treatment of the indigent sick, and a shrine of the glorious martyr Santa Lucía. This city used to be very wealthy, thanks to the pearl fisheries; hence it has Officials of the Royal Exchequer; but nowadays it is poverty-stricken, for the pearls have given out-a punishment which God in His mercy has inflicted on the inhabitants of this country for their ingratitude and lack of faith, in that most of the oyster beds have been exhausted and have died out; they have recognized and appreciated this action through its effects, and the means God employed for this chastisement (in the opinion of most people in those regions) is that the mouths of the Orinoco and other rivers along that coast as far as the Marañón, expel and discharge a great mass of tainted water, which is carried along the coast by the current which regularly runs between those islands; its effect is like that of Greek fire or poison, it washed up quantities of dead fish on those coasts, and it killed the ovsters from which they got the pearls, so that this great source of wealth is lost.

124. His Majesty appoints a Governor for this city and island for its good administration and for the dispensing of justice, in consultation with the Supreme Council of the Indies. The inhabitants live in the valleys, where Gov. Don Bernardo de Vargas Machuca settled the Indians who were native to the island and are called Guaiqueríes; he had them build churches, in which Mass is said and the Holy Sacraments are administered to them, as well as to many poor Spaniards, mestizos, mulattoes, and Negroes, who live in these valleys, viz: Tacarigua, Pedro González, the Margarita Valley, Paraguachi, and the San Juan Valley; these are all inhabited by Guaiquerí Indians, who have the rank of gentlemen and noblemen, honor conferred upon them by His Majesty for the faithfulness and loyalty with which they have served him well on every occasion which has arisen.

125. This island contains a village, de la Mar, with a few Guaiquerí Indians, and its principal harbor is Pampatare, 4 leagues distant, at which all ships bound there, touched; there was an armed force there which destroyed the Dutch pirate and carried off his cannon. There are large herds of cattle and goats on the island, and the kids are very good eating; the whole island is overrun with rabbits. In Macánao itself there is an establishment for the pearl fisheries; while all over the island deer are abundant, only those in this section have bezoar stones, which rank among the best and most highly prized from all the Indies; indeed, many who appreciate their value and efficacy, and that of the medicinal plants which the deer feed on and which then coagulate and grow within them, esteem them more highly than the

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Oriental bezoar, for the remarkable cures worked by them, such being the reputation and fame of the bezoar stones of Macánao. The island produces an abundance of swine and of game birds, pigeons, turtledoves, and other wild fowl.

# Chapter VII (!)

Of the Raid Upon This Island and City by the Rebel Lope de Aguirre, and of the Way in Which They Fish for Pearls.

126. The rebel freebooter Lope de Aguirre, after killing Gov. Pedro de Ursuá on the Marañón, and inflicting countless cruelties and barbarities on his companions in that expedition, arrived at this island of Margarita in the year 1560, late in the day of the glorious Magdalen, July 22. At first he pretended to have been defeated and forced to run in, so that they should supply him with boats and assistance; then by a trick he seized the Governor of the island, at that moment Don Juan de Villandrando; the Alcaldes, Alguacil Mayor, and other leading residents of the city and island; but Captain Mongüía, whom he had ordered to go and bring a ship lying at Maracapána belonging to the Provincial of the Dominican Order, Fr. Francisco de Montesinos, who was pacifying that province and tribe with his preaching, would not obey his accursed command but declared that his soldiers and he stood with the friar and had sworn allegiance to His Majesty. Lope, in addition to many cruel and arbitrary acts against many other leading personages of the island, in return for the welcome and kindly treatment they extended to him, took vengeance on the poor Governor and Alcaldes by garroting and hanging them, and he killed many other leading residents of the island, and members of its garrison, during his stay in the city and on the island. Finally, seeing that he was not safe there, he built a ship in 28 days' time and sailed in it to the port of La Borburata, after laying waste the city and the island; then he went into Nueva Valencia, where he committed a thousand cruelties and robberies, until he was overcome and killed by the valiant Militia Captain Diego García de Paredes, of the noble house of the renowned and unsurpassed Diego García de Paredes, as will be told in due season.

127. The way they fish for pearls in this district, is as follows. At the water's edge within sight of the oyster beds and pearl fishery they establish settlements which they call rancherías and every evening the canoes anchor there. These canoes are really sizable lateen-rigged frigates, but although they are ships of 1,500 fanegas' capacity of wheat or corn, in this pearl-fishing trade they call them canoes. To

be a canoe master, one has to have at least a dozen Negro divers, plus their captain who is a Negro expert in the profession, the canoeman (canoero, who is a Spanish pilot), and the superintendent; with this crew he is a canoe master, although generally there are more persons in each pearl-fishing canoe.

128. When the canoe anchors near the rancherías at night, the Negro divers come out, each presenting in his shell the pearls he has got that day; they turn in their shells and the superintendent takes them over. Now each canoe master has in his house, or ranchería, a room or large chamber like a hospital ward, called the prison, where the Negroes have their beds and sleep under lock and key, for even in pearl fishing chastity is necessary, to such a degree that if anyone among them did otherwise, he would not be able to fish or dive under water, but would stay on the surface like a cork. Those who have disappointed their master in their catch of pearls, or who are contrary, they keep in these dormitories or prisons, grills, and cells, and they punish them by beating and flogging them in a cruel and savage manner, a procedure quite alien to the profession of Christianity, except that in what concerns this traffic, every possible means is required, for without it they would not do a thing.

129. The following day the canoe master leaves with his outfit and boards his ship, or canoe, and sets sail for the oyster bed or pearl fishery, which generally lies offshore 1,  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , or 2 leagues or even more, and anchors at the bed; and there are canoemen so expert and with such keen discrimination that, having purposely dropped a knife the previous evening on a certain bed, the canoeman keeps such a sure recollection of the spot where he left it that when he sees he is sailing over the place, he drops anchor and tells one of the Negroes to bring up the knife he left there the day before, and this in 8, 10, 12, and even 14 fathoms, according to the depth of the bed, and that of Macánao lies deep. When they dive under water, they carry down a little net or reticule, fastened by a rope to the canoe; and they walk about under the water picking up the shells and putting them into this net or reticule; and with great speed and skill they come up this rope to the surface, and each empties out his shells into his own pile; when they have caught their breath and rested a little, they start diving again; and they continue thus till evening when their task is over and they return to their dormitory to sleep.

130. Every 30 days the Negroes give their masters the cacona, i.e., the best pearls among those that they have fished up and kept; and besides that, the canoe masters have other understandings with the Negroes, redeeming their valuable pearls which they have secreted.

To this end on certain holidays they lay on a table or elsewhere excellent suits of clothes or other valuable articles of clothing, and the Negroes come out of it with clothes, and their masters with riches. This exchange is forbidden along with others, under heavy penalties for the masters. This brief account of the pearl fisheries must suffice, to allow us to describe in the following chapter, the city and province of Cumaná.

# CHAPTER VIII (!)

Of the City of Cumaná in Nueva Andalucía, and of Other Things in Its District and State.

131. The city of Cumaná was founded by Capt. Gonzalo de Ocampo in the year 1520, when he came to punish the Cumaná Indians for their destruction of the Franciscan convent and murder of the friars; and to make the punishment more lasting, and as the case demanded, he established the city on the seacoast of the Spanish Main, at present called Nueva Andalucía, at 9°30' N. To its N. lies the island of Margarita at a distance of 12 leagues; Caracas in the Province of Venezuela is over 50 leagues to the W. along the coast, and the island of Trinidad 50 leagues to the E.

132. The city will contain 200 Spanish residents, plus Negroes, mulattoes, Indians, and servants. It has a parish church and a Dominican convent with a few friars, and a shrine under the patronage of Our Lady of Carmen, which serves as a hospital for the carc of the indigent sick. The city and its districts have a warm climate and abound in supplies; its ordinary bread is made of Indian corn and cassava, which is made out of yucca; there are quantities of cattle and swine, and in this district they grow and harvest a great amount of tobacco, which is the chief staple of the country. They have other crops and native fruits which are highly regarded, and sugarcane and sweet potatoes.

133. It lies on the Gulf of Cariaco, which runs 20 leagues inland and is a league wide; around it are numerous valleys, drained by streams of sweet crystal-clear water, on whose banks the residents of Cumaná have their ranches where they raise quantities of cattle, swine, and horses; they grow abundance of Indian corn and yucca. This city enjoys a profusion of excellent fish. It has Royal Officials; His Majesty appoints a Governor with the title of Captain General for its good administration and to dispense justice in the city and its provinces.

134. It has two Spanish villages in its district, one of them San Felipe, lying 24 leagues inland and counting some 40 Spanish resi-

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dents; and the other, Cumanagoto, on the same coast W. of Cumaná, opposite the island called Borracha, 12 leagues from Point Araya, by the Río de Unare. The city of Cumanagoto will contain 150 Spanish residents, and there are large numbers of Indians in its district, but they do not render service, since they take refuge with the warlike Cumanagoto Indians who live in that region; hence it is imperatively necessary that some powerful resident of that country be charged with their conquest, and bring them to the knowledge of our Holy Faith and Christian administration.

135. The residents of this city of Cumaná, though few in number, have been valiant in their prowess, on the occasions which have arisen, against the enemies who have come to sack and harry those coasts. In the year 1592 the corsair Walter Raleigh descended upon them with six war vessels; he did much harm all along those coasts, having first treacherously captured the city of San Josef on the island of Trinidad, and killed many residents and transients; he sacked and plundered the poor city and carried off captive Gov. Antonio de Berrio as a prize for ransom. After this episode he reached the harbor of Barbudo, which serves the city of Cumaná, proposing to capture and plunder it, and with that intent he landed a large force.

136. When the residents of Cumaná were apprised of the pirate's intention and of the forces he brought with him in his six naval vessels, a Captain Flamenco who at that moment was buying tobacco in the port helped them out with harquebusses, muskets, powder, and shot, exchanging and selling them for tobacco before the arrival of the pirate with his outfit. As soon as he reached the harbor he landed a large force, with a nephew of his as chief or general. They attacked the city to rob and sack it, but the valiant citizens of Cumaná, though not equal in numbers to the enemy, surpassed them in courage and energy, stimulated by their possession of the munitions; and when they started defending their homes and had fired a few shots, they had the good fortune to kill with one of them, the General, Walter Raleigh's nephew. So the enemy, with many killed and wounded and without a leader, like sheep without a shepherd, began a disordered flight to the sea; the corsair, on learning of his bad fortune, signaled to them to make a stand; but the valiant Cumananians butchered them with songs of victory, till they forced them to reembark, leaving behind many dead. And since the pirate reckoned that he was insecure at sea, with the serious loss of his nephew and other officers and soldiers, he hoisted sail and departed, leaving the valiant Cumananians triumphant in victory worthy of praise, for they had won it without superiority in numbers or strength, but relying solely on their spirit

and bravery. This victory was won in this year of 1592, on the day of St. John the Baptist.

137. Three leagues from the city of Cumaná lie the salt beds of Araya, the most abundant and the richest in salt to be found in the universe, for under the water lies rock salt in such quantities that if a hundred boats or galleons finish loading there, as has often been seen, and another hundred arrive, there is cargo for all of them and one notices no diminution in consequence of the earlier cargoes.

138. This lagoon lies at a distance of 700 paces from the sea, but is fed from it and the salt coagulates at once, and this fact and its abundance, in spite of the amount extracted, spread countless layers of rock salt under the water; and it is so concentrated that foreigners profit by the fact in their countries and make three boatloads out of one; wherever they use it they dilute it for salting down, it is so strong. This salt-bed lagoon of Araya is a league and a half in circumference.

139. In these salt works of Araya His Majesty ordered the establishment in 1622 of the garrison and fort of Santiago de Araya, for the protection and defense of the salt beds. This fort is built on Daniel Heights, given that name because Don Luís Fajardo hanged Daniel there; he was a great pirate and harried those coasts, and called himself Lord of the Araya salt beds. This garrison is for their defense, so that the Dutch and other foreign foes may not succeed in loading salt.

140. They built the fort on these heights; for its expenses they bring the pay roll (situado) from the revenues of Cartagena, to pay the garrison stationed there, viz, 200 infantry soldiers and a Lieutenant or Warden. The first commander was Don Juan de Vargas Machuca, appointed by His Majesty and subordinate to the Governor of Cumaná. There are in the fort 40 pieces of artillery, of bronze and cast iron, with 25 artillerymen and their master gunner, who take pains to keep them polished and ready for the emergencies which may arise. Thus the salt beds are protected and the pirates no longer dare come to them, and so that nest of pirates was broken up.

## CHAPTER IX

Of the Island of Trinidad and the City of St. Joseph Which Is Located There.

141. The first person to discover and endeavor to take possession of the island of Trinidad was Commander Juan Ponce de León; many years later it was occupied by Gov. Antonio de Berrio, and in the year 1591 he founded there the city of St. Joseph of Oruña; but in the following year of 1592 it had to be abandoned, as a result of the arrival of the pirate Walter Raleigh on the island. Using shrewd trickery he captured the city and executed some of the soldiers who happened to be on hand, for on another occasion they had killed many of his men; and having plundered the new city of what it contained, he carried off Gov. Antonio Berrio prisoner, as a prize worthy of ransom.

142. The city having been devastated by the pirate was again settled, although without orders from His Majesty, by Diego de Vides, Governor of Cumaná, whose consuming ambition was allembracing; but this resettlement did not last long, since Gov. Antonio de Berrio had despatched the Militia Captain Domingo de Barbo y Enivera to Spain to inform His Majesty of these new territories, how well-peopled they were with savages, and that they lay close to the provinces of Omagua, or El Dorado, about which, and their great wealth of gold and silver, many reports were in circulation. The Catholic Majesty of Don Philip II of glorious memory, having listened attentively to this statement, and this new discovery having been discussed in the Royal Council of the Indies, very favorable letters patent were granted the Militia Captain, with important franchises and privileges; and for settlers in this new country, and for the voyage, he was granted 66,000 ducats, with which he purchased eight filipotes of 300 tons, and two pataches of 100.

143. In the year 1595 he transported in them 3,500 soldiers-900 of them married-with their wives and children, for exploration, conquest, and settlement; the rest were bachelors; they made up 60 companies with 60 captains and their flags, many drums (caxas) and other warlike appurtenances. Thus there were 5,000 souls in the 10 vessels, counting the women and children; they crossed the bar of Sanlúcar de Barrameda on the day of St. Matthew in this year 1595; and after 41 days' sail they reached the harbor which they called Port of Spain in the island of Trinidad, within sight of the Dragon's Mouth. There this Militia Captain disembarked his whole troop and started the reestablishment of the city, expelling from it this Diego de Vides, who had been Governor of Cumaná. Having got all the affairs of the new city and the island in good order, he at once sent six companies of 50 soldiers each, under their captains, ensigns and other officers and attendants, to the Provinces of Guiana, where the first and principal city had been established; and he kept sending people over there and some of his extra ship's stores, to serve as a base for further exploration and settlement, as that country was, and still is, full of Indian tribes.

144. There were left over from the voyage 900 quintals of biscuit, 6,000 jugs of wine, with vinegar, oil, rice, chickpeas, and other provisions, which they looked after carefully; and for its better storage and distribution, it was turned over and entrusted to Ensign Andrés García Pardo, who stored and distributed it with care; and while the residue of their provisions lasted, they kept in good health. But as soon as it ran out, since they had had no chance to sow anything, the weather having been severe, in the dire necessity of their dearth they ate fruit and roots they knew nothing about, and whatever small fry they came upon. Thus their food was poor, they lacked comfort, they were only just out from Spain (chapetones, as newcomers are called), and the Indians of the district had fled; these afflictions and the dearth caused such a pestilence that in the year 1596 there died on the island of Trinidad over 900 persons, 20 to 24 dying in a single day, and the same over in Guiana, where more than 600 died of illness and over 500 at the hands of the Indians, for as they did not know the ways of the country, they were burned in their cabins. And so, of the 5,000 souls arriving on this occasion for the exploration and the settlement of the country, there will have survived till today 40 persons, 25 in Trinidad, and in Guiana 15, as I was informed by Capt. Andrés García Pardo, who was there and is today a resident of the island of Trinidad.

## CHAPTER X

Of the Island of Trinidad and the City of San Josef, and Their Way of Growing and Curing Tobacco.

145. The city of San Josef de Oruña on the island of Trinidad counts 60 Spanish residents. It lies 2 leagues from the sea on an impregnable site, thanks to the high mountain and thick forest hindering access to it. It has a parish church and a Franciscan convent. The climate is hot; they grow Indian corn and yucca, which is their chief crop; the fertile soil bears these abundantly, and local fruit, like papayas, plantains, pineapples, etc.; they get wax and wild honey from trees in the woods. It lies at barely 10° N.

146. The chief staple of this country is tobacco, which at all times has an excellent market; since its effects and virtues are well known, I shall describe the way in which it is grown. The tobacco is planted in little seedbeds like lettuce, and when it is ready—in November and December on this island—they transplant it along lines or rows, like

a bean field or vineyard; and as it keeps growing, they clean out and weed the rows, until it is about a vara high, which point it reaches in about 50 days; thereupon they cap it, i.e., they cut off the crown or topmost shoot, so that it will grow to leaves, and they keep pulling off the branchlets or shoots which it puts out along with them, so that the leaves will grow and get thick, until it is ripe, which takes another 50 days, and they weed it continually and pick off the caterpillars which usually do some harm to it. In this way the tobacco leaves grow 4 or 5 palms long, and more, and 2 or 3 across, according to the richness of the soil. After they ripen, they gather and string them and hang them up inside a house, so that there in the shade they may sweat and dry off, which takes 8 or 10 days; then they pull out the central vein and twist them up into ropes or rolls; there are men so expert in this operation that in one day they twist 300 pounds of tobacco and even more. That is the way they work tobacco in this region, while in others they treat it in different fashion.

147. This island is 50 leagues in length, and 20 across at its broadest point; it is mountainous and heavily forested with valuable and highly prized timber. There will be over 4,000 pagan Indians on the island, owing to the lack of any prelate to favor their conversion; and so they live remote from the Spaniards, a fact which has induced the Camajuya Caribs of the Windward Islands to fall upon them frequently with cannibal intent; as many as 300 of the Indians of the island have come for protection to the Spaniards, who are ready to help them out; but as there is no shepherd to care for the flock of the Lord, they are mostly heathen, for there is no one to teach them Christian doctrine and our Holy Faith.

148. On its hills the island produces cacao trees which bear abundantly, and if they would transplant and cultivate them, cacao would make them wealthy. The island's harbors are Port of Spain, which is the main port for the city, and is on the S. coast of the island; on the N. it has the harbor of Marácas, which is the shape of a horseshoe and excellent; nearby is another called Ayire, sheltered by a high ridge or mountain; and 4 leagues to windward lies that of Tunápo, deep and safe; and 3 leagues farther is that of Point Galera, the entrance to which is about the width of a harquebus shot; within, it is ample and deep.

**149.** Near the island of Trinidad, on a N. and S. line with it, lies the island of Tobago, which is 4 leagues in circumference, to the SE.; it possesses pearl beds, which are not exploited, for lack of workers. This island is called Urupaina in the Indian language, meaning big snail; it is inhabited by Carib Indians, who used to ravage the island

of Trinidad and do much harm there and round about; but in 1606 the Spanish settlers in Trinidad, unable to tolerate such dangerous neighbors any longer, waged war on them till they exterminated and destroyed them, killing all the rebels who resisted them, and depopulating the island; the women and children they carried off to Trinidad to be their servants, and they catechized them and taught them Christian doctrine.

150. There are woods of valuable timber on this island of Tobago, including trees of very handsome and elegant appearance, with the taste and aroma characteristic of cinnamon, and some of the people there utilize them. The woods furnish much honeycomb and honey; there are also other aromatic trees, and medicinal fruits and roots.

#### Chapter XI

Of the Provinces of Guiana and the City of St. Thomas (Santo Tomé) Established There.

151. From the island of Trinidad to Santo Tomé in the Province of Guiana will be a matter of 60 leagues by various routes, all by sea up one or other of the mouths of the great River Orinoco, sailing up which you seem to pass through a bit of earthly Paradise, along the luxuriant forests of gay and beautiful aspect which line all the river banks and shores, with a thousand sorts of handsome and brilliantly colored birds, sweet songsters, and among them the stonebird, which has great curative virtues for that malady; it is black, the size of a turkey, and with a crest of long elegant plumes adorning its head. The banks and shores of these mighty rivers are covered with countless turtles and tortoises; in fact, merely to describe the rivers and the remarkable things living there would fill many books.

152. While it is possible to reach Santo Tomé by any of the mouths or channels of the Orinoco, the main route passes by Amacuro and is navigable for ocean vessels, not merely to the city but for over 250 leagues upriver, up to the union of the Meta and the Casanare in the New Kingdom of Granada, 60 leagues from Tunja; from the port of Casanare it is 20 leagues to Tamára, and 20 more from there to Chita, over a wretched trail badly blocked by high ridges and mountains; and it is 20 leagues more from Chita to Tunja. The Río Meta rises 2 leagues from Tunja, on the Santa Fé trail; the Casanare, 3 leagues from Chita, in the territory of Tunja; both are in the New Kingdom of Granada. They run from W. to E. and empty into the great River Orinoco, making it a mighty stream; it runs through the Province of Guiana, in which the city of Santo Tomé was founded, and through many other provinces with different tribes, and pours into the sea through many mouths, as I shall describe fully in the following chapters.

153. On the shores and banks of these mighty rivers there are many aromatic trees, like those furnishing dragon's blood; stick a knife into one, and this liquid oozes out. They get also canime, balsam, liquidambar, benzoin, storax; there are cinnamon trees and other valuable timber, copal and other gums, and medicinal fruits, roots, and juices.

154. The city of Santo Tomé was established on the shores of this mighty River Orinoco; it was founded and settled by Gov. Antonio de Berrio in the year 1588, in the huge province of the Guayane Indians called Guiana, 40 leagues up the river from the sea, at 9° N. The city has over 80 Spanish residents, with a parish church and a Franciscan convent. The country has a warm climate and many woods and forests. The chief product of this province is tobacco, excellent and abundant; there are cattle and hog ranches, which are increasing; these were introduced from the Province of Caracas and the city of San Sebastián. They are beginning to plant cacao and the yield is excellent; in addition they have Spanish fruit trees, which need nursing along, as is natural in a new country. Their chief subsistence is Indian corn and cassava, which grow and yield abundantly in the fertile soil; they have much native fruit; the city is excellently provided with fish, of which much is caught in the rivers, and with the feathered and other game which they hunt in the hills.

155. There are in the district of Guiana more than 600,000 souls lacking knowledge of our Holy Faith; in the following chapters I shall describe the tribes which dwell along the banks and shores of this mighty River Orinoco, all of them still heathen because there is no prelate to promote the conversion of their souls, for since the foundation of the city not a prelate has seen or visited it; the reason is that although at the beginning the Archbishop of the New Kingdom of Granada was charged with the task, he declined it because the great distance (300 leagues) and the necessity of passing through hostile Indian territory rendered it impossible. Then the Council, in His Majesty's name, entrusted it to the Bishop of Puerto Rico, likewise 300 leagues distant, for a period of 4 years; he did not come to visit it, either, and those new countries have not had the good fortune of seeing any prelate among them, to strengthen and comfort them.

**156.** Accordingly, since these provinces are so remote and backward, and are coveted by the Dutch pirates and other foreign nations,

both on account of their situation and of the great amount of tobacco grown and gathered there, and other native products, and since they are without garrison or protection, they can be captured and occupied. In fact, in the year 1618, the corsair Walter Raleigh sailed up the river with his naval force to the city, which took up arms for its defense; its Governor Diego Palomeque died fighting, and at his side Captains Juan Ruiz Monge and Árias Nieto; but on the death of the Governor and these valiant captains, the city was captured and plundered by the corsair Walter Raleigh, who had come up the river to take it with 10 naval vessels and 1,500 men, with the intention of settling there and fortifying the place because of its advantages through the fertility of the soil and its products and other valuable exports, like timber, as had been pointed out by His Majesty to the Governor. After the latter had died in the city's defense, Capt. Juan de Lezama, who took his place, being the oldest surviving Alcalde, undertook to defend the place as best he could; he did indeed, having only 47 Spaniards; he assigned half of them to the protection of the women, whom he removed 4 leagues from the city, and he posted others in key positions as sentinels. Having been joined by sixty-odd loyal Indians with their bows and arrows, he impressed them with His Majesty's power; and with only the 18 Spanish soldiers who were left, the others having been posted where they were needed, he made a stand against the enemy for 28 days, making night attacks and incursions upon them most of the nights and killing many of them without damage from them, being both skillful and lucky. Thus with his tiny force he kept the enemy so nervous and worried that 28 days after they had taken possession of the city, this Captain Lezama with his men made his entry into it, and fought from midnight to dawn with the enemy, killing over 200 of their men, and among them the son of their General Walter Raleigh, who had entered the city at the head of 500 men armed with pikes and harquebusses, Raleigh himself staying on shipboard. Having suffered this loss, and seeing what firm resistance and what damage he was meeting from so small a force, in despair and with threats he hoisted sail and made off; and when His Majesty was informed of the Governor's death and of the defense of the city by its residents, His Majesty wrote them a letter conferring great honor on the city and expressing his appreciation of their good service in its defense.

157. When the episode was over, since the city lay in ruins and defenseless, Capt. Juan de Lezama went over to the New Kingdom of Granada to beg aid from the Royal Circuit Court which has its

seat at Bogotá; they gave him a little, and referring him for the rest to His Majesty, they appointed him Procurator General of all that State, so that he might petition His Majesty to be favored with men, arms, and munitions for the defense of the country, as well as a prelate whose presence might further the conversion of the great number of souls in that district; and it is 10 years now that he has been soliciting this, to be financed at his own expense.

## CHAPTER XII

Continuing the Description of the District of Guiana.

**158.** The River Orinoco, on whose banks is established the city of Santo Tomé of Guiana, has large wooded islands, which are inundated when the river comes down in flood in the winter, for all the lowlands, being flat, are covered; in summer they cultivate on these islands large plantations of tobacco, Indian corn, and other crops, which produce abundantly; the residents of these provinces enjoy also another crop on the mainland, and harvest two per annum.

159. Near where the city is established, this past year of 1628, above the rapids of the River Orinoco, where there are great veins in the cliffs, they discovered rich quicksilver ore, Don Luís de Monsalve being Governor of those provinces; so the Royal Council of the Indies resolved in the year 1629 to establish a Bishop in those provinces, since one was greatly needed for the spiritual comfort of the residents and conversion of the natives, and also, in view of the excellence of the country, to aid with some soldiers for its garrison, as had been requested for many years by Capt. Juan de Lezama, its Procurator General, and to send some Negroes, since, besides what has been stated, it is rich in gold ore and alluvial deposits, and will be one of the best and wealthiest countries in the Indies.

160. There are in these provinces many varieties of game: Decr; a sort of pig like wild boars but a little smaller, called váquira; guadatinajas, which are a bit larger than hares and good eating; the cachicamos, which are the size of a rabbit, with a sharp muzzle and their whole bodies covered with scales; cavies (lapas), which are like sucking pigs; morrocoes, which resemble tortoises; ant bears, tapirs, tigers, lions, ounces, and many other species; monkeys and marmosets of over a dozen kinds, large and small; squirrels, rabbits, and other small animals.

**161.** Of game birds there are three varieties of turkeys; paujies (curassows), which are as large as turkeys; the chachalaca or Texan guan; egrets of varied hues, black, white, gray, and scarlet, all with

delicate plumes on their heads; royal ducks and other varieties; many kinds of pigeons and doves, partridges, parrots, macaws, catalnicas (lories?), parrakeets, and others like song sparrows, and many other species of birds of varied and beautiful coloring and with sweet songs.

162. There are many kinds of wild fruit, like the cometures, which resemble black grapes and grow on very tall trees; almonds, described in another chapter; jobos, which grow on tall trees and are like plums; mercures, which are larger than pears and of the same shape, green and yellow in color and well-flavored; lanas, which are a fruit the shape of apples, well-flavored and growing on tall trees; mielgas, a green fruit the size of a walnut, well-flavored and healthful; mamones, the size of a pigeon's egg or larger, green in color and having a kernel inside which tastes like an acorn, with bittersweet surrounding pulp; it grows on a tall spreading tree of handsome appearance; cotoprises, which are a yellow fruit, well-flavored, the size of a lemon; siuti, growing on trees of medium height; cherries like our own; paujíes, a yellow fruit the size of walnuts, with a bittersweet flavor; pitahayas, looking like red pears; the inner flesh is white and smooth, with some black seeds; they grow on spiny shrubs; dates are another fruit of the same sort, growing on spiny plants; brevas (early figs), of almost the same shape and flavor, are yellow in color and grow on thorny, branchless trees; guamaches, which are a small fruit like little muscadine pears, well-flavored; they grow on spreading thorny trees; caras, a fruit growing on tall, spreading trees, and the size of mazard cherries; they are well-flavored and are eaten cooked; guavas of various sorts; grapes grow on thorny vines, with big bunches; mataraes grow on palms, putting forth long bunches of red grapes, well-flavored, like mazards; when eaten, the flesh holds the seed inside it, the latter tasting like a hazelnut; chivechives, which grow in large bunches on shrubs with thorny stalks, like thistles; they are smooth and well-flavored; piñuelas are the size of a long finger, with a smooth skin and white flesh, a delicate and healthful fruit; they grow on thorny shrubs like thistles; mayas, another fruit growing on thorny shrubs like thistles, which put forth very large bunches; the fruit is the size of large muscadine pears; pineapples, achiote, wild pineapples (? pitas), and many other varieties of fruit, impossible to catalog. And since the land is so fertile and productive and with strong indications of gold ore and other valuable commodities, and well peopled by the various tribes living there, Capt. Diego de Henares Lezama and his sons, Capt. Juan de Lezama and Antonio de Lezama, in the year 1598, in their desire to serve God and His Majesty and to exalt our Holy Faith, left the city of

San Sebastián de los Reyes to conquer and colonize it, as they did; they took with them at their own expense a squadron of soldiers with many arms, supplies, and munitions, a herd of mares, 100 horses, 1,400 cattle both for food for the soldiers and for breeding, and 125 head of swine; in this expedition they devoted their lives to His Majesty's service, and there finally died Capt. Diego Henares de Lezama, his father, and his brother Antonio de Lezama.

#### CHAPTER XIII

Continuing the Description of the Provinces of Guiana and Others, and What Information There Is Regarding Those of Manoa and Caranaca.

163. The great River Orinoco, which traverses the Provinces of Guiana, and various other tribes, has on both sides fertile land and valleys suitable for cattle ranches and farms; on the N. the plains extend up to the Provinces of Venezuela; on the W., to the New Kingdom of Granada; and on the WSW. they extend for more than 600 leagues, occupied by great provinces and settlements of various nationalities and peoples who have not arrived at a knowledge of our Holy Faith.

164. The land in these regions belongs to the most fertile and productive to be found in the Indies, and is admirably adapted for stock raising; from there it would be possible to transport to Spain easily and cheaply on this mighty river both the hides and the other products of the country; and all Spanish fruit, cereals, and vegetables will yield bountifully there, thanks both to the richness of the soil and to the excellent climate, water supply, sunny skies, and pure air of that region; but there is a complete dearth there, for lack of population and development.

165. In the other direction, ESE. from the River Orinoco to the Rivers Amazon and Marañón, it is 250 leagues by the coast, and in between there are extensive provinces of various peoples, some clothed and some naked; and from all of them and from those close to the Orinoco there come great stories of the great city of Manoa and Provinces of El Dorado; and among the numerous investigations made in this regard, Gov. Don Fernando de Berrio found in the Province of Los Chimores, two very skillfully painted cloaks like the Peruvian ones, and goatskins and horns; and when he asked them where they had got them, they replied that they had got them by trade with Indians of other adjoining inland provinces, who had brought them from the Provinces of Manoa, where, beside a large lake, there is a city or town, which is more than 3 leagues across, called Manoa; this possesses great wealth in gold and silver and other valuables, and they affirm that it has one street more than 2 leagues long, of goldsmiths and silversmiths, who fashion the metals after their method; they say also there are large herds of goats and other livestock there; all the buildings in this city are of very skillfully hewn stone; they say it lies near a great salt lake which is 200 leagues long, 100 across, and over 600 in coast line; round about it lie more than 3,000 towns with 3,000, 4,000, or 5,000 Indians each, and in the lake there are many islands with large towns and many lords and chieftains who govern them; and they have innumerable canoes and dugouts, which are the boats in which they sail from one point to another.

166. They travel to this great city of Manoa from all the bordering provinces as to a metropolis, with the products and merchandisc of their territories, and they trade in them there. From the Provinces of Guiana and those bordering on them, they say one can go in 10 days to the Province of Selve, from which they carry their products or merchandise on their shoulders I day's journey to Lake Parime; from there they travel by boat to the Salt Lake, where they trade with the natives who live in the district of Manoa. They say also that one can go there by the Río Caperuza, along whose banks grows much brazilwood and other valuable timber, with however few inhabitants; near there is the Río Papago. The Indians living in that region travel 20 days in their dugouts to the city of Manoa, on the Río Casane, which is large and with beautiful views; the Indians living in its vicinity transport on this river their products to the city of Manoa; these Indians are gentle and well-disposed.

167. The tribes living round about the great Lake of Manoa are the Anibales, the Parimes, the Docios, the Pompones, the Nobines, and innumerable other tribes of varying costumes and rites of worship; and as I relate in book II, chapter V of part II, their towns are encircled by mountain ranges; and all through that region also Manoa is well known, as is attested by the Indians of those provinces—the Neguas, the Seños, the Tamas, the Acanecos, the Atuatas, and the other adjoining tribes in that quarter. This information is confirmed also by the report of the English knight Duarte Roles in a letter which he wrote to H. M. King Philip II of glorious memory, in the year 1596, giving an account and description of these provinces and their wealth, and the large cities that there were in them, since he had traveled 3 years along those coasts and had received from the natives information about everything.

168. Besides the provinces described near the River Orinoco, 130 leagues inland from the city of Santo Tomé, in the plains one hears great tales of the Province of Caranaca and other large cities; and at various times many captains of the Province of Venezuela have set out for it, and especially from Caracas, as a result of the great stories circulating about its wealth in gold, silver, and other valuables, and the numerous tribes and towns in it, on the banks of a large lake; but they never were able to reach it or explore it, because of the wide extent of country intervening, until, in the year 1621, Don Fernando de Berrio left the city of Santo Tomé, Guiana, with 70 soldiers, attracted by the great stories and tales related to him by the Indians of the provinces bordering on the Orinoco, and in particular, the Ajaguas, regarding the great wealth and the cities of Caranaca; and when he had traveled up the River Orinoco till he reached the Province of the Ajaguas with his forces, he struck up the Río Apurisarare; and on its banks he found a settlement half a league long, where many Indians had been fishing; he captured one of those who had stayed at the settlement, who gave him an accurate account of Caranaca; that there were innumerable Indians living in its large cities on the banks of a lake lying near low mountain ranges, and that his expedition was tiny compared with the great numbers of people there; and to make his meaning clearer, he took some handfuls of sand and said that just as it was impossible to count their grains and particles, so it was to count the Indians and the towns to be found there; that there was great wealth there of gold, silver, and precious stones, and other valuables, and that if they went there, they would all be killed; and the Governor, in order to get greater confirmation of what the Indian had told him, pressed on to explore the country, and after 3 or 4 leagues of progress, he found many roads well trodden and traveled, and crossing one another, and that there were large settlements of those tribes; whereupon, being convinced that the information and the account which the Indian had given him was true, he decided to turn back and return another summer on a more propitious occasion and better provided with men, arms, and other things needful for the conquest and exploration for which he felt responsible. He went back to the city of Santo Tomé, Guiana, in his State, and decided he would proceed from there to Spain to render an account to His Majesty; and on his journey he was captured and taken to Algiers, where he died. This caused the suspension of exploration in such rich provinces as those of Caranaca and Manoa or El Dorado, until it may please God so to dispose and

ordain matters that all those tribes may come to obey and know our Holy Faith, bringing them out of the darkness of heathendom and subjection to the Devil, who keeps them in blindness.

# Chapter XIV

Of the Different Tribes Settled Along the Banks of the River Orinoco, Near the District of Guiana.

169. There are in the district of Guiana, or Santo Tomé, many heathen Indian tribes to be brought within the Faith; those who live along the banks and shores of the great River Orinoco, alone surpass the number of 600,000 souls, not counting innumerable other tribes which are settled inland, surrounding those which will be described in this chapter.

170. The first and most important tribe living near the sea is the Aruacas, who were always friendly disposed to the Spaniards, although under foreign instigation they have been in a state of rebellion for over 10 years; they live in the Esquibo Valley. Near this tribe is that of the Tibitibes, who live in houses built over the water, 2 leagues from the harbors where the ships put in, through distrust and fear of their Carib enemies and of the Spaniards. They build their houses with such cleverness and artifice that to approach them they cut and make use of palms and other slender tree trunks, with so many curves and windings that it seems impossible to get to them, both for the danger of such thin timbers and for the complicated labyrinth; and when some Spaniard arrives at their houses, after all these risks run in getting there, although they may be full of people, they disappear and become invisible by letting themselves drop into the water, plunging into it through numerous trap doors which they have made for that purpose, so that they seem bewitched; and until they are reassured by the interpreter who has been brought along, they will not come back.

171. They are so patient and ingenious that from a tree which they call vice, and from another called vagasa, which are of monstrous height and thickness, they manufacture with a scrap of iron which they whet and sharpen like an adz, a boat or dugout which will hold from 400 to 600 jugs of wine and 60 persons with all that is necessary for their food and maintenance. One Indian alone will take a whole year to turn one out, and even longer, helping himself out with fire to open up the wood; and when he has got it finished, he will sell it to the Spaniards for 8 axes, which at the most are worth 16 8-real pesos. They have a tree like the royal palm from which they get clothing, food, and drink, and make their beds, shoes, and whatever they need.

**172.** Near the tribe of the Tibitibes is that of the Chaguanes, who always go in bands; they live along the banks of the River Orinoco and others, maintaining themselves by hunting and fishing and on turtle eggs, of which there is great abundance, and they get food from this same palm. Adjoining them is the tribe of the Guayanes, where the city of Santo Tomé is located; it numbers over 40,000 Indians; some are peaceful and render service to the Spaniards, but these latter are few, and there is no prelate to convert them, so that they have relapsed into heathendom.

**173.** Right next the province and tribe of the Guayanes come those of the Caribs in Upper and Lower Caura, river-mouth estuaries running up the Orinoco and Peos, over 50 leagues up the Orinoco. The Peos tribe numbers over 5,000 Indians; they live distributed among various villages, through distrust and fear of their Carib enemies, so that, when there is news of their coming they can send word from one village to another to put themselves in hiding, or in state of defense if they can resist. Their next neighbors are the tribe of the Aruacos, and theirs, the Mapueyes, who number over 6,000 Indians; next comes the tribe of the Guaiqueríes, who are said to be descended from those of the island Margarita; they went inland and are settled at the mouth of the Río Guárico, which empties into the Orinoco 100 leagues above Santo Tomé.

174. The tribe of the Amaibas lives on the banks of the Orinoco; they feed on turtles and tortoises, which swarm on the river beaches; they farm their yucca patches and other crops; the country is full of gold. This tribe counts over 10,000 members; next comes the tribe of the Parabenes, and after them countless other tribes. Next follows the tribe of the Chimeres; they are very orderly and intelligent Indians; they live in villages well-administered; they plant and harvest their crops of corn, cassava, and other products; they will number over 3,000 Indians, not counting women and children; they have not been converted to the Faith for lack of a prelate, and for that reason there is no one in that section to undertake the saving of their souls.

**175.** Next the Chimeres comes the tribe of the Viroteros, a warlike people numbering more than 12,000 Indians; adjoining them live the Arutos, a degenerate people without villages or organization; they live like savages, feeding on fish and on their own filth dried and ground up, which they keep in baskets they call mapires; and if they are taken out of this kind of life, they die at once. Beyond this tribe is that of the Ajaguas, near the Río Meta and living on its banks; they have a large population. Adjoining them is the tribe of the Caquétios, on the plains at the source of the Casanare, in the Province of Tunapuna; these are already Christian Indians and live in settlements, although they have no priests, because their encomenderos are more concerned with sending them tribute collectors than persons to teach them Christian doctrine and good habits.

**176.** The tribe of the Guaibas are like gypsies; they travel over the plains in troops, without village or abiding place; they live by stealing what they can from the neighboring tribes, without having any definite home or village. The tribes mentioned above are those living in the valley and on the banks of the River Orinoco, not including countless others living inland.

### Chapter XV

Of the Tribe of the Aruaca Indians, Valiant beyond the Others; of the Way in Which They Commission Captains, and of Their Deeds and Victories over Other Tribes.

177. The tribe of the Aruaca Indians is among the most valiant in those parts; feared for their bravery by their neighbors and adjoining tribes, they are envied by the Indians of other tribes; they were always very loyal friends of the Spaniards, and when the latter came from Spain in the year 1595, they helped, served, and assisted them in all their needs, although at the present time they have withdrawn.

**178.** While enjoying the good graces and the friendship of the Spaniards, and incensed against the Carib Indians of Granada and other Windward Islands because of the robberies they committed, Aracoraima, the valiant cacique of the Aruacas went to the island of Margarita to pledge 24 of his women for the sum of 6,000 pesos' worth of axes, knives, and other trade goods, in order to build a fleet of 120 vessels against these Caribs and to take all those islands, and though he was only a poor naked Indian, they gave him the 6,000 pesos on his word without any security; it had no sequel, for the Spaniards interfered, desiring to go with him as his elder brothers and carry off all the glory; the Indian paid his debt and returned home.

**179.** While this valiant Aracoraima was on this journey to the island of Margarita, crossing from Chacachacare to the mainland, in the midst of the Dragon's Mouth and traveling alone in his dugout with his 24 women whom he took along as rowers, he was met by six dugouts of Camajuya Indians; he fought bravely with them until they left him for dead, whereupon they put a dozen young braves in his

boat to carry it off, with the women (whom they tied down); their six dugouts having pushed ahead, the men who had come into his boat, feeling that they were free, and considering him dead, untied the women, wishing to enjoy them; but this Aracoraima, returning to his senses and seeing a stone-edged club nearby, laid hands upon it and grappled with his opponents, killing some of them and knocking the others into the water, and he succeeded in rescuing his women; and having escaped from such great danger, he returned victorious to his village of Caroa, which was at the tip of the island of Trinidad.

180. This tribe of the Aruacas thus commissions its captains or headmen: the Indian who is to be made captain has to kill three foes in battle with his war club, which is of a very remarkable striped wood, and he has to make three notches in it, witnesses to his deeds, to certify them to the general or cacique who governs them; and when they are certified, they cut off his hair and put a hammock up for him at the top of the house; and there he stays a year in penance and fasting, so savage that they give him no sustenance but the drink mazato, which is like bread porridge, made from cassava, which is their bread, with nothing else; and at the end of this year of penance, they give him a big dish made of a gourd and holding about a gallon (2 azumbres), and they give it to him full of a drink they make very strong and thick out of peppers, which in their language they call agitipoche, thinned with water, like bread porridge; and it burns and he has to drink it all up without a break or showing any weakness; and when he has drunk it up, they put a garland or headdress of many-colored feathers on him, and they explain to him the rank he is receiving, and the deeds of his ancestors, whom he is to follow and imitate with courage; whereupon two of the doughtiest Indians give him cruel lashes, which he suffers with courage and calmness; and thus he is commissioned captain and knight, and might so be of Christ, did he know Him, and so suffer for His love. The following year he has to keep from eating meat; he has to live only on cassava and fish and nothing else, and he must not drink water, but only their wine, or mazato, which is stoutly intoxicating; and thus his penance is fulfilled and his captaincy earned.

#### CHAPTER XV

Of the Naval Battle Which the Aruaca Tribe Fought with the Garina Caribs.

**181.** Between the Aruaca tribe, whose General was Aramaya, nephew of Aracoraima, and the Garina tribe of Caribs, there arose

a controversy over which of the two tribes was the more noble; this gave rise to impassioned ennity between them. The Aruacas wear tonsures like friars; the Caribs grow their hair long, to the waist. After clashing on the occasion referred to, and others, in a naval battle in the year of 1596 they each brought up for the purpose all their troops and forces. The Carib, being more powerful, his tribe counting over 400,000 Indians, assembled 120 dugouts; the Aruaca, being courageous, was not frightened by the Carib's strength, and with only the 60 dugouts he got together, set out after him up the rivers; and for many days one force kept hunting the other without being able to find it, the channels being so numerous, so large, and so winding, as e.g., the great River Orinoco. After a long search, one night the Aruaca descried the Carib fleet within sight of the sea, at the mouth of the Guainí, which is where the battle took place; and when the Aruaca had realized, from the numerous lights to be seen, that it could only be the Carib enemy, he crossed to the other side of the river and immediately sent him a message by one of his captains so that the Carib might know that he had arrived in search of him, and that he should choose the spot for fighting the battle, since he wanted to give him that privilege.

182. The Carib Tocaurama, General of that people, sent word to the Aruaca that it suited him right there at the mouth of the Guainí, where they were. At dawn the next day they put their navies in battle array; the Aruaca being the more skillful and courageous, arranged his forces in unison and with all his men well posted and prepared, and with a boldly strategic plan of attack, so that when the two forces clashed, within 2 hours after the beginning of the fight, the Aruaca had captured 40 of the Carib dugouts, and among them the Admiral's, with General Tocaurama himself; and when General Aramaya wanted to kill his captive, the latter begged him for his life, admitting that Aramaya was the more valiant, and adding that with this admission he would become his tributary and would pay him homage, and that every year on the day of the battle, in such and such a moon (which is their way of reckoning) he would send him a dugout loaded with hammocks, cassava, cotton, and six women slaves, as an acknowledgment of his subordination and vassalage; whereupon he granted him his life, and Tocaurama and his Caribs became tributary to the tribe of the Aruacas. Later Aramaya died and left a son in his stead, by name Liranzo, as brave as his father, and the present ruler of the Aruacas, and feared and respected by the Caribs. These Aruacas used to be very friendly and loyal dependents of the Spaniards; but they apportioned them unwisely,

without their receiving any benefit or catechism for Christian doctrine, but instead much abuse and ill treatment, which forced them to run away; for these and other well-grounded reasons they canceled their fealty to the Spaniards, who had sad need of them; indignant over past abuses, they rebelled; and not a Spaniard dares enter their provinces, under risk of no less than loss of life.

# CHAPTER XVI

Of the Rites, Ceremonies, and Customs of This Aruaca Tribe.

183. This Aruaca tribe has the custom that when a woman's husband is killed in war and she gets word of his death, she cuts off her hair, which they wear very long, having no clothing other than what Nature has given them; she smashes all the pots and jars she has and the cibucanes, which are contraptions made out of bamboo, having the shape and build of a coatsleeve or a stocking, and which they use like a press, in preparing their bread, which they make out of cassava; with them they squeeze and compress the cassava to get rid of its sap and juice, which is deadly poison; the bread, once this juice is removed, is well-flavored, healthful, and good; in her mourning she burns also these cibucanes; and she might have Spanish goods, like axes, machetes, knives, and other commodities which they sent in to trade for slaves, hammocks, cassava, honey, and other native products, goods held in trust by her husband, for the women looked after them, to give an account of them to their owners.

184. And after she has smashed and burned up all her belongings through grief at the death of her husband, her relatives come to her fields and plantations of yucca, gather it and prepare and bake the cassava in little ovens which they call budales, until the bread made out of the cassava is well toasted; then they throw all this bread into boiling water and go and put it back into the cibucanes which serve them as presses, and they keep pouring off whatever distils from it, into jars they have for this purpose, until it bubbles up like wine, and they stir it with sticks so that it shall bubble up and ferment evenly; that is how their wine is made; they call it guero; it is the same color as ours, but stronger, and when it begins to sink in the jars, that is a sign that it is fully matured.

185. After this all the relatives, friends, and neighbors meet to observe the funeral rites of the deceased, weeping and singing of his prowess, deeds, and valorous acts, with a solemn drinking bout, and they drink nobly, till all get drunk and consume all that the widow possessed of her late husband's property, without leaving her any-

thing; and she is not present at this ceremony and drinking bout, but stays in retirement in her room; and when they have finished the funeral ceremonies after this manner, and have exhausted everything on hand, the relatives at once discuss marrying off the widow; and on their suggesting some suitor to her, she asks him if he will be like her late husband in supporting her; and if the suitor agrees to the conditions she lays before him, he goes and lies down in a hammock (which is their bed), and the closest relative she has takes her by the hand quite negligently along where the man who is to be her husband is lying in his hammock; and he, staying very much on the lookout, seizes her when she strolls near him and pulls her away from the relative who has her by the hand; and after struggling with her, he lays her in his bed and sleeps with her; and before day dawns, she goes off into the woods overcome with shame, and stays there 3 days without her new husband seeing her or learning anything about her, nor does she ask after him; and after 3 days the relatives on both sides meet and say to the suitor: Let us go for your wife; and they all go to where the relatives know that she is, and there they embrace and then they are married in every respect; and she says to him: Take note that I have such and such property, or so many axes or knives, belonging to such and such Spaniard or Spaniards, and my former husband received them and they gave him credit and he did not pay for them; and you have to help in the settlement of this business, both for the relief of my husband's conscience and for good relations; and he comes to the rescue with much solicitude and exactness, satisfying the owners with his good relations and truthfulness.

**186.** The important Indians and the caciques have six or eight wives, and each moon he sleeps with one particular one, and although they all are responsible for providing him with food, the chief and favorite dish is prepared by the one who sleeps with him that moon. The ordinary Indians have two or three wives. For wife they say soco; son, dadite; father, dajuna; friend, dabuquei or tapane.

# Chapter XVII

Of the Manner in Which the Carib Tribe Commissions Its Captains, and of the Mouths of the River Orinoco, Where They Live.

187. The Carib tribe, who cat human flesh, have their settlements along those mouths of the Orinoco which are called Garinas. In order to be commissioned captain among them, one has to kill three of the enemy in battle with a wooden club, which is their sword; and

when he has succeeded in killing the three enemies, he throws his club on the ground and secures witnesses to his prowess, and fights no more, going off to his canoe, where he lies down and does not get up till his cacique or general who governs them, arrives; then they retire to their villages or provinces, where they cut off his hair and hang a hammock for him at the highest point of the house where they live; and there they make him fast for a whole year, without his eating, or drinking anything but mazato, their drink made out of cassava; and 15 days before the end of the year, they go out after big wild ants, almost as large as bees, which in their language they call jalofas; they pick up quantities of them by their necks, and every bite or sting of theirs lasts 24 hours and causes fever; they throw troops of these into the hammock or bed where he lies, for them to bite and sting him, and he has to endure them with patience without flinching or showing weakness, for the period of 24 hours; and then they take him out of the hammock and put on him a feather headdress of many colors; and as they all stand there together, they set him between two powerful Indians with two whips, such as coachmen use; they give an account of the deeds and the bravery of their ancestors and tell him he must imitate them in the defense of his country; then, raising up their arms, they give him many lashes of the whip; and if he shows any weakness or fear, they take him back again for penance; and if he shows valor and fortitude, they all honor and cheer him with much noise; and giving him his bow and arrows, they throw a fast-rolling ball of cotton yarn, and he shoots four arrows at the ball; and with this he becomes a commissioned captain and headman.

**188.** Since the River Orinoco through its size belongs among the greatest known rivers of the world, since it pours into the sea through numerous mouths scattered over a distance of 70 leagues, and since the majority of its mouths and shores are occupied by the Garinas tribe of Carib Indians, I shall give an accurate description, never before published, of these mouths, of which each is as large as its parent channel; of the distance from one to another, with their names; of the localities settled by the Caribs, viz, Guarapiche, Mataroní, and Amacuro; and of the harbors and towns on these rivers.

**189.** The Río Esequibo was considered by some a mouth of the Orinoco, but it is not; it empties into the sea between the island of Trinidad and the island of Tobago; it is a large, deep river; its mouth is 2 leagues wide; it lies toward the Marañón. The first mouth of the Orinoco is the Varima; it is 10 leagues distant from the

Esequibo; at the sea its mouth is 2 leagues wide; its banks are occupied by Caribs.

190. The Amacuro is 2 leagues distant from the Varima; in size and depth it is the most important, and the channel entered by boats going upriver to Santo Tomé, Guiana, which lies 40 leagues from the sea; for vessels of 100 tons it is navigable for 250 leagues and over, as far as the port of Meta and Casanare in the New Kingdom of Granada. The Guainí is the third in order, 4 leagues beyond the Amacuro; its mouth is over  $2\frac{1}{2}$  leagues wide; it is very pleasant and attractive to the eye, with many fruit trees of guavas and other fruits, which serve as cheering refreshment to those who travel upon it.

191. The Aracanasa comes next in order after the Guainí, following the coast up toward Trinidad; it takes its name from a small island opposite the mouth and some 3 leagues out to sea, called Aracanasa, where vessels anchor coming out of the rivers. This island has quantities of iguanas, a sort of animal or vermin like lizards but much more savage and ugly; its meat is like chicken or rabbit; although it walks on the ground, it is eaten in Lent. There are such quantities of them on this island that when you go to catch one and it runs away from you, you pursue it into its hole or burrow, and as the whole island is made of sand and you can easily open up the burrow, you generally take 15 or 20 out of each one, which gives plenty to eat.

**192.** The Cutipe lies half a league distant from Aracanasa; it is the smallest outlet of the Orinoco. The Macareo is 8 leagues distant from the Cutipe; it is over 2 leagues wide; this is the outlet generally used as the safest for travel to the island of Trinidad. The Capure is 4 leagues beyond the Macareo; it is 5 leagues across, but shallow; in the center it has a tiny islet crowded with herons, ducks, and other birds. The Pedernales' mouth is 3 leagues beyond the Capure; it is a league wide and is deep.

193. The Guarapiche is the last mouth of the Orinoco; it is I league distant from the Pedernales, and measures another league across; it is the outward and inward channel for the Garinas Caribs living in those mouths. This outlet emerges back of the Province of Paria, and in that quarter borders on the Cumanagotos, i.e., the Gulf of Cariaco, and serves the Cumaná farms. This gulf looks like the mouth of a river, for on each side it has over 10 leagues of terra firma. The gulf is very rich in fish, and at low tide such quantities are stranded in the shallows and pools that they can load boats with them. The land abounds in game, paujíes, pheasants and so many other birds and animals that it is impossible to enumerate them. It is

here that the dugouts customarily stop on their way from Trinidad to Margarita when there is bad weather or a storm; they make into this gulf or to a small island lying across it, called Duck (Patos) Island, for the quantities of ducks there; it has good harbors for shelter till the storm has passed. Behind this gulf is the Chaimas, near Guarapiche, which also comes from the settlement of San Felipe de Campos.

### CHAPTER XVIII

Of the Route Followed by the Dugouts Voyaging from Trinidad to Margarita, and of Other Features of the Country.

**194.** The navigation and route of the natives of the island of Trinidad (whose Indians belong to the Nepuyos and Guayanes tribe) pass through the Dragons' Mouths, which lie 7 leagues from the island of Trinidad; they are exceedingly dangerous at all times because of the strong currents and riffles caused by the points or island of Chacachacare; straight down the coast 4 leagues from these mouths is the harbor of Auquire, at the foot of the lofty Paria ranges, which seem to reach to the sky.

195. From Auquire it is 4 leagues farther to the harbor of Pargos, which is excellent; from there, 2 leagues to that of Mejillones; from Mejillones it is 3 leagues to Puerto Viejo; at this point begin the first habitations of the Paria Indians. Two leagues straight ahead is the harbor of Santa Cruz (Paria), where more Paria Indians live; from Santa Cruz it is 5 leagues to the harbor and river of Unare, where there is a famous valley with many plantations of bananas, coconut palms, and other fruit trees, although the settlements lack Indians; at this point they are near the Cumanagotos.

**196.** Ten leagues after one passes the Unare comes the Rio de Caribes, behind Malapascua Point, which is called on the navigation charts the Cabo de Tres Puntas (Three-pointed Cape). This river is bordered by many farms and cattle ranches belonging to the residents of Margarita. Two leagues beyond lies Puerto Santo, where they rest and make ready for the trip across to Margarita. Nearby there is another river called Rio de Franceses (Frenchmen's River), with some converted Indians. From this harbor to Margarita, 12 leagues, they start toward evening and get to the island of Margarita at dawn.

**197.** Twenty-seven leagues from the island of Margarita live the Paria Indians, the best Indian tribe to be found in these parts; they are Christians, very friendly with the Spaniards, and faithful vassals of His Majesty, although quite bereft of anyone to instruct them

in Christian doctrine. They are apportioned and pay tribute to their encomenderos; but neither the Bishop of Puerto Rico, who has them under his charge, nor those who take pains to collect their tribute, provide them with priests to catechize them and teach them the doctrines of our Holy Faith—and yet they are baptized.

**198.** The island of Granada lies on a N. and S. line with the island of Trinidad, some 24 leagues distant; it is thickly peopled with Carib Indians called Camajuyas, which means lightning from heaven, since they are brave and warlike. Near this island they possess another small one, called Potopoturo, inhabited by more than 500 Negroes whom they hold in slavery from a Portuguese ship, which for its misfortune blundered on that island ahead of its schedule, and they murdered the Portuguese. There will be on this island and the other inhabited Windward Islands, over 18,000 Indians.

**199.** These Granada Indians start out every year in late July or early August with their dugout navies on robbing expeditions along the whole coast of the Spanish Main, the islands of Trinidad and Margarita and others, and they have carried off many Christian Indians from them, eaten them up and devastated their land. These savages are so cruel that there is no mercy for those who fall into their hands, for they kill and eat them.

**200.** And it will aid the service of God and of His Majesty to conquer them, bringing them under subjection or killing the male Indians, by giving the commission to some powerful citizen of that country, and thus getting rid of that pirates' nest of savage cannibals; with them there, no security is possible in all the surrounding territories and islands; their conquest would bring quiet and tranquillity.

### CHAPTER XIX

Of Other Rivers Lying between the Orinoco and the Marañón, the Homes of Various Tribes.

**201.** The Río Moruga, former home of the Aruaca tribe, is 5 leagues beyond the mouth of the Guainí; at its mouth the Moruga unites with the mighty Río Varuma, which has many arms, and is a fine river with beautiful views, great forests, and some fruit trees, and others with aromatic wood which is highly esteemed. It abounds in varieties of birds which normally create sweet and dulcet harmony with their songs, so that it seems like Paradise. This great river is the home of three tribes, viz: Aruacas, Sapayos, and Panapíos, which differ very little in dialect.

**202.** Six leagues farther toward the Marañón lies the large Río de Mirare, likewise home of Aruaca Indians; 4 leagues beyond is the Río del Esequibo, a large deep river up which ships navigate over 20 leagues, nearly as far as the rapids, where a Carib tribe is settled, hostile to the Aruacas. This river empties into the sea through three mouths.

**203.** The Río de Maicaguuín, though small, is very attractive; along its banks are handsome shady glades with various kinds of trees, in which, and in those of the whole region, there are countless hives of excellent honey, which various sorts of bees make from flowers of great medicinal virtue, and there are quantities of wax; in fact, all the hollows, trunks, and branches are loaded with honey-comb, and the Indians collect a great deal, both for their sustenance and for the production of the honey wine they drink, and also for trade with the Spaniards.

204. Ten leagues beyond this river, the Río de Berbis empties into the sea; it is a large river and rich in fish, iguanas, and turtles; it is bordered by extensive forests, likewise inhabited by Aruaca Indians. Eighteen leagues farther toward the Marañón, the Río de Corentines empties into the sea, a very mighty river, larger than the others; its banks are wild, but the river is deep, and therefore ocean ships can travel up it for over 50 leagues. On this river the Dutch established three settlements; they laid out extensive plantations of tobacco, corn, cassava, and other cereals and vegetables, at the mouth of the Amacur; but the nearby Spaniards of the cities of Santo Tomé, Guiana, and of San Josef on the island of Trinidad, with great courage and efforts, risks and dangers, came up there in their vessels, to get rid of such bad neighbors before they received reinforcements, and they drove them out and killed them. Their other settlement was more than 40 leagues inland from the sea, on the Río de Marataca, which empties into the sea together with the Río Corentines. These rivers are the home of Carib tribes of dense population, which the Dutch have infected with their perfidious heresies.

**205.** Ten leagues beyond the Corentines toward the Marañón, the very mighty Río de Vará empties into the sea; it is likewise the home of these same Caribs. In this region there is another watercourse running across from the Vará to the Corentines, deep and navigable; in fact, the tides pass from one river to the other, over a distance of more than 20 leagues, the reason being that the land is very flat and so the tides flow up these mighty rivers for more than 70 leagues inland.

**206.** All this country has attractive landscapes, with trees tall and shady, occupied by multitudes of birds which nest in them and create sweet harmony with their variety of song; there are quantities of graceful and interesting small animals, and in the rivers, abundance of fish; all the banks and shores are covered with turtles, which are a great staple for the tribes living as far up as the Guayapoco, which is the original starting point of the Aruaca tribe.

**207.** The Panacaes tribe lives inland, at the source of the rivers flowing into the Orinoco; on that quarter they border on the Guayanes, and on many other tribes extending to the Marañón; it would take too long to enumerate them.

## CHAPTER XX

Continuing the Description up to the River Marañón, with the Tribes Living on Its Banks.

208. From the Orinoco to the Río de Vará is a distance of 60 leagues, as indicated in this description of the country and the rivers; and from the Vará to the Río Vicente Pinzón, just under 3° N., it is 150 leagues. In this expanse there are many large rivers, not to mention other smaller ones, the home of naked Indian tribes; most of the rivers are navigable, and are coveted by foreign enemies who desire to settle there and establish towns, thanks to the promise of wealth in a country of gold mines and alluvial deposits, abundance of agricultural products, valuable timber, balsam, and other aromatic extracts derived from its trees, quantities of game birds, and plenty of fish in the rivers.

209. From the Río de Vicente Pinzón to the North Point of the Marañón, it is 40 leagues; at 20 leagues comes the Río Guayapoco, original home of the Aruaca Indians; it has a famous harbor, where the Dutch habitually careen and up-end their ships, both on account of the excellence and security of the harbor and because there is nobody in that region to molest them.

**210.** At the North Point of the Marañón lives the Mariguiñes tribe; the province runs over 70 leagues up the banks of the Marañón and inland; this tribe has a large population, with many settlements. The houses in which they ordinarily live are tall, and though they go naked, they are great farmers. The country runs to woods and groves of valuable timber trees. Various kinds of bees produce quantities of wax and honey. This province possesses great mountain ranges, which promise much wealth in gold and silver mines, and on their slopes there are plains and valleys good for cattle ranches

and farms, although some are liable to be flooded out. From this province some rivers flow into the Marañón, providing good harbors and anchoring places.

**211.** Adjoining this province is the tribe of the Tucujús, who are in all respects similar to the Mariguiñes; the chief rivers flowing from this province into the Marañón are the Tucujús, from which the province takes its name, and the Genipapo, with good anchoring places and harbors. These have been settled and fortified by the Dutch, and they have plantations there of tobacco, cotton, and other fruit, cereals, and root crops.

**212.** Adjoining the Tucujús lies the Province of the Tapuyussús, with many settlements running up to the great River Marañón covering over 80 leagues. This province begins at the Curupapixó or Curupap channel. These Indians are savage; they fight with poisoned arrows, and it cost us many men to conquer them; they state that two provinces farther on comes the Province of Amazonas. All this country is quite wooded and well forested, with the characteristics of the other provinces.

**213.** The great River Marañón is 80 leagues wide at its mouth, with over 3,000 islands; the majority are inhabited by cannibal tribes; those nearest the North Cape are settled and inhabited by the Aruaca tribe; near these islands, toward Point Qzapararáp, going E., lies the island of the Nuanas, or Iuánas, and between this island and the mainland runs the Great Pará Channel.

**214.** Near the islands settled by Aruacas there are others much smaller, inhabited by the Carib tribes of the Mapuazes and the Inengaíbas, who are ferocious cannibals. In front of these islands and between the two channels, i.e., that of the Amazon and the Great Pará, which are 80 leagues apart, lie three very large islands, not to mention other smaller ones; the one which is closest to the Amazon Channel is 40 leagues long and 12 leagues across; it is inhabited by the Jacaré tribe, which is very numerous, and it is quite wooded and well forested. Near this lies another, the largest of all and in the center of them, and inhabited by the Pacaxare and Juruúna tribes; it is 45 leagues long and 20 across. Right next the Great Pará Channel there is another island almost as long and wide as the last, inhabited by the Andurá and Pirapés tribes, with large settlements, although they are unhealthy, both because they lie under the Equator and because they are damp, hot, and heavily wooded.

**215.** After crossing the Great Pará Channel going E., on the mainland and opposite the islands just described, lies the province of Tocantines; beyond that tribe is that of the Pinotubás, and right next

to them inland is that of the Turiguaras, a people who, though naked, are teachable; they are great farmers, and the land is productive of corn, cassava, and the other fruit, cereal, and root crops of the Indies.

**216.** Beyond this province and next the Río Capí lives the tribe of the Guaxaras; although they are peaceable like the others, they are heathen, for lack of priests and ministers of the Gospel to teach and instruct them in the doctrines of our Holy Faith.

### CHAPTER XXI

Of the City of Belén, with a Description of Other Provinces about the Marañón.

**217.** The city of Belén was founded by Capt. Francisco Caldera Castelblanco in the year 1615 by the Great Pará Channel on the mainland in the Province of the Topinambús. It has 60 Spanish residents, a parish church, Capuchin and Carmelite convents, and three shrines; one is of Our Lady of the Rosary, headquarters of the brotherhood of the soldiers of the military force and garrison established by Capt. Benito Macier Pariente, with a roll of 200, when he was Captain Major of that State; a second shrine is of Santa Lucía; that of Our Lady of the Manger is in the fort.

218. This Province of the Topinambús, in which the city of Belén was established, runs as far as the island of Aparcelada and the rivers Miarrí and Tapucurú, where over 500 Frenchmen were settled, not counting women and children, with their Viceroy and Capuchin friars. In the year 1614 Capt. Maj. Jerónimo de Alburguerque tried to drive them out of the country, and he had many encounters with them to this end, until in the year 1615 by order of His Majesty of Brazil with the aid of Gen. Alexandro de Mora, he succeeded, and the Frenchmen, no longer able to resist our troops, left the country and decamped with all their people. At this spot where the French had their settlement, which they called Marañón, lies the island of Todos Santos, with the city of São Luiz with 500 Spanish residents, counting the soldiers of the garrison in the fortification of San Felipe. It has a parish church and Carmelite, Capuchin, and Jesuit convents, a hospital of Misericordia, and a shrine of Nuestra Señora del Destierro.

**219.** Sixty leagues from the city of Belén in this Province of the Tapinambús or Topinambús, at the site of Caîte on the banks of the Río Guatacapú, there was established by Gov. Francisco de Carvallo in the year 1627 a settlement of Spaniards, both as a refuge for travelers from the city of Belén to that of São Luiz, and to serve

as an army post, this warlike tribe of Indians having revolted and gone to war in the year 1618, when we had nothing left but the cities and garrisons of Belén and São Luiz; on various occasions there were killed over 110 Spaniards.

**220.** The country having revolted and having been lost in this manner, Capt. Benito Macier Pariente went and sought aid from Brazil, and brought back from there 400 men, both Spaniards and Indians, and in the year 1619 he entered this province and after having numerous encounters with the Indians, he conquered them and drove them back more than 200 leagues, as far as Batatán, in the Province of Pacaxár.

221. Later, when this Benito Macier Pariente was Captain Major of the city of Belén, he built an excellent fort there and provided it with weapons and munitions; and in the 6 years that he governed that State with great courage, he conquered 12 provinces and tribes of heathen-those mentioned above; and in the year 1623 he ousted the Dutch and English who had settled and ensconced themselves in two forts they had on the Parnaíba channel, between the two islands, and he had them dismantled; and that same year he fought with a Dutch ship which was near the North Point fort, in the Province of the Tucujús, and with only five small boats he forced it to surrender, and the heretics set it on fire. In the year 1625 he fought with the Dutch of the North Point fort and beat them; he had the fort dismantled and captured and killed all who were in it; in fact, in the three forts and the ship over 200 Dutchmen lost their lives, and over 80 others are being held prisoners on the island of Todos Santos and in the city of São Luíz.

**222.** In the year 1623 he had the Amazon channel sounded, by order of His Majesty; the pilot for this task was Antonio Vicente and he took soundings of the channel for more than 70 leagues; it is very broad and deep; the depth is from 30 to 50 fathoms, although there are shallows toward the islands. The deep channel is ordinarily 2 leagues wide, in some places more, and in some, less. The Dutch who had intrenched themselves in the forts, navigated upstream over 100 leagues, returning for fear of the great numbers of aborigines.

**223.** Capt. Roque de Chaves Ossorio, whom His Majesty has graciously rewarded for his services with the post of Alcalde Mayor of Tacuba and Tlanenepantla, near Mexico City, was 3 years in these provinces, from 1612 to 1615, during which time he learned the Topinanıbú language, which is general in these parts as far as the Río de la Plata; and thus he understood the Indians and was much beloved by them. He traveled up the Rivers Munín, Tabucurú, and

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Miarrí, which flow into the Marañón; the Miarrí is joined by the Pinarré, the Maracú, and the Oguaieup, all mighty rivers, the home of various naked tribes. With the Topinambús of Qzapararáp he went many leagues up the Gran Pará, to the Urucara mountain range, where the Indians report great wealth of gold, and that on a certain peak there are the footprints of an apostle and an animal following him; and that the great River Amazon flows from the W. through this region some 30 leagues away; the Indians call it Cuñanceihuma, which means women without men; they likewise call the river up which he went with the Topinambú Indians as far as Carrupap and the mountains of Itacuatiara, Araraúp, which means stone of (many) colors. These tribes are 4 days' journey from the Amazon, and the same Indians report that beyond the Amazon, not many suns, there are people with clothing and a government. Capt. Roque de Chaves Ossorio likewise confirms my description of the archipelago of Marañón islands, for the time when he passed through them, and also the fact that one passes through the channels between the Pacaxás Islands to the Gran Pará from the Amazon without going out to sea, for he saw it all with his own eyes. This gentleman was born in Mexico, where his forebears took part in the conquests; the French carried him off from Brittany, where they had arrested him in a harbor as a spy; when they were fighting with the Pacaxás Indians, they left him among them at Ozapararáp, and returned to the Marañón, where the city of São Luiz and the island of Todos Santos are located; but as I relate in this chapter, they were driven out of the country by Capt. Maj. Jerónimo de Alburguerque.

#### CHAPTER XXII

Of the Extraordinary Fruit Growing in the Indies, and of That on the Island of Trinidad.

**224.** In the Indies the land is in general very fertile and productive, particularly in all the hot countries, in which many sorts of well-flavored fruit are usually raised; they have fruit on the trees the whole year through, as will be described in the following noteworthy cases.

**225.** The banana or plantain is a spongy sort of tree, very different from other trees; it is about the thickness of a man's thigh, or a little more. It bears fruit only once, each shoot or sprout putting forth a bunch of 40 or 50 bananas, more or less; and when it is ripe they cut off both the bunch and the tree, and it is of no further use; and although this tree does not bear more than once in its life, as they

say, it is the most abundant and usual fruit to be had at all times, and is the stand-by of the poor. The leaf which the plantain puts forth is like that of the sugarcane, but softer, and so large that a single one will cover a man, and a banana plantation is as thick as a field of cane. They are planted along the rivers or watercourses, as the Holy Spirit says: "I grew up as a plane 1 tree by the water"; and although the tree does not bear fruit more than once, it is always producing suckers. There are many kinds of plantains and bananas; some are 10 inches long or over; when they are unripe they have the outer skin green; when ripe, yellow; when overripe, black; they are the shape of a long radish; one peels off the outer skin, which is soft, and the inner fruit is white, without any core or other impediment, white as blancmange; they have them medium-sized, tiny, and of many varieties; those from Guinea are better-flavored, small, cooling, and somewhat nauseating; wherever you cut them, they take the shape of a crucifix. They grow only in hot countries; there is fruit on the tree all the year round; ordinarily they cut them when it is the right time, and let them ripen after cutting.

**226.** The mammee is a tall tree, with thick foliage and spreading branches like a walnut, although the leaves are larger; the fruit resembles a large quince; the skin or rind is dark-colored and rough; its flesh in color and taste is like that of a peach; it has two or three stones larger than chestnuts and like them in the color and smoothness of the husk.

**227.** The jocotes or jobos are the plums of the Indies, and the size of ours; there are many varieties of them, though the most usual are about like our Michaelmas plums; there are yellow, purple, and red ones. The tree resembles an almond, and the leaves are similar, though larger and juicier. They make good parsley from its sprigs, which taste like tender onion shoots; the fruit is yellow and smooth, and its flesh sweet, with something of a bitter flavor, and very juicy; the stone is soft. In Jocotenango (Guatemala) and other places they dry them and they are delicious.

**228.** The aguacate (alligator pear), which is called palta in Peru, is a tall and luxuriant tree, of wide spread; its leaves are larger and greener than apple leaves; its fruit is larger than a big king pear; there are many varieties and shapes, some long like squashes, some round. The rind is usually green and smooth, though there are some like pippins with rind of two colors; the flesh is a yellowish white, with a green tinge next the rind. It is a very healthful and delicious

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> "Platanus" in Latin, which he confuses with plantain.

fruit, and is generally eaten with salt or sugar, and thus has an excellent flavor and is very nutritious.

**229.** The sapote looks like a mammee tree, and the fruit is of like size; the rind is dark-colored and rough, but the pulp is very red and flesh-colored, and has an agreeable taste like preserves. It has a kernel larger and longer than a chestnut, which it resembles in color and smoothness; the seed inside is an excellent laxative. Its leaves are like those of a pippin. They raise them generally in hot regions; they grow wild also in the woods.

**230.** The pineapple resembles a bunchy thistle; it is cultivated like an artichoke. The fruit is like a large pine cone; they peel off the rind with a knife and cut it up into slices; its color is like that of a peach, its flavor superior and juicier, sweet with a bittersweet tang. This fruit grows only in the hot regions.

**231.** The custard-apple grows on a medium-sized tree like an almond; the fruit resembles a pine cone, of the color of an artichoke, and tender when ripe; the flesh inside looks and tastes like blancmange, with many smooth black seeds in it, pretty much like carob beans. The white sapote looks like the custard-apple, but it is a superior fruit in taste and general esteem.

**232.** The guava tree resembles a pomegranate; its timber is heavy and tough, its leaf is like a plum leaf, but somewhat larger and coarser; the fruit is like a pear; there are many varieties. When ripe, it turns yellow; there are white ones also; the flesh is red in some, yellow in others, with lots of seeds. It grows abundantly in all the Indies, both cultivated and wild in the woods; those which are called matos are an excellent and delicate fruit. To recent arrivals from Spain, at their first taste of them, they seem to possess a bedbug odor.

#### CHAPTER XXIII

Continuing the Description of Fruit, and Other Matters.

**233.** The chiquisapote (sapodilla) is a tree like a laurel, with leaves like those of the pippin; the fruit is the size of a pippin, with a thin white and gray skin; its flesh is the color of peach preserves; it is an excellent and delicate fruit, with some seeds a bit larger than carob beans. In New Spain they reckon it among their best fruits.

234. The pitahaya grows on a medium-sized tree, with leaves of the type of mint leaves; the fruit is like a small sharp-pointed pine cone; it is of a pleasant bittersweet taste, and has seeds like the custard-apple.

**235.** Guamuchí, guábo, and cuxinicuil are all the same thing, and grow one and the same fruit, though with variations, in pods like beans; the pulp inside is tender, sweet, and soft, and well-flavored; inside this pulp is a kernel of the shape of a peeled green bean. This fruit grows in the hot regions; in Honduras and Guatemala they are small and are called coxinicuiles; in Peru, guavos; they are of considerable size. The tree resembles a tall pear tree; the leaves are like carob leaves.

**236.** In the island of Trinidad and throughout that region grows a root which is called guapo, white and the size of an egg; its leaves grow about a foot long, and in size and smoothness are like a walnut's, though longer. This root is very nutritious and a godsend for the poor; it is roasted for eating, and tastes like a roast chestnut. With it they make bread, porridge, and other dishes.

**237.** The caro is a tree bearing a fruit larger than a saucer and twisted about like an ear; when it is ripe, it falls from the tree and is of a chestnut color. To get out the kernel, it is put to soak; then each yields a handful of nuts like almonds. These are roasted and divested of their husks, coming out like peeled almonds in color and taste; they make excellent dishes with them. The tree is tall and smooth-barked, and the trunk bulkier than four casks; the timber is very hard and tough; the ax does not exist that can cut or split it. The heartwood is yellow and provides a dye like woad; the lumber is highly prized. This tree puts out so many aerial roots above ground that a hundred men can hide among them, as if they formed trenches; and this has happened in those parts in enemy attacks, for ambush.

**238**. The charo tree is of the same size as the last; it bears a round fruit like that of the strawberry tree; when they ripen and fall, the animals all come and eat them; the rind is yellow and sweet. When boiled they make good jam, like grapes; the kernel resembles a hazel-nut, and tastes excellent roasted, like a roast chestnut, and is very nutritious.

**239.** The purbo is a tree the height of a cedar; it bears fruit called purbas, which taste, look, and smell like the muscadine pears of Spain. It is a delicious fruit, and from it they make the beverage purba, which is excellent and refreshing.

**240.** The icaco (coco-plum) is a small tree or bush grown along the seacoast; it bears red and white fruit, of the size of a damson plum; this tastes sweet and has a soft center. The cometure is a small tree which bears black fruit tasting like myrtleberries. The paují tree resembles the almond, with fruit like large plums, having a delicious bittersweet flavor.

**241.** The papaya (papaw) is a smooth, spongy tree, which is utilized in the Indies like the cork oak in Spain, and for rafts also; the leaves all sprout out from the shoot, and the fruit round about it under them. It bears the whole year, for the fruit does not ripen evenly; it reaches the size of good muskmelons; when ripe, it is yellow outside, with red flesh, and it tastes like a good melon; inside, it has quantities of seeds of the size of black peppercorns, which taste like cress; they are good for digestive and other disorders.

**242.** In the Esequibo Valley, where the Aruaca tribe lives, there are certain trees of such remarkable size as to be unbelievable to those who have not seen the products of that country. The trunk is bulkier than six wine pipes, and reaches a height greater than that of a tall tower. It bears a large fruit in a husk bigger than a man's head, round and dark-colored; when ripe and fully seasoned, the husk opens and the fruit falls out; each is bigger than one's fist, and of the same color and shape as an almond, except that it is gigantic in comparison; the shell is somewhat rougher; the almond inside is larger than a big grafted chestnut, better-flavored and sweeter than ours. This tree is to be found 4 leagues from the sea.

**243**. There is also a tree with striped wood out of which they make their sword clubs; it is so tough that it can only be worked by sawing, and with great difficulty; there is no ax that can dent it. It is the most curious wood in the world; its heartwood is crystalline in texture; no jasper can vie with it, and it never rots.

**244.** On the island of Trinidad and in the other tropical forest regions there are certain birds which the Indians call conótos, of the size of doves, very handsome, with black and yellow plumage, a long yellow bill, and an agreeable song. Heaven provided them with a natural instinct such that, to keep monkeys and snakes from eating their eggs and young, they pick out the tallest and most isolated trees, and build their communities of nests in large numbers on the branches which are thinnest, and farthest from the trunk and the big branches, so that the monkeys and snakes cannot reach them without slipping off and getting killed. They build nests  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a vara long, or more, and so interwoven with twigs and mud that they do not get wet even when it rains; they have only a hole on the side, through which the birds get in, so that it is hard for enemies to enter without risking their lives, the nests being so high up; and in this way they raise and protect their young from such vermin.

#### CHAPTER XXIV

Of the Provinces of the Cumanagotos and Palenques.

**245.** The Province of the Cumanagotos lies 12 leagues from Araya Point, opposite the Borracha; it is an island lying across the mouth of the Río Cumanagoto, to the W. of Margarita; it runs lengthwise down the coast 12 leagues to the Río de Unare, and crosswise it reaches inland the plains and the country of the Caribs, across to the other coast as far as the Gulf of Trinidad, running back of the Parias. It is divided into three provinces, valleys, or sections, which are called Arágua, Guere, and the Vergantin.

**246.** These Indians are brave and muscular, well built and warlike. They paint their eyes (alcoholados) and use a gourd to cover their private parts. This tribe will number over 30,000 Indians within the area of 12 leagues square above described. They are great archers, using poisoned arrows, the effects of which are practically always fatal, since the poison is deadly; the chief remedy and antidote is one's own filth dissolved and drunk with water or wine; another remedy is ambir, the quintessence of tobacco, and benzoin dissolved and drunk with water or wine.

247. The most warlike among them is a Christian Indian who was raised from childhood on the island of Margarita, and who ran away when he grew up; these savages elected him as their leader and chief; his name is Cristóbal Uriare. Among the Palenques inland there is another chief whose name is Cañadulce; he is more well-disposed and friendly toward the Spaniards, and if he goes to war against them, it is because he is forced to by his tribesmen. Since their subjection would be important from every viewpoint and would bring in a large population, many have wished to effect it, and at the moment it is desired and envisaged by Capt. Juan Ochoa, who is a leading wealthy and important resident of Caracas; it would be highly fitting that he be granted the favor of reducing them at his own expense and thus doing away with a humiliating condition observed by everyone; since they are peaceably inclined, the remainder will be gradually brought into the fold. This country is dry and with poor water supply; the Indians drink from wells, or jagüeyes, as they call them in that country : and in the dry season it is common for them to wait in line to draw water. They have many ranches of mares and horses they have stolen from the Spaniards, and so they are well off and the great majority are mounted on horseback.

## CHAPTER XXV

Of the Founding of the City of San Juan of the Lagoon of Uchire.

248. On the other side of the provinces and tribes just mentioned, next the provinces of the Cumanagotos and Palenques, lies the Province of Uchire, with toward 2,000 Indians of that tribe; and in this has been established the city of San Juan de la Laguna, so called because of a lagoon beside it which contains quantities of delicious fish. In this lagoon, which is connected with the sea, the high tide brings great numbers of fish, particularly lebranches, which are like bream but somewhat larger, and various other fish, which fill up this lagoon ; at dead water they close its mouth, the Uchire and Palengues Indians having previously set weirs made of stakes around and across the mouth of the lagoon; and when the ebb starts, its force drives the fish toward the sea; and with nothing but this device, such quantities of fish land in the traps (barbacoas) they have set in these enclosures that with their abundance they supply all those provinces as far as Caracas, especially for Lent. There are likewise salt pans in this same lagoon, from which they supply themselves and sell it to the Caribs and all the adjoining tribes.

**249.** The city of San Juan de la Laguna was founded and settled by Capt. Juan García Carrasco, a native of the city of Caracas, in the year 1509. After he had shared in the conquest and settlement of the city of San Sebastián, having been one of its chief founders, he came over with his establishment, children, brothers, and friends, and subdued the Province of Uchire, founding there the above-mentioned city and maintaining it ever since the conquest and settlement at his own expense. With his own income he pays a priest to say Mass for them and administer the Holy Sacraments, and catechize and instruct the Indians in our Holy Faith, without any assistance from the Governors of Cumaná or Caracas; indeed, they refused, since they claimed that it was for his own honor and glory that Captain Carrasco took over and maintained this tract so long a time with so much courage.

**250.** And although with his invincible spirit and excellent administration he has tried to continue annexing territory and subdue and attract the natives to acquaintance with our Holy Faith, he has been unsuccessful, owing to the strong opposition of the Governors and to the proximity of the Cumanagotos, Palenques, and Caribs of the plains, who live next the Orinoco and are cannibals; all these tribes fear and respect him because of the courage with which he has been able to sustain the Uchire tribe, defended by Captain Carrasco and his Spaniards. The city counts 25 Spanish residents, having had at times as few as a dozen; it would be very fitting to grant support to this settlement, and that Captain Carrasco and his son Juan García Carrasco should be honored and rewarded for the great courage with which they took over these regions and maintained a city there; rewarding such services would carry forward the conversion of souls and the service of His Majesty.

**251.** The city is built 4 leagues from the Río de Unare, which is the highway the Cumanagoto Indians must follow when they come to get the guarema plant, with which they dye their yarn, hammocks, and other things; it is a fine dye, exactly walnut color. To get this plant they go to the western district of the jurisdiction of Caracas, 45 leagues from the city of the Lagoon; and such is the valor of Captain Carrasco and his men that he forces these Cumanagoto Indians, when they pass his abode on their journey for the guarema plant, to surrender their arms, to wit, their bows and arrows, in token of peace and submission, and each of them offers him an ear of corn to be allowed to pass, thanks to the valor of this Captain Carrasco, who has known how to make himself honored and respected, though with so few companions, in the midst of such large and savage tribes, keeping them all at bay and obedient to him.

**252.** One should likewise consider how important it is that the Cumanagoto Indians should be subdued and converted as they easily can be, to the knowledge of our Holy Faith and to the service of His Majesty; there are more than 30,000 Indians among them, without counting women and children; but we have not been able to accomplish this, thanks to the opposition of the Devil, who tries to keep his prey from being torn from him; in fact, when his Militia Captain Magalanes was commissioned to carry out this conquest in 1621, the Governors of Cumaná and Caracas hindered instead of helping him, for their own private ends, sending news to him which alarmed him, so that he was unsuccessful and the campaign was abandoned as a result of their intrigues.

**253.** His Majesty and the Royal Council of the Indies can remedy this state of affairs by entrusting the pacification of the Cumanagotos and Palenques to some important person whom the Governors will not oppose but will aid with supplies and services, and for this purpose he should not be subordinate to them or dependent on them; for then they will be subdued easily and all that country will be pacified and those poor heathen rescued from the blindness in which the Devil is keeping them, and they will come to the knowledge of our Holy Faith. In this district grows what is called the palo de Uchire, a tree of high

medicinal value; its bark when ground up and drunk with wine or water or broth is a potent remedy for bloody flux and other illnesses.

254. In this district and that of Caracas there are also many kinds of poisonous snakes, whose bite is fatal; and although there are many remedies for snake bite, the best and most efficacious is the snakegrass, whose other name is bejuquillo (ipecacuanha) and which grows in swamps or lakes where there is plenty of water. This is of such great potency against all sorts of poisons that if one pounds up the plant and anoints oneself with the juice, or rubs one's arms with the plant, and one's legs from halfway down the thigh, one is protected for all time; no viper or other poisonous snake can bite or sting him. It was a mestizo, native of Cumaná, who discovered the virtue of this plant and spread the knowledge; and they have such experience of the great virtue of this plant that they hunt up vipers and snakes and incite them to bite them, and if they are anointed with this plant, no matter how much they annoy and disturb them, they will not bite or do any harm or damage. Glory be to God who placed such great virtues in herbs as antidote and safeguard against such fatal venom.

## Chapter XXVI

Of the District of the Provinces of the Diocese and State of Venezuela.

**255.** Next to the province of the Cumanagotos and the city of San Juan of the Lagoon of Uchire, along the same coast to the W., lie the district and Provinces of Venezuela, commonly called of Caracas, after the city of Santiago de León de Caracas, since that is the largest and richest in that Diocese and district.

**256.** The city of Santiago de León, called Caracas, is situated in a pleasant valley or plain between two mountain ranges 4 leagues inland from the port of La Guaira, the principal port for the city, and with a hot climate. Setting out for Caracas from the harbor one keeps climbing all the time up a mountain range and steep slope, where it is cool, and from there one drops a little to the city, which has a springlike climate. It lies at 9° N. and has 300 Spanish residents, as well as many Negroes and mulattoes, both free and slaves, and Indian serfs. It is a great trading and commercial center, both from its nearness to the port and because of the abundance of local products, such as the great quantity of cacao gathered in the plantations which the residents own along the coast for many leagues running; so they are rich and free from care in consequence of the value and high yield of the cacao for the manufacture of chocolate. They raise quantities of corn and wheat

and transport the meal and flour in ships and frigates to Cartagena, Havana, Santo Domingo, and other Windward Islands; they raise also in abundance in this district the other Spanish cereals and those native to the country.

**257.** They have large cattle ranches producing quantities of hides which are shipped to Spain; excellent mule ranches; and likewise abundance of swine and sheep. The mules are exported to the Kingdoms of Peru via the New Kingdom of Granada.

**258.** Close by the city runs a little river of sweet and crystal-clear water, which rises in the neighboring sierras; these have veins and deposits of gold underlying them, and so they get gold from the river, although for lack of Indians they neither prospect nor pan for it. A large canal from this river runs through the center of the city and they provide themselves with water from it; and so, with its abundance of water, the excellent climate, bright skies, and invigorating air, the city is a bit of Paradise; they have made it one great park with its quantities of gardens full of very handsome and fragrant flowers and rose-bushes, which bloom the whole year through; they have great numbers of fruit trees, both native varieties and those of Spain, which yield abundantly; their grapevines bear excellent early grapes every 4 months, thanks to the admirable climate, which is uniform and without change for the entire year, and to the rich soil.

**259.** Since this city is the largest, richest, and healthiest in the province and possesses a harbor, it is the usual residence of the Bishop and Governor of these provinces. It contains a very fine parish church, though this is not the Cathedral, which is in the city of Coro, but eventually it will have to be transferred here, as Caracas is growing so rapidly. It has two convents, one Dominican and one Franciscan. There is a hospital named San Pablo, which cares for indigent sick, and a shrine of the glorious martyr San Mauricio. At the present time they are establishing a nunnery there.

**260.** Round about the city there are numerous streams coming down from all those mountain ranges, which irrigate and fertilize its valleys and meadows; in these they sow and reap abundance of wheat twice a year; corn is continually being planted and harvested, and they have abundance of other vegetables and garden produce. They grow excellent cabbages, which weigh as much as an arroba. The whole year through they have quinces and peaches, and the other fruit trees of Spain yield abundantly.

#### CHAPTER XXVII

Of the Pioneers in These Provinces.

261. These provinces were discovered and subdued by that great Capt. Juan Rodríguez Suárez, whose virtues and valiant deeds have never been fully celebrated or magnified. After he had subdued and explored other large provinces and established some settlements in them, among which he founded Mérida in 1547, and after he had pacified all the country, for the Indians feared and loved him, he set out exploring and subduing numerous other provinces to the E., in what is called Venezuela; and having passed through New Valencia exploring and subjugating, in the year 1557 he reached the provinces of the Caracas, Teques, Quiriquires, and other large and populous provinces inhabited by various tribes of powerful and warlike savages; and having pacified the greater part of them by his valor and that of the few Spaniards he had with him, and seeing that the land was fertile, with splendid valleys rich in gold and other metals and suitable for settlement, he chose the spot which was called Caraballeda after the cacique of that valley, which lies on the seacoast 2 leagues from the port of La Guaira; and there he founded a city which he named Our Lady of Caraballeda, from which to set out exploring and subduing all those tribes; and this distinguished captain continued doing this till the year 1560, when the whole country was pacified; then he got word that the adventurer Lope de Aguirre had landed at the Borburata the end of that year and was robbing and devastating the country inland. This news spurred that valiant captain to spring to its defense, as befitted the loyal servant of his king; and as a great number of savages came out against him on the coast of Terepaina, he attacked them with his little force of Spaniards, till they all died in the fray; and this great captain, having done wonders with his valor and having killed countless Indians, being overcome with heat and thirst, but not vanquished, leaned against a tall rock (the Indians not daring to approach him) and there yielded up his soul to God. And so great was his valor and the reputation he enjoyed among them, that it was 3 days after his death before the savages ventured to approach him; they poked him with long poles, and having thus assured themselves that he was dead, they gave vent to deep sorrow, lamenting his death and saying that such a captain ought not to have died; finally they buried him with great lamentations, and thus the new city was abandoned and the country was again hostile.

**262.** At this time the adventurer Lope de Aguirre was killed by Capt. Diego García de Paredes, and his rebellious army conquered;

and when they had dealt out justice to the most guilty, and pacified the country, they got word of the death of the great Capt. Juan Rodríguez Suárez and his men and of the abandonment of the new city of Caraballeda in consequence of the rebellion and uprising of the Caracas, Terepaimas, and other adjoining tribes.

263. Gen. Diego de Losada, having received this news and considering the great wealth of that region, decided to go and chastise the savages and pacify the country again; and so in the year 1564 he announced the campaign and began raising a force for it; volunteers flowed in from many quarters, and out they went to conquer, valiant captains and soldiers, and among them Capt. Diego de Henares, Alonso Galeas as Captain of the cavalry troop, and Gabriel de Avis, Royal Ensign, and Capt. Sebastián Díaz, Garcí González, Francisco Infante, Lázaro Vázquez, Baltasar Muñoz, Pedro de Madrid, Agustín de Ancona, and other valiant captains and soldiers, who all together numbered 130 Spaniards. They entered these provinces of Caracas the following year, 1565, and suffered great hardships, having numerous encounters with the heathen, in which many of them were conquered and killed; and thus they avenged the death of Capt. Juan Rodríguez Suárez and his men, having subdued the natives and again pacified the country.

**264.** In the year 1566, after a reconnoissance of the whole country and its best locations, this Gen. Diego Losada chose as a suitable site for founding and settling a city, a splendid valley, fertile and attractive, named Caracas and lying between two mountain ranges 4 leagues from the harbor of La Guaira; and after cruel skirmishes and battles with the savages, since they saw they could not withstand the valor of the Spaniards, they rendered obedience to him on the day of Santiago, and so he founded the city on that day and gave it the name of Santiago de León; it lies 6 leagues from that of Caraballeda, which was the first founded, and is likewise called Caracas, after the Indian tribe and cacique of this country, who rendered obedience.

#### CHAPTER XXVIII

Of the City of Santiago de León de Caracas, of Other Matters Regarding These Provinces, and of the Valiant Deeds Accomplished by the Spaniards.

**265.** After founding the new city, the valiant Spaniards did not cease their conquests, bringing those heathen to the knowledge of our Holy Faith and the service of His Majesty. Among these, the valiant Capt. Garcí González distinguished himself; after the distribution of

the land, he proceeded into the tribe of the Teques. One night they used treachery toward him and Francisco Infante, seized their weapons. beat Francisco Infante severely with their sword clubs and left him for dead. At the barking of a dog he had, Garcí González rushed out; and failing to find his weapons, he faced the savages with a long cavalry spur as they rushed to attack him, and defended himself with this spur, wounding and killing many of them, so that, with his courage and strength, he put them to flight and they did not venture to stand up to him; and so he loaded his companion on his shoulders, the Indians having left him in the state described above, and staved death off till help arrived; and he dealt summary chastisement upon them, in which he was greatly aided by a fearless dog named Tiburón (Shark) who was put on the pay roll because of the havoc he wrought in these campaigns. On another occasion, at Nirvá, the savages had his soldiers surrounded and in manifest danger; he was in armor on horseback, and between his soldiers and him lay a deep ravine, impossible to cross without dropping down into it; he found a huge tree trunk lying across it, and there being no other recourse available, he spurred his horse on over this dangerous passageway, a brilliant proof of bravery; and thus he dashed into the midst of the enemy, spreading wide destruction and death among them; and so he came out victorious and rescued his men; and I have heard that it is called the Ravine of Garcí González. He left three valiant sons, viz, Capt. Gaspar de Silva, Sgt. Maj. Baltasar González de Silva, and Ensign Diego de Silva, and they have copied him in everything as befitted sons of such a father.

266. Capt. Diego de Henares Lezama was one of the most respected soldiers whom Gen. Diego de Losada had in his camp, and on every occasion offered in peace or war, he showed great valor; in his campaigns he maintained numerous soldiers, heading them in expeditions to pacify the Indians and put down enemies. The city being newly founded and the General away, this Capt. Diego de Henares with the major part of his soldiers was left in charge of its defense; and on this occasion over 5,000 Indians came up resolved to destroy it and kill all those who were in it. For this purpose they sent ahead three Indians as spies under the guise of peace, to find out what defense they had; but his native shrewdness penetrated that of the spies, and on the following night with part of the soldiers he had, he fell upon the Indians at midnight, broke them up, and drove them asunder; but he would not allow an Indian to be killed; instead, by his diligent care he reduced them to obedience, and they remained peaceful. He discovered many gold mines and rendered many other special services; he was responsible for an increase in the royal patrimony; and finally, he was one of the leaders in establishing order in the city and in furthering its development. He was of the nobility, a native of Baracaldo, Vizcaya, of the Lezama family of Iráurigui, one of the oldest and noblest of that seigniory. Thanks to his excellent conduct and his cautious procedure, the Governors often named him Lieutenant Governor and Captain General of those provinces, until he left those parts and went over into Guiana, where he died; and Juan de Lezama continues his services.

267. Capt. Lázaro Vázquez was no less successful in deeds of valor in his campaigns, but I omit them, for brevity's sake and because they are well known; he left two sons, Capt. Domingo Vázquez, and Capt. Juan Vázquez, in all respects the pattern of their father's prowess. Capt. Baltasar Muñoz likewise distinguished himself among the others in those expeditions, and left sons who copied his valor-Capt. Melchor Muñoz, Francisco Muñoz, and Baltasar Muñoz, all of whom died in the course of subjecting those regions to the service of their king. And Capt. Josef Muñoz, after serving in those provinces, left them for service in the galleons of the trade route to Spain, and in the garrisons, where he spent many years; and in the year 1625 he happened to be in Puerto Rico on the occasion of the Dutch corsair's attack, when Juan de Haro was Governor of the island and city, and so distinguished himself among the others by his exploits, intelligence, and prowess, that the Governor took note of it and entrusted and charged him with business and military commissions of importance for which occasion arose, and he always gave a good account of himself, as would be expected from such confidence placed in him; such are the sons that that country raises and breeds, and they have supported and are supporting it with the valor they acquired and inherited from their fathers; and Capt. Diego de Henares Lezama likewise distinguished himself in these expeditions. And all the other pioneers were of no less worth, for thanks to their prowess and that which they bequeathed to their sons so that they should not fall behind them, they have maintained their country, exploring and conquering all that they could. And since such persons are deserving and worthy of being remembered, it seemed worth while to me to make this little diversion so that in the future they may receive the reward of their labors.

**268.** Capt. Pedro Alonso Galeas (the man responsible for the total annihilation of the traitor Aguirre) who belonged to the cavalry, was in all respects valiant, and of service in conquering those provinces. He was the leading settler of Caracas, and married Doña Inés de Mendoza, sister of Marshal Gutierre López de la Peña, by whom he had doughty sons, of whom there have survived Gabriel de Mendoza,

Councillor of the Holy Office for those provinces, and Captains Juan Rangel, Diego de Mendoza, and Francisco de Mendoza, and three daughters married to noble residents of that city, which he helped to occupy and colonize. After accomplishing many mighty deeds, with which he has left his fame immortalized and transmitted honor to his sons, he died in the year 1595 at the age of 115 years, having held honorable offices in the republic.

### CHAPTER XXIX

Of the Boundaries of These Provinces, and of Other Cities Which Have Been Founded in Them.

**269.** These provinces of the Diocese and State of Venezuela are bounded on the W. by the State and Diocese of Santa Marta, along the Río de la Hacha on the coast of the Spanish Main; on the E. they are bounded by the Provinces of the Cumanagotos and Cumaná; and on the S. by Santo Tomé and the Provinces of Guiana; on the WSW. by the district of Mérida in the Archdiocese of Santa Fé of the New Kingdom of Granada. All these provinces are very fertile and abound in wheat, corn, and other crops, with large cattle and mule ranches; there are rich gold mines in them.

**270.** The first and most important city founded and settled in these provinces was the city of Coro, which the Indians called Coriana. It was founded by Capt. Juan de Ampues in the year 1528 in a plain at a point 11° N., 2 leagues inland; it has a good climate; the air is dry and wholesome. This city is the capital of the State and Diocese, and contains the Cathedral, with several Prebendaries who reside there and conduct services; it will have as many as 100 Spanish residents, with a Franciscan convent. But it has gone downhill, and the Bishop and Governor of these provinces reside ordinarily in the city of Caracas, which is the largest and wealthiest in these provinces and lies at a distance of 100 leagues to the E. of Coro.

**271.** The city of Caracas is situated at  $9^{\circ}$  N.; it has a marvelous springlike climate; the country is so very rich in gold that when it rains, the boys search for it in the roads running in the arroyos, and this is the case all through the country. Forty leagues to the E., toward Cumanagoto, there are rich mines of  $22\frac{1}{2}$ -carat gold, called San Juan de Apa y Carapa, from which enormous wealth has been taken, although they are not worked today for lack of labor, the Indians having dwindled, which fact is a general curse in the Indies.

272. In its territory along the seacoast, which has a hot climate, it has fertile valleys and meadows for a distance of over 40 leagues,

which have been planted ever since 1615 in large cacao orchards and plantations, which bear harvests of cacao in great abundance. They brought down these cacao trees from the sierras and ridges of the inland country, where there were great thickets and woods of wild cacao, in which the cacao trees sprang up, climbed, and overtopped the other trees in their path sunward; they made up great bundles of these wild trees, transplanted them and created plantations and ranches with these cacao trees and fruit trees, thus enriching the country and its inhabitants; these trees are not as delicate to raise as those in New Spain and Honduras.

**273.** The province of the Quiriquires lies 24 leagues E. of Caracas, on the direct route to the Provinces of Guiana, in which the city of Santo Tomé is located. This province of the Quiriquires was subdued by Capt. Sebastián Díaz de Alfaro, who went as General of the expedition; with him, in the year 1585, were Captains Diego de Henares, his son Juan de Lezama, Mateo Díaz, Andrés de San Juan, Juan García, Mateo de Haya, and other soldiers; and after having some encounters with the heathen, they reduced them to a state of peace, and since the country was suitable and had wide pasture lands, they established the city of San Sebastián in a meadow that same year; it has a hot climate, and counts 70 Spanish residents. The chief specialty of this region is large cattle ranches, which produce quantities of hides which are shipped to Spain.

**274.** It was from this city of San Sebastián that Diego de Henares Lezama and his son Juan de Lezama started on their exploration and conquest of Guiana and El Dorado, where the father died in His Majesty's service; and Juan Lezama was continuing his service when the corsair Walter Raleigh came up the Orinoco with 10 naval vessels and 1,500 men, to settle down and fortify themselves in those Provinces of Guiana, in the year 1618. This Capt. Juan Lezama with great courage gathered together the residents of the city, as has been narrated in chapter XI, and fought with the enemy till he drove them out of the country; and when he had informed His Majesty of the death of the Governor and of the condition of those who survived, the King wrote the city a letter of the following tenor:

**275.** "The King to the Council, Judiciary, and Administration of Santo Tomé of Guiana. Your letter of Jan. 26 of this year has been received and considered in my War Council (Junta de Guerra) of the Indies. In it you relate what occurred in the capture of that city, and the death of Gov. Diego Palomeque de Acuña, and how the residents of the city are badly off. I am particularly grateful to such good and loyal vassals, since, though so few in numbers and taken

unawares, you defended yourselves so courageously; and so I charge you that on such future occasions as may present themselves, you so continue, since not only is it to your own interest to accomplish such a glorious task, but still more to the interest of the Catholic religion against its enemies, the heretics; and this cause shall not rest without satisfaction, to which end negotiations are being carried on with the seriousness which the situation demands; and for whatever emergencies of this sort may arise in the future, you will correspond with the Governors of Puerto Rico and Cumaná. I have sent them orders to send men to aid you, and the Governor of Puerto Rico is to ship you immediately 8 quintals of powder, 20 muskets and the same number of harquebusses with all their gear, and 2 quintals of gun matches (cuerda) and 4 of lead, which is the amount that appears necessary to fit out the entire number of you who remain there; and you will take all possible care of these arms and munitions, storing them in some public place where they will be held in respect against the time of need, or distributing them under responsible assurance to the persons who seem to you most fitting for your defense. From San Lorenzo el Real, on the 18th of September of the year 1618. I the King. By command of the King our Lord, Juan Ruiz de Contreras."

# CHAPTER XXX

Of Other Cities in These Provinces of Venezuela.

**276.** The city of Nueva Valencia was founded by Captain Villasinda in the year 1540 close by the seacoast, 7 leagues from La Borburata, and 24 W. of Caracas; it will count about 100 Spanish residents. It has next it the Province of Nirúa, the Indians of which are called Jirajaras; they are sturdy and brave, and at present are unsubdued. The province abounds in everything, is beautiful to look upon, and is rich in gold ore of fine quality, but since these savages are warlike, this province does not yield the wealth to be expected from the gold everywhere under its soil. To reach the other localities in this State and Diocese, one must travel through the midst of these savages, with escorts of soldiers clothed in cotton wadding as far as the knees, which they call escaupiles, against the poisoned arrows which they shoot. It is 24 leagues' journey to the village of Caroa in the jurisdiction of Barquisimeto, which is 39 leagues from Valencia.

277. The city of Nueva Segovia de Barquisimeto, resembling in its situation and river the Segovia of Spain, was founded and settled by Capt. Juan de Villegas in the year 1552. It is famous because of the

death there at the end of the year 1561 of the rebel Lope de Aguirre. It will contain 60 Spanish residents, with a church and Franciscan convent. It lies 60 leagues to the SW. of Coro, and 12 from Tucuyo. On one border of Barquisimeto, 20 leagues toward Coro, lies the city of Carora, with 60 Spanish residents, a church, and a Franciscan convent; it is a rich region and the best mules in those provinces are raised there and exported to Peru and clsewhere.

**278.** The city of Tucuyo was founded by Captain Carvajal in the year 1550; it will contain 100 Spanish residents, with a parish church and Dominican and Franciscan convents; it has a good climate. They raise quantities of corn and wheat in its district, and transport the meal to the Lake of Maracaibo, to be shipped to Cartagena and elsewhere; they have cattle and mule ranches. It is 53 leagues from Coro, and 32 from the city of Guanare, toward the plains of Barinas, where they raise the best tobacco brought from the Indies; it was founded by Capt. Juan Fernández de León in the year 1586. Eight leagues from this city of Tucuyo, back of Carora on the Campuzano mountain range, there are creatures called salvages (wild men), unique in the whole world; they have the build and proportions of human beings in every respect except that that they are covered with hair some 6 inches long, of a color between dark gray and silvery; they do not talk.

**279.** The city of Trujillo was founded by Capt. Diego García de Paredas in the Province of Cuicas in the year 1559, after he had subdued and pacified the country, in a valley between very high sierras; the whole country is very rough. It will contain 200 Spanish residents, with a church and Dominican and Franciscan convents. There were over 100,000 Indian tribute payers in this province when it was conquered; at present there are very few, for they have wasted away and died. The country is rich in gold and silver ore; it has large cattle and nule ranches; they gather quantities of cacao, corn, wheat, and other crops, all of which they take over to the Lake of Maracaibo for shipment; it is 65 leagues from Coro, 25 from Tucuyo, and 24 from the city of Mérida in the Archdiocese of Bogotá, which adjoins these provinces to the W.

**280.** The Lake of Maracaibo is the shipping place of the products of these provinces and of those of Mérida and Pamplona in the New Kingdom of Granada, for it is from there that they export them to Cartagena, Santo Donningo, and other points. This lake belongs to the district of the Diocese and State of Venezuela; it is a fresh-water lake, and runs 40 leagues inland; it is 10 leagues wide and 80 in circumference, with several settlements on its shores. Its chief harbor,

where the flour and other products of the State await shipment, is Las Barbacoas, so called because the Indians have built their habitations there over the water or in the trees, to protect themselves against the mosquitoes. The Spaniards come down to this harbor for the departure of the frigates.

**281.** The city of Zamora on the Lake of Maracaibo has a marvelous and delightful outlook, salubrious air and bright skies; it is abundantly provisioned and a pleasant spot. It contains a church and a Franciscan convent; the water of the lake washes against its houses. It lies 6 leagues from the outlet to the sea, 12 from the port of Las Barbacoas, and 50 from Coro. Several rivers of this State empty into the lake, and others from the New Kingdom of Granada, notably the nighty Rio de Zulia, which rises at Pamplona, and down which they transport its products. This lake empties into the sea; its mouth is half a league wide, and has a reef and rocks which act as a bar, so that only frigates can enter. They say that this province got the name of Venezuela (little Venice) because of this lake, where the Indians live "en barbacoas" (cabins in trees or over water) in the lake, as has been narrated above.

## CHAPTER XXXI

Continuing the Description of the Provinces of Venezuela, and the Strange Things To Be Found in Its Territory.

**282.** Venezuela, in the language native to that country, means big water, from the great Lake of Maracaibo which lies in its district, as if one should say "the province of the big lake." It was the Vélsares, Germans, who came out to this province to govern it in the year 1528, having made a contract with His Imperial Majesty, Charles V, to settle and subdue those provinces; but they never accomplished anything of value or importance, for the glory, after God, is due to the valor of the invincible Spaniards, who with great hardships and trials accomplished so many famous deeds in those regions, at their own expense, risking their lives to immortalize their fame, and succeeding in both efforts, though the majority of their descendants are poor and unrewarded.

**283.** In these provinces there are some mines called Cocorote, rich in gold ore and veins, but no longer worked and exploited for lack of labor. At these mines there are very remarkable tall trees; their trunk is bulkier than a pipe of wine, and their bark is green, thick and full of sap. If one drives a knife into it or makes a hole in it, a natural milk oozes out, like cow's milk in color and taste; when cooked it

forms a sort of whipped cream, and they make excellent rice pudding with it, and other delicious dishes; whoever sees or tastes it would take it for natural cow's milk.

**284.** A river runs down from these mines, navigable in cances as far as La Borburata, and very rich in fish; they catch great quantities of fish in it, as well as in other rivers of this State, with nets made of the leaves of a cane, which they call cogollo (shoot); these they put into pools; they grind up the root of the plant "barbasco" and throw it into the streams at noon under the blazing sun, and it poisons the fish so that they float bottom up; thus they catch great quantities of them, with which they provide all the country inland.

**285.** There are in these provinces and this State, as in many tropical regions in the Indies, many honeycombs in the woods; the bees build them in the trees whose flowers they exploit, and particularly the jobo or jocote tree, like our Michaelmas plums. There is a very tall tree like a walnut, which they call mijagua; it bears fruit resembling dried plums, but larger and sweeter, and delicious fruit for invalids.

**286.** There are wild walnuts loaded down with small thick-shelled nuts and whole woods of wild apples of the same sort as ours; the trees that bear them are much larger than our apple trees, with leaves like laurel leaves; the apples taste somewhat sourer than ours, but that is due to their not being cultivated. They have many spice trees—liquidambar, canime, and balsam—which diffuse much fragrance; benzoin, dragon's blood and other medicinal extracts, gums, and fruits.

**287.** There is such a variety of animals and birds that one cannot possibly enumerate them. Back of these provinces and this State, in the plains to the S., between Caranáca, which is called El Dorado, and the New Kingdom of Granada, there are extensive heathen Indian tribes called Guamonteyes and other tribes, who could easily be converted to the Faith. Whenever the Spaniards enter that country on some expedition, they serve and aid them with great humility, and without treachery, for they are simple, naked people, without malice.

**288.** This Diocese is bounded on the W. by that of Santa Marta and on the WSW. by the Archdiocese of Santa Fé de Bogotá of the New Kingdom of Granada at the city of Mérida; on the S. by heathen Indians, and on the E. by the State of Nueva Andalucía and Cumaná, which is at present within the Diocese of Puerto Rico; and although Caracas is on the Spanish Main, since it falls within the Secretariat of New Spain and is suffragan to Santo Domingo, I have put it at this point in the description.

# CHAPTER XXXII

Of the Island of Cuba, Its Size, and the Cities Established in It.

**289.** The island of Santiago de Cuba lies 15 leagues to the W. of Hispaniola, reckoning from the Cape of San Nicolás to the Point of Maisí in this island of Cuba; it is 250 leagues long from E. to W., from Cape Maisí at the E., within sight of Hispaniola, to Cape San Antón, the westernmost of this island. At its widest point from N. to S., it measures from 45 to 50 leagues, and at its narrowest, 12, between Matamano and Havana; it is over 600 leagues in circumference; it lies between 20° and 21° N. Most of its territory is level, with great woods and forests, and abundance of native fruits, wild grapes, palms, and many sorts of valuable timber; the rivers are of clear water and full of delicious fish. There are mines of gold, silver, copper, and other metals. Dr. Solórzano describes the island with great erudition in "De Jure Indiarun," book I, chapter 6, folio 64, No. 12.

**290.** It was Admiral Diego Velázquez who subdued and pacified Cuba, and the first city he founded and settled in the island was Santiago de Cuba, at 20°30' N., in the year 1511, on the S. coast, 2 leagues from the sea, with a grand harbor, very safe and deep. At the start it was a large city; at present it has a few more than 80 Spanish residents. It contains the Cathedral of the island, with a few Prebendaries who are in residence and conduct services; there are a Dominican and a Franciscan convent, a hospital, and other pilgrimage shrines. The Governor resides there, appointed by His Majesty, in consultation with the Supreme Council of the Indies; he has under his jurisdiction all the Spanish settlements on the island, viz, Bayamo. Baracóa, Sancti Spiritus, Puerto Príncipe, Trinidad, and El Cayo.

**291.** It contains the rich copper mines, out of which they have taken, and continue taking, great quantities of copper, from which they have made all the cannon of the Morro in Havana and other forts, and much has been exported to Spain. Santiago has abundance of meat from the great cattle ranches in its district, and of corn, manioc, and other fruit and root crops. From here to Cape Tiburón on the island of Hispaniola, it is 40 leagues.

**292.** The village of Baracóa is the easternmost on the island; it is 50 leagues ENE. of Santiago, established by Diego Velázquez. Bayamo lies 20 leagues NE.; it is the largest village in its district and is wonderfully temperate and attractive. Puerto Príncipe lies 40 leagues NW. of Santiago, on the N. coast; it is 50 leagues along the S. coast to the village of Sancti Spiritus; El Cayo and Trinidad are the smallest, and not so far away.

## CHAPTER XXXIII

Of the City and Harbor of Havana.

**293.** The famous harbor of Havana lies on the N. coast of the island. WNW. of the city of Santiago de Cuba, just within 23° N., opposite Florida; it is there that the galleons and fleets come and unite, both from the Spanish Main and New Spain, and it is there that they outfit themselves and take on the supplies necessary to pass through the Bahama Channel and sail to Spain. The city was founded by Commander Diego Velázquez in the year 1515, on St. Christopher's day, after he had subdued and pacified the island, and so he called it San Cristóbal de la Habana; it will contain over 1,200 Spanish residents, plus great numbers of the Negro and mulatto service class, and the crews usually stopping there from the fleets and galleons, and other ships and frigates, since the city and harbor are the stopping place for all those who come from all parts of the Indies; it has much trade and intercourse with all the other Windward Islands and other localities.

**294.** The city was built on a plain in a wonderful site, on the shore of a deep lagoon or arm of the sea running inland; it covers the area of a large city and is provided with abundance of meat, fish, turtles, tortoises, corn, manioc, and flour, which are generally imported from New Spain, with many delicious native fruits; although the climate is hot, it has bright skies and wholesome air. The city is built to the E. of this lake or harbor; in the city and its environs there are many plantations of bananas, coconut palms, native plums, pineapples, oranges, lemons, and other handsome trees, with all the vegetables and garden truck of Spain.

**295.** The city contains a very large and spacious parish church, Dominican, Franciscan, and Augustinian convents, and an excellent hospital run by Brethren of San Juan de Diós, in which the indigent sick are nursed with great devotion; there are other churches and shrines. The harbor of Havana is one of the best, roomiest, and deepest known; in fact, ships of no matter what size are practically moored to the houses of the city. At the entrance to the harbor on the W. there is a famous impregnable fortress, the Morro, which has a Warden appointed by His Majesty, and 200 soldiers in the garrison, plus the artillerymen; it contains 43 cannon, of the following denominations:

296. On the castle platform.

I. The cannon named San Pedro; weight figured at 85 quintals 15 (19 in list on folio 193) lbs.; 12 diameters in length from its mouth; requires a 36-lb. ball, 15 lbs. of powder. 2. The stone-mortar named San Juan; weight, 29 quintals 25 lbs.;  $12\frac{1}{2}$  diameters; a 14-lb. ball, 8 of powder.

3. A tierce cannon named San Antón; weight, 31 quintals 14 lbs.; 13 diameters; a 15-lb. ball, 8 of powder.

4. Another tierce cannon; weight, 43 quintals; 17<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> diameters; a 23-lb. ball, 15 of powder.

5. Another tierce cannon; weight, 29 quintals 41 lbs.;  $16\frac{1}{2}$  diameters; an 18-lb. ball, 12 of powder.

6. Another tierce cannon; weight, 28 quintals 75 lbs.;  $17\frac{1}{2}$  diameters; an 18-lb. ball, 13 of powder.

7. Another tierce cannon; weight, 41 quintals 23 lbs.; 18½ diameters; a 20-lb. ball, 14 of powder.

8. Another tierce cannon; weight, 41 quintals 90 lbs.; 18 diameters; a 22-lb. ball, 14 of powder.

9. Another tierce cannon; weight, 39 quintals 37 lbs.;  $17\frac{1}{2}$  diameters; a 24-lb. ball, 16 of powder.

10. A half culverin, named Our Lady of Talbanida; weight, 50 quintals 50 lbs.; 27 diameters; a 14-lb. ball, 12 of powder.

11. Another half culverin, named Santa Inés; weight, 46 quintals 25 lbs.; 27 diameters; a 14-lb. ball, 12 of powder.

12. A falconet; weight, 6 quintals; 22 diameters; a 3-lb. ball, 2 of powder.

**297.** The curtain running from the foot of the Morrillo to the reservoir.

I. A half culverin named Our Lady of Charity; weight, 46 quintals 40 lbs.; 25 diameters; a 17-lb. ball, 13 of powder.

2. Another half culverin; weight, 46 quintals 40 lbs.; 27 diameters; a 14-lb. ball, 12 of powder.

3. Another half culverin; weight 46 quintals 40 lbs.; 28 diameters; a 15-lb. ball, 12 of powder.

4. A royal culverin named Our Lady of the Assumption; weight, 92 quintals 15 lbs.; 30 diameters; a 27-lb. ball, 20 of powder.

5. A bastard half culverin; weight, 32 quintals 86 lbs.; 26 diameters; an 11-lb. ball, 9 of powder.

6. Another half culverin; weight, 48 quintals 50 lbs.; 27 diameters; a 14-lb. ball, 11 of powder.

7. Another half culverin; weight, 46 quintals; 26 diameters; a 15-lb. ball, 12 of powder.

8. Another half culverin named Our Lady of the Orchards (Los Guertos); weight, 46 quintals 23 lbs.; 28 diameters; a 13-lb. ball, 10 of powder.

9. Another half culverin; weight, 46 quintals 12 lbs.; 25 diameters; a 16-lb. ball, 12 of powder.

**298.** Cavalier curtain on the sea side.

10. A half caunon; weight, 65 quintals; 30 diameters; an 18-lb. ball, 14 of powder.

11. A cannon named San Lorenzo del Duque; no weight record; 28 diameters; a 23-lb. ball, 18 of powder.

12. A bastard half culverin; weight, 30 quintals 40 lbs.; 26 diameters; a 12-lb. ball, 10 of powder.

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299. Platform of St. Thomas.

13. A royal culverin named Santa Bárbara; weight, 97 quintals; 31 diameters; a 27-lb. ball, 20 of powder.

14. Another royal culverin named San Antonio; weight, 86 quintals 8 lbs.; 30 diameters; a 27-lb. ball, 20 of powder.

300. Cavalier curtain on the land side, running to the Orillon.

15. A tierce stone-mortar; weight, 26 quintals 50 lbs.; 13 diameters; a 15-lb. ball, 9 of powder.

16. A half culverin named Santa Casilda; weight, 42 quintals; 24 diameters; a 15-lb. ball, 9 of powder.

17. A bastard half culverin; no weight recorded; 26 diameters; a 15-lb. ball, 12 of powder.

18. A quarto stone-mortar; no weight recorded; 12 diameters; a 12-lb. ball, 8 of powder.

19. A half culverin; weight, 47 quintals; 27 diameters; a 12-lb. ball, 10 of powder.

20. A tierce stone-mortar, named San Diego, weight, 48 quintals 15 lbs.; 13 diameters; a 15-lb. ball, 9 of powder.

21. A half culverin, named Santa Catalina; no weight recorded, 32 diameters; an 8-lb. ball, 8 of powder.

22. Another half culverin, named Santa Ana; weight, 44 quintals 85 lbs.; 26 diameters; a 16-lb. ball, 12 of powder.

23. A pasavolante (small culverin), named Santa Ana; no weight recorded; 35 diameters; an 8-lb. ball, 8 of powder.

24. A tierce stone-mortar, named Santo Domingo; weight, 28 quintals 12 lbs.; 13 diameters; a 16-lb. ball, 10 of powder.

25. A moyana (small culverin); no weight recorded; 27 diameters; a 7-lb. ball, 7 of powder.

26. A quarto cannon; weight, 22 quintals; 19 diameters; a 12-lb. ball, 9 of powder.

27. A moyana; no weight recorded; 27 diameters; a 7-lb. ball, 7 of powder.

**301.** Citadel of the Orillon.

28. A quarto stone-mortar; weight, 27 quintals; 13 diameters; a 10-lb. ball, 7 of powder.

29. Another quarto stone-mortar; weight, 15 quintals 50 lbs.; 13 diameters; a 10-lb. ball, 7 of powder.

**302.** First casemate next the guardroom.

30. A cast-iron cannon; 20 diameters; a 6-lb. ball, 5 of powder.

**303.** And opposite the Morro on the other side of the harbor there is another castle or fortress called La Punta, with many heavy bronze cannon, and with a Captain who is its Warden, with a company of 100 soldiers. So ships enter the harbor between the Morro and this fort; and within the harbor, next the houses where the ships tie up, there is another fortress, which they call the Fuerza Vieja (Old Fort),

where there is another Captain with his company of guards. Here they mount guard every day; this fort has plenty of supplies and artillery, with 150 soldiers. Thus in the Morro and the two forts or castles there are over 450 soldiers in the garrison, plus the gunners and the other artisans.

**304.** His Majesty, in consultation with the Supreme Council, appoints a Governor for this city, who is Captain General; there are in residence a Paymaster and a Treasurer of the Royal Patrimony. In this harbor they build excellent galleons. The harbor of Matanzas lies 20 leagues E. of here; there are all sorts of shops in this city and they put up preserves of fine quality, which are bought and used on a large scale for the fleets and galleons.

# CHAPTER XXXIV

Of the City of St. Augustine, Florida, and Its District.

305. Florida is a point of land projecting 100 leagues into the sea; it is on a line N. from Cuba; it is about 25 or 30 leagues across from E. to W., and forms part of the mainland with New Spain. It was discovered by Commander Juan Ponce de León in the year 1512, on Easter Day (Pascua Florida), and for that reason he so named it; it lies just within 25° N. Later, Panfilo de Narváez set out to conquer it in the year 1528, but all perished except Álvaro Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and his companions; these suffered great hardships among the savages, but cured their sick miraculously with holy words and the sign of the Holy Cross, in true faith ; and in the year 1536, reverenced and respected by the Indians for the cures God effected through them, they arrived in the Kingdom of New Galicia, 30 leagues from the town of San Miguel de Culiacán, as is told in the histories. There they met Christian Spaniards who were astounded at their dress and the pilgrimage they had made; they were clothed and feted by Gen. Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, who at that time was setting out on the conquest of those provinces. And so the devoted companions broke up and separated, and good Álvaro Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, whose heroic virtues and courage in meeting hardships would require a special history, reached the city of Mexico. There he was very kindly received and treated by the Viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza; and from there, aided by the Viceroy, he returned to Spain and gave His Majesty an account of the unfortunate outcome of Panfilo de Narváez' party, a description of the territories he had seen and of his great tribulations during the 7 years' pilgrimage of his passage through those regions of savages. And His Majesty, having received

word of the death of Don Pedro de Mendoza, and having no news of Juan de Ayolas, who was engaged in his expeditions and campaigns along the Rio de la Plata, appreciating the courage and Christian character of this noble gentleman, Cabeza de Vaca, entrusted to him that expedition and administration in the year 1541; and he went there and carried out extended explorations of provinces which by his wisdom and excellent skill he converted to the Faith, knowing well how to do it. In these he suffered great hardships and especially from the Royal Officials, who, with treasonable and arbitrary action, arrested him for having been zealous in the service of God and of His Majesty, as is related in the histories; and in the year 1545 he returned to Spain, where his innocence was recognized and he was set free.

306. In the year 1539 Commander Hernando de Soto set out to explore Florida, and sailed into the Bay of Espíritu Santo the last day of May with 900 well-armed Spanish soldiers and 350 horses. The first districts he explored were those of the chiefs Hirrihiagua, Mucozo, and Urribarracú. Inland there are many trees of Spanish varieties, like walnuts, mulberries, plums, oaks, wild grape vines, pines, and others similar. He continued exploring large provinces and settlements of powerful and warlike Indians, great archers; and since the Spaniards did not establish themselves at once, they kept wasting away, between those who were killed by the Indians and others who succumbed to the great hardships they underwent, and to ailments. And after traveling inland and exploring great provinces and various tribes, in the year 1543 he died in the Province of Ouigualtagui like a good Christian, leaving as Governor General in his place Luís de Moscoso Alvarado. They buried him by night in a very deep grave so that the savages should not disinter him and make a mock of him; but having realized that they could not keep it hidden from the Indians, they took out his body and put it in a hollow tree trunk which served as a coffin, plugging it up with a plank, each end heavily weighted, and cast it into the deep current of the great river, with profound grief and sorrow on the part of all.

**307.** Although the new General was well liked by everyone, they began quarreling at once and abandoning what had cost them such hardships; so, starting out from this point westward for New Spain and traveling many leagues with no success, indeed, with the loss and the death of many of their comrades, both in fights with the warlike savages and from ailments caused by their great hardships, they faced about toward their starting point and reached the provinces of the chiefs Guachacoya and Anilco, who were waging bloody warfare

against each other; they made friends with the chief Anilco, who aided them with all necessities, and they built seven brigantines with which to put to sea, so greatly did they desire to leave that country. Hereupon a countless horde of savages banded together to attack the Christians; but so huge a flood overflowed both banks of the river that the land was inundated for over 20 leagues each way, and the savages scattered to save their homes. This lasted 40 days, at the end of which the river returned to its channel and the group of seven brigantines set out, trailing some canoes behind them. The ships carried 350 Spaniards, all who survived of the expedition which had started under Commander Hernando de Soto, for 550 had died in the enterprise in warfare and from sickness, together with some 30 Indians, men and women. As they sailed down that great river to reach the sea, they were followed by about 1,000 canoes of savages of various tribes who had united to exterminate them; these followed, skirmishing and attacking them, for 17 days, during which they traveled 400 leagues. They left them behind after losing 48 Spanish soldiers, and put out to sea; and after many hardships and storms, they succeeded in making port at Pánuco; and thus was abandoned at that time the project of conquering Florida, with the loss of 600 Spaniards in its various provinces, as has been related.

# CHAPTER XXXV

Of the City and Fortress of St. Augustine, Florida, and of Other Special Features of These Provinces.

**308.** After what has been related—both the misfortunes of the two armies of Panfilo de Narváez and of Gov. Hernando de Soto, failing to make any settlement at once-and the fate of the friar Fray Luis Cancer of the Dominican Order and his companions, who went to those provinces in the year 1549 for the conversion of the savages by preaching the Gospel, and who suffered for it and were killed by the savages, already exasperated by the earlier Spanish expeditions, or naturally ferocious-after all this, in the year 1559, Commander Pedro Meléndez de Avilés went to these provinces of the warlike Florida Indians; and after subduing some districts adjoining the coast, he founded and colonized certain forts and cities, such as San Mateo, which was soon abandoned, and the city and fort of St. Augustine, which I have heard still remains as a settlement in that vast region. This city of St. Augustine lies near the sea at the water's edge; it contains over 300 Spanish residents, who are all married soldiers living there as a garrison. The city is well built of stone,

with an excellent parish church and a Franciscan convent with some 30 friars, who are almost all evangelizing the Indians in their villages. There is a hospital to care for the indigent sick, a shrine of Santa Bárbara, and a fort with some 25 excellent bronze cannon. His Majesty appoints a Governor, who is Captain General, and two Royal Officials.

**309.** The city lies full 30° N.; its climate is like that of Spain, with winter and summer; the country is fertile, level, and wooded, with some swamps. Spanish fruit trees bear with great abundance, as do also cereals, garden truck, and vegetables; they grow excellent quinces, pomegranates, pears, and other kinds of fruit, and marvelous melons.

**310.** There are many districts converted to the Faith; the Indians are very good Christians, and devout. One league from the city lies the village of San Sebastián, and there are other villages, like Ais, Moloa, Matacumbe, and others, and the Province of Surruqué to the S., as one comes from Havana, and many other settlements and provinces.

**311.** The Province of Gualé is 40 leagues N. of St. Augustine; farther on is the Province of Santa Elena, and in that direction, at 120 leagues from St. Augustine, the Sierra de Tama, all rock crystal, where fine diamonds have been found; beyond which some 40 leagues to the N., lies Virginia, or Xacal, an English settlement. From Florida to the Punta de Bacallaos (Cape Cod), which is at 48° 30′, it is 1,260 leagues, with settlements of the heathen at many points; and from Mexico to Florida there are over 500 leagues of extensive provinces with settlements of savages, part of which will be described in the following chapter.

**312.** The city and provinces of Florida come under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Cuba; and for more than 200 leagues inland there are heathen Indians who wish to become Christians and many of them have churches already built, but they are not converted, for lack of any prelate, minister, or priest; for the few that there are cannot fill the need, as the Gospel says: "The harvest truly is great but the laborers are few." And Jeremiah, lamenting in spirit over like mischance, says: "The poor asked bread, and there was no man to break it unto them." The poor heathen asked for the bread of the Gospel, and there was no one to give it to them; and there is no remedy for this, through want of a shepherd; for the Bishop of Cuba does not go to Florida because there are perilous risks of enemy pirates who habitually keep raiding and infesting those coasts, and because also of the dangerous character of the sea in those regions, with so many

hurricanes; furthermore, the English of Xacal are so close by land, as has been remarked, and by sea it is not more than 150 leagues after coming out of the Bahama Channel; nor do they neglect to teach their perverse religion to these poor heathen; for which reason they keep raiding, in conjunction with the other pirates' nest which they maintain in Bermuda, where they have two other forts with which they are in connection, for they are not more than 200 sea leagues apart, and it takes not over 8 days for communication.

### CHAPTER XXXVI

Of Many Other Provinces Lying in the District of Florida, and of the Wealth of Ambergris and Pearls Produced There, and the Need of a Prelate.

313. In this region there are many provinces well peopled by warlike tribes and abounding in food supplies of corn and other cereal and root crops, quantities of fruit, fallow deer, elk, rabbits, and other animals, with plenty of feathered game, partridges, quail, doves, turtledoves, turkeys, pheasants, and other birds; in the mighty rivers there is abundance of delicious fish and great beds of pearls. Among the provinces closest to St. Augustine are Urribarracú, and at 3 days' journey NE. from there, the Province of Acuera, which to the N. borders on the Province of Ocali; the capital of the latter contains more than 700 houses; it is abundantly supplied with corn and fruit, and is some 20 leagues from the Province of Acuera. Sixteen leagues beyond Ocali is that of Vitacucho or Chile, of over 10,000 Indians. a brave and warlike tribe, whose habit it is to set out for war with large feather headdresses, very handsome after their fashion. All these provinces were explored by Gov. Hernando de Soto with his army in the year 1540. Next comes the Province of Osachile, and 12 leagues beyond, that of Apalache; the first village has 250 houses; the country consists of fertile lowlands with many field cabins and much cultivation; the chief was Capafi, governor of the whole country and of the banks of the mighty river Osachile, very rich in fish and pearls. To the N. of Apalache there are many other villages 3 days' journey removed, under the same lord of Apalache; from here to the Bay of Espíritu Santo is 150 leagues.

**314.** Ten leagues beyond Apalache lies the Province of Atalpahá, with large villages and plenty of food; from there it was 10 short days' journey through country fertile and prolific, along the banks of a river running N. and S., to the Province of Chalaqui, which has few inhabitants; next comes that of Cofachî, with attractive and fer-

tile country; adjoining that is the Province of Cofaqui, whose inhabitants are good-natured and intelligent, with fertile fields under cultivation. After 7 short days' journey comes the Province of Cofachiqui; the Indians in these provinces go clothed in cloaks of very valuable marten fur; the country is fertile, cool, and well settled; it belonged to a handsome unmarried chieftainess, who received the Spaniards peaceably and kindly; the people of all this province are well-disposed and intelligent. The chief village, where the chieftainess resided, was a large one, built on the banks of a mighty river in which grow many large oysters; in them are produced countless fine pearls, and so the lady and other chief personages wore necklaces of them. In the temples they kept large chests like coffins in which were preserved the bodies and burials of their lords and chief personages and many baskets of pearls; of these, with the permission of the lady, the Spaniards took such a quantity that they weighed out 20 arrobas (of 25 lbs. each) of them, for all the streams produce them in abundance, and the mother of this lady, who resided in another village 12 leagues distant on the banks of this same river, was said to possess more than 12 cartloads (of 4 bushels each) of pearls. There were in these provinces many well-dressed antelope skins and martens, rich mines of copper pyrites, and mines of a sort of very curious mineral like sifted white pyrites (margajita). In these provinces there are many villages where the natives have fields of corn and other cereals, and quantities of fruit.

**315.** From this province one goes 24 leagues NE. to Chalaque, all of it attractive country with pleasant meadows and prairies dotted with field cabins and plots under cultivation, up to the valley of Xuala, a territory rich in food crops, under the same chieftainess. In all this province they have many Indian slaves, obtained in war with other districts, whom they keep hobbled (desocados) for work in the fields and for the personal service of their owners, so that they cannot get away. It is 400 leagues to this province from the Bay of Espíritu Santo, with many remarkable and valuable features beyond what has been briefly described in this chapter; and the complete failure and collapse of Gov. Hernando de Soto and his Spaniards, resulted in nonsettlement of many most suitable districts which the local chiefs affably requested them to colonize; had they done so, the colonies would have grown greatly and another kingdom would have been established as extensive as that of New Spain.

## CHAPTER XXXVII

Continuing the Description of the Provinces, etc., Discussed in the Preceding Chapter.

**316.** From Xuala they traveled 4 leagues over pleasant meadows and flat country with occasional villages and crossed a gentle range of hills with many groves of fruit trees and cool glades, arriving in the Province of Chief Guaxale; then 5 more to the territory of Ichîahá, in whose rivers there were extensive beds of fine large pearls : great quantities were buried with the bodies of chief personages. The chief sent men out to fish for them, and in a short time they brought in their canoes loaded with large oysters and took many out of them; the Spaniards were astonished at this, and one soldier found a pearl in one, as large as a hazelnut, and of great value. Bordering on this is the Province of Acoste, and on the bank of that mighty river, the Province of Lord Cozá, very extensive and well settled, with gentle and attractive fields abounding in food crops. The principal village, of 500 houses, was above the banks of the river. Here the chief cordially requested the Governor to establish a settlement. since it was such an important matter for all of them. From this province it is 20 leagues through country all covered with field cabins and farms to the village of Talise, fortified with deep trenches, since it was the frontier post opposite the province of the arrogant Lord of Tascaluza, with whom Cozá was at war.

**317.** Next comes the Province of Chief Tascaluza, who was of giant stature but slender; he had a son still young, almost as tall as he; the tallest Spaniard hardly came up to his shoulder. His chief city was Mavila, on the other side of the river, where there was abundance of food because of the fertility of the land. Tascaluza tried to kill the Spaniards and under cover of peace set a great ambush for the Spaniards, who were proceeding on their guard as was suitable among such people; the savages fell upon them and they joined cruel battle, which lasted almost all day, both sides fighting valiantly; 83 Spaniards were killed and 45 horses, to the great sorrow of the Spaniards, and many were badly wounded; but they came off victorious, having killed 11,000 of the savages, many of them burned to death, the Spaniards having set fire to the village, where they lost their baggage and everything they had.

**318.** Disconsolate (though victorious) at the loss of their comrades, they traveled from Mavila 3 days over pleasant country and prairies to the Province of Chioza, where the chief came out with 8,000 warriors to bar their passage. Chioza was well located between two watercourses; but they cut the savages to pieces and marched on a league to the village of Chiacocolla and then 4 leagues to Libamo, both situated in the province just mentioned, the whole country being well supplied with food. Twelve leagues beyond lies the village of the Province of Chisca, built above the deep-lying channel of a mighty river, the largest they had yet come upon; the country was fertile and rich in corn and other cereals. Having crossed the mighty river, they traveled 4 days' journey to the Province of Casquín, where they discovered on a hill a town of 400 houses which was the capital; the surrounding country was all full of corn, fruit, and other luxuries. Here they were well received by the chief and his vassals. Casquin begged the Governor that since he had a better god than theirs, they should pray that he send them rain, for the land had need of it. So they set up a great cross and they all prayed to God, and it rained good and hard that night, with more than 20,000 heathen present there, whooping loudly at intervals while the Spaniards were praying, begging the God of the Christians to send them rain; and with the mercy that God showed to these savages through the prayers and intercession of the Christians, they were greatly comforted and held the Holy Cross in deep veneration.

319. From here they proceeded 3 days' journey escorted by 5,000 Indians through the Province of Casquín to the Province of Cafaná, with whom they were at war. He withdrew to an island in the mighty river, where he had a fortress; and after they had had several encounters, the Governor made these two chieftains friends. From this province he returned to Casquin and from there traveled W.; for from Mavila they had explored northward. From Casquín they marched 5 days to the Province of Quigate, and with 5 more days down the river they reached that of Colima, where they were peaceably received. It was a rich country but lacking in salt, replaced by bluestone (arena azul). From Colima they went through uninhabited territory to the Province of Tula, where they had some skirmishes with the savages; 2 days from there they reached Vitangue, a region abounding in food supplies; there were deer, great numbers of excellent rabbits, and quantities of wildfowl, which gave them agreeable variety.

**320.** From Vitangue in 7 days they reached Naguatex over fertile and productive country; there Diego de Guzmán was left behind, without their being able to rescue him from the Indians. They went on to Guácané, a warlike tribe; there they found many crosses which devout Cabeza de Vaca had left; the Indians reverenced these greatly and showed deep devotion to them. From here they passed through

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seven large provinces before reaching that of Anilco, which was large and thickly settled; they traveled 30 leagues through it to the capital, which was a town of 400 houses, built on the bank of that mighty river. It contained a large square next the dwelling of Chief Anilco. They crossed the river and journeyed on through uninhabited mountainous country to the Province of Gachacoya, mortal enemy of Anilco, with whom he was at war. Here the Spaniards were kindly treated and welcomed by the chief and his underlings; they rested there and other things happened which for brevity's sake I beg leave to omit. From here they went on to the Province of Quigualtaugui; the chief town contained 500 houses, built on the bank of the mighty river; the country is fertile and abounding in food supplies. It was at this spot that Governor de Soto died in the year 1543; with this event began the loss of what had been laboriously accomplished.

**321.** Although the soldiers had accepted Luís de Moscoso as their General, they immediately wanted to leave the country for New Spain, and traveled 100 leagues westward to the Province of Auche, and from there through others more sterile, named after the warlike cowboys (Vaqueros); there were cows in that country. They traveled 20 days through these provinces losing Spaniards every day with the fighting and the hardships. Seeing that they were getting lost, they turned eastward, working ENE. till they arrived in the Provinces of Anilco and Guachacoya. From there in boats or brigantines, as has been told, they made their way out with great trials, pursued by a thousand canoes of Indians, and they succeeded in making port at Pánuco, abandoning so many provinces they might have settled.

**322.** On all the Florida coast and on those islands, besides the pearl beds to be found in the rivers inland, of which we have given a brief and succinct account, and oyster beds on the sand bars with fine pearls, there is much ambergris of far finer quality than elsewhere, and other highly prized and valuable commodities; but since the country is not settled and explored, it derives no benefit from such great wealth.

**323.** The colonists of that Florida country suffer great need because the Bishop of Havana cannot come over there on account of the risks of storms at sea and of pirates, and so they are yet to be confirmed; accordingly they desire and pray that His Majesty will take pity on them and since they serve him as loyal subjects, that he will do them the favor to send them a Bishop or Abbot, which will comfort and strengthen them, and will bring many of the heathen who dwell inland, to knowledge of our Holy Faith, for they are well-disposed. Inland there are many churches without priests and though

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the natives are not Christians, they live in hopes of becoming Christian; it would be a great help to send a prelate to train ministers sufficient to catechize them and teach them the way of salvation.

# CHAPTER XXXVIII

Of the Island of Jamaica, Its Fertility, and the Remarkable Things To Be Found There.

324. The island of Jamaica lies in 17°30' N., 20 leagues S. of Cuba, and likewise 20 leagues W. of the island of Hispaniola. It is 150 leagues in circuit, 50 leagues long from E. to W., and 20 to 25 leagues across. It has a marvelous climate, rather hot than cold, and is extremely rich in food supplies. On the N. coast it has high mountain ranges, with great forests and valuable timber trees on them, as is stated by Solórzano, "De Jure Indiarum," folio 64, book I, chapter VI, No. 11. At the beginning of the exploration and conquest, three settlements were made on this fertile island, viz, Sevilla on the N. coast, where they built the collegiate church for the island; the town was settled by Capt. Juan de Esquivel, a gentleman native of Seville, in the year 1509, and Capt. Diego Sánchez de Espinosa, who was given command for life (Alcaldía perpetua) of a fortress built there, by His Majesty's favor, since he was a leading pioneer and settler. Fourteen leagues from Sevilla they established on the S. coast the town of Oristán; and 20 leagues to the eastward in that same year these captains founded the town of La Vega, to which the others were later transferred, and it still remains; it was likewise colonized by Capt. Alonso de Vargas, a gentleman native of Trujillo, and Capt. Martin Vázquez with Francisco de Garay, who was to be Commander of this island, and other noble gentlemen, captains and soldiers, who aided with their valor in its conquest and settlement.

**325.** The town of La Vega, which is in existence today, is the La Vega of the title of the Admirals of the Indies given by His Majesty— Marquis of Veragua and La Vega; it was established on the bank of a large river named Cahuaya, which almost surrounds it. It has a marvelously attractive site, contains 500 Spanish residents, and is very well built and laid out. There is a collegiate church with an Abbot and some clerics who reside there and serve it; there are two convents, a Dominican and a Franciscan, and two shrines which serve as parish churches, Our Lady of Belén and San Jerónimo, in which Mass is said for the poor people in the environs. It lies 2 short leagues from the sea and the main port, over pleasant level country with many trees. The river running through the town is very salutary, with fresh and crystal-clear water, and abundance of fish; when it reaches the town it is a mighty stream, its source being over 30 leagues away.

**326.** The town is very healthful, with agreeable and bracing breezes, aided in this by the river; since it runs through a region full of ceterach and sarsaparilla, it is of great benefit to the inhabitants of the town; thanks to its numerous virtues, persons suffering from the French pox and other open sores and illnesses, have only to take some exercise and get into a perspiration and then bathe in it under the blazing rays of the sun and they recover their health, merely by bathing and rubbing themselves with certain large leaves which grow on the banks of this river entwined in the trees and called jibana; the same result is obtained by persons suffering from hives (ronchas) or pustules; by bathing mornings in the river, they avoid blood-letting and come out cured and healthy.

**327.** This mighty river is fed by over 20 small streams, and so when it rains the river comes down in flood, carrying many trees and timbers to the sea at the main port of the town, which is good and ample. It has two channels for ships to enter by; there is an island in between near the harbor, and then the two channels unite and form one. Small boats stay in the neighborhood of the port; large ships, after discharging cargo, pass into an inlet for fear of enemies, so to be out of sight.

**328.** This harbor is visited by many Negro slave ships brought by the Portuguese from Cape Verde and the (African) rivers, to refresh them after the voyage they have made, since the country is very fertile and overflowing with cheap food supplies; and those who are sick, what with the agreeable climate and bathing in the health-giving waters of the river and plenty of meat and other food, are cured and recover their health, to pass on to New Spain, Cartagena, and other points.

**329.** At the harbor of this town its inhabitants have built a sort of fortified embankments up by the entrance, for defense against enemies, with some pieces of artillery in them. A remarkable event took place in this harbor, while Don Ferdinando Melgarejo was Governor of the island for His Majesty; on the eve of the festival of San Diego a corsair arrived with a fleet of 16 ships, intending to take the island and sack the town. Their General disembarked some 600 men from them; the residents were called out for defense against the enemy and God gave them such good fortune that they killed over 100 of them, including the General, without our losing

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more than one man; and the enemy having withdrawn ignominiously to their ships gave out the statement that the chief cause of their rout was a friar, mounted on a powerful horse and singing the hymn of victory; accordingly from that time on the town said its prayers to him and has him as their patron; on his day they hold a fiesta there and a general celebration, in commemoration of this victory and of the mercy God showed them through the intercession of the saint.

## CHAPTER XXXIX

Continuing the Description of the Remarkable Features of the Island, and How at the Beginning It Was a Help to Further Conquests.

330. The inhabitants of this island who dwell there today and maintain it, are the sons and descendants of those illustrious men who won it and settled there—all of them of noble, kindly, and very Christian character, and charitable to all the poverty-stricken who arrive there, providing them with their needs; as for those who stay, they lay them under obligation with their noble treatment of them, while they help and outfit for their voyage, those who desire to travel farther. Their large cattle ranches are so productive that the fields are full of them; they provide much beef for the ships, and hides for Spain; likewise with small cattle-goats, sheep, and hogsall of which are produced in abundance on the island. For these, and for service in their farmhouses and in the fields, they have over 1,000 Negro and mulatto slaves who busy themselves on the land in the cattle ranches and as shepherds, and in the cultivation of corn, tobacco (of which quantities are raised on the island), rice, cassava, and some presses for honey; all of these yield abundantly, for the land is suitable and productive.

**331.** There are likewise all the fruits of the Indies in plenty, and from Spain they have grapes, olives, quinces, and many others, which bear very well, and the woods are all full of wild grapes; they grow cassia, cotton, cacao, and sweet potatoes. The woods are full of tall trees which are loaded with excellent savory pepper, like that which is got from India; this is exported to Cartagena, New Spain, and all the other islands; it is a great source of wealth which might be taken over to Spain, and would be very important; they use it in all their stews and in the manufacture of chocolate.

**332.** Besides the above there are quantities of goats run wild on the mountains and especially on one very massive range over 3 leagues long and very high, near the sea, with the lookout on top;

these goats are too numerous to count; they have battues and get excellent cordovan leather from them. Likewise there are on the mountains countless herds of swine; the land is so prolific of everything, and the climate so mild, that they have multiplied to such an extent that they are fair game to anyone who wants to kill them. With the abundance of wild fruit growing all over these mountains, they get fat between July and November, at which time they hold great battues, so that with the lard they get from them, they load ships with casks of lard for the Spanish Main and other sections. In these 5 months they get every year on the average over 10,000 arrobas of excellent lard and many poor people benefit from it.

**333.** There is much feathered game on this island, like guinea fowl, and many sorts of pigeons and turtledoves in such numbers that on one key which lies 2 leagues out to sea from the harbor, i.e., an island to leeward of it, which is named Cayo de Palominos (Dove Key) and which is usually covered with doves, so many are raised that on St. John's Day they go out from the island to celebrate on this key, for there are so many fledgeling doves that they can load ships with them; and so those who go out to the celebration, after having gorged on them all the days of their stay, come back with their boats loaded with them, for the multitude of them covers the ground and the trees.

**334.** On this island there are very rich mines of gold and silver, blue pyrites (cobalt? azul), copper and other metals, particularly in some ranges in the eastern part of the island, called the Bastida, which are paved with these metals; in the early days of exploration great wealth was taken out of them. Most of the rivers carry mineral, but no advantage comes of it because of the lack of labor; there were many Indians at the time of the conquest, but when they died out, profitable working of the mines ceased. This whole island has many mountain ranges, particularly on the N., S., and E., with many valleys and much meadow land between them; to the W. it is level country.

**335.** There is on this island excellent hard and valuable timber for shipbuilding, such as mahogany, cedar, and oak, out of which they have built many boats a league or two up the rivers inland, and then floated them downstream to the sea; there is likewise abundance of red ebony; brazilwood (of which much is exported); palo santo (lignum vitae), also called guayacan (guaiacum) which is indestructible and has a very medicinal bark; and the ceiba (silk cotton) tree, from which they make strong large dugouts, in which they float all the products of the soil to the chief port; this ceiba tree produces large tufts of very soft fine cotton.

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**336.** The island has large ranches of mares and horses, which were much exported in the early days of the exploration and conquest of all the Spanish Main and New Spain, both for breeding purposes and for the settlement of the country, as well as for personal use and their value in the conquests; the same with cows. This island furnished sustenance for all the new discoveries, being the comfort and support of all the pioneers. There are ranches of mules, which are largely exported to the Province of Yucatan. Thus Jamaica has always demonstrated its fertility and abundance in all things; hence the island is like a keystone and a convenient stopping place for all the others, and many of our enemies come to it, both to fit out their ships and to get provisions from its abundant store; in fact, it could of itself maintain 12,000 men with its great fertility and abundance.

## Book III

[Of the Territory of the Circuit Court of Mexico, the Principal One in New Spain; in Which Are Described All the Provinces in Its Jurisdiction; the Country; Its Characteristics; Its Products; Some of the Indian Customs; the Cities and Towns Founded by the Spaniards; the State and Municipal Administrations and Other Offices Filled by His Majesty; the Religious Hierarchy; and the Corregimientos and Alcaldías Mayores in the Viceroy's Appointment, together with Other Things Worthy of Mention and the Many Silver Mines in Operation There.]

#### CHAPTER I

Of the Province of Yucatan, Its Fertility, and Other Noteworthy Facts Concerning It.

337. Sailing W. from Cuba, one passes into the Sound, which is a shallow sea, where the fleets and ships headed for New Spain via the port of San Juan de Ulloa and the city of Vera Cruz, fish with hook and line and get quantities of porgies, since they abound in those waters; then they enter the Gulf of Mexico, leaving Florida to the N. on the right, and having on the ESE. the Province of Yucatan. This comprises within itself many provinces and tribes; it is a point of land jutting out over 100 leagues into the sea, from the Gulf of Honduras side to Cape Catoche; it is 130 leagues long NE. to SW., across the tip of this country; from Cape Catoche to Cape Delgado it is 90 leagues across, E.1NE., W.1SW. From Cape Delgado along the shore of the Gulf of Mexico, where the town of San Francisco de Campeche is located, up to the Gulf of Tabasco, where is located the town of Santa María de la Vitoria, it is 65 leagues long, almost N. and S., and on this quarter from Tabasco to the town of Salamanca, E. and W., it is 30 leagues wide, which is the narrowest portion of this country.

**338.** It is almost a peninsula, and level for the most part, rich in woods and fruit plantations, but lacking rivers and water, for there is none anywhere, although it is found immediately in wells. It contains some low mountain ranges from Campeche to Champotón, and in the midst of them there is a headland called the Morro de los Diablos (Devils' Bluff). A range crosses it from E. to W. from Salamanca to Champotón, which divides Yucatan along the Río

Tayzar (which lies toward the Provinces of Chiapas) from the Provinces of Lacandón and Manché, which Dr. Alonso Criado de Castilla, while President of Guatemala, began converting by excellent methods to acquaintance with our Holy Faith in the year 1600, and 1,400 Indians were baptized; but with the death of this President that great evangelization ceased.

339. The Province or Kingdom of Yucatan has a hot climate and is thickly settled, healthful, and prolific. The Indians in this country have increased in numbers; they live to a hale old age; in fact, when the Spaniards discovered it they found many old men there and among them one 300 years old, as was attested in those Indians' annals, and another of 140, who was very active and had children and grandchildren already old and white-haired. He was baptized and named Juan Na; he was a native of the village of Humún, which lies on the range separating the Provinces of Lacandón and Manché and the Río Tayzá, which are S. and SW. of the Provinces of Chiapas, and they have Tabasco and Xicalango of the same Province of Yucatan to the W. On this quarter the sea forms a great bay full of islands; and when the Tabasco Indians sail across this bay, in order not to get lost they put up signals on the trees on them. This is where the country is narrowest, over to the Province of Chetemal, where Salamanca was located; its chief was a doughty Indian named Nachacán, who had in company with him a sailor named Gonzalo Guerrero, whom he gave in marriage to a lady related to himself, and made him General in his wars with neighboring enemies; he lived and dressed like an Indian.

**340.** This Kingdom of Yucatan comprises 18 provinces; that of the Yzaes who founded and settled the great city of Chichen Itzá; the Province of Mayapán; that of the Tutuxius; that of Tapaén, Sotuta, to which tribe belonged the warlike Cocomes; that of the Cheles, who founded the city of Tirroh; the Province of Cozumel on an island 5 leagues from the mainland; this is 15 leagues long and 5 broad, below Cape Catoche; between the island and the continent is formed a channel with a strong current. The island lies in 20° N.; there used to be a temple in it which was the sanctuary for all that country, and in it was the well of Chilén, where the heathen savages offered their sacrifices by throwing into it the slaves captured in war.

**341.** The Province of the Xiues; that of Cochuaque; that of Chetemal and Bacalar, where, as already related, Salamanca was founded; that of Manahô; Chuaca; the Covohes of Champotón; the Province of Arrinchel; that of Xicalango, and Tabasco, to the W. of that of Campeche, in which is located the city of Campeche, on

the road to Vera Cruz; that of Chable; the Province of Guaymil all of it fertile country, very rich in foodstuffs, corn, honey, deer, swine, turkeys, and much game, both wild and feathered, for which reason the natives call it Yetelzeh and Ununuýz, which means country of game and of turkeys; likewise they called it Petén, which means island, thinking it was one.

#### CHAPTER II

Of the Founding of the City of Mérida, and Other Matters Concerning That Country.

**342.** The Province of Yucatan was discovered by Capt. Francisco Hernández de Córdoba, and later by Juan de Grijalba, and in the year 1527 Commander Francisco de Montejo started its conquest; he was a gentleman native of Salamanca; with 500 Spaniards he entered Yucatan by the village of Xamanzal, and in a period of 8 years he subdued and pacified it. In this he suffered great hardships, for the Indians were brave and warlike. He founded the first city in the year 1528, one year after coming in, on the site of the great city of Chichen Itzá; and since there were large and handsome buildings there with human figures admirably wrought, with their earcaps (orejeras) and earrings, as well as figures of lions and other animals, such as to arouse admiration at seeing similar buildings and sculpture, very much like the superb remains at Mérida in Spain, he called it Mérida.

**343.** The city is built on a marvelous site, with bright skies and wholesome air; it covers the area of a very large city. It is very well laid out with straight streets and fine buildings; it will number over 600 Spanish residents. It is the residence of the Governor of those provinces. It contains the Cathedral, very quaint and elaborately wrought, with a Bishop and Prebendaries who reside there and serve it; there is a Franciscan convent, with other churches and shrines. The city is well supplied and admirably provisioned with meat, fish, and fruit, at very low prices. It lies in 20° N. and has a springlike climate all the year, with many sorts of native fruit, as well as those of Spain.

**344.** Thirty leagues W. lies the town and harbor of San Francisco de Campeche, with a parish church and Franciscan convent. This city was founded by the Commander in the year 1531. There is excellent timber there, for which reason stout ships are built in its harbor. From here it is 130 leagues to Vera Cruz, to which they export the local products like wax and honey, which the Indians gather

from hives and hollow trees; they make also quantities of deerskin footwear, cotton cloth, candlewicks and other specialties.

345. Valladolid is 30 leagues from Mérida, near the island Cozumel, and Salamanca 60 leagues to the S., likewise founded in the year 1531; Tabasco is 30 leagues W. of Salamanca, founded by Commander de Montejo at the same time. After subduing these provinces and founding the cities and towns above mentioned, he found himself in need of men after his losses in the fighting, and of aid; many of his force had left on learning of the riches of Peru; so he was obliged to abandon the country in the year 1535 to go and see the Viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza, who had arrived from Spain that same year of 1535, and ask him to give him some aid in men and munitions to keep the proud Yucatan Indians in subjection and obedience, or else to give over to him the governorship of Honduras; he had represented to His Majesty that if he would do him the favor of turning over to him both provinces, it would be easier to keep them under control. And so that same year the warrant arrived naming him Governor of Honduras, on account of the dissensions arising in those provinces because of the cruelties of the Royal Paymaster Sereceda; this warrant came into the hands of the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza, who at once turned it over to Commander Montejo with certain favors and privileges which he gave him. So he sent Captain Cáceres on ahead with his authorization to take charge of the administration, with such collaboration on his part that at the present day the Province of Yucatan is one of the best and most agreeable provinces in the Indies.

**346.** The province is very thickly settled, and even though at the beginning, when it was subdued, it had many inhabitants, at present it contains 199 settlements, with 116,600 baptized persons, not counting children of both sexes, and many others, with many convents and curacies, as will be detailed in the following chapter.

**347.** And although there is no gold or silver ore in this province, it is very fertile, prolific, and delightful. Quantities of corn are harvested in it; that is the chief crop. There is abundance of turkeys and barnyard fowl, which sell for a real each. Much beeswax is produced, and honey from the quantities of beehives to be found all over the province, and from hollow trees in the woods; cacao, cochineal, annatto, indigo; cotton, from which much cloth is woven; and other specialties which they export to other provinces.

**348.** The country is very flat and low and heavily wooded, both with valuable timber like brazilwood, ebony, and others, and with fruit trees like mammees, Indian figs, aguacates, jocotes, bananas,

pineapples, and others, and some from Spain, so that it is provided with everything. There are quantities of tiny winged things like bees which shine at night and give out light; these occur in all the hot, moist countries in the Indies.

**349.** For clothing the Indians wear broad trousers, cotton undershirts, and white cloaks of linen or cotton, some of them striped, which serve them as capes; they wear them fastened over the left shoulder and under the right arm. The Indian women wear cotton petticoats striped in different colors, which serve them as overskirts or mantles, and over them guaypiles, which fall from the shoulders to the ankles without sleeves, like surplices; these come in different colors. There are in this province 30 convents holding district guardianships, and 131 villages under their charge, as will be detailed in the following chapter, with all additional information under this heading.

## ΙΗS

[Brief and Summary Account for His Most Excellent Lordship, Viceroy of New Spain; of the Number of Convents and Friars of the Order of St. Francis in This Province of Yucatan, Occupied in Ministering to the Indians, and How Many There Are of These Latter, and Distributed in How Many Villages. Made in the Year 1609.]

#### CHAPTER III

Of the Number of Convents, Curacies (Dotrinas), and Indians To Be Found in This Province.

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In the village of Tzitzantún: I convent, 4 friars; 4 villages, 4,200 Indians
under religious instruction4,200
In the village of Motul: I convent, 3 friars; 4 villages, 4,600 Indians under
confessional instruction4,600
In the village of Tekantó: 1 convent, 4 friars; 6 villages, 5,500 Indians under
religious instruction5,500
In the village of Champotón: 2 friars; 5 small villages, 1,800 Indians under
religious instruction

# 351.

In the village of Hecilchakán: I convent, 3 friars; 5 villages, 2,500 Indians
under religious instruction2,500
In the village of Calkini: I convent, 4 friars; 5 villages, 5,700 persons under
religious instruction
The village of Mascanul: I convent, 2 friars; 2 villages, over 2,000 Indians
under religious instruction2,000
The village of Tahumán: 1 convent, 2 friars; 3 villages, 1,600 Indians under
religious instruction
The village of Hunucmá: 1 convent, 3 friars; 4 villages, 3,000 Indians under
religious instruction
The village of Ticul: I convent, 4 friars; 5 villages, over 6,000 persons under
religious instruction
The village of Ticah: I convent, 3 friars; 3 villages, 3,700 Indians under
religious instruction
The village of Oxkutzcab: I convent, 2 friars; 3 villages, 2,800 Indians under
religious instruction2,800
The village of Teabo: I convent, 2 friars; 2 villages, 2,200 Indians under
religious instruction2,200
The village of Homún: I convent, 2 friars; 2 villages, 1,700 persons under
religious instructionI,700

# 352.

The village of Tecoh: 1 convent, 2 friars; 4 villages, 2,200 persons under
religious instruction2,200
The village of Cacalghen: I convent, 2 friars; 2 villages, 2,200 Indians under
religious instruction2,200
The village of Temax: I convent, 2 friars; 3 villages, 2,400 Indians under
religious instruction2,400
The village of Telchac: 1 convent, 2 friars; 3 villages, 3,200 Indians under
religious instruction
The village of Mocochá: 1 convent, 2 friars; 3 villages, 2,600 Indians under
religious instruction
The village of Tizimín: 1 convent, 4 friars; 11 villages, 4,200 Indians under
religious instruction4,200
The village of Tinún: 1 convent, 2 friars; 5 villages, 1,800 Indians under
religious instruction
The village of Chichimilá: I convent, 2 friars; 5 villages, 3,000 persons under
religious instruction
In the woods (montañas): 4 friars; 6 or 7 villages, 500 persons under
religious instruction

#### 353.

Besides the above-mentioned friars, ordained priests, who are at present engaged in preaching in the native tongue, there are some others, recent arrivals from Spain, who are at present studying and learning the language, so that in all there will be over 112 friars.

(Here is inserted a small leaf in a different hand, with another summary, viz:)

**354.** Memorandum of the convents, friars, Indian villages and Indians under instruction, belonging to our order in this Province of St. Joseph of Yucatan.

Convents	30
Friars	112
Indian villages	131
Indians under religious instruction	91,500

#### CHAPTER IV

Of the Clerics, Ordained Priests, Resident in the Province and State of Yucatan, and the Villages and Indians under Their Charge.

**355.** In the city of Mérida, Licentiate Francisco de Ávila, son of a pioneer, well versed in the native tongue, and Vicar-General of the entire Diocese.

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#### 356.

#### 357.

**358.** In the Cathedral of Mérida there are *2* curates. There is another curate for the Negroes and mulattoes of the city of Mérida, both free and slave.

There is in this city of Mérida a professorial Chair of Latin, taught by Juan Alonso de Lara, B.A., son of a pioneer; he has 500 pesos' income from a chaplaincy, with obligation to teach this Latin course.

There is a vicar for the nuns, viz, Father Flores Morán.

Father Ruiz is Chaplain to the Governor of the province.

Father Recalde is Sacristan of the church of Valladolid. Besides them there are 8 other clerics in the city without occupation; so that there are in this Province of Yucatan 41 clerics occupied in the activities described, in confessional instruction of 25,100 Indians (not counting children) in 68 villages.

# (One third of folio blank)

[359 and 360 repeat in almost the same words what is said in 345-347, beginning with the words "who had arrived from Spain in the year 1535."

**361** begins "There are quantities of Campeche or brazilwood, which is exported to Spain. There are in this province quantities of little creatures which fly by night etc. (348). The natives are well instructed religiously. For dress the Indians wear etc. . . . under the right arm, like the Apostles' clothing. . . . There are in this province 16 convents of Franciscan friars and 6 districts under priests. The Indians work and cultivate the land," All this was crossed out.]

# Chapter V

Of the City of Vera Cruz and the Port of San Juan de Ulloa, of the Diocese of Tlaxcala, and of Other Matters in This District.

362. At the extremity of the Gulf of Mexico, leaving Florida to the right hand on the N., and the Province of Yucatan on the left hand to the S., lies the port of San Juan de Ulloa, which was discovered by Capt. Juan de Grijalba in the year 1517 and is the chief port for New Spain. One enters the harbor by the Laja channel, which is the most used; for safe navigation of ships through it, since there are many reefs and rocks and entrance is dangerous and difficult except in fair weather, they place little flags along the channel on these reefs as signals and there hardly seems room enough for the ships. One can get in also by the Gallega channel. The sailing distance from Spain to this port is 1,900 leagues; it lies in full 18°N. The harbor contains a small island little more than a gunshot off the mainland; here there is a fortress with garrison under a Warden appointed by His Majesty in consultation with the Royal Council of the Indies, with 100 Spanish soldiers for the defense of the harbor, and (blank) bronze cannon; there is on this island a wall or rampart 400 feet long with large, heavy bronze rings, to which they fasten ships with strong cables because of the northers which blow in this region from mid-September on; otherwise they would run great risk of loss.

**363.** The city of New Vera Cruz is located opposite the fortress of San Juan de Ulloa on the mainland at the water's edge; here is

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unloaded all the merchandise [and wine] brought by the fleets and ships from Spain; it is an active and wealthy trading center, since it is the landing point of all the merchandise brought from Spain [and] the shipping port for the gold, silver, cochineal, indigo, hides, sugar, and other commodities produced over there. The city is located [as has been noted] at the water's edge on a sand bank; its climate is hot and damp [and] somewhat unhealthy; when it rains most of the drops [under influence of the climate] turn into [or from them are produced some] tadpoles with tails which [tails] fall off as the tadpoles grow and develop into big toads; at certain seasons they utter such loud sounds that whoever did not know the facts would suppose he was listening to calves bellowing.

**364.** The city will contain 400 Spanish residents. The construction is all in wooden planking, but they are already putting up many stone houses. It has an excellent parish church and Dominican, Franciscan, Augustinian, Mercedarian, and Jesuit convents, a hospital for the indigent sick; there are other churches and shrines. It has its pier, which had its beginning and [its] inception under Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza; much merchandise is unloaded and exported here. This city is [much] frequented by crowds who come down from New Spain when the fleets arrive, to get employment and load freight; although it is an expensive place in dull times, it is well provided with all sorts of luxuries brought in from all quarters.

**365.** Around the city are many dunes or sand banks, and when furious northers blow, they shift from one point to another. Two royal officials reside here, appointed by His Majesty in consultation with the Royal Council of the Indies. The city has a Corregidor appointed by the Viceroy of New Spain for the satisfactory administration of the city and the dispensing of justice.

**366.** Five leagues to the westward [of this city] lies the city of Old Vera Cruz, built on the bank of a large river called by its name. Since it was an unhealthy site and very inconvenient for the discharge of the ships' merchandise, much the greater part of its inhabitants left for the new city, although over 100 Spaniards [still] reside there because of its nearness to their ranches, on which they raise cattle, mares, horses, and hogs, and to their sugar mills, their cornfields, sweet potatoes, and other cereals and root crops, and Spanish and native fruit; everything grows luxuriantly. It is on the King's Highway for Mexico City, Puebla, and all of New Spain; [these cities belong to the district of the Diocese of Tlaxcala, which is 60 leagues inland to the W.; the 30 leagues]. From the port to the city of Jalapa it is 30 leagues; this city has a hot climate, and very impor-

tant sugar mills, and wide pastures; as far as the Rio de Alvarado and Nueva Almería there are countless herds of cattle, which produce quantities of hides which are shipped to Spain. On that quarter of the Rio de Alvarado it is bounded by the Diocese of Oaxaca. In this hot country is produced much sarsaparilla, and other roots, gums, and medicinal extracts and fruits; all kinds of native fruit bear abundantly.

# Chapter VI

Continuing the Description of the Country and of the New Diocese Which Orders Were Given To Create in the City of Vera Cruz or Town of Jalapa, because It Is a Healthier Spot.

**367.** There are in the hot country district some Indian settlements with many ranches and farms established by Spaniards, as well as cattle ranches and sugar mills, together with other enterprises and plantations of corn, tobacco, and other crops; on the coast 72 leagues N. of Vera Cruz lie the village and harbor of Tamiagua, with Indian and Spanish residents, and with an important fishing and shrimp industry because of the quantities obtained there. The Viceroy appoints for this village and its province an Alcalde Mayor for its satisfactory administration and the dispensing of justice. Here is the boundary toward the village of Pánuco, which lies some 30 leagues to the N. in the Archdiocese of Mexico.

**368.** Inland 30 leagues from the city of Vera Cruz lies the town of Jalapa, where it is proposed to build the new Cathedral for the section formed from the Diocese of Tlaxcala. Since this has a very wide jurisdiction over thickly settled country and the Bishop is not equal to visiting and confirming over its whole extent, and since it is very rich in large revenues, His Majesty favored Licentiate Gutierre Bernardo de Quirós with the commission to divide it. This new Diocese is to be enlarged by another small tract taken from the jurisdiction of the Diocese of Oaxaca along the coast up to Tabasco, from its district in Yucatan. Thus all will be better accommodated, and it will be possible to make better provision for pastoral visits and confirmations and for the satisfying of other emergencies which need prompt handling in those new regions, as well as to aid in converting the Indians and in their receiving sound doctrine and instruction.

**369.** The town of Jalapa is located on a marvelous site with a delightful outlook, a springlike climate, bright skies, and wholesome air; the fields are fertile and prolific, yielding excellent crops of corn, wheat, and all Spanish and native fruit. The town will contain 200 Spanish residents; it has a good parish church, a Franciscan

convent, a hospital for the care of the indigent sick, and other churches and shrines.

**370.** The town is near the King's Highway from Vera Cruz to Mexico and Puebla. The whole country is well covered with luxuriant forests and threaded by streams of sweet and crystal-clear water, very cool and delicious, so that it seems a bit of earthly Paradise; it is always the same because of its equable climate. In this town's district there are cattle, mare, horse, and hog ranches, quantities of wild and feathered game, and extensive pastures; there are oranges, limes, citrons, grapefruit, valuable and highly prized cedar, ebony, and cypress timber, liquidambar and other medicinal roots, gums, cordials, and fruits.

**371.** The rivers running into the sea within this jurisdiction are, on the S., the Río de Alvarado, in 20°, along which at present the Dioceses of Oaxaca and Tlaxcala draw their boundary; that of Río Medellín, called also Almería, 5 leagues from Vera Cruz, which rises in the Cordillera in the provinces of the Totonacos and Misantla; 15 leagues to the N. of Vera Cruz, the Río de Zempoala; 27 leagues N. of this, the Río de San Pedro y San Pablo; 20 leagues farther on from this river to the N., the Río de Tuxpa y Cazones; the Río de Tamiagua is 13 leagues N. of that of Cazones y Tuxpa. All these are large rivers full of delicious fish; as for other smaller streams emptying into the sea, I omit mention of them since they are less important.

#### Chapter VII

Of the Cities of Los Angeles, Tlaxcala and Other Features of the District of the Diocese.

**372.** The city of Puebla de Los Angeles was founded by Justice Salmerón by order of Bishop Don Sebastián Ramírez de Fuenleal, President of the Mexico Circuit Court, in the year 1531 on the King's Highway from Vera Cruz to Mexico, in a plain called Cuetlaxcoapa in the district of the city of Cholula and 2 leagues away from it; it is 5 leagues from the city of Tlaxcala, 22 from the City of Mexico, and 60 from the port of Vera Cruz, in full 18°30' N. It has a cool climate and is well supplied with cheap and delicious provisions. It is one of the best and largest cities in New Spain; it will have 3,000 Spanish residents, not to speak of many Indians, Negroes, and mulattoes of the servant class. The Cathedral was transferred to this city from Tlaxcala in the year 1550; it is one of the largest and finest churches to be found in the Indies, rivaling the largest and finest in Spain, though not completed. When they excavated for the founda-

tions for the fabric of this grand and holy church, they came upon tombs of giants whose bones were of remarkable size. This city has many very sumptuous convents of friars: that of the Dominicans; the Franciscan, in the ward called San Francisco, which is an extensive suburb lying at the entrance to the city as one comes from Vera Cruz to Mexico; there is a very holy image there called Nuestra Señora de los Remedios (Our Lady of Refuge), which the first pioneers brought with them; and by the means of this most holy image God wrought great miracles in favor of the Spaniards and of the Indians, toward their conversion; and so it enjoys the greatest veneration from everyone because of its great miracles. In this splendid convent lies the body of the sainted Brother Aparicio [blank], a lay friar through whose intercession God our Lord wrought many miracles during his life and after his death; since there is a book written in copious detail about them and his most holy life and his simplicity, I do not recount them, desiring to keep within my intent.

**373.** The Augustinian convent is splendid, and remarkable architecturally. The convent of Los Remedios of the order of Barefoot Carmelites is one of the finest to be found in that kingdom; that of Sts. Cosmas and Damian, of the Jesuit order, has large buildings and considerable revenues and property; there they give courses in Latin, Arts, and Theology; in all these convents mentioned, courses attended by many students are given with great care and solicitude; besides which, the Jesuits have another college for students and a novitiate, founded by the Bishop of that city, Don Alonso de la Mota, with large revenues, with the purpose of creating a university there, and other convents.

**374.** This famous city contains 8 nunneries, which are very sumptuous and wealthy; these are La Concepción, La Trinidad, Santa Catalina, Santa Clara, Santa Teresa of nuns of the order of Barefoot Carmelites, San Jerónimo, another new convent of San Marcos, and Jesús María, all very devout. There is a general hospital entitled San Roque, rich and with much revenue; this is run by the Brethren of Huaxtepec, who wear dark brown habits, like those of the general hospital of this court; here they care for the indigent sick and assist the recovery of poor cachupines (newcomers) recently arrived from Spain. Every year these Brethren and those of the splendid hospital of Mexico City and that of Huaxtepec, go down to Vera Cruz for the arrival of the fleets; they take along 200 mules loaded with provisions, biscuit, preserves, and other delicacies, which they keep leaving at the stage posts along the road, and they load the mules with all the indigent sick and needy and take

them along and give them food for the love of God; without this assistance and comfort it is certain that many would perish, and thus by the agency of this blessed work and aid, all the poverty-stricken are relieved.

**375.** There is a hospital of the Brethren of San Juan de Diós, in which they care for the indigent sick and the poverty-stricken; there are other hospitals, churches, and pilgrimage shrines. The city is a great commercial center, both because it is located at the junction of the highways to the ports of Vera Cruz and Acapulco, so that the wealthy encomenderos and residents of this city profit by the volume of the merchandise which they freight to both ports with greater ease and less expense, and also because it lies within the radius of many large and wealthy cities; here they gather a huge amount of very fine cochineal. It contains woolen mills, etc., and native products, as will be detailed in the following chapter. Thus this city has grown and is growing extensively, and its residents are successful and wealthy.

# CHAPTER VIII

Continuing the Description of the Features of This City and Diocese, and of Other Cities.

376. There are in this city large woolen mills in which they weave quantities of fine cloth, serge, and grogram, from which they make handsome (gentiles) profits, this being an important business in this country; and those who run these mills are still heathen (gentiles) in their Christianity. To keep their mills supplied with labor for the production of cloth and grograms, they maintain individuals who are engaged and hired to ensnare poor innocents; seeing some Indian who is a stranger to the town, with some trickery or pretext, such as hiring him to carry something, like a porter, and paying him cash, they get him into the mill; once inside, they drop the deception, and the poor fellow never again gets outside that prison until he dies and they carry him out for burial. In this way they have gathered in and duped many married Indians with families, who have passed into oblivion here for 20 years, or longer, or their whole lives, without their wives and children knowing anything about them; for even if they want to get out, they cannot, thanks to the great watchfulness with which the doormen guard the exits. These Indians are occupied in carding, spinning, weaving, and the other operations of making cloth and grograms; and thus the owners make their profits by these unjust and unlawful means.

377. And although the Royal Council of the Indies, with the holy zeal which animates it for the service of God our Lord, of His Majesty, and of the Indians' welfare, has tried to remedy this evil with warrants and ordinances, which it constantly has sent and keeps sending, for the proper administration and the amelioration of this great hardship and enslavement of the Indians, and the Viceroy of New Spain appoints mill inspectors to visit them and remedy such matters, nevertheless, since most of those who set out on such commissions, aim rather at their own enrichment, however much it may weigh upon their consciences, than at the relief of the Indians, and since the mill owners pay them well, they leave the wretched Indians in the same slavery; and even if some of them are fired with holy zeal to remedy such abuses when they visit the mills, the mill owners keep places provided in the mills in which they hide the wretched Indians against their will, so that they do not see or find them, and the poor fellows cannot complain about their wrongs. This is the usual state of affairs in all the mills of this city and jurisdiction, and that of Mexico City; the mill owners and those who have the mills under their supervision, do this without scruple, as if it were not a most serious mortal sin.

378. This city of Los Angeles (Puebla) is richly provided with cheap and excellent supplies and is a busy trading center. In its district they raise two abundant harvests of wheat each year, one in the rainy season and one under irrigation; they grow quantities of corn, from which they make the Indians' ordinary bread; everybody eats it in that country because it is very nutritive and delicious; in fact, they desert good wheat bread for corn bread. Their way of preparing it is to parch the corn with ashes, which softens it and takes off the outer skin; they wash it at once in clear pure water, and if for fine quality of bread, they remove the pointed tip; then they put it at once in their metates-the stone mills they have for grinding it, the same as they use for making chocolate—and grind it up very fine and form it into tortillas (thin cakes); nearby they have a fire, and on it their comales or callanas, which are like unglazed earthenware saucepans; these take the place of ovens for the baking; and they serve them hot at table, which makes a very healthful food, rich in nourishment and delicious.

**379.** This country produces abundantly all the Spanish cereals and many native ones, with plentiful supplies of their delicious fruit, and ours also. There are in this district large ranches which raise abundance of cattle and sheep; the fields are full of them, utilized both for food and for profit from the wool for the mills; they raise

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mares, horses, mules, and hogs. In short, the region is abundantly supplied with everything.

**380.** There are in the district of this city and Diocese more than 1,200 cities and villages, some of which will be described in the following chapter, together with the offices of Corregidor and Alcalde Mayor to which the Viceroy makes appointment in this Diocese. Two hundred of these villages and cities are county seats (cabezas de partidos) and thus have 1,000 villages under their jurisdiction, which will have in them over 250,000 tribute-paying Indians, with 36 ecclesiastical districts and curacies containing 40 convents of Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustinians, who are occupied in catechizing the Indians and in administering the Holy Sacraments.

### CHAPTER IX

Of the City of Tlaxcala and Other Cities, and of the Quantities of Fine Cochineal Collected in the District, and of the Judicial Posts Filled by the Viceroy in the District of This Diocese.

381. The city of Tlaxcala is so renowned and celebrated in that kingdom because of the courage with which its inhabitants, the valiant Tlaxcaltecas, defended and maintained themselves for long periods against the Mexican (Aztec) kings; and since they took the side of God as coworkers and friends of the Spaniards for the subjugation of those realms, and for the introduction and preaching of His Holy Gospel-for all this and for the important aid they furnished the Marqués del Valle, Don Fernando Cortés, His Majesty graciously created them gentlemen and hidalgos, and they possess other privileges. The city of Tlaxcala (from which the Diocese takes its name, and where the Cathedral stood for some years) lies 5 leagues N. of Puebla de Los Angeles. The city has a large population, of over 6,000 Indian residents and over 500 Spaniards; it has woolen mills and many cattle ranches in its district. It takes in quantities of fine cochineal, as do the other cities and villages in its jurisdiction; and if the Indians paid tithes in it, as the Bishop proposes and has taken legal steps to authorize, the Diocese will have an annual income equal to that of the Archdiocese of Toledo.

**382.** The cochineal grown in this country is of the finest quality. It is produced on the tuna, which bears fruit of many varieties; it is called nopal (Indian fig); the tree or plant, tuna (prickly pear). The leaves resemble pelota rackets and are of that size, and covered with thorns; one leaf keeps growing out of another, and thus the whole tuna plant is formed. On these leaves grow the tunas, which

are larger than white figs and covered with spines outside. When the skin is peeled off, the fruit inside is full of little seeds, a bit larger than anise seeds; it is sweet, well-flavored, healthful, and very refreshing. Some have the outer skin green and the inner flesh white; these are the best. Others have a yellowish skin, and others almost tawny, with red flesh; they have a strong odor and perfume, and if one eats many of them, they tinge the urine so that it looks like blood. This red-fleshed tuna is the one producing cochineal; on its leaves and fruit live tiny insects under a film like a cobweb; this insect becomes all blood; and when they have matured and coagulated properly, they pick them off and put them in the sun till they dry and are cured; then they become the finest cochineal.

**383.** There is in the city of Tlaxcala a fine Franciscan convent. They hold many fairs and markets in the city, for cattle, cloth, and other merchandise; since it is a free city and has other privileges, many flock to it. The Viceroy of New Spain appoints an Alcalde Mayor for it; at the present moment His Majesty has appointed a Governor and Alcalde Mayor for the city and its provinces, for its satisfactory administration and for the dispensing of justice.

**384.** The city of Cholula lies 2 leagues from Puebla de Los Angeles; it is a large city. In its heathen days over 25,000 warriors used to sally forth from it. Today it has a large and wealthy population, because of the great amount of cochineal, corn, and other products raised in its district. It contains two Franciscan convents; one is very fine and contains many friars; here they give courses in Arts and Theology; and since the friars of this convent cannot handle all the catechizing and administering of the Sacraments, there is on the other side of the city another small convent called San Andrés, for the religious needs of that quarter. Over 500 Spanish residents live in this city; they have some woolen mills, where they produce much cloth and grogram.

**385.** Three leagues from this city and five from Puebla on the Mexico highway lies the city of San Diego de Huejotzingo, where there is an image of the saint which is very sacred and miraculous and held in highest veneration by the whole country. This city has the same cool climate as the others; in its district they raise quantities of cochineal, corn, wheat, and other cereals, fruit, and root crops; it contains a woolen mill; in the region they raise many sheep, goats, and hogs, and all sorts of other products.

**386.** Six leagues farther along the Mexico highway rises the volcano Nevado, which in time past has given out quantities of smoke; connected with it is the Sierra de Tlaxcala which is of the same ele-

vation and will be over 3 leagues long; many cypresses and pines grow all over it, and on its slopes round about there are many Indian settlements, especially to the E. and S. of the volcano. This is the best stretch of land to be found in New Spain; they collect great quantities of fine cochineal here; on the sierra and its slopes and in all the region they graze large numbers of cattle and sheep of Spanish stock.

**387.** The town of Atlixco lies 5 leagues from Puebla. It is built in a fertile valley over 5 leagues long and over  $1\frac{1}{2}$  wide. In the town and the valley there are over 1,000 Spanish residents; there is an excellent parish church and convents of the Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, Barefoot Carmelites, Mercedarians, and Jesuits; there are nunneries and a hospital for the care of the indigent sick, with other churches and shrines. The climate of this valley and town is marvelous, almost like spring; they harvest over 100,000 fanegas (160,000 bushels) of the best wheat raised anywhere in New Spain, quantities of corn and other cereals, and of fruit, so that the town and its people are wealthy and do a large business.

### Chapter X

Continuing the Description of the District of the Diocese, and of the Corregidores and Alcaldes Mayores Appointed There by the Viceroy.

**388.** The city of Tepeaca, 6 leagues SE. of Puebla, has over 5,000 Indians and 400 Spanish residents with an excellent Franciscan convent for catechizing and the administration of the Holy Sacraments. It enjoys the same climate and fertility of soil as the others. In the neighborhood are large plains and valleys; the largest is Ozumba, well covered with ranches of cattle, sheep, etc., and they raise quantities of wheat, corn, and other cereals, both Spanish and native.

**389.** It contains in its district the famous San Pablo Valley, to the ENE.; it is well covered everywhere with farms and ranches, with large ranches of all kinds of stock; much wheat, corn, and other cereals are grown in the valley. There will be over 1,300 Spaniards settled in the valley and busied with stock raising, farming, and other occupations. The famous Tlaxcala range, which provides Puebla and other neighboring cities with wood, lies 3 leagues from Puebla de Los Angeles; in the neighborhood are many cattle ranches and farms of wheat and corn.

**390.** The Diocese has jurisdiction over an extensive, wealthy, and well-settled region. In length it extends along the Atlantic on the N.

from the village of Yahualica, where it borders on Pánuco in that quarter and with Tampico of the Archdiocese of Mexico, to Nueva Almería and the Río de Alvarado on the S., where it borders on the Diocese of Oaxaca; that comes to 85 leagues along the Atlantic coast from Yahualica to the Río de Alvarado; and it is over 100 leagues across from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast, between the Archdiocese of Mexico which lies somewhat N. of W. of it, and the Diocese of Oaxaca on the E. and S. Along the Pacific coast it is some 20 leagues broad from the Río de Yepes near the harbor of Acapulco, where it borders on the Archdiocese of Mexico, down to the large bay where its jurisdiction ends and that of the Diocese of Oaxaca begins.

**391.** The Viceroy appoints in the district of the Diocese of Tlaxcala to 33 judicial posts; 14 are Alcaldías Mayores. Although these have low salaries, they have valuable perquisites, as I shall show in its proper place. The best are marked with a cross. These posts are: Puebla de Los Angeles, Tlaxcala (although that appointment is now made by His Majesty), Acatlán, Chiautla de la Sal, Zacatlán, and Hueytlapán, Tehuacán, the mines of Tonala and Zilacauyapa, the mines of Tleutalco and Tlalzingo, the city of Tepeaca, the town of Carrión de Atlixco, Old Vera Cruz, [the city and port of New Vera Cruz], the town of Jalapa, the port of Tamiahua, Ysucar.

**392.** He appoints further in this Diocese for 19 Corregimientos, viz: The city of Cholula, Chilapa, Ahuatlán and Coyatitlanapa, Chietla, Cuzcatlán, the city of Huejotzingo, Huatlatlauca, Orizaba, San Juan de los Llanos, San Antonio de Huatusco, Tlapa, Tonatico and Zozocolco, Teziutlán and Atempa, Tepejí de la Seda, Tixtla and Zumpango, Tuxtepec and Quimixtlán, the city and port of New Vera Cruz, Jalacingo, Xonotla; not to mention many other officials he appoints in this district, like mill inspectors, cochineal inspectors, and others with large perquisites.

**393.** There is in this country and in all New Spain a mysterious plant or shrub called maguey (agave), which resembles the aloe. From this the Indians make their wine, which they call pulque, by slashing the leaves or cutting off the top shoot or boring holes in the stem; from the juice which oozes out they make their wine, which is sweet in taste; they throw in a root also. With this the Indians get drunk; they are greatly given to it, and this beverage causes much harm, as I have remarked in the book I published in the year 1623, entitled "Luz y Guía del Cielo" (Light and Guide to Heaven), on folio 33. From this plant they make honey water and excellent honey vinegar like that from sugarcane; they make thread with which to sew the cotton blankets the natives use for clothing, and use the fibers

attached to the thorny points of the leaves, for sewing alpargatas (rope sandals). The leaves have much medicinal value for the treatment of cuts and wounds and other troubles. They make cord from the leaves just as from hemp; in that country they call this cord mecate; the leaves serve as tiles for their houses; and the shoot or stalk it puts forth, being tall and stout, is used like a joist in Indian construction and much else. Let this brief description suffice for the district of this Diocese, as we pass on to treat of the Diocese of Mexico.

## CHAPTER XI

Of the Great City of Mexico, Seat of the Court and Capital of the Realms of New Spain; of Its Foundation and Beginnings in the Days of Heathendom, and of the Kings Who Reigned There, and Their Dates.

**394.** The original immigrants who settled the realms of New Spain, according to the ancient traditions of the Indians and to what has been written on the subject, comprised seven tribes. According to the account and explanation given by the Indians, these issued forth from seven caves, and that was the source from which they are derived. By their reckoning it was 800 years ago that they left Nabatlán; and before reaching the territory of Mexico they tarried 80 years on the road, engaged in colonizing cities along the way.

395. The first were the Xochimilcos, who founded the city of Xochimilco, which means city of flowers; those of the second line or tribe were the Chalcos, who founded the city of Chalco and other towns; those in the third line were the Tapanecas, who founded Tacuba and Atzcapotzalco to the N. of Mexico City, on the shore of the great lake, and many other towns, for this tribe had much increased and multiplied. The fourth were those who founded the city of Texcoco; the fifth founded Caulnagal or Cuernavaca; these were highlanders. The sixth were the Tlaxcaltecas, who crossed the sierra and founded the city of Tlaxcala, which means city of bread, and other cities and towns; there were many giants there, whom they slew with tricks and cunning, for their savagery and hostility interfered with the colonizing. Thus these various lines of descent finished settling the territory of New Spain, by the reckoning of their books and annals, in the year 880 after the birth of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ; by the reckoning given by some of our authors and historians, in the year 900.

**396.** Those of the seventh line were the Mexicans, who came and settled New Spain 302 years later, i.e., in 1202. These brought with

them their god or idol Vitzilipúztli on the shoulders of four of their false priests in a chest of reeds. They set forth confiding in the promises which the Devil had made them, that he would give them lands rich in promise, thus desiring to liken himself to God, who commanded the children of Israel to go up out of Egypt to give them the lands He had promised them; and so, just as they went many years through the Wilderness until with their victories through God's aid they entered and took possession of the Land of Promise, so the Mexicans traveled a long time, like the other tribes, always doing what the Devil commanded them to do, until they reached the desired spot. And there they founded the city of Mexico among reeds and cattails in the year 1202, the third year of the reign of Ciutetl, fifteenth king or lord of New Spain; and immediately they began warfare with the Tepanecas who had been oppressing them, and with other tribes to whom they paid tribute also, as will be told in its place.

**397.** Or else, as they maintained in their accounts and books, and as Gómara records on folio 291, the Mexicans came from a village called Chicomuztoth, and were all descended from one father whose name was Iztacmixcoath and who had children by two wives. By Llancueitl, one of the two, he had six sons; the first was named Xelhua, the second Tenuch, the third Ulmecath, the fourth Xicalancath, the fifth Mixtecath, the sixth Otomith. By the other wife, whose name was Chimalmath, he had a son, Quezalcoath.

Xelhua, the eldest, founded Quauhquechulán, Izcuzán, Epatlán, Teopantlán, Theouacán, Cuzcatlán, Teotitlán, and other towns.

Tenuch established Tenuchtitlán; distinguished men came from there, who became lords of all their family and of other tribes.

Ulmecatlh settled the territory of Tlaxcala and named the towns Totomiuacán, Vicilipán, Cuetlaxcoapán, as well as others.

Xicalancatlh founded Xicalanco on the Atlantic coast in the Province of Maxcalcinco near Vera Cruz, and the Xicalanco near Tabasco, which has been and is a busy trading center, and many other towns.

Mixtecatlh established Tututepec by the Pacific, and Acatlán, and settled all of Mixteca, which is an extensive territory.

Otomitlh established settlers on all the mountain ranges around Mexico City, at Jilotepec, Tulán, Otompán, and Ozumba, and many other places.

Quezalcoath rebuilt Tlaxcala, Huejotzingo, Cholula and others, and among those tribes he was reverenced as a god, because they say he kept his chastity; he instituted fasting and did other things for which they held him in reverence. What has been stated above is related by divers historians.

### CHAPTER XII

Of the Origin and Filiation of the Kings and Lords Who Lived in New Spain.

**398.** Now that we have given some information about what the historians tell us regarding where the Mexicans came from, according to their annalists' reckoning (as is stated by Gómara) they reached New Spain in A.D. 721. The first lord whom they name is Topeuch, who lived to be over 100 years old. At his death they met in Tulán and chose as their lord his son Topil, then 22 years old. From A.D. 821 he ruled 50 years; and since he left no sons, they remained without king or lord for 110 years after his death. In the year 981 they met in Tulán and chose two lords; one was Vemac and the other Nauhiocin, who lived with his subjects near the lake; he reigned 60 years, until 991; at his death he was succeeded by Quauhtexpetatli, who was the fifth king and lord of that country. He was followed by Vecin; the seventh was Noualcati, and the eighth Achitomel. The ninth was Quauhtonal, and in the tenth year of his reign the Mexicans (those of the seventh great line) came in, arriving at Chapultepec.

399. The tenth king or lord was Mazacin, who was succeeded by Queza, the eleventh; the twelfth was Chalchiútona, the thirteenth Quauhtlix, and the fourteenth Iohuallatonac. The fifteenth king was Ciutetl, who established the Mexicans in Mexico City in the year 1202. Xiuiltemoc was the sixteenth king, being followed by Cuxcux, who was the seventeenth. He was succeeded by the eighteenth king and lord, Acamapixtli, and in the sixth year of his reign he was killed by a Mexican prince named Achitometl, who likewise killed his six sons, heirs to the State; he thus became the nineteenth king, and exalted himself and tyrannized over the realm. On this occasion Illancucitl escaped with Acamapixtli, a son of the murdered man, and brought him up hidden in the woods for 12 years, the period during which Achitometl was reigning despotically in Culhuacán, which was decimated by the murders and tyrannical acts of Achitometl. Apprehensive because of the murders he had committed and the cruelties he had perpetrated, he fled to avoid being assassinated; and thereupon, since there was no king, the local lords began to rule in Atzcapotzalco, Cuauhnauac, Chalco, Cuauhtitlán, and Huejotzingo.

400. At the end of this time, Acamapixtli having grown up and become the twentieth king in the woods and in Cuauhtitlán, they brought him to Mexico City in the year 1382; and since he was legitimate lord of the house of Culhua, the noblest gentlemen of Mexico gave him their daughters to be his wives. He chose up to 20 of them, and from the children he had by them are descended the greatest aristocrats of that country. He went back to Culhuacán, which had been abandoned at the death of his father and grandfather, and built it up again, and left his son Nauhiocin the lordship and kingdom in Mexico, and was lord of Culhuacán as his father and grandfather had been. He reigned 40 years as a great prince and with much success; with him, the empire of Mexico began its extension, and he ennobled the city of Mexico. He died in the year 1422 and was succeeded by his eldest son, by name Viciliuitl, whom the Mexicans obeyed as king and lord; he married the lady and heiress of Cuauhnauac. Viciliuitl means rich feather. After reigning 12 years and defending his vassals from their enemies, he died of illness in the year 1434. He was followed by his brother Chimalpopoca; and in the third year of his reign, in the year 1437, he was treacherously murdered by the Tapanecas, which resulted in their destruction and subjection, and in the exaltation of the Mexican people, who at this cruel treachery, took up arms and conquered and subdued all their enemies, making themselves masters of all those tribes, who always paid them tribute thereafter.

**401.** He was succeeded in the kingdom and lordship by his illegitimate brother Izcoatl, which means tusked serpent. With this king the Mexican empire began to be very powerful through the victories he won over his enemies; through the instrumentality of Tlacalléelt, a valiant general of the Mexican people, he conquered and subdued many provinces and tribes; he embellished and enlarged the city of Mexico, and after reigning 12 years, he died in 1449.

**402.** At his death he was succeeded in the kingship by Motezuma, his nephew and Tlacalléelt's, son of Viciliuitl his elder brother, because sons did not succeed to the royal position held by their fathers, if there were father's brothers living, till their uncles' death. Motezuma reigned 28 years, during which time he won great victories which brought him many wealthy provinces, with which he enlarged his empire, ennobled the city of Mexico and embellished it with sumptuous and imposing temples which he built to his false gods. He added splendid buildings to the city, and established tribunals for good government and the dispensation of justice; and being beloved by his vassals and feared by his enemies, he died in the year 1477.

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Since he had no sons, he was succeeded by one of his daughters who was married to a Mexican prince, by whom she had sons—Axayaca, Tizocic, and Auzolt.

**403.** At the death of Motezuma he was succeeded by his grandson Axayacacin, eldest son of his son. He reigned 11 years, during which he proved a valiant king and conquered and subdued his enemies the inhabitants of Tlaltelolco, and won many other provinces, up to Huatulco and Tehuantepec, and having ennobled his city, extended its empire, and performed other deeds of a good king, he died in the year 1492 lamented by his subjects. He was succeeded in the kingly office by his brother Tizocic, but he did not last long; he was a coward and a bad king, and his subjects poisoned him very soon.

# CHAPTER XIII

Continuing the Account of the Filiation of the Mexican Kings. 404. At the death of Tizocic he was succeeded by his third brother Auzolt, grandson of Motezuma, as it was the custom in that royal family that sons should not succeed to the throne while brothers were living. He was a good king and conquered large provinces as far as Guatemala and extended his empire; he was much liked and beloved by his vassals and especially by the poor, for all that he had and ac-quired, he gave them and shared with them, relieving their necessities; he consoled the afflicted, and all that he lacked to be a good king was knowledge of Christ. Besides these good qualities, he was a brilliant administrator. Considering how noble and powerful his city was, and that all that it needed was water, he brought in a great quantity of it with which to supply the city, and that is what it has at present. Having reigned with such admirable virtues II years, beloved by his subjects and feared by his enemies, he died in 1503 and was mourned by his vassals. At his death he was succeeded in the kingship by his cousin Motezuma, son of Axayacacin his elder brother; they named him Motezuma after his grandfather, the great Motezuma. He began to reign in the year 1503; he was a good king and in the 15-year period of his reign through his captains he conquered and acquired many provinces, as far as the extreme limit of Nicaragua and the whole of Tegucigalpa. He was a powerful king and lord of great realms and provinces, in which he had 30 subject lords, each with 100,000 vassals, and over 3,000 lords of greater and smaller provinces, all of whom obeyed him and paid him tribute, as is related by Gómara, folio 66, and Herrera, decade II, book VII, chapter IX. He was so powerful that in that country he was respected and held as a god.

**405.** While he was enjoying this majesty and prosperity, valiant Fernando Cortés, who later became Marqués del Valle, came in with his companions at the end of the year 1518, and in his very palace where he had over 3,000 men on guard and among them over 600 nobles, as Gómara states on folio 107, more by divine order than by human powers, he captured him; for besides his personal guard just mentioned, and the fact that it was in his own country and in a city which was one of the greatest strongholds in the world, there were over 200,000 men in it, by all of whom he was liked and beloved; they might easily have killed the Spaniards and sacrificed them, and even have eaten them, which was a common practice among them.

406. But God in His divine wisdom had chosen Cortés and his few companions as instruments for the deliverance of those blind heathen from slavery to the Devil, by preaching to them His Holy Gospel and giving it to them all for their understanding; accordingly He so influenced the will of the Emperor Motezuma (who had them all shut up in his palace and if his subjects had had an inkling that he would like to have the Spaniards slain, they would all have perished without a single one escaping) that he conceived a special love and affection for Fernando Cortés and his followers, continually making them gifts and presents and commanding his men to obey and respect the Spaniards. But when Fernando Cortés had returned to Vera Cruz to oppose Pamphilo de Narváez, having left the Emperor Motezuma in charge of his men, Cortés being absent the Indians rebelled and bottled up the Spaniards whom he had left under the charge of the Emperor Motezuma, and if Cortés had not returned speedily, they would all have perished. Finally at his coming the Spaniards took courage and defended themselves from the fury of the Indians and the attacks they were making; in order to calm them by the presence and the actual sight of their king, Cortés and his companions asked Motezuma to go up to a high point in the palace where they could see him, and order them to cease the fighting and the madness they were indulging in; and after he had ordered them to stop their attacks and quiet down, for a short time they remained silent, but then they returned to the charge and with loud cries began throwing stones, and although our soldiers shielded him at the point where he was standing, he was cruelly wounded by a missile from one of his own people, so that he died a few days later, to the great distress both of the Spaniards and his own subjects, and without having received the baptism which he had so much desired and had begged of Cortés; it was planned for Easter, that being a

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festival befitting the needs of such a monarch; but if he asked for it with genuine desire, it was sufficient that he died with that wish, that being the case called by the theologians and summarists baptismum flaminis, etc.

**407.** At his death in the midst of that uprising, he was succeeded by his brother Cuetlauac, who lived 60 days after his election, and died of smallpox; he had married a niece of his, daughter of Motezuma. Axayaca, the third brother, should have succeeded him, but as there was a general revolt, the High Priest Quautimoc his nephew, who was ambitious to be king and defend the country against the Spaniards, killed his uncle Axayaca, seized the supreme power and issued dictatorial commands. He defended the city courageously until on August 13, 1521, Cortés captured it, and over 100,000 of the Mexicans perished, including most of the city's aristocracy. Thus after the death of Motezuma's brothers, his sons inherited the kingship.

## Chapter XIV

Continuing the Account of the Filiation of the Mexican Kings. **408.** When the uprising of the Mexicans forced the Spaniards to leave Mexico City after the death of Motezuma resulting from the stone wound he had received from the Mexicans, as the Spaniards realized that they were bereft of the Emperor Motezuma's support, without which they could neither hold out nor defend themselves any length of time, Fernando Cortés decided they should leave at night; and so they did, but the Mexicans found it out and many of the Spaniards died in the retreat, and among them two sons of Motezuma and other aristocrats, so that only Don Pedro Motezuma was left, for at the outbreak of the rebellion he had taken refuge in Tulán with his mother.

**409.** After the conversion of this Prince Motezuma to Christianity he was named Don Pedro, and Fernando Cortés turned over to him one of the wards of Mexico City, as was suitable for the lord and sole heir of that city and empire. The Emperor Motezuma left also several daughters, two of them legitimate, as mentioned by the historians; after their baptism the one was named Doña Isabel and the other Doña Leonor. Before her conversion Doña Isabel had been married to her uncle Cuetlauac, and after his death in second nuptials with Quautimoc, and after her conversion she became the wife of Pedro Gallego, by whom she had a son, Juan Gallego Motezuma; and after the death of Pedro Gallego she was married for the last time to Juan Cano de Cáceres, by whom she had many children,

some of whose descendants live today in Mexico City. Doña Leonor was married to Alonso de Grado, as is recorded by Gómara, folio 295.

410. But the one to be mentioned in the male issue and filiation of the Mexican kings is Prince Motezuma, who after his baptism was named Don Pedro. He was the legitimate son of the Emperor Motezuma and the lady sovereign of the Province and State of Tula, who after her conversion and baptism took the name of Doña María Miaguasuchil; she was the granddaughter of Chimalpopoca, King of Mexico. Thus Prince Don Pedro Motezuma inherited and took possession of the Province and State of Tulán, as his mother's dowry which she brought with her when she was married to the Emperor Motezuma, viz, Tulán, Yzcla, Xicomallán, Ytolpán, Teptlán, Teató, Tilcova, Yuvalco, Techuchueco, Yagulgulpa, Yextaxemitexe, Yeteque, Ytecaquipán, Exicoalt, Toltengo, Tecontepongo, Cyztasaqualla, Ecuyelpán, Cacoculco, Etloca, Tealpongo, and Teapa; these 22 villages belong to the Province of Tula, and their lords were all related to the kings of Mexico and gave them their daughters in marriage, as is recorded in their histories and is proved by the family tree of the male genealogy and filiation of the kings of Mexico.

**411.** Furthermore His Majesty King Don Felipe II (Philip II) of glorious memory, to honor Prince Don Pedro Motezuma as lord of that realm, and because of what the Emperor Motezuma had done for the profit and advancement of the Spanish Crown in submitting to Cortés and putting himself under the protection of the Caesarean Majesty of Emperor Charles V, made him a grant of 3,000 gold pesos de minas of 450 maravedís each on March 23, 1567, commanding by his royal warrant that the Marqués de Falces, who was then Viceroy of New Spain, should settle this sum on him in open assignments of Indians which should be entailed in perpetuity in the family of this Prince Don Pedro and his descendants and successors, and they have enjoyed and do enjoy these privileges, which however are paid out of the Mexican Royal Treasury.

# CHAPTER XV

Recording the Surviving Descendants of the Mexican Kings.

412. It has likewise been certified that Prince Don Pedro Motezuma, sole successor of the Emperor Motezuma, and his children, are the heirs to the Province of Tula, through a lawsuit which was fought in the Mexican Chancery Court between this Prince Don Pedro Motezuma and Doña María Miaguasuchil his mother, on the one hand, and on the other His Majesty's Attorney, Licentiate López de Sarriá, over the Province of Tula; and after the Mexican Chancery had adjudged it to him as sole heir and successor to this State, the Supreme Council of the Indies, reviewing the case, adjudged him this Province of Tula and its villages on April 16, 1561.

**413.** The same fact is certified by the will made by this Prince Don Pedro Motezuma when he was lying at death's door in the house of his abode which was next the Carmelite convent of Nuestra Señora del Carmen, where the church of San Sebastián is now, on September 8, 1570, in which he declared himself the sole son and heir of Motezuma and of Doña María Miaguasuchil, Lady of the Province of Tula, which she had brought as dowry to Emperor Motezuma, when he married her.

414. It is likewise certified by the chapel and burial place which this Prince Don Pedro Motezuma made for himself in the splendid convent of Santo Domingo in Mexico City, in the main body of the church, with the following inscription upon it: "Chapel and burial place of Don Pedro Motezuma, prince, heir of the great Motezuma, lord of the greater part of this New Spain." Prince Don Pedro Motezuma was married to Doña Catalina Miaguasuchil of the same family and royal blood of Tula and of Mexico. They had a son, Don Diego Luís Motezuma, who, as legitimate and sole successor of his father, after his death inherited and succeeded to the estate and entail. He came to Spain at His Majesty's command and in the city of Guadix married Doña Francisca de la Cueva y Bocanegra. They had legitimate children of whom the eldest was Don Pedro Tesifón Motezuma. Knight of the Order of Santiago, who succeeded him in the State of Tulán and in the entailed primogeniture established by the abovementioned prince his grandfather, as is well known and certified by royal executive warrants and the will drawn up by this Prince Don Pedro his grandfather, and by the statement which this Don Pedro Motezuma and his brothers presented to His Majesty King Philip III of glorious memory, attested in Madrid before Jerónimo Fernández, notary, on January 26, 1612, regarding the lawsuit and the rights belonging to them in the realms and States of New Spain, which had been those of their great-grandfather, the Emperor Motezuma.

**415.** This Don Diego Luís Motezuma had likewise by his lawful wife, Doña Francisca de la Cueva y Bocanegra, these children: Don Francisco Antonio Motezuma, who is Gentilhombre de Boca (Royal Steward) of His Majesty; Don Felipe Marcelino Motezuma, Knight of the Order of Santiago; Don Cristóbal Motezuma, who died in the flower of his age; and Doña María Motezuma. To them all His Majesty granted the favor of 1,500 ducats' income, to each of them,

and to this Doña María, a cloak of Santiago as dowry for whosoever should marry her.

**416.** Besides these favors above enumerated, in consideration of the dignity of this Don Pedro Tesifón Motezuma, and of the welcome given by his great-grandfather the Emperor Motezuma to Cortés and his Spaniards, and of the formal transfer which he made of his empire into the hands of this Fernando Cortés, first Marqués del Valle, for the Spanish Crown—in order that this Don Pedro Tesifón Motezuma might worthily represent the name and the high esteem of his ancestors, King Philip IV our Lord, after confirming him in the entailed primogeniture established by Prince Don Pedro Motezuma and in the possession of the Province of Tula as sole successor and heir of that royal house of the Emperor Motezuma, gave him the title of Vizconde de Ylucán on February 24, 1627, and later in the same year as a greater favor, the title of Conde de Tultengo de Motezuma, on September 13.

# CHAPTER XVI

Of the Great City of Mexico, Its Foundation, and the Omens Which Took Place, up to the End of the Mexican Monarchy.

**417.** The great city of Mexico was named Tenoxtitlán, which means prickly pear on a rock; the Indians of the Mexican tribe bore this name because the captain or chief who led and governed them, was named Mexi; so they called themselves Mexicanos and the city they founded, Mexico. Now it came to pass that their god or idol Vitzilipuztli commanded those of this tribe to leave their native home, assuring them of a land of promise, rich in gold, silver, and other valuable commodities, and abounding in food, and that he would make them masters of it and subject its princes to them. So they left their country and wandered many years, during which they suffered great hardships; their idol was borne all this time with great veneration in a casket or reliquary of reeds on the shoulders of four of their false priests; thus it appears that the treacherous enemy of the human race desired to imitate God our Lord when He commanded His people to go up out of Egypt, announcing the Land of Promise.

**418.** Vitzilipuztli solved problems and oracles for that blind heathen folk, and in their afflictions and hardships he encouraged and comforted them, telling them what they were to do; and at the same time he taught them superstitious rites with most cruel human sacrifices and other diabolical ceremonies, as is related by various writers of Mexican history; for the Devil always aims at injury to mankind,

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and he only tells them a truth in order to deceive them thereby with many lies. So when his people had reached the end of many years' pilgrimage and hardships and were in sight of the great Lake of Mexico, although on their way they had settled Michoacán and other provinces, he told them that they were now in the land of their desire, which he had promised them, and that they should search for a place where they would find a prickly pear growing on a rock, with an eagle perched upon it; that was the place where they should build their city.

**419.** When they found the spot indicated, they built their city in the middle of the lake among beds of reeds and cattails, and they named it Tenoxtitlán, for the reason given above, and the tribe Mexico, derived from the name of their chieftain Mexi; and although it had such slight and meager beginnings among those beds of reeds, it became the largest settlement and city to be found in all the Indies. And the Mexicans its founders were so valiant that in a short time they made themselves masters of all the country; they divided the city or settlement into four wards according to their chieftains or leaders; at the present day these are the one where Santa María la Redonda is located, San Juan, San Pablo, and San Sebastián.

**420.** Some members of this tribe, feeling themselves aggrieved, went out from among their fellows and established another city nearby, which they named Tlaltelolco, which is where Santiago stands at the present day; these likewise grew exceedingly and showed themselves hostile on every occasion to the residents of Mexico. There were nine kings of this tribe who reigned for the duration of this Mexican monarchy, which was a little over 100 years; during this time they conquered and brought under their sway many tribes and provinces, as far as Nicaragua; they accepted them all under the condition of fief and vassalage, exception made for the tribes of Tlascalteca, Tepeaca, and Michoacán, who always resisted them valiantly.

**421.** In the days of the eighth king of the Mexicans, Motezuma the second of that name, in the fourteenth year of his reign (which was the year 1517), after learning of important onens portending the collapse of his monarchy, he received word from the Indians on the Atlantic coast that great ships had made their appearance there such as had never been seen on those shores, and that in them came men who were children of the Sun, very different from them in dress and elegance. This brought great solicitude and anxiety to Motezuma and his courtiers, though he concealed it for the moment. That was when Hernando Cortés arrived on his expedition; and when he had received word of this powerful Kingdom of Mexico, he went back

for further supplies of men, arms, and munitions suitable for such an undertaking.

422. First came portentous omens, as the histories tell us, viz: the idol of Cholula announced to Motezuma that a people from abroad would take his kingdom from him; the King of Texcoco, who was a great wizard, predicted hardships and misfortunes for him, and so did all the wizards and soothsayers of his kingdom. So the King ordered a huge rock to be brought, for solemn sacrifices to be offered upon it, to appease his gods; and when a large force had gone to get it, a voice was heard-which was not the will of the Most High-to the effect that they should sacrifice upon it; and when he had ordered them to do so in that spot, the same voice was heard again, saving that as a sign that this was its will, it would allow itself to be carried away, and that later they would not be able to move it. It did allow itself to be taken to the environs of the city, and there it dropped into a canal and they never saw it again, except in its original location. There appeared in the sky a great flame like a pyramid, at midnight, and it lasted till the morning at sunrise and it kept going till noon, and that lasted a year. A comet came into view at midday and sailed across from W. to E., leaving a trail of great sparks. The great Lake of Mexico boiled up and many houses collapsed though there was neither earthquake nor wind. On the lake fishermen found a bird as large as a stork, which they brought to the King; it had on its head a sort of mirror in which could be seen at noon the sky and the stars and men warring against the Mexican kingdom; and when they had summoned the soothsayers to interpret the mystery, it disappeared. An eagle seized a farmer in its talons and carried him off to a cave and showed him King Motezuma asleep and told him to touch him; but as they held him in such reverence, he did not dare to; but the voice told him to go up to him without fear; that it was now time for him to pay for his tyrannical acts and for having himself worshiped as a god. The voice commanded him to take the King's incense-rod (pebete) which he was holding in his hand and burn his thigh with it; that he would not feel it; and so it happened. Then the voice bade the farmer tell the King about this; and when he had done so, the King discovered that he had a burn on his thigh (as he had been told) without having felt it, and he was much disturbed by it. And many other omens came to pass, which may be seen in the history of that kingdom written by Father Joseph de Acosta of the Company of Jesus, on folio 514, and in other historians.

## Chapter XVII

How Fernando Cortés, Marqués del Valle, after Learning of That Powerful Kingdom, Marched into It and Conquered It; and of the Chief Events Which Took Place in the Siege of the City of Mexico.

**423.** After the omens above described and many others had taken place, as represented in the Mexican annals by their figures and paintings, the coast Indians brought him all that the Spaniards had given them and paintings in their native characters and figures, of the ships, and of the sort of people they were. Thereupon Motezuma was completely baffled and thought over the matter; he assembled the members of his council for consultation on what could be done to forestall such people. Accordingly he gave orders for great caution to be observed along the coast, with sentinels posted as lookouts. But God our Lord had so ordained it in His Divine Providence, so that the light of His Holy Gospel might come in upon that blind nation, and thus drive out the darkness of heathendom and with it, the enemy of the human race, who had had such powerful hold on them, making them carry out such cruel and revolting human sacrifices as took place.

424. (In margin: And Dr. Juan de Solórzano, "De Jure Indiarum," lib. C. V, N. 29, and all through the chapter, exalts this valiant captain and tells how, when he had been sent by Diego Velásquez, Governor of Cuba, on November 18, 1518, with 11 ships and 500 soldiers, he surpassed the most renowned captains in the world by his courage in conquering completely those countries.) At the be-ginning of the year 1518, Marqués Fernando Cortés arrived with his fleet and his men on the coast, and there courageously and with the favor of Heaven (although to worldly eyes it seemed overbold), he ordered his ships burned up, so that his men should lose that hope and should realize that, with God's help, they must rely on their own right arms and conquer or die. At this time Motezuma sent ambassadors to him, having heard that he was the great lord Quetzalcoatl, a prince whom they expected from their traditions or false prophecies to come from the East, and they bade him welcome; the ambassadors' message was made known through the interpreter Marina. Motezuma offered to be his servant, for he had had word that his lord Topilzin was about to come. Cortés received the embassy with great dignity and affection; and if it had not been that the Indians gained the impression that the Spaniards were undisciplined, all those tribes would have received the Gospel immediately in perfect peace. for they were tired of the cruel rites and sacrifices which the Devil

had taught them; but they were intimidated by the Spaniards, who had the ships fire all their artillery, and committed other extravagances; so the Indians returned disgusted and informed their King Motezuma that these were not the people they expected, for they were cruel, haughty, and overbearing.

425. Thereupon—and not without divine order or permission, as a result of the dreadful sins of that same King, who had caused himself to be reverenced and worshiped as god, and of those of his ministers, as well as of those of the Spaniards, although they were the instruments of divine justice—the savage tried to block the Spaniards' penetration of his country, by many methods, and as the most effective, he made use of wizards and sorcerers. They started on their journey to see if they could stop the Spaniards by this means; but when actually on their way, they were threatened and reproved by the Devil, for Divine Wisdom had so ordained; and so they returned in fear and trembling to their King Motezuma, reporting that those people were more than human, for all their learning and power did not prevail against them, to prevent their expedition; whereupon the King became more bewildered and cast down, and decided to make a virtue of necessity by going out to meet them.

426. Meanwhile the Marquis had formed a friendly alliance with the members of the Tlascalteca tribe, sworn enemies of Motezuma, who gave all possible service and supplies to the Marquis and his men; they pressed onward, and before they entered Mexico City, Motezuma came out to meet them at about a league from the city. He came in great majesty, borne on the shoulders of four of his lords in a golden sedan chair with great wealth of decoration and featherwork; and after the King and the Marquis had exchanged salutations, they entered the city. There the Marquis and his men were lodged in the King's own palaces, which he had vacated for that purpose; and there on the following day through interpreters he gave them an explanation of his coming, making clear to them that the Tlascaltecas and other tribes had complained to him of the abuses they had suffered at their hands, and that what he proposed was to teach them the Gospel law and make everybody friends so that henceforward they should live in peace and harmony. They gave an excellent reception to all this; and although at the start they conformed obediently to all that Cortés told them, Divine Providence ordained that when a suitable occasion presented itself, the Marquis, for the better assurance of his project, laid hands on the King and made him prisoner in the midst of his court and his attendants-a feat second to none in the world's history and on a par with the burning of his

ships, since he was surrounded by his enemies, countless in number, the city of Mexico alone containing over 150,000 inhabitants.

427. This crisis was succeeded by another quite as overwhelming: he received word that Pamphilo de Narváez had arrived at the port with a large fleet to thwart his enterprise. And so, leaving the King a prisoner under good guard in his own home with his Spaniards, he traveled light down to the port with a part of his forces, and by his courage and skill checkmated Narváez and deprived him of his Spaniards. On his victorious return to Mexico City, he found his cause lost, for the excesses of his men had made the Indians rise in rebellion. And though at the moment they tried to quell the uprising by taking the King to a window for them to see that he was alive and for him to tell them to quiet down, which they did at once, a rumor started up again, instigated as before by a leading Indian named Quautimoc whom they were trying to make king; they called Motezuma insulting names, shouting that he was a woman, and let fly stones at him, from which he died; and as the Indians had taken courage from their new king, the Spaniards were forced to get out of Mexico City as best they could. They retreated and went off to reorganize with their friends the Tlascaltecas, by whom they were kindly treated and given every aid; and from that base they conquered various districts and provided themselves with everything needed, a task which took over 2 years. Then he returned with his own men and the whole Tlascalteca tribe, to take Mexico City.

### CHAPTER XVIII

Continuing the Theme of the Preceding Chapter; and How Marqués Don Fernando Cortés Besieged and Took Mexico City.

**428.** When Marqués Don Fernando Cortés retreated with his men from Mexico City, the savages kept pursuing him with stubborn fury for 2 or 3 days, until they got into the territory of Tlaxcala; there through the intercession of His Most Holy Mother, God miraculously set them free. They recovered there, formed a league with their friends and provided all things needful to fight and take the great city of Mexico, not only by land but also on the water; they transported timber and all other necessary materials, and on their way they conquered and pacified all the territory up to their arrival at the city of Texcoco on the bank of the lake in the beginning of the year 1521. There he built and equipped 13 brigantines, which were finished by May; the construction was under the charge of Capt. Martín López, a man competent and painstaking in that profession, and a fine soldier personally.

**429.** The brigantines were finished and launched in the lake on the day after Pentecost Sunday that same year of 1521. Marqués Fernando Cortés distributed his Spaniards in the following order: There were 900 infantry, among them 118 harquebussiers and crossbowmen; 86 horses; 17 small pieces of artillery, mostly of iron; 13 brigantines; and 6,000 canoes which came along with them, and over 150,000 friendly Indians from all the tribes of the Tlascaltecas, Tepeacas, Texcocanos, and others; some joined Cortés because they were deadly enemies of the Mexicans, hating them for their cruelties and arbitrary acts; such were the Tlascaltecas and Tepeacas. Others came because they saw and appreciated the rising fortunes of the Christians, and because they were tired of Mexican rule.

430. Marqués Fernando Cortés divided up his army into four squadrons on land and one on the water. He kept for himself 300 Spaniards who went as his company. To Pedro de Alvarado he gave 150 infantrymen, 18 harquebussiers and crossbowmen, 2 pieces of artillery, 30 cavalrymen, and over 30,000 Tlascalteca Indians with their captains and subordinates, all doughty soldiers, to take their position in Tacuba. To Capt. Cristóbal de Olid he allotted 160 infantrymen, 18 harquebussiers and crossbowmen, 2 pieces of artillery, 33 cavalrymen, and 30,000 friendly Indians of the Tlaxcala tribe, for him to establish his camp with all this troop in Coyoacán. To Gonzalo de Sandoval he gave 150 infantrymen, 4 harquebussiers and 13 crossbowmen, 33 horse, and over 40,000 friendly Indians from among those from Cholula, Huejotzingo, and Chalco, to go by way of Iztapalapa. The 13 brigantines were under the command of Capt. Martín López, a man of foresight and courage; in each brigantine, its captain with 25 soldiers, of whom 6 in each were harquebussiers and crossbowmen, each with his piece of artillery; one of the captains was Pedro Ortés de Velasco.

**431.** Thus arranged, all these squadrons on land and water set out on May 22 of that year to lay siege to the great city of Mexico and take it. Great deeds were performed in this siege, which I omit for brevity's sake, since they are to be seen in Antonio de Herrera and other authors; they all displayed their valor on all occasions. Additional aid came to Marqués Fernando Cortés, sent him by Don Fernando, lord of Texcoco, of 50,000 Indians; 20,000 more came from the cities and tribes of the Xochimilcos, Chalcos, and Otomites; so he had more than 200,000 friendly Indians, and the valor of his Spaniards. The siege lasted about 3 months, during which they fought over 60 very fierce battles; in some the Mexicans came out victorious, for they were grand fighters and gave no odds. And at

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the end of this time they took the city, on Tuesday, August 13, day of St. Hippolytus; there had died in its defense over 100,000 Mexican Indians, including many of the nobility of that tribe; some 50 Spaniards fell, 6 horses, and a few of the friendly Indians. Now that the city was lost because of the havoc wrought by death among its citizens, King Quautimoc started to escape by the lake in a large canoe, in company with Guacozín, lord of Tacuba, and others. When this was seen by the crew of Capt. García Holguín's brigantine, they chased him and finally this captain caught the savage King and handed him over to Marqués Fernando Cortés. So that put an end to the siege of the city, the empire of the Mexicans, and that of the Devil, who had kept them blinded and deceived for so many centuries; and the light of the Holy Gospel came in, through which God our Lord is revered, acknowledged, and adored by all those tribes.

**432.** And so in memory of such a great victory and of the capture of that huge teeming city, on the 13th of August, day of the glorious patron and martyr St. Hippolytus, every year they celebrate a most solemn festival; they take out the banner under which the city was captured; it is followed by the members of the City Council, two Judges of the Circuit Court, then the Viceroy and all the nobility of the city on horseback; and the oldest Alderman, who that year fills the post of Alférez Mayor (Chief Ensign), carries it, walking on the Viceroy's left, and the oldest Judge on his right; and with great solemnity they carry it to San Hipólito; on that day there is a great celebration, and the flag bearer is allowed to remain seated.

## CHAPTER XIX

Of the Great City of Mexico, and the Sumptuous Temples It Contains; and of Its Neighborhood.

**433.** The great city of Mexico, court and capital of the realms of New Spain, is located by its great lake at 19°30' N., 22 leagues WNW. of the city of Puebla de Los Angeles. It is the official residence of the Viceroy, the Archbishop, and the Inquisition; it has a Circuit Court presided over by the Viceroy, with eight Judges and an Attorney, and another Court with four Alcaldes de Corte and an Attorney. The Circuit Court has for its jurisdiction and district, the whole of the Archdiocese with that of Michoacán on the W., Tlaxcala, Oaxaca, and Yucatan—from the extreme E. of Yucatan to Michoacán on the W., over 300 leagues; to the W. it borders on that of Guadalajara, which belongs to Nueva Galicia. It extends N. and S. another 300 leagues and over, from the State of Pánuco and Tampico to the

farthest bounds of the jurisdiction of Tehuantepec, which belongs to the Diocese of Oaxaca, at which point it touches the Diocese of Chiapas and the Circuit Court of Santiago de Guatemala.

**434.** The city is one of the largest and finest in the world; it has an excellent climate, neither cold nor hot, with marvelous skies and healthful air; since it is built by the lake, it is very salubrious. For the reasons given, which apply also to the district, it covers the area of a very large city. It will be over 2 leagues in circuit; all the buildings are of excellent construction, composed of a very fine reddish stone, unique in the world; there are very rich quarries of it right by the lake; it is very easy to work and so light that a large slab or block of it will float on the water without sinking, as I saw with my own eyes when I was in that city in the year 1612.

**435.** The streets are very straight, wide, and unencumbered; taken with the excellent architecture, they make a fine appearance. The city is well supplied with abundance of cheap and delicious food. Along the streets there are broad deep channels of water from the lake, with bridges to cross over from one side to the other. For the provisioning of the city there come in from all the surrounding country every day over the lake more than 1,000 boats loaded with supplies of bread, meat, fish, game, wood, and grass, which they call zacate, and what else is needed; by land every day, over 3,000 mules loaded with wheat, corn, sugar, and other commodities for the stores; thus it becomes one of the most abundantly and luxuriously supplied cities in the world.

436. The city will contain over 15,000 Spanish residents and over 80,000 Indians who reside in the city and in the suburb or city of Santiago de Tlaltelolco and in the other environs or garden tracts (chinampas) ; furthermore there are more than 50,000 Negroes and mulattoes, slaves of the Spaniards or free; so the city's area is widespread and extensive. Business is active, both because the land is rich and the city is the capital of those realms, and also in consequence of the close connections it has with Spain, Peru, the Philippines, and with the Provinces of Guatemala and its territory, Yucatan and Tabasco, and all the Kingdom of New Galicia and Vizcaya. They usually have four market days there, with great quantities of merchandise, silk, cloth, and everything to be found in the world's best-supplied markets; in San Juan, these are Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday; in Santiago, every day; in Santa María la Redonda, in the main square; in Santa María de la Modorra and in San Hipólito, Wednesday and Thursday; and in Tomatlán, which is out toward the moat, there is a food market every day.

437. Besides these there are many large shops of merchandise, and Spanish and Indian artisans of every craft, who practice their professions with skill; accordingly, with this abundance of everything. there is nothing lacking in this famous city. It has a very fine Cathedral, built by the most Christian Marqués del Valle Don Fernando Cortés right after he conquered that kingdom and took the city; as bases of the pillars, he used some heathen stone idols. When he had come back to Spain, he fell ill in Seville; they carried him up to Castilleja de la Cuesta, half a league away, to the villa of the most excellent Count of Olivares, to recuperate; but he died there-that Alexander of the New World-on December 2, 1547, at the age of 63. The first time he returned to Spain and was lying ill at Toledo, he was visited by the Emperor Charles V, as it told by Gabriel Laso de la Vega in his "Elogios de Varones Ilustres," folio 51. He left his name immortalized by having won that country itself, and its souls for Heaven, whither he went to rest for his reward and recompense for the great services he rendered to both Majesties, divine and human.

**438.** Since Mexico City has grown so large and wealthy, they have built another splendid Cathedral; and although it is not yet finished, it can vie in size and richness with the best of all Christendom. It has other parish churches such as those of Santa Catalina Martyr, Vera Cruz, San Antón, and other churches in which the Holy Sacraments are administered to the faithful.

## CHAPTER XX

Of the Splendid Convents of Friars To Be Found in the City of Mexico.

**439.** There are in Mexico City splendid and famous convents of friars, with sumptuous temples, richly and perfectly appointed, with large incomes and charitable contributions which support them. All of them maintain schools of Arts and Theology; the chief one, Santo Domingo, is one of the best and richest to be found in the Indies, and I doubt whether there be its equal in Spain. It has over 200 friars, many of whom are highly educated and great preachers. In this splendid convent they teach Arts and Theology; the church has become a glowing coal of gold, with great majesty of chapels along its sides. Although the foundations have sunk more than 5 feet below ground level, the convent is an excellent one, with large cloisters and dormitories, well designed and carried out.

**440.** There is another convent or college of this Dominican Order, called San Reymundo, next the schools on the Plazuela del Volador. It is named Santo Domingo de Portaceli, and was founded by Doña Isabel de Luján, elder daughter of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, who was Governor of Nueva Galicia before the Circuit Court was established there, and also by Doña Beatriz de Estrada; they started it in the houses belonging to their parents, which were among the best in the city. This lady was married to Don Bernardino Pacheco de Córdoba y Bocanegra, oldest son of the house of Villamayor; and having busied herself in the establishment of this college and other pious works, she ended her days in holiness, and her works do follow her, as St. John says in chapter XIV of his Apocalypse.

**441.** Of the Seraphic Order of St. Francis there are six convents, the largest with about 200 (*ex* 300) friars and a school of Arts and Theology; the church is one of the largest and finest in all the Indies, with many handsome chapels and extensive cloisters and dormitories, all beautifully done, with remarkable paintings; the Seraphic Patriarch having founded his order in poverty, it has been enriched with virtue, membership, and buildings. The convent of St. Joseph is connected with the large one; there is a local superior there and friars with pastoral circuits and Indians under instruction, in which they administer the Holy Sacraments and teach them the facts of our Holy Faith and virtue.

442. The convent of Santa María la Redonda, of the same Franciscan Order, is very remarkable and beautifully finished. It contains over 80 friars with more than 20,000 Indians to visit and catechize, administering the Holy Sacraments to them and instructing them in our Holy Faith. The convent of Santiago de Tlaltelolco, of the same Seraphic Order, has over 90 friars, with schools of Arts and Theology; its church and finely finished convent rank among the best in the city; it has over 30,000 Indians for pastoral visits and instruction, for them to teach and provide with the Holy Sacraments. Besides these there are two very strict convents of the Recollect Friars; that of San Diego has over 40 friars; the other is that of San Cosma; in both they profess and hold to the letter of their rule. The convent of San Diego was founded by Don Mateo de Navarra y Mauleón, brother of the Marqués de Cortés and his wife Doña Isabel Colón de la Cueva, daughter of the Marshal of Castile, lord of the towns of Sira (Sina?) and Borobia, where they preserve his tomb.

443. Of the Order of the Glorious Doctor and Patriarch St. Augustine there are four convents; the chief one contains over 150 friars;

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they teach Arts and Theology; the church is one of the largest and best designed and carried out, to be seen in Mexico; it is all one cluster of gold, with famous cloisters and dormitories and a great refectory. This splendid convent receives every year from its income and church contributions, not counting other alms, over 100,000 pesos. The College of San Pablo of the same Augustinian Order has about 100 friars; there they teach Arts and Theology with great diligence and exactitude, and education flourishes; from this distinguished order have risen such remarkable men as Master Fray Juan Zapata, Bishop of Guatemala, Master Fray Gabriel de Ribera, a son of that splendid convent, and many others whom I do not mention because their virtue and learning are well known in that kingdom and they have accomplished much there. The convent of San Sebastián will have some 12 friars busied with pastoral visits and catechizing the Indians, and in administering the Holy Sacraments; these belonged to the friars of the Barefoot Carmelite Order. The Augustinians have another convent with some 8 friars, called Santa Cruz.

**444.** Of the Carmelite Order there were two very strict convents of Barefoot Friars. That of San Sebastián has over 80 friars, who keep with perfect strictness the original rule of our glorious Father St. Albert. Here there have been, and are, many acknowledged saints, and for their noble example and virtue they are reverenced and respected by the whole city. They have an excellent church with cloisters and very strict dormitories, and a garden for their recreation. There was another college, very strict, of our glorious martyr and prophet San Angel; this was ordered to be abandoned by an inspector who came from Spain, quite unreasonably, for he deprived many in the city of its consolation; however, in its place another very strict establishment was built in Coyoacán, near the city.

**445.** Besides these there is another 3 leagues from the city, which they call El Desierto (The Wilderness); it is one of the first in the world in size, strictness, and sanctity. In addition to the convent, which Melchior de Cuellar erected at his own expense, it has a church and dormitories which are of very remarkable construction; they are built in a spot which seems like Paradise, for Heaven so disposed that place. It has pilgrimage shrines at intervals about a quarter league apart, where the friars live like the hermits of the early church; it is another Mount Carmel and Holy Land in that Land of Promise in the New World, and in the opinion of all the judicious who have seen it, considering its location, its hilly site, its springs, the arrangement of the convent and the hermitages, it ranks among the first in the world.

**446.** This Wilderness and new Mount Carmel lies I league from the village of Santa Fé, where the sainted Gregorio López, a native of Madrid, paid most severe penance in the period about 1596; by the example of his sanctity he left many disciples of his virtue and teaching in that kingdom, such as D. Fernando de Córdoba y Bocanegra, elder brother of the Marqués de Villamayor, Commander of Nueva Galicia and Knight of the Order of Santiago; following the saint as his model he left his estates on earth for those in Heaven; and after having paid most severe penance and lived in most holy fashion, he left this transitory life to enjoy the rewards of the other. He was likewise imitated by Padre Francisco de Loza, a virtuous and sainted priest, and many others. Such flowers cultivated in the New World and its early church by Divine Providence have been of great import to its new and tender Christians.

**447.** There is in this splendid city a famous convent of Our Lady of Mercy with over 100 friars; here they teach Arts and Theology and have remarkable men. The church and convent rank high in the city and have a large attendance of the faithful. This convent was an offshoot of the Province of Guatemala; in the year 1621 that province was divided in half, and it became head of the new Province of Mexico which was then created.

## CHAPTER XXI

Continuing the Preceding Subject, of the Convents and Nunneries To Be Found in Mexico City, and of the Hospitals.

**448.** Of the Order of the Company of Jesus there are four houses; the chief house, in the size of its church and dormitories and in its wealth, is one of the largest and finest in all the Indies, and has men remarkable for their virtue and education, in which this sainted order greatly excels. There is another fine college of the same order, in which they give lectures and instruction both in Latin and in the Mexican language, and in Arts and Theology. San Ildefonso is a Royal College of the same order; it is a kind of boarding school, in which there are three classes of students. The first is of students in Theology, limited to 12, all duly qualified, of good family, and poor; for their support His Majesty as patron has assigned an income. Their gowns are dark gray with green sashes having at their tips or points a sort of circular badge or crown.

**449.** There are in this same college other students, with purple sashes, who follow courses in Arts and Theology; their parents bear the expense of their instruction and education. The third class of

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students is the students of Latin, who wear blue sashes to distinguish them from the others; their parents pay for their board and lodging with the Fathers' of the Company, under whose direction they remain. For the good administration of the college and for their advancement in virtue and learning, they have a Rector and Minister of the same Company of Jesus. Besides the above there is another college, of San Gregorio, in which (and in the others) virtue and learning are practiced and flourish.

**450.** There is a small convent of the Order of the Glorious Patriarch St. Benedict (San Benito), named Monserrate, with an Abbot and some friars. This has the reputation of great piety and reverence in that splendid city and is much frequented by the faithful.

**451.** There are in this royal city 16 very strict nunneries, of great virtue and sanctity; among them there are many handmaids of God who lead holy lives. The nunnery of Santa Inés ranks among the strictest and finest of all Christendom. This was founded by Diego Caballero with 33 nuns, in pious imitation of the number of years our Lord passed on earth; there may be neither more nor less, except that when one dies, another enters in her place, to keep the number full. They enter without dowry, for this noble knight, to whom God had given much wealth, and who had no heirs, established this nunnery with a total of 33 nuns and for their support he left an annual income of 33,000 pesos, together with 2,000 pesos of income for the patron or patroness of his family. They have excelent music in this nunnery.

**452.** Mexico contains the numeries of La Concepción, San Lorenzo, Santa Catalina de Sena, La Encarnación, Santa Clara, Santa Teresa, Jesús María, Regina Celi, San Jerónimo; Santa Mónica, with an annex where they bring up children under instruction; Santa Isabel, of Franciscan barefoot nuns; Santa María de Gracia, which consists of two separate convents with one church and a boarding school for girls already novitiates; the nunnery of Las Recogidas is very wealthy; San Juan de Letrán is a boarding school in which they bring up orphan children.

**453.** In this great city there are nine famous hospitals, in which they care for the indigent sick of various nationalities, and with different diseases. These are: The general hospital for the Indians, called the Royal Hospital, whose patron is His Majesty. This receives large revenues and charitable contributions; and the sainted Count of Monterrey when Viceroy of that kingdom gave it his favor and assistance by establishing a theatrical playhouse (corral de

comedias) all the income from which he turned over to it for the care, maintenance, and comfort of the poor among the Indians.

454. The Hospital of Los Desamparados (The Destitute) is run by the friars and brethren of the blessed San Juan de Diós; it is rich and sumptuous. It has a revolving dumb-waiter into which foundlings are dropped or put—they commonly call them children of the church door—and these friars care for these orphaned children and find women to nurse them and pay them out of the hospital's revenues and the large daily charitable contributions which they get from the city's various wards every day.

455. The Hospital of La Concepción was founded by Don Fernando Cortés, Marqués del Valle (and its patrons are the marquises his descendants), for the care of the indigent sick and for the burial both of them and of his descendants. He left directions that there should be nuns on the one side and (monks?) on the other, to care for the poor, for which purpose he left an annual income of 16,000 pesos. The church is very fine and gives promise of being still more so. He left his successors some 20,000 pesos income to act as patrons, with the provision that they should take no part in the administration of the income for the hospital and the poor; for that, he named trustees (administradores) and chaplains of the poor, giving them the major part of the income from good farms in Mexico; included in this is the income derived from the theatrical playhouse situated back of the convent of San Augustin.

456. The Hospital and Insane Asylum of San Hipólito is one of the finest and wealthiest in the Indies. Every year when the fleets coming from Spain arrive at Vera Cruz, they send down 200 mules loaded with biscuit, delicacies, and sweets, which they keep leaving on the route at the posting houses for the use and benefit of the poor invalids and of all those at the harbor and particularly the cachupines, as they call recent arrivals from Spain in that kingdom; in Peru and the Spanish Main they call them chapetones. They put them on muleback and transport them for the love of God; they provide them with good care and with delicacies; as for those in good health they arrange for them to work and be of service. They provide such great relief that without it many poor people would perish and die, and so it is a most blessed institution and project. The brethren who conduct it wear a dark gray habit like those of the General Hospital of this capital. They are called Brethren of Huaxtepec because it was first established there, built by Juan Álvarez, grand servant of God, its founder, a native of Ayamonte.

457. The Hospital of the Love of God (Amor de Diós) called the tumor (syphilis) hospital, is designed for the treatment of the poor afflicted with this disease. It is splendid and wealthy, and has fine rooms and infirmaries, where the sick are treated with great charity and solicitude. The Hospital of the Holy Ghost (Espíritu Santo) is likewise excellent, as is also that of Jesús María de Indios, where they treat sick Indians. The Hospital of San Lázaro is for incurable cases; they take very charitable care of them. There is in this hospital a remarkable relic-a very holy likeness of Christ our Savior, in the form of an Ecce Homo seated on a rock; it is held in the greatest veneration, being of great sanctity and the worker of remarkable miracles. In that city and kingdom it is traditionally reputed to have been wrought through the ministry of angels. The Hospital of La Misericordia is famous among the rest; and there are furthermore others of lesser reputation which I omit, not having full details about them and thus being unable to set down their strong points.

# CHAPTER XXII

Of the Tribunal of the Holy Inquisition, the University and Other Colleges and Splendid Establishments of This City of Mexico; the Exchequer (Tribunal de Cuentas), the Mint, and Other Matters.

**458.** This splendid city houses the Tribunal of the Inquisition, with its Inquisitors, Attorney, Secretaries, and the other functionaries of this holy tribunal. It was founded in the year 1570 in the reign of the most farsighted monarch Philip II; the Inquisitor General was Cardinal Don Diego de Espinosa, distinguished for his learning and virtue, former Bishop of Sigũenza, and member of the Supreme Council of the Indies. That same year another Tribunal of the Holy Inquisition was established in the city of Lima for the Kingdoms of Peru. The decrees of the Inquisitors and other officials proceed from the Inquisitor General residing in this court city of Madrid, and these warrants are transmitted by the Supreme Council of the Indies, which has complete authority over them.

**459.** It has a splendid university, which can vie with the best in the world, with a large attendance of doctors, masters, and students; courses are given in all the sciences with great brilliancy and with benefit to the students, who are sons of that kingdom, where Heaven seems to promote intellectual keenness and subtlety, but with few rewards, since they are so remote from the eyes of His Majesty, and for that reason many drop out at just the best moment. In this university they confer all degrees in every branch of learning; it pos-

sesses all the privileges and exemptions of the University of Salamanca, for it is like it in educational program and in size.

**460.** Near the University and its schools there is another very important college called Santos, which has 12 collegians, most of them priests and chosen by competitive examination; they wear dark gray woolen gowns with rather short scarlet sashes. They choose one of their own number to be Rector; to enter, they have to be poor, virtuous, and of good family; they have an income sufficient for their maintenance. Besides these there are other colleges and seminaries, which illumine the greatness of this imperial city.

461. They have a Mint for the smelting and coining of metal money, with all the necessary officials and employees. There they coin the money for the whole kingdom and much that goes to the Philippines and to all the Windward Islands, and much that is brought over to Spain; these are the pieces of eight well known in Spain as Mexican dollars, and in all Europe. They mint coins worth 4 and 2 reals, and a few half reals, the smallest coin minted and circulating there; but for things of small value they make use of cacao beans, which serve as the regular money in that kingdom, and are quite necessary; it would be a very useful thing to introduce this in Spain in place of the vellon coppers. This would obviate the inconveniences and losses arising from the malice and covetousness of foreigners, who use these coins to withdraw silver from Spain, while cacao beans cannot be counterfeited and are to be found in no other kingdoms than those of His Majesty. In this way the inhabitants of the Indies and of Spain would be relieved and benefited.

462. His Majesty appoints a Mayor (Corregidor) in this famous city, in consultation with his Royal Council of the Indies. The city has an Exchequer, with three Paymasters (Contadores) and two Auditors (Ordenadores de Cuentas). Besides these there are three Royal Officials, Paymaster, Treasurer, and Factor and Supervisor of the Royal Patrimony. There is likewise a Tribunal of the Holy Crusade, under the supervision of its Commissioner General, who resides in this capital city; and it would be a very valuable and suitable thing for the bull to be published every year, as has been urged by Ensign (Alférez) Méndez de Ocampo, native of Madrid, a man of great experience in this specialty, both through having been for many years in charge of the documents of the Chamber of New Spain and of Peru, and through having traveled about in those kingdoms and provinces; he has been petitioning the Crusade Council for this for many years, to have them printed there or to announce them in advance year by year. That would be very conducive to the service of

God and His Majesty. There is a City Council with its Corregidor, Aldermen (Regidores) and other officials, who form a very important and distinguished governing body. There are two posts of Government Secretary, each of which was put up for sale for His Majesty's benefit, at 80,000 pesos.

**463.** Besides all the above, the city has abundance of water, coming from Santa Fé 2 leagues off, in a flume (cañada) on famous arches like the aqueduct of Carmona near Seville; these cost over 300,000 pesos to construct. So all the city's fountains are well supplied with water; it is also well provisioned with bread, corn, meat, fish, and much fruit, both Spanish and native, and such luxuries as sugar, preserves, etc., as will be described in the following chapters. On the lake they have bathhouses with excellent hot-water baths, very healthful and beneficial to the invalids who bathe in them.

The city has a brilliant assemblage of titled gentry, knights of the military orders, nobles, and important people.

## CHAPTER XXIII

Of the District of the Archdiocese of Mexico, Its Provinces and Cities, and Other Remarkable Features Which It Contains.

**464.** The Archdiocese of Mexico lies between Tlaxcala on the ESE. and Michoacán on the W.; N. and S. it is over 140 leagues long, from the Provinces of Pánuco and Tampico on the Atlantic coast, to the harbor of Acapulco on the Pacific; through this area it runs from 20 to 60 leagues wide in the district of this Archdiocese; the Viceroy appoints in its cities and provinces to 22 Alcaldías Mayores, for its good administration and the dispensing of justice. These are: Warden and Alcalde Mayor of the port of Acapulco; in Chalco and Tlalmanalco; in Sacualpa, which is a mining community, and in the mines of Sultepec; in those of Zimapán; in the mines of Escanela; in Hueypoxtla; in Metztitlán; in Malinalco; in Otucpa; in the mines of Pachuca; in Pánuco; in Querétaro; in the mines of Taxco; in the city of Texcoco; in Tepoztlán, and Cuauhtitlán; in the mines of Tetela; in those of Temascaltepec; in Tula; in the city of Santiago de los Valles; in Jilotepec; in Ixmiquilpán.

**465.** Besides the posts of Alcalde Mayor described above, the Viceroy fills, in the district of this Archdiocese, 24 Corregimientos for their good administration and the dispensing of justice; these are: Atengonisquiaguala, Atitalaquia, Atlatlahuca del Valle, Chiconautla, Zumpango and Zitlaltepec, Zempoala, Coatepeque, Estapalapa, Guachinango, Huayacocotlán, Jojutla, Otumba, San Juan Titoguacán, Totolapa, Tarasquillo, Tulancingo, Tetela del Volcán, Tepeapulco, Teu-

tenango, the city of Xochimilco, Xuchiquautla, Yxcateopa, Yguala, Yahualica. And in this Archdiocese the Marqués del Valle appoints one Alcalde Mayor in the town of Cuernavaca, and two Corregidores—one in Coyoacán, the other in the town of Toluca.

466. The Archdiocese includes round about the lake many villages and cities of mixed Indian and Spanish population; it would be impossible to describe them all in detail. The most important are the city of Xochimilco, which means Flower City; Chalco, which means People of the Mouths; Texcoco, in which Fernando Cortés made his preparations, and which means Crooked People; and up by the volcano and the sierra are the village of Amecameca and others. This volcano and sierra separate the Archdiocese of Mexico from the Diocese of Puebla de Los Angeles; the towns to the N. of the sierra and volcano belong to Tlaxcala, and those on the S. and W., to Mexico. The sierra has much forest on its slopes-cypresses which make it look like Mount Zion, pines, oaks, and other trees-and in many of the villages they raise and prepare the finest of cochineal. In this district they grow much wheat, corn, and other cereals, for the fields and meadows are fertile; they have abundance of broad pastures, on which graze quantities of cattle, sheep, and hogs, so that the country is well supplied.

**467.** Going southward, one comes to the village of Tepexco on the slope of a range where they get excellent alum. After this range it becomes level, down to Chiautla in the hot country, where they raise quantities of corn and cotton, and on the mountains they gather copal resin; the principal yield is in November, when they gash the trees for it to run. Next comes the village of Ocotlán, whose chief income is derived from salt, which they make from a brine spring. From here along a southerly course one comes upon the villages of Contecomapa and Gualtepeque, where they speak the Mixteca language; here there is a sierra of very fine green jasper verging on porphyry. At this point it touches the Diocese of Oaxaca; leaving some villages at one side, one reaches Otuculula, where there is gold ore, and farther on, Tuculula, near the Pacific, where it borders on the Diocese of Oaxaca.

# Chapter XXIV

Continuing the Preceding Subject, of the District of the Archdiocese of Mexico, and in Particular, the Route to the Province of Huaxteca and to Pánuco.

468. From Mexico City to the Province of Huaxteca, one goes 5 leagues to the village of San Cristóbal de Ácatepec, where there is a good Franciscan convent. Eight leagues farther, to the right from Acatepec and NE. of Mexico, is the village of Otumba, where there are Royal Apartments, in which the Viceroys stop before entering Mexico City, and a famous Franciscan convent and church. Farther along the same course lies Tulancingo, 22 leagues from Mexico, at the foot of the Sierra de Huayacocotlán, where there is a splendid Franciscan convent and church. Ten leagues from Tulancingo is the Alcaldía Mayor of Huayacocotlán, leaving on the left the Alcaldía Mayor of the Sierra de Metztitlán, with a famous Augustinian convent, in which they teach Arts and Theology. In the Sierra of Metztitlán or Huayacocotlán there are mines of excellent alum.

**469.** The town of Los Valles in the Province of Huaxteca on the road to Pánuco some 50 leagues from Mexico City, is built in a pleasant valley on the banks of a river which irrigates and enriches its fields and meadows. It will contain 200 Spanish residents. There is a parish church here and a Franciscan convent. It has a spring-like climate, and is the residence of the Corregidor appointed by the Viceroy for its good administration and that of the province. It has large mule ranches in its district, which form the chief business of that region, and most of their deer yield excellent bezoar stones. On the slopes of Huaxteca and the Sierra of Metztitlán lies the Corregimiento of Yahualica.

**470.** Twenty-five leagues beyond the town of Los Valles, and 75 from Mexico, is the Province and State of Pánuco, where they founded the city of San Estéban of the N. port of Mexico. At the present time it contains few Spaniards, the majority of its inhabitants having left to live in the city and port of Tampico, which is built at the water's edge, for the sea beats against its houses. It will contain 200 Spanish residents; their chief occupation is the shrimp fishery; sometimes great schools come in, which the fishermen can tell by the color of the water; and when the schools arrive, be it Maundy Thursday or Easter, they go out fishing, even though they miss hearing Mass on those days, for that is generally the season when they come. These fisheries in general supply for the whole year the city of Mexico, and other cities, towns, and provinces, and the man who possesses one of those shrimp grounds is rich.

**471.** Tampico is 3 leagues from Pánuco; at the midway point of  $I\frac{1}{2}$  leagues there is a Spanish garrison, called Tamós, for defense against the warlike Indians called Salineros, who live on the other side of the Río de Pánuco; but at the present time they are quiet, because they give them some corn and coarse woolen cloth for their

clothing, so that they shall not disturb and molest people passing from one side to the other.

**472.** In the city of Tampico there is a parish church and a Franciscan convent. The climate is very hot and damp. In that district and that of Pánuco there are extensive cattle and mule ranches, most of which lie in the hostile Indian territory, but with what they give these Indians, they are not molested by them. There are innumerable deer in these parts; the Indians shoot them with arrows; from some they get excellent bezoar stones. All this country is very level and pleasant, so that it seems a bit of Paradise. The Río de Pánuco is a large river; ships and frigates can enter it; they come up from Vera Cruz with wine and other commodities; there are quantities of alligators in it. This district borders on the ESE. on the Province and port of Tamiahua of the Diocese of Puebla, and on the N. with extensive provinces of heathen savages.

# Chapter XXV

Continuing the Description of the Archdiocese of Mexico.

**473.** On leaving Mexico City in a northeasterly direction, near Otumba is the village of Tepeapulco, where they raise quantities of corn and wheat; there are broad pastures and ranches there. Farther on is the Province of Guachinango, with silver mines; the streams run into the Atlantic. Next comes the Province of Papantla and Tuxpán, whose river flows into the Atlantic opposite the Isla de Lobos (Wolf Island); but that country and coast are unhealthy, being hot and damp.

**474.** Returning to Mexico, the city of Texcoco lies 7 leagues E. of it, on the bank of the lake; here they produce quantities of cloth, serge, and coarse woolens. From Texcoco to Gueytulpa, Zacatepec and other villages, and returning ENE. from there, one passes mountain ranges separating the Río de Tuxpán from the Río de San Pedro y San Pablo; here the Archdiocese touches the Diocese of Puebla, at the village of Agotepeque, near the Vera Cruz highway; this village belongs to the Diocese of Puebla.

**475.** Returning to Mexico, to the S. one finds the villages of Cuernavaca, Las Amilpas, Huaxtepec, Huautla, and Acapixtla, belonging to the Marqués del Valle, 10 leagues from Mexico, where there are fine valleys with a hot climate. Here there are many mills for [grinding] sugarcane, from which they make great quantities of excellent [white] sugar. They have many kinds of delicious fruit, both native

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and Spanish, corn, cotton, sweet potatoes, jicamas, flowers and especially roses, which bloom the whole year through, thanks to the favorable climate, the fertility of the soil, and the abundance of water, with which they irrigate their meadows and fields.

**476.** The Province of Tlapa contains mountain ranges, and valleys abounding in wheat, corn, and other cereals, and gold ore. Farther on is the Province of Cuexco, with a hot climate and a large native population; here they raise quantities of wheat, corn, beans, and other cereals. In this province lie the rich silver mines of Zumpango; from here one goes to the port of Acapulco on the Pacific, which lies in 17°30'. This is where the ships coming to Mexico from the Philippines and Peru, make port. The harbor is good, deep, and safe, in a large cove formed by the sea. There is a Spanish town there with as many as 70 residents, with a garrison and a Warden appointed by His Majesty in consultation with his Royal Council of the Indies. The climate is hot and deleterious, though healthy for Negroes and mulattoes; for that reason and because it is a wealthy port, many of them live there.

**477.** From Mexico to Tacubaya and Xalataco is the Acapulco highway; to the right of it on the SW. is the Province of Taxco, where there are many silver-mining towns, viz, Taxco, Sacualpa, Sultepec, Temascaltepec and others, all Spanish settlements; here they have taken out great wealth of silver. In the mining town of Sacualpa the Mercedarian Order possesses a rich mine, from which they have extracted great wealth, with which they constructed their large and sumptuous convent in Mexico City.

**478.** Leaving Mexico by Tacubaya, another road branches off to the W. by Santa Fé; 7 leagues on is the Matalzingo Valley, with the famous town of Toluca belonging to the Marqués del Valle; it will contain over 200 Spanish residents, with a fine Franciscan convent. The town is a busy trading center; they make the best ham and bacon there in all New Spain, and great quantities of soap. [The town and the whole valley] have a cold climate; it is full of cattle ranches and farms; this whole country is prolific and healthy. To the SW. of this valley lie the above-mentioned mines of Temascaltepec, and the others covering a district of 18 leagues to the E.

**479.** From the Toluca Valley one proceeds to Istlavaca or Mequetepec, a region rich in numerous farms of wheat, corn, and other cereals; here His Majesty, in consultation with the Supreme Council of the Indies, appoints an Alcalde Mayor. Returning to Mexico City and starting W., at 4 leagues one reaches Cuauhtitlán; Tepejí is 8 leagues [from there], and at 30 leagues from Mexico is the town (villa) of Querétaro, a Spanish settlement with 500 residents, plus many Indians. It is a very delightful village (pueblo), with a marvelous climate and abundance of supplies and delicacies; there are large cattle, sheep, and hog ranches, vineyards and all kinds of fruit, native and from Spain. The Viceroy appoints an Alcalde Mayor for this city, for its good administration and the dispensing of justice. Besides the parish church there is a famous Franciscan convent and another, San Diego, of the Barefoot Friars, and a nunnery of Barefoot Nuns of the Carmelite Order; this was founded by the Cacique Don Diego, an Indian of high intelligence and Christian character, as is evidenced by such an establishment. In addition to founding it and acting as its patron, he endowed it with an income sufficient to maintain all the nuns; thus God our Lord is well served, and the good Indian left an example in this work for others to imitate. At the town limit, the Archdiocese touches the Diocese of Michoacán.

**480.** In the towns of Tacuba and Tlanepantla, His Majesty appoints an Alcalde Mayor, in consultation with his Royal Council of the Indies. From Tacuba WNW. on the way to Jiquipilco, Chiapa lies to one side, and Tepeaquilla, Atzcapotzalco, Tenayuca, and at 4 leagues, Cuauhtitlán and Tepejí, where there are cattle ranches and wheat farms. Farther on lie Jolotitlán and Jilotepec, where it borders on villages of the Province of Michoacán. Beyond Jilotepec lies Tula, where there are large stock and cattle ranches, and farms to the N. All this country has a marvelous springlike climate. Starting N. from Mexico City, one comes on the villages of Tepeaquilla, and farther on, Acatapec, Atotobilco; Tulancingo, and then the Province and Sierra of Metztitlán, also called Huayacocotlán, as has been remarked.

#### CHAPTER XXVI

Of Other Features of the Archdiocese of Mexico, and of the Fruit Growing There.

**481.** In the provinces of this district of the Archdiocese of Mexico described in the preceding chapters, there are over 250 Indian villages, with many cities among them; 100 [of them] are county seats (cabezas de partido). In these, and on over 6,000 establishments—corn and wheat farms, sugar plantations, cattle, sheep, and hog ranches—there are over 500,000 Indians paying tribute, and more than 150 convents of the Dominican, Franciscan, and Augustinian orders, and many curacies under priests, not to speak of the [many] Spanish towns in the district of the Archdiocese, and especially all the silver-mining towns, which are Spanish settlements.

**482.** The Viceroy of New Spain appoints not only to the posts of Alcalde Mayor and Corregidor, but also 18 judges for the allotment of Indians (jueces repartidores): One in Mexico City, another in Tacubaya, in Tacuba, Tepoztlán, Chalco; in the mining towns of Pachuca, Taxco, Sultepec, Sacualpa, Temascaltepec, Guanajuato, and Súchil; in the district of the Diocese of Oaxaca for the mines of Chichicapa and Tlalpujahua; in the district of the Diocese of Puebla, San Pablo; His Majesty appoints the one for Atlixco. These are all offices with important perquisites. Furthermore he appoints inspectors (juezes) of highways, of sugar mills for Las Amilpas and those in Vera Cruz; and he appoints other inspectors for the woolen mills and cochineal works.

**483.** The city of Mexico is luxuriously provided with fruit, both of Spanish and native varieties: they all yield abundantly. There are excellent olive groves from which they gather quantities of eating olives. Grapes are brought in from Querétaro, and there are a few vines in the city, as well as peaches large and small, pippins, quinces, pomegranates, oranges, limes, grapefruit, citrons, and lemons; the gardens produce in abundance all varieties of Spanish garden stuff and vegetables; the lake provides delicious fish of different sorts, and the streams, bobos, which is an excellent fish, and others.

**484.** There are many kinds of native fruit, such as bananas and plantains, red sapotes, sapodillas, white sapotes, aguacates (alligator pears), all of which are described in their proper place, both the nature of the fruit, and the tree which produces [and bears] it. The black sapote resembles a large orange; it has a thin green skin; the flesh is like black salve; it is an excellent and delicious fruit, with seeds in it like carob beans; the tree is sturdy and tall, cup-shaped like a walnut tree, and [handsome and] attractive in appearance. There is another which they call capulí; tree, leaf, and fruit are quite like the Spanish mazard cherry. There is a kind of wild walnut, with very small nuts like filberts, but somewhat larger and very hard-shelled; they taste like ours, but somewhat sweeter. They have custard-apples and so many other kinds of fruit that it is impossible to enumerate them.

**485.** They have many kinds of root crops, such as sweet potatoes, which in that kingdom they call camotes; they are large and of many colors—white, purple, yellow, blue, and others. They have the same flavor as those which are grown in Malaga. They have arracachas, jicamas, and others which I do not mention because they will be described in another chapter.

**486.** In Mexico City they have pulque inspectors; pulque is the wine the Indians drank, made from the maguey, and they get drunk

on it and cause great disorder, thanks to the still greater cupidity of those who sell it; these inspectors are to repress and penalize them, like weight inspectors; but it is not sufficient, the city being so large; although they punish and penalize them, they continue risking the sale, for the great profit they make out of it.

**487.** They have book-printing establishments in this splendid city. In view of the risk of floods from their great lake, they have constructed an outlet channel by piercing the mountains so that the excess water can run off. In the center of it they found horns of a unicorn or rhinoceros (habada) of times long past, which make one think they must have been there since the days of the Flood. Although the outlet has cost the city and the kingdom many thousands of ducats, it is not finished, there is so much to be done. It is being built in the direction of Huchuetocal. Right in the center of the earth or rather the bottom of the drain being made for the outlet, they have likewise found elephants' tusks and other strange things.

# CHAPTER XXVII

Of the District of the Diocese of Michoacán.

**488.** The city of Michoacán or Patzcuaro, from which the whole diocese takes its name, lies 50 leagues W. of Mexico City, in 19° N. The Cathedral of this diocese is in the city of Valladolid, also named Guayangareo. This was founded by the Militia Captain Cristóbal de Olid, with a commission [derived] from Marqués Don Fernando Cortés to explore and conquer those provinces, in the year 1522, directly following that in which he took Mexico City. Valladolid is built in a pleasant fertile valley on the banks of a river; it has a marvelous springlike climate, with bright skies and bracing air: in the Indian tongue it is called Guayangareo; it will contain 400 Spanish residents and many Indians. The Cathedral was originally established at Zinzontla, where the kings of that kingdom held court; then the first Bishop, Vasco de Quiroga, moved it from there in the year 1544 to where it now is; the Bishop and Prebendaries are in residence there for its services [with zeal in the service of God].

**489.** There are in this city [excellent] Franciscan, Augustinian, and Barefoot Carmelite convents, three numeries, and other churches, shrines, and excellent hospitals; in fact, they have them in all the Indian villages of the provinces of this diocese, maintained by all the communities with close attention to the matter of beds, practitioners, and luxuries for the invalids, and they nurse them with great care and charity. This province contains fine large lakes with abundance of delicious fish; in particular, the one near Patzcuaro is

as large as the Lake of Mexico; there are many boats on it, which take quantities of fish, among them a small variety like mackerel (pejerreyes), which they dry in the sun and which are distributed over many parts of this province.

490. In this kingdom they speak four languages: The Tarasca, which is their special language, and very elegant; the Otomí, which is pretty generally spoken; the Chichimeca, and the Mexican. The Otomí and Chichimeca languages are very obscure and hard to understand. The Tarasca, characteristic of that region, is so called because when the Spaniards came and settled in that kingdom, the chiefs gave them their daughters, considering them so valiant and energetic, and insisted on giving them to them, calling them Tarasque, which is the same as son-in-law, and so that province got called that of the Tarascos. The people are brave, diligent, and very intelligent. The province has varieties of climate—cold, hot, and springlike—and famous valleys and meadowlands, with streams of sweet crystal-clear water running through them; hot baths very beneficial for invalids; fertile fields which yield abundance of corn, wheat, and other cereals, both native and Spanish; there is plenty of pastureland, and in consequence large cattle ranches with constantly increasing product; sheep from Castile, from whose wool they weave in the mills fine and coarse woolen cloth, blankets, sombreros, etc.; they raise also many hogs.

They have many kinds of native fruit, and among them, the capulies, which are like the mazard cherries of Spain; they bear abundantly. All our varieties bear well also, thanks to the excellent nature of the soil; the same is true of garden truck and vegetables. They have many plantations of sugarcane, with their mills and grinding machines, with which they make quantities of syrup and sugar; with that and the fruit they put up many kinds of delicious preserves. In these provinces they have valuable hard timber, which the Tarasco Indians, who are very ingenious and accurate carpenters, work up into writing desks, ornamental ink stands, and other great curiosities; they work not only in wood but in paintings of featherwork, done with great dexterity and neatness, with feathers from the [many] beautiful birds of various colors which they have in this province, and in particular from a tiny bird which the Indians utilize for their feather paintings, because it has such unusual colors. This little bird is called vicisilin, and is a natural curiosity. It flies about for 6 months of the year-spring and summer-and when it recognizes the approach of winter, it drives its bill into a certain tree and remains imbedded there all winter without eating and immovable as though dead; but

when it feels spring coming, it returns to life again, disengages itself from the tree, and flies off; this strange habit should give the philosophers food for speculation. They have also artisans in every specialty, and famous painters.

491. In the northern part of this diocese, along their frontier with the Indian tribe of the Chichimecas, they gather wild cochineal, very fine when worked up; there are large cattle, sheep, and hog ranches; they raise excellent horses and mules. All the country is fertile, and prolific in general and particular. Here are the villages of Upper (Alto) and Lower (Bajo) Apaseo, I league apart; the lower is the seat of administration; it will contain 200 residents. It has marvelous fountains of clear and delicious water, which rises up among the rocks and crags of Upper Apaseo, which is the border town against the Chichimeca Indians; there used to be a good fort there for protection from them. Among the fountains in these villages of Apaseo there is one of such attractive appearance that it invites one to drink of its sweet and crystal-clear water; but if one is not used to it, it causes fever and ague. In Lower Apaseo there is a Franciscan convent. These two villages belong to the Marqués de Villamayor; they have [excellent] vineyards there and all varieties of Spanish fruit and many indigenous. Near Bajo Apaseo runs the Río de Acambaro, likewise belonging to the Marqués; in it they catch fine savory bagres [a yard in length and over] and many other kinds of fish. At these villages they get two abundant harvests of wheat and corn each year, one in the rainy season and the other by irrigation; from them they supply many cities and towns in New Galicia, and San Luís de Potosí.

## CHAPTER XXXI

Continuing the Description of the Diocese and Provinces of the Kingdom of Michoacán, and the Town of San Luís de Potosí.

**492.** Returning to the King's Highway and going from Mexico City to the town of Querétaro, last in the Archdiocese, at 12 leagues one comes to the village of San Luís de la Paz, and 2 on from there, to Palmar Real de Minas, an Alcaldía Mayor. From there it is 18 leagues to the town of San Luís de Potosí, leaving to the left Michoacán and many Indian villages and Spanish settlements, which I cannot enumerate [although I shall describe as much as I can briefly, of this diocese.]

**493.** The town and silver mines of San Luís de Potosí lie in a plain in the midst of fine scenery and with fountains of excellent water;

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a small river is  $[\frac{1}{2}]$  <sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> league off. It was founded by Capt. Pedro Caldera, a brave mestizo, [and Capt. Pedro de Arejmendi (?) Gogorrón, who was the first to build a house there, Julio de Cabala, Alguacil Mayor of the capital city of Mexico, and Capt. Gabriel Ortiz de Fuenmayor], in the year 1594. It will contain 500 Spanish residents, and has a very wealthy parish church with curates [whose income is over 4,000 pesos every year] and over 30 clerics; there are Franciscan, Augustinian, and Jesuit convents, and a fine and wealthy hospital of the Brethren of San Juan de Diós, San Lorenzo, and other churches and shrines. The town has abundant and excellent provision of bread, corn, meat, fish, and preserves, with all sorts of Spanish fruit [which bear early and in quantity] as well as indigenous.

494. The residents of this city maintain 22 mining enterprises, in which there are over 100 smelting ovens; and every year since its discovery these silver smelters have yielded, in tithes and sales fees (rescate), over 150,000 silver marks, and over 6,000 gold marks from the gold occurring with the silver. The range where these mines are lies 13 leagues from the town of San Luis; it is called San Pedro; it is very high and round, like a sugar loaf, and resembles the one in Peru, though not so large. Near it is another range of the same height, size, and shape, called Las Ánimas [and one can throw a stone from it to San Pedro]; this is very rich, but it has not been worked, nor will be, for here the rock is harder, and the miners have not the appliances [or the capital] for it, though necessity will force them to work it, for the reason that San Pedro, from which such great wealth has been taken, has pretty well given out and has little ore left, all of which has to be smelted, since it is mixed with lead, and the quicksilver method is not suitable for it, although perhaps the miners do not take kindly to other methods.

**495.** Between these two rich ranges of San Pedro and Las Ánimas, runs a notch [which is] all lined with over 50 shops for merchandise and over 20 bakerics and other food shops, whose proprietors live [in that notch] there under the allurement of the rich ore in those ranges. There is a church there with a curate to administer the Holy Sacraments, and the living brings him in each year over 3,000 pesos. San Luís lies 45 leagues N. of Valladolid.

**496.** One-quarter league from the town of San Luís de Potosí is the village of Tlaxcalilla, with over 500 Indians, and a Franciscan convent. (Marg.: It has a small river.) This is a marvelous spot, with excellent climate, bright skies, and bracing air; these Indians have excellent gardens, delightful to visit, where they grow Spanish and native fruit, vegetables, and garden truck, which they take to the town of San Luís and the mines to sell, [so that for some, it is an agreeable outing and source of supply, and for others a means of enrichment.]

**497.** Around the town of San Luís de Potosí, occupied in the operations of the mines, on the cattle ranches, in the charcoal kilns, the bakeries, etc., there are over 1,500 Spaniards, and many Indian villages, all thickly settled because of the good climate and the health-fulness of the region. The district of this town [of San Luís] marks the bound of the jurisdiction of the Circuit Court of Mexico, and the commencement of that of Guadalajara, in New Galicia.

# Chapter XXXII

Continuing the Description of the District of the Diocese of Michoacán.

**498.** In the district of this diocese there are large provinces and Indian settlements, and among them many cities and towns inhabited by Spaniards, the majority of which are silver-mining towns. In the N. are those of Guanajuato, 28 leagues from Valladolid, which have yielded great wealth of silver, and still do at present; the town itself will contain over [500] 300 Spanish residents, with a parish church, Franciscan and Augustinian convents, a [very good] hospital, and other churches and shrines; the Viceroy appoints an Alcalde Mayor for it. The mines of Tlalpujahua are 15 leagues off: [they have extracted a large amount of silver from them]; there are many other mines in the district, which I cannot enumerate.

**499.** The town of La Concepción de Celaya was founded by the Viceroy Don Martín Enríquez in the year 1570 on the Zacatecas King's Highway to New Galicia and New Vizcaya, as a frontier post against the Chichimeca Indians. It has a springlike climate and fertile fields with wealth of pastureland, for which reason there are large cattle, sheep, and hog ranches, with good mules and horses; they harvest abundance of corn, wheat, and other cereals, (Marg.: for which there are large irrigation ditches); they raise many kinds of native fruit and all the Spanish ones. The town will contain 400 Spanish residents, with a parish church, Franciscan, Augustinian, and Barefoot Carmelite convents, with other hospitals, churches, and shrines; there are many Indian villages in the district. In this region there are other Spanish settlements with many farms full of cattle, [which I do not enumerate because it would be almost impossible]. Celaya belongs to the Marqués de Villamayor.

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**500.** In the southern part of this diocese, along the seacoast, are the Provinces of Zacatula and Colima. The town of Zacatula, which lies in full 18° N., was founded by Juan Rodríguez de Villafuerte and Ximón de Cuenca, both captains under the Marqués del Valle, Don Fernando Cortés, in the year 1523. It is on the Pacific coast within the limits of New Galicia, 50 leagues from Michoacán, which had been settled first by Capt. Gonzalo de Sandoval at the end of the year 1522. This is hot country, rich in gold and silver mines, and with large plantations or milpas of cacao, cassia, and other medicinal fruits and roots; it abounds in everything necessary for human life. In this district they have large cattle, mule, and horse ranches; they gather quantities of corn, cotton, and cochineal. All the Indians in this region are intelligent, and good Christians.

**501.** In the district of this diocese there are 113 Indian villages, 49 of them county seats (cabeceras de partidos), and since they are well administered the communities maintain hospitals for the care of indigent sick Indians, where they provide them with every care and luxury. The country is fertile and prolific; they have many medicinal herbs, roots, and fruits; they raise goats and swine, both native wild swine and domestic; they have hares, rabbits, tigers, lions, deer, and many other kinds of animals.

**502.** Along the Pacific coast the district of this diocese runs 80 leagues, including the Provinces of Zacatula and Colima and other settlements as far as the port of La Navidad, in 19° N., which is the boundary town with the Kingdom of New Galicia. It was given that name by Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, former Governor of that kingdom, a native of Salamanca, and ancestor of the Marqueses de Villamayor, because his forebears had had their original home in the Kingdom of Galicia in Spain; they were lords of the castle of Coronado after entering Spain from France; they were legitimate descendants of the kings of France. The boundary of this diocese runs over 60 leagues inland, and on the N. there are extensive provinces of heathen to be converted to the Faith; the closest are the savage Chichimecas. This diocese lies between the Archdiocese of Mexico on the E. and the Diocese of New Galicia on the W.

**503.** In the district of this Diocese of Michoacán there are many silver-mining towns, in which the Viceroy appoints 24 judicial officers: 14 are Alcaldes Mayores, in Zacatula, the mines of Sinagua, Guaco-manmotines, the mines of Guanajuato, those of Guadalcázar, San Luís de Potosí (which is now under His Majesty's jurisdiction), the mines of Súchil, those of Tlalpujahua, the city of Valladolid, the town of Colima, the town of La Concepción de Celaya, the town of

San Miguel, and San Felipe, the town of León, the town of Xacóna; and 10 Corregidores, in Chilchota, Cuyseo, Guayameo, and Sindareo, Tancitáro, Tajimaroa, and Marabatio, Tuxpán, and Zapotlán, Tlazazalca, Tingüindín, Jiquilpán, Xaso, and Teremundo. Besides these, the Marqués del Valle (in the district of this diocese) appoints the Corregidor of Matalzingo (the only post under his jurisdiction up to the present in this diocese).

### CHAPTER XXVII

Of the City of Antequera [Founded in the Oaxaca Valley, and the District of the Diocese.]

**504.** The city of Antequera, which is built in the Oaxaca Valley, lies 80 leagues ESE. of Mexico on the King's Highway to Chiapas and Guatemala. These provinces were conquered by Juan Núñez de Mercado, a Captain under Fernando Cortés, in the year 1522. In the same year, under commission from Fernando Cortés, the city was colonized by Juan Núñez Sedeño and Fernando de Badajoz, in this Oaxaca Valley. The city has more than 500 residents; its Cathedral is one of the best and finest in the Indies; Bishop and Prebendaries reside there to conduct its services. The city lies in 17°40'; it has splendid convents; the Dominican is rich and perfectly finished [one of the finest in the Indies]; it has over 100 friars, with a school of Arts and Theology; it is the head convent for the province. It has also Franciscan, Augustinian, Mercedarian, and Jesuit convents, and the numeries of Santa Catalina de Sena, Santa Clara, and La Concepción; a hospital, and other churches and shrines.

**505.** The Oaxaca Valley begins at the Sierra of Cocola in the district of Huajotitlán; it has a springlike climate; they harvest quantities of wheat, corn, and all Spanish and native cereals; all kinds of Spanish fruit, and many delicious native sorts, yield well, thanks to the fertile soil and good climate; so the city is well supplied with cheap and delicious food. They raise cacao in this district; they have sugar mills; they produce cochineal, annatto, very fragrant pepper, coyol, and a little berry with which they make quantities of rosaries; they gather sarsaparilla, copal resin, anime (courbaril) resin, and all sorts of medicinal fruits and roots; and in the Provinces of Upper and Lower Mixteca [which belong in the district] they produce and work up great quantities of very fine silk; the first to introduce and raise silkworms was the Licentiate Delgadillo, a native of Granada, a Circuit Judge in Mexico. In this city they make the best and most delicious chocolate in the Indies.

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**506.** The river running through this city drops underground opposite Zimatlán and comes out again 2 leagues away near the Sierras de Coatlán; 2 leagues farther from the city and half a league opposite a sierra lying to the N., there is another low ridge, beyond which stretches the famous Oaxaca Valley, over an expanse of 16 leagues, all level land, with great ranches raising cattle, sheep, hogs, mules, and some of the best horses [raised] in that kingdom.

**507.** In the district of this diocese there are rich silver and gold mines, for all the rivers carry metal; there are mines of very remarkable stones of different colors and virtues in affections of the side, the milk glands, and the blood; the deer produce bezoar stones; they gather mechoacan (bindweed) and cassia. This diocese is over 120 leagues long, from the Atlantic in the Province of Guasacualco, the boundary point with that of Tabasco in the Diocese of Yucatan, over to the Pacific; and it extends along the Pacific coast for over 100 leagues, as far as the extreme tip of the Province of Tehuantepec, where the district of the Circuit Court of Mexico ends, and that of the Circuit Court of Guatemala and the Diocese of Chiapas, begins; and it runs over 40 leagues along the Atlantic coast, with many fertile provinces thickly populated with different tribes.

#### CHAPTER XXVIII

Continuing the Description of the District of the Diocese of Oaxaca, and of the Alcaldías Mayores and Corregimientos to Which the Viceroy Appoints.

**508.** There are in the district of this diocese five Spanish settlements: the city of Antequera or Oaxaca; the town of Espíritu Santo, 3 leagues from the Atlantic on the Río de Guasacualco, which was settled by Capt. Gonzalo de Sandoval, a native of Medellín, in the year 1523; it has on its territory the villages of Guechollán, Ciuatlán, Quetzaltepec, and others; it is 90 leagues from Oaxaca. The Río de Guasacualco, along which it is built, rises in the Sierras of the Mixes and Chontales near Tehuantepec and Chiapas.

**509.** The town of San Ildefonso was settled by Treasurer Alonso de Estrada when he was Governor of New Spain in the year 1526, in the Province of Zapotecas, which he subdued together with that of Xaltepeque; it lies 20 leagues NE. of Oaxaca. This country is much cut up by high mountain ridges, and has large settlements with more than 40,000 Indians living in them. These provinces abound in corn, cotton, cochineal, gold, and other precious metals; they produce many medicinal roots, fruits, gums, and extracts; there is

abundance of all sorts of game, and many fish in the rivers. This noble knight during the period of his incumbency (which was up to the establishment of a Circuit Court in Mexico) governed with great success and foresight; he subdued many other provinces, not only in the district of this Diocese but in all New Spain, and left them pacified; such were the Provinces of the Mixes, Mixtecas, Huaxtecos, and others; and he moved and rebuilt the city of Old Vera Cruz (which had been founded by the Marqués del Valle Don Fernando Cortés on the Río de Medellín) to where it is today, because that was a better site than the other, although on account of its inconvenient location for the fleets, another settlement sprang up where New Vera Cruz now is, at the water's edge opposite the castle and fort of San Juan de Ulloa. In the district of the Diocese of Michoacán he subdued the Provinces of the Motines and Copelangos, reestablished the towns of Colima and Zacatula, and carried out other courageous [services] operations in pacifying those tribes.

**510.** The town of Nixapa lies 20 leagues ESE. of Oaxaca on the King's Highway to Chiapas and Guatemala: it has a springlike climate; trade there is chiefly based on the sugar mills and on [many] other native produce. Twenty leagues farther on the same route, and 40 from Oaxaca, lies the town and port of Tehuantepec, with a Dominican convent. The Province and villages of Mexcaltepec are farther on, under the jurisdiction of this town; here it borders on the district of the Diocese of Chiapas. In this district there are large cattle, horse, and mule ranches, with quantities of game and more white-bellied hares than in any other part of the Indies. All this region is hot country [tempered by abundant supplies of luxuries].

**511.** The chief port of this Diocese is that of Huatulco on the Pacific; it lies in 16° N. Here they export [much] pitch and other merchandise consisting of native products, to Peru. There is a very sacred cross here, a great relic and highly venerated throughout the kingdom [of New Spain]. The Dutch tried to burn it, and although they set fire about it, they could not, and were bewildered by the fact; God has wrought many miracles by it. The Viceroy appoints to 34 judicial offices in the district of this Diocese of Oaxaca: 22 Corregimientos, in Atlatlahuca de Oaxaca, Chinantla and Veila, Cuicatlán, Zimatlán, Huajolotitlán, Huaxpaltepec, Huajuapán, Miaguatlán, Mictla and Tlacolula, Nochixtlán, Papaloticpaque, Tleutitlán del Camino, Tilantongo, Teozacoalco, Tecocuilco, Temauaca and Quictepeque, Texopa, Teotitlán and Macuilxochil, Xustlaguca, Yxtepexi, Yanguitlán, Iscuintepeque de Los Peñoles; and 12 Alcaldías Mayores: Those of the city of Oaxaca, the port of Huatulco, Teposcolula, Teu-

tila, the town and port of Tehuantepec, the town of Guasacoalco, the town of Nixapa, Villalta de San Ildefonso, Xicayán, Ygualapa, Yagualulcos; there are three appointments by the Marqués del Valle in the district of this Diocese, viz, the Alcaldía Mayor of the four towns, and two Corregimientos, in Jalapa del Marqués and Xuxtla.

**512.** The city of Oaxaca lies 60 leagues S. of the port and city of Vera Cruz. It contains the Provinces of Upper Mixtecas, which is the one nearer the Pacific, and Lower Mixtecas, which is the farther inland; [both run E. and W.]. In these many mulberry trees have been planted and they raise and work up much [very] fine silk; they abound in corn and other cereals and fruit, both native and from Spain; there are cacao plantations, and a few mills producing quantities of syrup and sugar; they grow marvelous melons; they have cattle, stock, sheep, and hog ranches, and excellent mules.

## CHAPTER XXIX

Continuing the Description of the Diocese of Oaxaca, and of the Strange Caverns To Be Found in It.

**513.** There are in the district of this Diocese extensive provinces thickly populated with natives, and with 350 Indian villages and over 300 farms in them, both wheat and corn farms, cacao and sugar plantations, and also cattle ranches; and in these villages and farms there are over 150,000 Indians paying tribute, with 120 Dominican convents and curacies, and many under priests as well, and if the Indians paid tithes of the products the soil yields them, this diocese would be one of the richest in the Indies, for they raise in it quantities of silk, cultivated and wild cochineal, and many other kinds of fruit and cereals, with medicinal roots and gums.

**514.** In the Sierras de Los Zapotecas in this diocese is the source of the Río de Alvarado, a powerful stream where it runs into the Atlantic between San Juan de Ulloa, limit of the territory of this Diocese, and that of Guasacualco. Among the numerous native languages spoken by these Indians, there were, and still are, 13 languages differing one from the other, although the Mexican is the most widely diffused, [it] having been introduced by the Mexican kings for administrative purposes after they had brought them into their empire. The Mixtees wore cotton cloaks [and the whole costume] like the Mexicans, and sandals, and when they went to war they put on cotton "escaupiles" with very thick padding, which are tougher than a coat of mail or buff jerkins, in front, and marched all decked out with feather headdresses; they wore gold ear pendants

and spirals, and they fought with loud war whoops, like all the tribes in those parts; they had abundance of everything. In the village of Cuihuitlán in this province they raise great quantities of the mechoacan laxative. In this same province in the village of Totomachapa there is a cave of remarkable size, with its opening to the S. There are many mines of gold, silver, lead, and copperas (copper pyrites?); there is a root the size of an onion which the Indians use for soap; it forms much lather when they wash with it, and makes the clothes very white.

**515.** Five leagues from the city of Oaxaca are the mines of Chichicapa, from which a great amount of silver has been taken; and near these mines on the slopes of a high ridge, there is a cave which is one of the most strange and remarkable in the world. The mouth of the cave is like a great portal; the doors which close it are made of tiny tiles (tegitas) very intricately interlaced; and inside the cave two men can ride abreast; the floor is paved with flagstones and it is all decorated with numerous ancient paintings in very vivid coloring. It runs for a distance of over 14 leagues, about E. and W., and comes out at a village called Mitla in the Province of Zapotecas. Certainly it is one of the wonders of the world, and those Indians did it in the days of their heathendom.

516. In the villages of Cuertlavaca and Tequixtepec there is a very high sierra, and on its slopes there is another cave with a mouth so narrow that a man can hardly get through it; immediately one enters a square room over 50 feet high, and beyond this reception chamber there are flights of steps; next there is a passage with many turns like a labyrinth, through which one walks following a cord which serves as a guide to keep one from getting lost and which is fastened at the entrance. Beyond this labyrinth there is a large plaza and in the midst of it a spring of excellent water; the heathen did not venture to drink it, for they considered that it was sacred and that those who drank of it, would die; at one side of this spring runs a little stream. The cave goes much farther; they have never found the end of it; the heathen considered it a holy place. In this same province there are some very high ranges named Sierras de San Antonio, and some of the Indians live in hollows in the cliffs; these are large and can shelter over 100. In this district of the Mixtecas there are two very high sierras which at their bases are far apart from each other, but at the top their peaks come so close that a man can stand with one foot on the one and one on the other. like the Colossus of Rhodes.

**517.** The Provinces of Zapotecas and Coyoatecas belonged to a chief who resided in the village of Teozopotlán. They were at war with the mountaineers of the Provinces of Los Mixes and those of Tututepec. This district is larger than that of the Mixtec provinces, although they are extensive. In Coatlán there is another cave, very broad and long, which they say comes out in Chiapas, over 100 leagues away. This Province of the Mixes used to be subject to that of Tehuantepec, which is in 16° N., and 40 leagues from Oaxaca.

**518.** There are many other provinces in the district of this Diocese of Oaxaca, as e.g., those of Huajotitlán; Tecomavaca, near Mixteca; Yztepexic; Guylapa; Teotitlán, where they speak Mixtec (Masateca) on the Mixtec border, where they flayed those whom they sacrificed and then begged alms through the countryside with the skins of these victims; they put crowns on their heads before they sacrificed them so that they should be known as dedicated victims. In Usila and Atlatlahuca, where they speak the Chinandega language, Motezuma kept garrisons against the Tuatecas, whom he likewise subdued and treated with the usual cruelties of his religion; now through the mercy of God they are all Christian and under the protection of our Holy Mother the Church; they belong to the district of this Diocese of Oaxaca, which is the final outpost to the ESE. of the Circuit Court of Mexico.

#### Book IV

Of the District of the Circuit Court of New Galicia, [in Which Is Presented a Description of Its Provinces, with Those of New Mexico; the Territories, Their Characteristics and Climates, the Costumes and Customs of the Indians, the Silver-mining Towns and Smelters, the Cities and Towns with Spanish Settlers in This Area, the Official Appointments Made by His Majesty, the Viceroy, the President and Governors, with Many Other Things Worthy of Mention.]

## CHAPTER I

Of the City of Guadalajara, Capital of the Kingdom of New Galicia, and of Other Features of Its District.

**519.** The city of Guadalajara, capital and court city of the Kingdom of New Galicia, lies 90 leagues NW. of Mexico City, at 20°20'. It was founded by Nuño de Guzmán, [a noble knight], native of Guadalajara in Spain, in the year 1531, on a pleasant plain with fertile meadows and fields beside a river which irrigates and fertilizes its banks; and he gave it the name of his native town. Three leagues away is the [large] Río [called] Grande, which is rich in [delicious] fish.

**520.** This city has a marvelous climate, hot rather than cold, with bright skies and bracing, healthful air. It will contain 600 Spanish residents, not counting many of the servant class and Negro and mulatto slaves; there are many native villages in the neighborhood. It is abundantly supplied with wheat, corn, and other cereals of excellent quality and cheap; there are in its district many cattle, sheep, hog, mule, and horse ranches, and plenty of fish in its rivers; many kinds of native and Spanish fruit; and sugar mills, with whose product they make delicious preserves; and it has everything else necessary for human life.

**521.** This city is the seat of the Circuit Court for the Kingdoms of New Galicia and New Vizcaya; this has a President, four Associate Judges, and an Attorney with all the other dignitaries and officials necessary. It has very wide jurisdiction—to the N. about 500 leagues up to New Mexico—over many extensive provinces of Indians and more than 150 Spanish settlements, mainly silver-mining towns, in which the President of this Court appoints to 90 judicial

offices, Alcaldías Mayores and Corregimientos, besides 27 appointments in this district made by the Governor of New Vizcaya.

**522.** In this city of Guadalajara there is a Cathedral where the Bishop and Prebendaries reside and conduct services. It has excellent Dominican, Franciscan, Augustinian, Mercedarian, and Jesuit convents, a nunnery, a hospital for the care of the indigent sick, and other churches and shrines. It occupies the area of a large city; all its houses have their orchards and gardens, delightful for relaxation, with indigenous and Spanish fruit trees. There are Officials of the Royal Patrimony here, with jurisdiction over the whole province.

**523.** Near the city lies the Lake of Chapála, beside which is the boundary with the Circuit Court of Mexico and the Diocese of Michoacán. When Nuño de Guzmán explored and subdued these provinces, he established and colonized the towns of Espíritu Santo in Tepic; Santa María de Los Lagos, 30 leagues SW. of Guadalajara, for which the President of the Circuit Court appoints an Alcalde Mayor; the town of La Purificación SW. of Guadalajara, near the Pacific and the port of La Navidad; and in the Province of Jalisco, W. of Guadalajara, he founded Compostela, where the Cathedral was originally established until it was moved in the year 1560 to Guadalajara, where it is at present. Near the city lie the Jora mines, with rich silver veins and ore deposits.

524. In consequence of some controversies arising between Nuño de Guzmán and Don Fernando Cortés, Marqués del Valle, Emperor Charles V of glorious memory, while at Toledo on April 18, 1537, appointed as Governor and Captain General of those kingdoms and provinces, Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, a gentleman native of Salamanca. He was a descendant of the blood royal of the kings of France; his ancestors had settled in the Kingdom of Galicia, where, for their great services rendered to the Spanish crown, they were presented with the town of Vausende, together with the castle and manor of Coronado. Accordingly when this noble knight had arrived in this kingdom, named Greater Spain (España Mayor) by Nuño de Guzmán after his conquest of it, he found most of it in rebellion and many of its provinces needing to be subdued. With great courage, executive ability, and persistence, he succeeded in overcoming the rebellion and restoring peace; and for the above reasons, he gave these provinces the name of Kingdom of New Galicia, which it bears at present; and his descendants, the Margueses de Villamayor, are its Commanders (Adelantados Mayores).

525. He subdued the Provinces of Izatlán, Guasacatlán with those of Suchipila, Tlaltenango and those of Teul and Vispatlán, with the villages of Zacatlán, Tecolquines, and Tecasuchiles, in which Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza had gone to great effort and expense without success in subduing and pacifying them; this Gov. Francisco Vásquez de Coronado by his circumspection, courage, and persistence conquered, subdued, and colonized this region; but his men and he suffered great hardships in this conquest and pacification, for the savages wounded him severely in the stubborn and bloody battles he had with them; nor did he spare himself later, in restoring order everywhere after his conquest, and in inspecting all the numerous provinces, in rough country. When all was peaceful he apportioned the territory and established priests for the proper evangelization and instruction of the Indians. So His Majesty wrote him in grateful appreciation of his valuable and distinguished services, on February 20, 1539, charging and directing him by royal warrant to examine and inspect all the silver mines which had been discovered in the whole of New Spain and the Kingdom of Mexico, and to establish rules and regulations for their methods of exploiting them and of paying the royal impost of 20 percent for His Majesty; and for these services he granted him the favor of entailing to him the income from the Provinces of Xacatlán and Mezquitlán and the villages of Teusuacán, Amaxaquec, Jalacingo with its inhabitants and farms, and those of Quiyzinquéc with its outlying Chichimecas and Otomites, and the villages of Ysacalco, Tllanama, Guazamota, Xaqueximatlán, Atengo, Guachinango, Acatitlán, and those of Cabiregua, Guarete, Arimota with its dependents (anejos), for his life and those of his children and grandchildren and descendants, all in the district of New Galicia, of which he was Governor.

## CHAPTER II

Continuing the Description of the Kingdom of New Galicia and the District of the Diocese of Guadalajara and Its Rich Mines.

**526.** This kingdom contains extensive and wealthy provinces, with many silver mines in them. Traveling from San Luís de Potosí toward Guadalajara, at 12 leagues one comes on the mines named Sierra de Pinos, with rich deposits and veins of silver; this is where the Kingdom of New Galicia begins; there will be some 30 Spanish miners there, with a few tradesmen and transients; there is a Franciscan convent at this point. Six leagues farther on this same northerly route is the mining town of Los Ramos, which is built on a plain and will have 300 Spanish residents, with a parish church and Franciscan

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convent. The mines are situated in a plain, and have been, and still are, very rich, so much so that from every quintal of ore have been taken up to 16 and even 20 silver marks, and they would be among the richest in the world if they were up on some mountain range or hill, and not down on the plain with water leaking in. They have 20 furnaces for smelting the ore and refining the silver. [The Province of Chiametlán is on the Pacific coast and rich in silver mines.]

527. From the mines of Los Ramos it is 12 leagues to the mines and the city of Zacatecas; here there are very rich mines, which were discovered in the year 1549, 4 years after those of Potosí in Peru, and the settlement started then; now it is one of the largest cities and centers in New Spain, after Mexico City and Puebla de Los Angeles. It has over 1,000 Spanish residents, very wealthy mining people, among the finest in New Spain. The city is built in a gorge or notch between two mountain ranges and occupies the whole length of it, so that its principal street will be over a league long, running up the notch. On this main street stand all the churches and convents, as in Alcalá de Henares. Starting up it, the first building is the excellent Dominican convent with many friars; then follows the hospital of San Juan de Diós, with brethren of that order, in which they nurse the indigent sick with great charity and attentiveness. Then come in order the Augustinian convent; next, the parish church, built at the foot of a high hill or bluff called La Bufa, which backs it up and acts as a buttress. On top of this steep hill there is a delicious spring of refreshing cool water, which is also called La Bufa. This hill is very rich in silver ore, and from its summit, where this spring is, a very rich vein of silver runs down (mostly virgin silver, they say) and passes under the city at the center of the plaza, to reappear in another very high hill which rises on the other side of the city; all these hills are paved with veins and ore deposits of silver. Next the parish church comes the Company of Jesus with a splendid church and a house with many learned and sainted brethren. There are two other excellent hospitals where they care for the indigent sick. Next in order comes the convent of the Seraphic Father St. Francis, admirable in every respect.

**528.** There are other churches and shrines in this wealthy city. It lies 40 leagues N. of Guadalajara. It is a busy trading center, for its wealth and the important people who live there, attract from every quarter merchants and businessmen with their goods and commodities; and as a result it is well supplied with all necessities and luxuries. There are in the city over 30 mills for the grinding and smelting of

the silver ore from its mines. His Majesty, in consultation with the Supreme Council of the Indies, appoints a Corregidor for its good administration and the dispensing of justice; he is lieutenant for the Captain General of the Viceroy of New Spain, and besides the salary he gets as Corregidor, he receives 500 pesos for this other office. One of the Royal Officials for the administration of His Majesty's Patrimony, resides here. This city enjoys a climate temperate to cold; it lies in 22°30' N.

529. Near the city of Zacatecas there are many other silver mines, such as those of San Martín Aviñó and others in the district of the Diocese of Guadalajara and New Galicia; and to give the full description of this, let me say that we must go back and start again at the beginning in this direction. From San Luís de Potosí one goes toward the Río Verde 12 leagues to the Armadillo. From there one continues on the same course to the so-called Río de Las Calabasas, and from there to the Río de Las Navajas, and right afterward, to the Río Verde, which is the limit of the district of New Galicia. Near this Río Verde is a village of Chichimec Indians, and beside it, on a pleasant and very attractive plain, stands a Franciscan convent. This is hot country; every year they bring in for summer pasture over 2,000,000 sheep and ewes because of the wide pasturelands to be found there. In this direction there are large heathen Indian tribes . yet to be converted to the Faith, and high mountain ranges, in which dwell the tribes called the Negrillos; beyond them are many others. as far as Florida.

**530.** Through the country of these Negrillos runs the Sierra de Matehuala, which is very high and has rich mines of copper and other metals; from it gushes forth an abundant spring, with which over 10 leagues of fertile level land can be irrigated. From here one travels 10 leagues to Los Cedros, where there are two streams half a league apart; after that for a distance of 28 leagues there is no water. In all this country belonging to the tribe known as the Negrillos, there are great quantities of tall, thick cedars. After traversing these ranges and provinces, one comes to the rich silver Pedregoso mines discovered by Capt. Lucas Manjón; since the silver is full of lead and the country in a state of war, they have stopped working them; there are good springs and salt deposits there. Next come other provinces and settlements in New Galicia, as will be narrated in due course; through them has been discovered a new route to New Mexico.

#### CHAPTER III

Continuing the Description of the Kingdom of New Galicia and the Kingdom of California.

**531.** The district of this Kingdom of New Galicia contains many other provinces, of which I shall give no detailed description, not desiring to make this account too long; within their limits are extensive provinces of heathen to be converted to the Faith. To the NW. along the coast come those of California. Capt. Thomas de Cardona, who is at present Master of His Majesty's Bedchamber, with other officers and wealthy men whom he won over to partnership with him, made an agreement with His Majesty for the exploration of these provinces and the rich banks and beds of pearls and coral to be found there.

**532.** For this purpose Capt. Nicolás de Cardona his nephew left for their exploration, at great expense incurred for the expedition, and on March 21, 1614, he sailed from the port of Acapulco with four ships, carrying soldiers as well as sailors, under orders from His Majesty to explore this kingdom and these provinces of California and the pearl beds. He reached the mouth or entrance to it, which begins in 22°30' N., at over 50 leagues on a NW. course; both along that part of the continent of New Spain which lies in the district of New Vizcaya or on its borders, and along the California coast, the water is red, for which reason they call it the Red Sea (Mar Bermejo).

**533.** Along the California coast for a distance of over 100 leagues he found fields and beds of the oysters which produce pearls, and on the shore great heaps and mounds of their shells; the Indians gather them and live on them. Besides these, there are lagoons in which salt is made and put up in cakes. The mountain ranges are paved with rich veins and ore deposits of silver. He went as far up as 33° N. along the arm of the sea which lies between California and the mainland, running N. In those regions there are great dunes or sand hills which the violent northers which dash through there at times, move from one point to another.

**534.** California is an island and not continental as it is represented to be on the maps by the cosmographers, for they connect it with the mainland at 28°30'. That is not so, for this Capt. Nicholás de Cardona sailed up to 33° and much sea still lay before him to navigate; he had to turn back for lack of supplies. And that it is an island is confirmed by the fact that Capt. Jerónimo Marquez came down from the villages and Provinces of Moquî, which are close to New Mexico, with 25 companions in a brigantine and they went out on

the Pacific at 37° and ran along the coast to 35° and they still had much sea to navigate along this coast to reach New Spain on the SE., which is where this California lies, being an island, and they saw it with their own eyes with Capt. Jerónimo Marquez. There are at present living in Mexico City Captain Vaca and the carpenter who built the brigantine or frigate in the region of the Río Tizón, in which they sailed along the coast, and they ascertained and saw with their own eyes that California is an island over 600 leagues long, from Cape San Lucas where it starts, to Cape Mendocino where it ends. The inhabitants of California are stout, courteous, and peacefully inclined; they go naked and for weapons have bows and arrows and light spears for throwing; they live like savages. The women go naked also, wearing only cloths covering their loins. The coast of the mainland lies opposite the Florida coast; it is flat, sandy country with many streams and fertile fields, with many fruit trees and other things to eat. The natives are more bold and warlike than those of California.

#### Chapter IV

Of the Kingdom of New Vizcaya, and the Provinces Included within Its Diocese and State.

**535.** In the Diocese of Guadalajara there were 104 allotments of Indians; and since its jurisdiction was very extensive, as is the case with most of those in the Indies, and since episcopal visits, confirmations, and conscientious discharge of duty, were impossible, the Bishop of Guadalajara, who was the most Christian friar Don Juan de Ovalle, of the Order of the Glorious Patriarch Saint Benedict, asked to have it divided; and in accordance with his request and advice, another Bishop was established in the city of Guadiana, also called Durango, which is the capital of New Vizcaya. Its first Bishop was Fray Don Gonzalo Hermosillo, M.A., a most learned ecclesiastic, and most worthy member of the Order of the Glorious Doctor and Patriarch St. Augustine.

**536.** The Diocese and State of New Vizcaya begins at the mines of Fresnillo, 12 leagues distant from Zacatecas; there will be 100 Spanish residents here, with a Franciscan convent; it has rich silver mines and veins. Twelve leagues farther on, as one travels toward Guadiana, lie the mines of Los Plateros and Sombrerete and others, with rich silver veins and ore beds, and some establishments in which they smelt the metal. All this country has a good climate and is provided with plenty of supplies, for it is very fertile; they raise quantities of wheat, corn, and other cereals, with abundance of native

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and Spanish fruit and grapes, and much cattle, sheep, swine, mules, and horses.

**537.** Twenty-five leagues beyond the mines of Los Plateros lies the city of Guadiana, capital of New Vizcaya. It is built on a plain beside a river with lovely views and pleasant for excursions. The city will contain 400 Spanish residents; there is a Cathedral with Bishop and Prebendaries residing there to serve it; it has Franciscan, Augustinian, and Jesuit convents, a hospital where they care for the indigent sick, and other churches and shrines.

**538.** This city is the residence of the Governor of New Vizcaya, who is a Captain General with the title of Lordship. In his administrative district, which is extensive, with many mining towns and other provinces and settlements, he appoints 27 judicial officers—Alcaldes Mayores and Corregidores—in the mines of Cuencamé, in Sombrerete, in Fresnillo, in Saltillo, in Mapimí, and in many other mining towns which it is impossible to enumerate.

**539.** In this city of Guadiana there are Officials of the Royal Patrimony, and they have representatives at many points, for it is a large district. They raise great numbers of cattle and supply all of New Spain. The city is abundantly supplied with wheat, corn, and other cereals, both native and Spanish, with abundance of fruit; there are sugar mills and many vineyards in the neighborhood. The city has a marvelous springlike climate.

**540.** Twelve leagues from the city of Guadiana, to one side toward the N., lies the famous mining town of Cuencamé, which contains over 300 Spanish residents; many of them possess large establishments and foundries in which to smelt the ore. This town has a parish church, Franciscan and Jesuit convents, a hospital, and other churches and shrines. For these mines the Governor appoints an Alcalde Mayor, for its good administration and the dispensing of justice.

**541.** On this same northerly course, returning to the mines of Pedregoso: 12 leagues beyond them lie the mines of Saltillo. These will contain over 100 Spanish residents; the Governor of New Vizcaya appoints an Alcalde Mayor for their good administration. The region has a springlike climate and is a delightful spot. It contains a parish church and a Franciscan convent where they teach Arts and Theology. There are large farms of wheat, corn, and other cereals, many vineyards, and abundance of fruit, both Spanish and native. Twelve leagues farther on is the New Kingdom of Santa Lucía which is at present being explored and settled; it contains a town with 30 Spanish residents and a Franciscan convent. The

country is delightful, with a good climate; it contains a river full of delicious fish, and is a route to New Mexico, though not yet explored.

**542.** It has many other provinces and very rich mining towns, as e.g., in the province of Topia. Here in the year 1602 the Indian tribes of the Tepehuanes, Acaxeses, and Conchos, savage Caribs, had retired into the mountains, and kept dashing down to raid the country, [In the year 1602] Don Rodrigo de Vivero, the then Governor of New Vizcaya, set out to chastise them, raising soldiers from the countryside, and among them Ensign Fernando Méndez de Ocampo y Sotomayor; he distinguished himself above the others in scouting to locate the enemy, and by his great skill and assiduity they conquered the savages, carrying off their women and children, whom they took to the Topia mines; and so they subdued them, and the country remained quiet and peaceful. (The MS. contains on folio 33 a note of which the above in the text from folio 32 is an expansion.)

In the mines of Chindehé and Santa Barbara, Alcaldes Mayores are appointed by the Governor of New Vizcaya for their satisfactory administration. The mines of Mapimí are 100 leagues from Guadiana on the road to New Mexico; the town was built in the mountains where these rich silver veins and ore deposits lie; there are eight rich silver companies there with their establishments for grinding and refining the metal. The town has 100 Spanish residents; there is a parish church there and a Franciscan convent, a hospital for the care of the sick, and other shrines. In this town the Governor of New Vizcaya appoints an Alcalde Mayor for the administration of justice.

# Chapter V

Continuing the Description of New Vizcaya, and of the Famous Achievements of Gov. Francisco Vázquez de Coronado in His Campaign of Pacification.

**543.** The Provinces of Chiametlán lie along the Pacific coast at 22° N., with rich silver mines; the town of San Sebastián has been built here. Next to the W. along this same coast comes the Province of Culiacán. This is fertile, with abundance of foodstuffs and a good climate; there are silver mines. Forty leagues beyond the Province of Culiacán is the Province of Sinalóa, in which is built the town of San Juan de Sinalóa, the last that has been settled in that direction. Pres. Nuño de Guzmán and Diego de Ybarra, Knight of the Order of Santiago, began the work of subduing these provinces, and later the pacification was completed by Gov. Francisco Vásquez

de Coronado, by dint of his persistence and courage, but at the cost of many hardships for himself and his men, for the Indians had learned by experience and were shrewd.

**544.** At the same time he subdued the provinces and valleys of the Corazones, where he established the town of San Jerónimo de Los Corazones; and he called the valley by his own name, and to this day it bears the name of Coronado. He placed priests among them, to catechize them and teach them our Holy Faith. He had great battles with the Indians, and in one they killed his Militia Captain Lope de Samaniego; he won many others; and when His Majesty had been fully informed of his great services, although the Marqués del Valle had already been named Governor of the newly discovered territories of Cíbola, His Majesty gave Coronado the preference, appointing him Governor and Captain General of them all, with great honors, conferred in a royal warrant and letter of January 6, 1540, which he sent to the Viceroy of Mexico, Don Antonio de Mendoza, for him to give to Coronado and to commission him for these explorations and campaigns.

545. He set out with a brilliant army; what he spent on preparations for the campaign, his many soldiers and the nobility whom he took with him, amounted to over 100,000 ducats. He underwent very great hardships in subduing the numerous provinces spreading over an extent of the more than 400 leagues intervening between Guadiana and New Mexico; he went through many trials with his army, both in the wars he waged with the ferocious savages, who killed his Militia Captain and some of his soldiers, and in the loss of many of his men from the hard going; he himself was badly hurt by a stone in a cruel battle he had with the tribesmen of the Province of Tigues. He was the first to discover New Mexico, and the Kingdoms of Mataca and Tontitlaca, with all their provinces, in which he had serious clashes with the savages; and when he had pacified them, he ordered many crosses erected as a sign of His Majesty's sovereignty and he had many of the Indians catechized and baptized; thus they were converted and came to the knowledge of our Holy Faith.

**546.** He explored the Provinces of Quivira in the District of New Mexico; it is level country, chilly, and with few trees, with quantities of woolly, humpbacked cattle with two short horns twisted backward; they move over the prairies grazing in herds, and are the sole sustenance of the savages. They are very ugly and wild; the wool on their chest in front is long and curly; they make excellent rugs from their hides, which are used in those regions and in many parts of

New Spain, and they are very good; but since other historians deal largely with that country and its features, I shall omit further description. He explored the Provinces of Cibola and many others, suffering many hardships during the extended period of his explorations in those regions; and he sent out officers in different directions on exploring parties—in especial, from the information he had received about Florida from Álvaro Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and the Negro Estebanico, he dispatched officers for its subjugation.

**547.** But since they were suffering great hardships and the country was so cold and poor, and he saw his men were worn out and disheartened, for fear they might mutiny, he wisely turned back for New Spain, having traveled in this expedition over 1,000 leagues suffering great hardships and much hunger. So he returned to Mexico City, and in view of the great services he had rendered His Majesty, the Viceroy came out to meet him with the Circuit Court Justices and the city at large, and paid him the high honors due his merits.

#### CHAPTER VI

Continuing the Exploits of Gov. Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, and the Description of the Remainder of New Vizcaya and the Exploration of New Mexico.

**548.** Gov. Francisco Vázquez de Coronado governed New Galicia and New Vizcaya II years for His Majesty, during which time he subdued and brought under orderly administration, all those provinces. He made a loan to Queen Joan, mother of the Emperor, of his whole salary for his term of office; and this circumstance, together with the heavy expenses he incurred in the exploration of New Mexico, was responsible for his dying a very poor man in the year 1551 in Mexico City. He left two legitimate daughters by his wife, Doña Beatriz de Estrada. These were Doña Isabel de Luján and Doña Marina Vázquez de Coronado, and they were left in poverty, having been deprived of the income of their allotments, although His Majesty, when he sent him off on his explorations, had promised they would not be withdrawn; but the latest enactments with regard to the case, did not return them to them.

**549.** In consequence of the expedition of this noble gentleman to New Mexico, God has now been recompensed by the fact that there are many new Christians there; a city with as many as 70 Spanish residents has been established there, with a Governor appointed by the Viceroy with the title of Lordship and Captain General and a salary of 2,000 pesos. In these Provinces of New Mexico there are

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I6 convents of the Seraphic Father St. Francis, with a Commissary General; these are occupied in preaching and teaching the Indians, and it is God's pleasure that His Divine Word bears much fruit, in that all the heathen are thus being brought into this new church to knowledge of our Holy Faith, which they receive and embrace with excellent spirit; they accept the catechism and baptism with great fervor and increase of new Christians; and after God, much of this is due to Gov. Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, who created the beginnings of this new Christianity.

550. He relieved the city of San Miguel de Culiacán and its province, which had been blockaded by the rebellion of the powerful Indian chief Ayapín, who had incited the spirits of all the natives of those provinces against the Christians; he fought a battle with Ayapín, and having defeated him, he hanged him and others as a penalty and a warning; and so the country quieted down and remained pacified. Right afterward, in the year 1539, with aid from the Viceroy of Mexico, Don Antonio de Mendoza, he took with him Fray Marcos de Niza of the Franciscan Order, with his companion Fray Honorato and Estéban the Negro, and they started out from Petatlán and Cuchillo, which lie 60 leagues beyond Culiacán on the Pacific coast. From Petatlán they traveled 30 leagues along the same route, escorted by Indians from that region and the islands lying near the mainland; and 16 leagues farther on, after traveling through uninhabited country, they came to another large province of Indians wearing clothing; these informed them that at the distance of 4 suns inland, where their territory ended, it became a great valley with large towns of people who wore clothing, had a regular government, and were wealthy, with gold vessels and gold spirals and other ornaments which they wore suspended from their ears and nostrils. This valley runs for many leagues of level land, with fertile and prolific side valleys; in these they harvest quantities of corn and other cereals, pumpkins and excellent melons, and other fruit in abundance ; this country runs eastward.

**551.** Four days' journey from this province comes that of Vacapâ to the N., 40 leagues inland from the Pacific; to one side of this province there is another bordering upon it where the natives have their breasts and arms painted and tattooed. Another large province borders upon Vacapâ, more than 25 leagues long, with many settlements; their natives are very intelligent and well governed; they wear cotton clothing and antelope skins which are well decorated; as jewelry they wear turquoises. At the end of the province there is a splendid valley, cool and delightful; it contains the last settlement

in this province. They grow quantities of corn and other vegetables and fruit; the Indians are very reasonable people; they wear cotton clothing and antelope skins; for jewelry they have turquoise necklaces. From this valley one travels 4 days through uninhabited country to another large valley which is fertile and thickly settled; this is over 30 leagues long, and all the natives are intelligent and have elaborate clothing; the chief town is named Ahacus. This is all under irrigation, and they raise quantities of corn and other cereals, pumpkins, melons, and other vegetables. W. of this great valley and province lies the Kingdom of Marata, which used to be large and thickly settled; now it has declined greatly, thanks to the serious wars waged with the King of the Seven Cities of Cibola, where New Mexico now is. The houses are built of stone and mortar. The Kingdom of Tonteac is large, wealthy, and luxurious, with many settlements; the natives wear cotton clothing and antelope skins; they are a very intelligent people.

**552.** There is another kingdom beyond those mentioned, named Acus. It has large settlements; the people wear clothing and are civilized. In the large valley there was the hide of an animal half as large again as our bulls; it had a horn on its forehead; evidently it was a unicorn. From there it is 70 leagues to Cibola, uninhabited territory but full of game—hares, like ours. Cibola, which today is New Mexico, is situated in a plain by the side of a rounded elevation; it is a sightly and attractive spot. The houses are two or three stories high, with flat roofs. It was in this town that in 1539 they killed Estéban the Negro, who had wandered with Álvar Núñez de Vaca and his companions from Florida; he died for the spread of faith in Christ.

## Chapter VII

Continuing the Subject of the Preceding Chapter, and of the Favors Conferred upon the Marqueses de Villamayor, Descendants of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado and Heirs of His House and His Memory.

**553.** At the good news brought by Father Fray Marcos de Niza, Gov. Francisco Vázquez de Coronado (with great expenditure of his own wealth, and with aid from the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza) brought together a brilliant army with many gentlemen and men of valor; he enrolled 150 cavalry and 200 infantry, with much war material, baggage, and many servants. He started out with this army in the month of May, 1539, along the route of Father Fray Marcos de Niza, and in 4 days' journey he reached the Río de

Petatlán, pacifying those tribes; in 3 more, the Province of Sinaloa, which he likewise pacified; and from there he went on to the valleys of the Corazones and Señora, whom he reduced to subjection; he established the town of San Jerónimo among them, and continued his expedition with success in bringing great numbers of the natives to the Faith and the service of His Majesty.

**554.** He kept on, subduing other provinces and passing through some uninhabited tracts, and 5 days' journey before Cibola, to the NE., he subdued the Province of Tucayán and pacified the inhabitants. There are seven large pueblos here, well laid out and all with flat-roofed houses; the Indians have elaborate cotton clothing and tanned antelope skins; the Indian women dress like gypsies. He put up crosses for them and had them catechized and instructed in our Holy Faith. They live on the banks of a large river, whose waters, like those beyond up to the Saguán, empty into the Pacific, and those farther, from Cibola on, empty into the Atlantic.

**555.** Bordering on this is another large province, all of whose pueblos are built on the banks of the Río Huex; in a distance of 20 leagues along its course there are 15 settlements, all with flat roofs, as are the many others in this region. The people are all very reasonable; they use cotton cloth and antelope skins for clothing. He rendered them peaceful and had our Holy Faith preached and taught to them, delivering them from the blindness in which they were living; he raised many crosses among them all in token of possession.

**556.** At 35 leagues from this province there is another extensive one, along the Rio Sicuique, with large settlements, which he likewise pacified; for the next 25 leagues the way lies over the plains, where there are countless herds of these humpbacked cattle. Fifty leagues to the N. is the Province of Harac, with large settlements; it borders on Quivira, which is in  $40^\circ$ . This country is a wonderfully attractive region, with great plains and forests, through which flow mighty rivers. There are many kinds of fruit like ours in Spain—plums of a color between red and green and well-flavored, grapes, mulberries (or blackberries), walnuts, melons, and many others. Accordingly, having brought his conquering expedition to an end, he returned to Mexico City, as has been narrated, and there after all the trials he had gone through, he died poor and left his daughters in poverty.

**557.** His Majesty King Philip III of glorious memory took into consideration the distinguished services of Gov. Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, having been informed of them by the members of the Supreme Council of the Indies; and also those of Gen. Fernán Pérez de Bocanegra y Córdoba rendered in his successful campaigns in

New Spain and his conquests in the year 1523 of the Provinces of Jalisco, Suchipila, and others, when he escorted Pres. Nuño de Guzmán; and considering that they had not been rewarded, and considering also the conspicuous services rendered by Don Francisco Pacheco de Córdoba y Bocanegra, His Majesty graciously conferred on him, under date of March 6, 1610, the title of Perpetual Commander (Adelantado Perpetuo) of the Kingdom of New Galicia, which was won, settled, and governed by his forebears, for him and for all his successors. And later, on April 7 of that year, 1617, he graciously conferred on Doña Marina Vázquez de Coronado the title of Marquesa de Villamayor for all the days of her life; and to her son Don Francisco Pacheco de Córdoba y Bocanegra, Knight of the Order of Santiago and Perpetual Commander of New Galicia, he graciously gave the title (on May 27 of that same year) of Marqués de Villamayor for himself and all his successors; for in this manner His Majesty rewards and honors the noble and loyal vassals who serve him.

## CHAPTER VIII

Continuing the Description of the Provinces of New Mexico, Based on Another Expedition Which Was Made in the Year 1581.

**558.** In the year 1581 Father Fray Augustín Ruíz of the Order of St. Francis received word from Indians of the Conchos tribe living in the valley of San Bartolomé beyond the mines of Santa Bárbara in the State of New Galicia of extensive provinces and settlements farther on. [At that time the Count of Nieva was Viceroy of New Spain]. He set out with two companions and eight soldiers accompanying him, and explored extensive provinces in that direction as far as the Province of Tigues, which is 280 leagues from Santa Bárbara. On their way the Indians killed one of the friars; and the soldiers, considering how few they were among such great numbers of savages, turned back, leaving the friars with a mestizo and three boys; and the savages killed them all later.

**559.** The soldiers told their story to Capt. Antonio de Espejo, a wealthy and important resident of Mexico City, who at that moment was at the Santa Bárbara mines. With the permission of Juan de Ontiveros, Alcalde Mayor of the four villages of Las Ciénegas in the State of New Vizcaya, 70 leagues beyond Santa Bárbara, this Antonio de Espejo raised at his own expense a force of over 150 soldiers; he took along in his company Father Fray Bernardino Beltrán of the Order of St. Francis; and with 115 horses and mules carrying the baggage and munitions, he left the valley of San Bar-

tolomé on November 10, 1582. Two days later on this northerly route he reached the Province of the Conchos, thickly settled with many villages, and abounding in corn and other cereals, vegetables and pumpkins, with quantities of game—deer, hares, and rabbits. They have very good melons there, and abundance of fish in the streams. These Indians have bows and arrows for weapons; they received them peaceably; they are governed by caciques. These Indians guided them 24 leagues through their own province up to that of the Pasuguates, who are in every respect like the preceding tribe. The neighboring province is that of the Tobosos. They all received them amicably and rendered them service.

560. Twelve leagues farther on is the Province of the Jumanos, otherwise called Patarabuies, with large settlements and the houses built of stone and mortar with flat roofs; it abounds in corn and other cereals and fruits. These Indians are more intelligent and better governed than the preceding, although they are tattooed on their breasts, legs, and arms. They have abundance of meat-hares, rabbits, deer, and other animals and fowl-and in the rivers running into the Atlantic there are plenty of fish. There are salt lakes in this province, from which they make excellent salt. They are a warlike tribe. The great majority of the villages in this province lie on one bank or the other of a mighty river. The people all wear clothing made of cotton and antelope skins. They had knowledge of God, whom they call Apolito; they had crosses and paid them great reverence. Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca had been in this province when he came through from Florida, and so all the Indian women brought their children for the friar to bless them and sprinkle holy water upon them, and the sick came with great faith to implore the priest's benediction. The country produces abundance of corn and other foodstuffs; they have excellent antelope skins and make other elaborate works of art. Twelve leagues off there is another large settlement in which they weave excellent striped rugs and work up and decorate very good antelope skins. Twenty-two leagues away, through settlements of this same tribe, there are rich silver mines, to the W. of this province.

**561.** Along the same route there is another province, more thickly settled than the last, where there are many lakes abounding in fish; the people are very intelligent. At 15 days' journey to the W. there is a very large lake with many villages along its entire circumference; these have houses two or three stories high; the people are intelligent and well governed; they wear cotton clothing and antelope skins. The country has a marvelous climate, with abundance of foodstuffs

and much game—hares, rabbits, deer, partridges—and fish in the streams; it has splendid meadowland with attractive scenery; there are silver mines there.

## Chapter IX

Continuing the Account of the Exploration and of the Provinces of New Mexico.

**562.** Capt. Antonio de Espejo, in continuing his campaign of exploration, left his army in the province just described and with a few soldiers pushed ahead 12 leagues eastward to another province, in which there were 11 pueblos containing over 40,000 souls; these were intelligent people; they are next the Province of Cibola; they wear clothing made of cotton cloth and of the decorated skins of those buffalo. Six leagues to the N. up the river is the Province of the Quires; in the first five pueblos there were more than 15,000 souls, all intelligent people and well governed; this country is at 37° N.

**563.** Fourteen leagues N. along the same course comes the Province of the Cumanes, in which there were five pueblos. The principal one was called Cia; it contained eight plazas; the houses were all built with mortar and painted with designs in different colors; the people were better disciplined and more intelligent than those hitherto; the province contained over 20,000 souls. At 6 leagues to the NW. comes the Province of the Amejes; it contains seven pueblos whose population will be over 30,000 souls; they are entirely similar to their neighbors.

**564.** Fifteen leagues to the W. of this province lies Acoma, with over 6,000 souls. It is built on a cliff 50 stades (93 yards) high; their drinking water comes from cisterns; they are abundantly supplied with provisions. Their fields are 2 leagues away, along the banks of a small stream which they use for irrigation. They wear cotton and woolen blankets and nicely decorated antelope skins. In this province there are many rosebushes like our own.

**565.** Twenty-four leagues W. of this province lies Zunî, otherwise called Cíbola, where the city of New Mexico has been established. It was discovered and conquered by Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, and he had set up many crosses there. They found three Christian Indians in the city—Andrés de Coyoacán, Gaspar de México, and Antonio Guadalajara. They had come in with Gov. Francisco Vázquez, and told of a great lake on whose banks there were large settlements, and that that country was very rich.

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566. The padre and the army stayed in this province, and Capt. Espejo with nine companions journeyed 28 leagues eastward, coming upon an extensive province with more than 50,000 souls; and near the pueblo of Zaguato, which is the chief town, they were met by the caciques and all the inhabitants with great festivities. The country is abundantly supplied with everything. They wear woolen and cotton blankets very elaborately decorated, and antelope skins; they have towels with tassels at the ends, and other elaborate specialties. There are silver mines 45 leagues W. of this province; some very rich ones lie on mountain ranges inhabited by highland Indians. This province contains many large rivers with fine valleys and forests along their banks and courses; in them are many walnut trees, vineyards, and other fruit trees like our own; they raise excellent flax. Behind these mountain ranges runs a mighty river, and along both its banks there are large heathen villages, although some are being Christianized by the Franciscan Fathers, who are established in New Mexico, where they have 18 convents distributed over all these provinces. They are like workers in the Lord's vineyard and are cultivating these new shoots from among the heathen, preaching them the Holy Gospel and teaching them our Holy Faith. This country is abundantly provided with everything necessary for human life.

**567.** Returning to Cibola, 60 leagues along the river to the N. one comes to the Province of the Quires already mentioned, and 12 leagues E. of that, the Province of the Hubates, with abundance ot supplies and a population of over 25,000 souls, all intelligent people; it contains mines of silver and other metals, great forests of pine and cedar, and houses two or three stories high. One day's journey from there is the Province of Tamos, with over 4,000 souls; this was rediscovered by Capt. Antonio de Espejo, after the original discovery and visit by Gov. Francisco Vázquez de Coronado. This is the site of New Mexico, a city with over 80 Spanish residents and a Governor appointed by the Viceroy of New Spain for its good administration; he has a salary of 2,000 pesos and the title of Lordship. There are in these provinces 18 Franciscan convents for the evangelization and the instruction of the Indians and the administration of the Holy Sacraments. They have a Commissary General named and appointed by the General of New Spain.

**568.** Capt. Antonio de Espejo turned back from the Province of Tamos, guided by a friendly Indian, down the Río de Las Vacas (so called from the numbers of buffalo along its banks), along which they traveled 120 leagues; after that they went on to the Río de

Las Conchas, and from that they crossed to the San Bartolomé Valley, where they had started. They reached this valley in July 1583, after exploring so many provinces, many of which they left catechized; and at present most of them are coming to the knowledge of our Holy Faith through the instruction of the friars who are preaching there and teaching them the way of salvation. This must suffice as a description of the district of the Circuit Court of New Galicia and the provinces of New Mexico and allow us to pass in the following book to the description of the district of the Circuit Court of Guatemala and its provinces.

## Book V

Of the District of the Circuit Court of Guatemala.

[In which a description is given of all its provinces with their characteristics and the fruits grown there and in particular] An account is given of cacao and indigo and how they are prepared; of balsam and other medicinal drugs; and of the active volcanoes [to be found there; the cities and towns with Spanish residents; the Governorships and Alcaldías Mayores filled by His Majesty in consultation with the Supreme Council of the Indies; the Corregidores appointed by the President of the Circuit Court; the ecclesiastical posts, and the other remarkable features of this country.]

**569.** Capt. Pedro de Solórzano had come over to New Spain in the year 1518 with Pamphilo de Narváez when he opposed Fernando Cortés; and after his commanding officer had been defeated by the valor and good fortune of Fernando Cortés, and the victor had shown them courteous treatment, he followed Cortés and helped him capture the city of Mexico, taking part in all the attacks. After the conquest, his general sent him out to subdue Guatemala and Chiapas; in this task he proved himself a valiant and energetic officer on every possible occasion. Having helped to conquer Guatemala and its provinces and those of Honduras, he came back from there to those of Chiapas; in conjunction with Captain Mazariegos, he subdued and settled them, and was assigned their Indian allotments. This gentleman had children, and among them Capt. Melchior de Solórzano, whose son is Don Frutos de Solórzano.

### CHAPTER I

Of the Royal City of Chiapa and the District of Its Diocese.

**570.** The Province of Chiapas was subdued and pacified by Captains Diego de Mazariegos and Pedro de Solórzano in the year 1524: they had been sent down by Fernando Cortés, Marqués del Valle. They had had some battles with the Chapanecas Indians, whose subjugation was a terrible task, for they had withdrawn to a stronghold on a cliff where they held out a long time; but they could not withstand the valor of our Spaniards, and many threw themselves down from the height. On this occasion Don Pedro Portocarrero arrived on the same errand, having come from Guatemala under orders from Commander Don Pedro de Alvarado; but when he found the country occupied, he returned to Guatemala. So Captains Mazariegos and Solórzano, who had conquered the territory and pacified it with their own soldiers and many of those who had come with Don Pedro Portocarrero, allotted it among them all.

**571.** In that same year they founded the royal city of Chiapa in a circular valley which is shut in on every side by ridges and mountains. This valley is a league long and in its center there is a high bluff on whose eastern slopes they built their city, which is IOO leagues E. of Oaxaca, and 80 from Guatemala City, which lies to its ESE.; it is in 18°30' N. The valley in which the city lies has a cool climate, and is rich in excellent and refreshing water from its handsome fountains; besides these there are two streams whose waters flow southward through the valley and unite at the foot of a high mountain, dropping into a basin or gully at its foot.

**572.** This city was colonized a second time and embellished by the Treasurer Alonso de Estrada 2 years later, in 1526, when he was Governor and Captain General of New Spain, and he was a blessing to this country, as befitted a son of King Ferdinand the Catholic, as he was said to be by many authors, and his deeds indicate it, for with his intrepidity and excellent administration all those provinces stayed quiet and tranquil, after having been sorely tried.

**573.** This city contains over 250 Spanish residents, the great majority of noble rank. It has a Cathedral with a Bishop and Prebendaries in residence and attendance, with Dominican, Franciscan, and Mercedarian convents, a hospital in which they care for the indigent sick, and other churches and shrines. An Alcalde Mayor resides here, appointed by His Majesty in consultation with the Supreme Council of the Indies for its good government and the administration of justice in the city and all the many provinces in its district.

**574.** The royal city of Chiapa is over 60 leagues distant from the Atlantic, and in that direction there are many heathen Indians to be Christianized, like the tribes of the Lacandones and the Manchés, who do great harm to their neighbors the Zoque Indians, and the others in that region; but they could easily be pacified and brought to the knowledge of our Holy Faith, since a beginning was made by Dr. Alonso Criado de Castilla when he was President of Guatemala; but since his death, all those provinces have been far from peaceful.

**575.** The city is also 60 leagues distant from the Pacific, so that it is equidistant from the two seas. On that side it has many provinces

and settlements of Christian Indians, allotted to the residents of the city. It is abundantly supplied with cheap and delicious foodstuffs; they harvest abundance of wheat, corn, large beans, the whole year through, as in other parts of the Indies, chickpeas, kidney beans, and other cereals, and all sorts of fruit, both Spanish and native.

**576.** This diocese is over 70 leagues long from E. to W., and over 60 across from N. to S. It lies between the Diocese of Oaxaca to its WNW. and that of Guatemala on its ESE.; in its district are many provinces, the great majority with a hot climate. The chief provinces are four in number: the Province of the Chapanecas, from which the city and Diocese take their name; the Province of the Zoques; that of the Zendales; and that of the Quelenes; and although in each village and province there is a native mother tongue, these four are the most general and widespread, and still more the Mexican, which was introduced for administrative purposes, the Mexican kings having issued orders that their language should be used in all the provinces and tribes which they subdued and brought into their empire, and so it is spoken as a lingua franca in the whole country.

**577.** In the district of this Diocese they have large ranches of cattle, sheep, swine, mules, and the best horses in all New Spain; they can compete with those of Cordova, and some assert that they surpass them. They gather quantities of fine cultivated cochineal, and wild from the mountains; wax and honey in abundance, cacao, annatto, excellent fragrant pepper which comes from trees; fine coyol and a berry from which they make quantities of rosaries which are an article of commerce; and cotton, which the Indians weave into quantities of native cloth, used for cloaks, guaypiles, and other sorts of clothing; these are exported by merchants and traders to Guatemala and its territory and other regions.

### CHAPTER II

Continuing the Description of the Diocese of Chiapas and Its Provinces.

**578.** The Province of Chiapas contains over 25 villages. The leading one is the capital, Chiapa de Los Indios, from which the whole Diocese takes its name; it is one of the largest and finest Indian towns, not only in New Spain but in all the Indies; it contains over 10,000 Indian residents, all well disciplined and intelligent. They are very skillful and ingenious, and quickly learn any trade that requires artistry; they are very gentlemanly, courteous, and well brought up, and the great majority are excellent horsemen and so

they have very good horses and fine rodeos; they perform their evolutions with reed spears and hoops with such skill that they might very properly appear at His Majesty's court.

579. This Indian village of Chiapa is built on the King's Highway from Mexico City to Guatemala, on a high point near a large river which abounds in fish; on its banks they raise good melons. This river runs into the Atlantic near Tabasco, becoming an estuary. The village of Chiapa is 12 leagues approximately to the W. of the royal city of Chiapa. Its climate is hot and salubrious, like that of the province as a whole. There is a fine Dominican convent here, for the catechizing and instruction of the Indians, and the administration of the Holy Sacraments. There are some Spaniards living among the Indians in this village. In the center of the plaza is an excellent and very artistic fountain. The region is very fertile and supplies are cheap and abundant. Every day they hold tiangues, i.e., markets, where every afternoon they sell all sorts of fruit, foodstuffs, and other necessities. They maintain a good administration in their communities, and they are charitable to poor travelers who have to pass through; they have special persons in their communities for the dispensing of charity. As for the penniless Spaniard who has nothing with which to pay them for the provisions they give him and the horse for his further progress, they give him all this for the love of God, and an Indian to guide him to the next village, and ask him merely to enter it in the community record book so that the amount may be made good by the stewards (mayordomos) in whose province that falls. And they give everything necessary to the priests for their services in saying Mass, and treat them with great kindness. It appears that these provinces excel among all the number and surpass the others in these services.

**580.** In this village of Chiapa grows the tree which gives the excellent laxative known as royal tamarinds. They have many varieties of excellent bananas, large gardens or plantations of pineapples, quantities of delicious fruit, jocotes (which are the plums of the Indies), excellent poultry, as in all those regions, game, deer, pigeons, doves, quail, and other game birds. This Province of Chiapas is bounded on the S. by the Province of Soconusco.

**581.** The Province and State of Soconusco comes within the district of this Diocese. It lies on the Pacific coast and is highly productive of cacao; it has a very hot climate. Every year many caravans of mules come here from New Spain, Mexico City, and Puebla, with flour and other native and Spanish products, to load cacao. This province is more than 40 leagues square. It begins, as

one comes from Mexico City, 7 leagues from the Río de Ayutla, which is in the western part of this province. It contains many Indian villages, all of them with large plantations or milpas of cacao groves. They gather annatto, vanilla, and other fragrant and wholesome fruits and flowers which they put into the chocolate. There is one settlement of Spaniards in this province, named Gueguetlán, which was established by Commander Don Pedro de Alvarado in the year 1524 when he subdued this province; it is the residence of the Governor appointed by His Majesty in consultation with the Royal Council of the Indies, for its satisfactory administration.

**582.** The Province of the Zendales borders on that of Chiapas to the WNW. It contains 13 Indian villages, has a hot climate and fertile soil, yielding abundantly corn, wax, honey, wild cochineal; the country produces much swine, poultry, turkeys, cacao, quantities of delicious fruit, and abundance of cotton, from which they weave much cloth for their own clothing and for sale in other provinces. It borders on the Province of Lacandón on one side, and on the other, on that of the Zoques, toward Yucatan. This province is as fertile and prolific as the others; they produce much cotton cloth—guaypiles, petticoats, tilmas (which are their cloaks) and the other clothes they wear. Spanish traders come to these provinces to export their products to others, and profit largely by it.

**583.** The Province of the Quelenes lies ESE. of Chiapas, on the Guatemala King's Highway. It contains 25 Indian villages, of which Copanabastla is the most important; this has a Dominican convent, whose friars teach them Christian doctrine and administer the Holy Sacraments; it has a hot climate. On that side it borders on the Province of Guatemala and that of Soconusco. The Indians all dress like those in New Spain and Yucatan. Since there are very strange and remarkable things in these provinces, which will arouse general surprise, I shall describe them in the following chapters.

## CHAPTER III

Of the Variety of Curious Animals and Birds To Be Found in the District of This Diocese.

**584.** The Río de Chiapa runs N. and after traversing the Province of Copanabastla and receiving the waters of many other streams, it flows into the sea near Tabasco in the Diocese of Yucatan, becoming an estuary. Inland, it contains animals of the size of large monkeys, striped like tigers, with very long tails. Ordinarily they live under water, and when Indians ford the stream, they wind themselves

around them, fastening their tails around their legs, and drown them; but the Indians, knowing the ways of these animals, go forearmed; they usually carry machetes—large cleavers—because the country is wooded and full of brush, and when these creatures try to pin their legs together with their tails, they chop them off with these machetes and so escape from this danger. These diabolical simians do not eat flesh but simply like to make trouble; they have not been seen anywhere else, but they are said to exist among the Peruvian mountains, far inland.

**585.** In this country they have another animal, called tacuazin, the size of a fox; its snout is like a sucking pig's, and in its belly it has a pouch in which it carries its young; its tail is naked and very long. It is a great thief and seizes poultry and other eatables, which it scents or comes upon.

There is another animal the size of a greyhound, black all over except for white head and neck; the Indians call it white lion; it is likewise a great thief and destructive to poultry and whatever it comes upon.

There is another the size of a rabbit but built like a dormouse; it bears three or four young, and when it goes out after food, its young climb up on its back, so as not to get pilfered in their mother's absence, and she carries them along. There is another they call armadillo; it has the form and snout of a small sucking pig, and is all covered with scales; it is found in all damp hot regions in the Indies, and is good to eat.

Another animal which lives in this country looks like a dark gray polecat; they are very light and slender and climb trees after birds; they eat the eggs in the nests; their skins are very good for linings and muffs.

They have very attractive squirrels of numerous sorts; they fly from one tree to another with extraordinary swiftness; it seems impossible for them to do this without wings.

**586.** There are quantities of ferocious tigers, lions, ounces, striped wildcats, jackals, i.e., wolves, coyotes (the same), skunks striped black, white, and gray, which smell very bad and the stench lasts a long time; mountain cats which are gray with long snouts, hedgehogs and other hogs which go in troops and have their navel on their backbone; they have their captain and follow him wherever he goes; he is the lankiest and meanest of the lot; they all obey him and while he is still alive, they never desert one another, but if he gets killed they all run away like sheep without a shepherd, until they choose another to lead and govern them. They have large bears and quan-

tities of ant bears; they have tapirs (dantas) and so many other species of animals and small creatures that it is impossible to enumerate them, for they are of many kinds and quite extraordinary.

**587.** They have varieties of birds different from ours as well as European kinds—peregrine falcons, falcons, white eagles, lanners, sparrowhawks, gerfalcons, sakers, merlins, crested hawks, excellent small falcons of first quality, falcons with one foot webbed and the other with claws; they go constantly in the water. They have wood-peckers the size of a thrush, black with red dashes on their heads and breasts; these live on acorns, and when it is the season they hollow out holes in the trees and pines with their bills and they plaster them with acorns so nicely fitted to the holes that they can hardly be pulled out, for them to feed on out of season; their foresight keeps these birds alive; to eat them, they get them out from the bark of the trees with their talons, and they keep hammering away and eating the acorns. They have ravens, pigeons, ringdoves, and many kinds of turtledoves—large, medium, and tiny, with tufted feathers and smaller than sparrows.

### Chapter IV

Of the Varieties of Aromatic Trees and Those of Other Sorts; the Flowers and Springs and Caves To Be Found in This District of Chiapas.

**588.** The liquidambar tree is very tall and handsome; from a distance its leaves look like pear leaves, but more elaborate, with five points. These trees generally grow along the banks and shores of rivers and watercourses, where there is water running, and nowhere else. These trees have large swellings in which the liquidambar accumulates; to get it out, they slash the swellings, and the liquidambar trickles out, ruddy as gold and very fragrant; from each swelling they usually get a half-arroba jug full (i.e., 2 gallons.)

**589.** The tacamajaca tree (balsam poplar) is like a medium-sized olive tree and the leaves are similar; the gum is produced as is usual on trees; it comes in white and in gray; its virtues are well known for headaches and migraines and other affections. They have incense trees, and another gum which is very fragrant and white as wax; the copal resin is of the same nature. They have storax trees and benzoin. The mastic tree is tall and reddish, with frizzly bark; the virtues and efficacy of mastic are well known. There are also balsam trees, and another tall tree with thick foliage which produces a very fragrant pepper which in New Spain they put into chocolate.

**590.** There is also the tree known as palo santo, lignum vitae, or guaiacum, and other trees closely similar to it, from which they make cups which are greatly esteemed; water poured into them turns blue, and is a great help in urinary troubles and other illnesses. There is another tree in this Province of Chiapas and in Guatemala which is called the dragon tree. They are as tall as almond trees; the leaves are white and the trees themselves of the same color; if one sticks a knife into it anywhere, it weeps blood, as natural as if it were human; from its wood they make toothpicks and they utilize the dry wood for many other purposes. They have ebony trees, red ebony, tolu balsam trees, and many others which are highly prized, and a tree which has a flower like an orange blossom in every respect; it is good for the stomach, and so they usually put it into their chocolate.

**591.** They have groves of tall, thick pine trees, cedars, cypresses, oaks, walnuts of our Spanish variety and indigenous; the woods are full of a tree which produces small thick-shelled nuts, and of wild grapevines. The entire year they have pinks and carnations, roses, gilliflowers, violets, white lilies, and all our Spanish flowers—not only in these regions but in the great majority of the Indies. There is another tree which produces large flowers like rosebays; they call it súchil; the flowers are of many different hues, white, red, and other colors; they are sweet-smelling, with a strong perfume, and the Indians use them in their festivities, to decorate altars and the arches they construct. Cabbages once planted never run out; they grow a trunk like a tree, and reach a great size; they keep producing shoots which can be detached. And all the other vegetables and garden truck of Spanish varieties, yield abundantly.

**592.** There are curious springs a league and a half from the royal city of Chiapa; in Cazagualpa there is an excellent spring of delicious water which gushes out and then falls off, every 6 hours, and it is over 60 leagues from the sea. There is another spring in Tafixa which will flow for 3 years although they are dry and no rain has fallen; and then for the next 3 although they are very wet and much rain has fallen, it stops flowing and runs dry. There is another 5 leagues from the city which in summer has plenty of water and in winter goes dry. Half a league from the Indian village of Cinacatlán there is a small spring which is good for cauterizing and for the treatment of other troubles, but which is fatal if one drinks of it. The Río Blanco covers with a layer of stone whatever drops into it, after a while, and the branches of the trees which dip into it, turn into stone; its water is good to drink and does no harm.

593. There are some caves of remarkable size and extraordinary character in the valley where the city is built. At the point where the rivers go underground, at the foot of a high mountain, there is one cave which will hold more than 200 men; and where one of these rivers originates, there is another which will hold over 1,000. There is another which is entered by a hole in the ground and inside there is room for 1,000 persons. There is another one which from the entrance looks like a large lake. Among the Quelenes, near the village of San Bartolomé, there is a wide opening like a well; if one throws a small stone in, it makes a loud noise and then a blast like thunder, fearful and awe-inspiring, and the reports can be heard far away from the cave. There is another near the village of Quichemucelo with a large level expanse inside and at one side it has a lake of water so transparent and still that the eye is deceived by it, taking it to be sand. In that same district there are four others with narrow entrances but so wide inside that two coaches or carts could go abreast, and one even resembles a forest with signs and cross paths. Near them in a high, bright location is another with a very wide mouth, and inside, a sort of altars and places for sacrifice. with many human bones and skulls, and by the entrance there is a spring of good clear water.

**594.** Three leagues from Chiapa there is a very deep recess cutting into a cliff; it will be over 10 fathoms wide and many parrots and other birds breed there. In the valley of Comitlán among the Quelenes there is another very large cavern, the home of other birds which are so shy that no one has ever found or seen their nests. Two leagues from this there is another very wide and deep, which is bathed in sunlight all day long. Nearby is the Rich Ravine (Quebrada Rica), from which quantities of gold have been taken; there are rich mines there of silver, iron, tin, lead, copper, and copperas (copper pyrites?). Near the village of Tapalapa in the Province of the Zoques, there is another mine, of stuff that looks like amber; and there are other remarkable things, which I shall describe in the following chapter.

### Chapter V

Of the Strange Snakes, Serpents, and Worms To Be Found in This District.

**595.** Within the jurisdiction of this Diocese there are many species of serpents, vipers, and snakes, whose bite is fatal. Some are dark gray and look like a rotten stick, with four openings at the nostrils; if they bite any animal, it sweats blood at every joint and dies within

24 hours. Others are black, and others black with stripes, and long; not a living thing they bite, escapes; they do no harm when the moon is coming to the full, but when it is on the wane, they get ugly.

**596.** There are others half a vara long with two heads, like a coat of arms; it is true that its bite is not mortal, but whoever steps on the fresh trail left by this snake, is a dead man. There are others which are yellow with black stripes and white spots; whoever is bitten by them has his flesh drop off in chunks. There are others as thick as one's arm and a vara long; whoever is bitten by them, is lost. Others are long and slender like a spear; whomsoever they bite, is paralyzed and dies lamenting his wound but unable to utter a word; these snakes climb up into the trees and spring down, to bite.

**597.** There are other slender green snakes with a poisonous bite; they move in the grass, and their venom is so powerful that once when a tract was being cleared for planting, one bit a Negro, then a dog, and then an Indian; the Negro died within 6 hours, the dog in 24 hours and the Indian in 2 days. Other snakes to be found in this country are so poisonous that if they are poked with a stick, the poison climbs the stick and kills the man. If they kill it and daub themselves with its blood, they do not die, but remain invalids. There are others such that if they bite a man in the morning, he vomits blood from his mouth and dies; but if they bite a man in the afternoon, he does not die but remains an invalid. There are others which have rattles, and are to be commonly found in many parts of the Indies; they have as many rattles on their tails as they are years old; these are a sort of viper and their bites are fatal.

598. There are others very large and black, which will crush and eat a deer; they killed one of these more than 20 feet long, and in its belly they found 31 young, each a palm long, and they started immediately to wriggle away. The Indians killed them, skinned the snake and then roasted and ate it. Its neck was a palm and a half thick.

**599.** In the Province of the Quelenes on the Guatemala highway there are two low mountain ridges full of these snakes described above, to such a degree that the Indians of that district do not dare pass through them. Near these ridges there are some mountains with 10 leagues of uninhabited country, and a river running along them which is full of fish. A considerable number of Indians from the village of Acatapeque had gone over there to fish; they heard a loud hissing, and behold, a creature was approaching them and staring at them with eyes like fire; frightened, they climbed up into the trees, and when this animal reached the foot of the trees, they saw it was

like a snake, with feet about a palm long, and on its back a sort of wings; it was about the size of a horse, and moved slowly past; never again did the Indians venture to go over into that district, and there is other testimony to the same effect.

**600.** On the trees they find what they call wild caterpillars, the size of a horse bean. The Indians raise them like silkworms, and when they are big and red, they mash them up into a blood-colored buttery mess; this they roast, form into lumps and dry in the sun; it turns yellow, and is excellent for the treatment of tumors and other troubles. There are other worms in the fields such that if a horse or a mule is bitten by one, it sheds its hoofs. Another kind is useful for cauterizing, and a single application suffices to cure ringworm. There are many others of remarkable qualities; but, just as with the animals, trees, and other curiosities, it is quite impossible to enumerate them, and so in the following chapter I shall discuss the district of Guatemala.

# Chapter VI

Of the City of Guatemala and Its District.

**601.** Eighty leagues ESE. of Chiapa lies the city of Santiago de Guatemala, built in a fertile, level, and pleasant valley enclosed on every side by mountain ranges and over 6 leagues in circuit, more than 3 long and 2 wide. There is a river running N. and S. through it, and along its banks and shores there are some Indian settlements, gristmills, gardens, and orchards of native and Spanish fruit trees, and farms on which they raise wheat, corn, and other cereals, vegetables and garden truck. The entire valley in which the city lies, has a springlike climate the whole year through.

**602.** Commander Don Pedro de Alvarado explored and subdued these provinces and in the year 1524 established and colonized the city of Santiago de Los Caballeros de Guatemala a league from where it is at present, at the very end of the valley on the slopes of a high volcano which they call the Water Volcano; there is a nice Indian village there with a Franciscan convent; they call it the Old City of Guatemala. Opposite is another very high volcano with two peaks; from the one on the ESE. it erupts big rivers of fire and very large white-hot pumice stones; and when it is stormy, rainy weather, it gets ugly, rumbles and thunders, and pours out larger rivers of fire, and so great is the light and the illumination it causes that even though the city is today at a distance of 3 leagues from it, one can read a book by its light on the darkest of nights, as I proved

when I was there in the year 1620. From time to time it has done much harm to the stock and crops of the district; but it is all put up with and counterbalanced by the excellent nature of the country, its fertility and good water supply. Earthquakes are frequent because of these volcanoes, and they have much thunder and lightning and thunderbolts; where these chiefly occur and are a specialty, is the whole hot country of the Pacific coast; if it were not for these visitations, that would be the finest country in the world.

**603.** On this spot, where the city of Santiago de Guatemala was originally founded, lies the village above mentioned, which keeps the name of Old City of Guatemala. Its inhabitants are privileged Mexican Indians, whose ancestors helped the Commander to conquer the country. They are catechized and instructed by Franciscan friars. That country is a bit of Paradise, with many springs and streams of sweet and crystal-clear water, and with attractive gardens and orchards of fruit trees, both native and from Spain, yielding fruit the entire year without interruption; they have abundance of quinces, large and small peaches, etc., with excellent artichokes and all sorts of vegetables and garden stuff the whole year through without a break, as a result of its fertility, good climate, and uniform temperature.

604. The city of Guatemala remained for 17 years on this site of the Old City, from 1524, date of its foundation by the Commander, Don Pedro de Alvarado, till 1541, when the Commander left on a campaign against the Indians of the Province of Jalisco in New Galicia. They had rebelled and revolted; Diego López de Zúñiga had gone up to quell them, and the Commander went to his aid and assistance. The Indians had fortified themselves in a strong position on a high cliff by the village of Ezatlán in that province, in rough country. Many were killed on both sides, and many horses and horsemen slid down the incline to their death. On this occasion Commander Don Pedro de Alvarado was halfway up the slope on his horse, and he saw another horse rolling down from above toward where he was. Jumping quickly off his horse, he took his stand at one side where it seemed safe to him; but the incline was so steep that the horse came rolling down with great impetus, hit a rock and bounced over to where the Commander was standing, with such force that it dragged him down with it. That was St. John's Day of that year 1541. His men carried him off from there to the village of Ezatlán, where he died like a good Christian a few days later, universally lamented.

605. The sad news of his death spread the country over and in a few days reached Guatemala City, which is more than 350 leagues

from Ezatlán. His wife Doña Beatriz de la Cueva manifested extreme grief over the tragic death of her husband, the Commander; she draped her whole house in black, refused consolation from everyone who came to condole with her, and kept saying that there was no greater evil that God could now inflict upon her, and making other crazy statements, like a woman who had lost her mind. Thereupon on Our Lady's Day in September it began to rain steadily in torrents, and for the 2 days following, as had never been seen in that country; and it brought on such a flood that 2 hours after midnight following the day of St. Nicholas of Tolentino, a wall of water rushed down from that high volcano, so huge and so furious that it carried great rocks along with it and devastated almost all the city, in which the first house was the Commander's. At the noise of the torrent, Doña Beatriz de la Cueva got up in fear and trembling and went into the chapel with her II servingmaids, embracing an image which was there and recommending her soul to God. At that moment the furious force of the deluge coming down from the volcano struck the chapel full and drowned them all-a just judgment of God, for if she had not left her bedchamber where she was sleeping, she would not have perished, for that room alone was left standing by the flood. Much else happened on this occasion, as is stated by Gómara on folio 282 and by Antonio de Herrera in his "Decades", where they may be seen.

**606.** That is the reason why this tall and handsome volcano is named the Water Volcano. It is shaped like a sugar loaf; the circuit of its slopes covers more than 12 leagues, with many Indian villages. It is more than 2 leagues to the top, thickly covered with forests containing much valuable and highly prized timber, which I cannot enumerate here. The Indians climb halfway up to make clearings for their farms and plantations, for the soil is very rich and fertile. Right after the devastation of the Old City by the flood just described, those who were left alive at the end of this year of 1541, came back again and built the city where it is at present, in that same valley I league from where it was originally founded, at a bend in the valley, on an excellent site, healthy and with bright skies and wholesome air.

## CHAPTER VII

Of the City of Santiago de Guatemala, Its Size, Its Convents and the Other Churches It Contains.

607. The city of Guatemala is built in this valley 10 leagues from the Pacific, at 14° N. It has a marvelous springlike climate the whole year through, and is abundantly and cheaply supplied with all necessities and luxuries needed for human life. It has over 1,000 Spanish residents, plus many Negro and mulatto slaves and many service Indians, not counting the numerous transients, this being a city with active trade with all New Spain and Mexico City and the local provinces, with Spain, Peru, and Nicaragua; they come here with silver and merchandise to exchange for cacao, indigo, cochineal, and other products which this country offers in abundance.

**608.** It covers the area of a very large and thickly settled city; the greater part of its houses are well designed and constructed, and the streets are straight and well laid out; it has a main plaza which is square in form and attractive. At the ENE. corner stands the Cathedral, which is very large and capacious, among the finest in the Indies. The episcopal establishment is on that same corner, and at the opposite corner, about due S., are the Royal Apartments, which are very large and spacious. This is where the President lives and where the Judges of the Circuit Court have their headquarters; they are Alcaldes de Corte and usually carry rods of office. Besides its President, this Circuit Court has five Associate Judges, an Attorney, two Secretaries, a Relator, and the other officials. The State Prison is on the same corner.

**609.** Opposite this corner with the royal establishment, and approximately on the N. side, is a whole block of arcades of excellent construction, occupied by the scribes and various shops of merchandise. The other corner, across from the Cathedral, is likewise filled with well-built arcades, occupied by shops and grocery stores. On one side of the plaza is a fountain of excellent water which is patronized by a large part of the residents, although the city is abundantly supplied with water. Each corner engages two of the chief streets, so that from one angle of the plaza one sees the convents of the Mercedarians, of Santa Catalina, and of the Jesuits; from another, the Augustinian convent; from another, the nunnery of La Concepción, and the General Hospital of the city.

**610.** This city has splendid convents: the Dominican is very sumptuous and well built, with a magnificent and beautifully decorated church and cloisters; it has very pious and learned friars, but in consequence of the humility and the great reform in dress and manners which they observe, they do not wear academic costume (graduan). This is the mother convent for the whole province within the district of this Circuit Court, although they have convents established only in this Diocese of Guatemala, in that of Chiapa, and in Vera Paz, which latter was given up. In this splendid convent they give courses in Arts and Theology, which they teach with great care

and vigilance, as is always the case with this hallowed order; and connected with it they have a college where they teach the same sciences and others. But they suffer great inconvenience and difficulties through the fact that Mexico City is almost 300 leagues away and requires many days' journey. Accordingly the city desires and solicits His Majesty to grant them the favor of establishing a university there; the city offers to provide an adequate income, both for the reasons stated above and because in that case the young men of this city and country will have greater facilities for study there; many parents cannot afford to maintain their sons in the graduate schools of Mexico City or elsewhere, on account of the great expense and distance involved.

**611.** Near this convent there is another plaza smaller than the main square, called the Plaza de San Domingo; in it and the neighboring streets are the business and residential center and the chief activity and traffic of the city, where the traders congregate, both for the sale of clothing for the Indians and of country produce, and for the purchase of such commodities for export to the provinces of all that country.

## CHAPTER VIII

Continuing the Description of the Convents and of the Greatness of This City.

**612.** The Franciscan convent of this city is remarkable for its architecture and its size. The church is large and spacious and very well-adorned with chapels, altars, and decorations; divine service is celebrated here with great pomp and correctness and godliness for all the people. It has excellent cloisters and dormitories and many friars, strict observers of their rule; among them are many highly educated. They teach Arts and Theology with great care and vigilance, and graduate excellent candidates for teaching positions and the pulpit. It has a very good infirmary and workshops and a very large and spacious garden, and an extensive convent meadow which is all walled in, with two gates. This is also mother convent for the province and like the others, it is well supported and comfortably off.

**613.** The convent of the glorious Patriarch and Doctor St. Augustine is modern, for it has only recently been established in this city, thanks to the virtue, scholarship, and preaching of Fray Gabriel de Rivera, M.A., a most deserving son of the convent in Mexico City; besides his great ability, which caused his order to send him as Prior and Provincial Vicar to found this convent here and such additional ones as might be possible, his personal charm and his

genial character have endeared him to the city, so that his convent has prospered and is prospering.

**614.** The Mercedarian convent is the oldest in this city and one of the most distinguished. It has an excellent church and sacristy with rich and expensive ornaments and good dormitories and cloisters, and they were building others when I was in the city in 1620 and 1621. They celebrate divine service with great particularity and simplicity, and for that reason it has a large attendance from all over the city. They have very learned and brilliant ecclesiastics, both as preachers and teachers; they give courses in Arts, Theology, and Holy Scripture. It is mother convent for a province reaching into the Dioceses of Nicaragua and Comayagua in Honduras, where they have convents, and the Dioceses of Mexico City and of Puebla and others in New Spain were subject to it, until in the year 1621 they separated the Province of Mexico from this one, on account of the distance involved.

**615.** The Company of Jesus is a modern foundation in this city. They have chosen a fine large site near the plaza, and with their usual foresighted procedure are building a splendid church and dormitories there. They maintain courses in Latin and Arts, like the others, and for their support have excellent revenues, indigo laboratories, and sugar mills, like the rest of the convents except the Franciscans, who live a more abundant life than any of the others without owning any property.

**616.** The nunnery of La Concepción in this city is very fine, extensive, and well appointed; it occupies a large site and has an excellent church and home with over 100 nuns, not counting the servants. It is highly religious and is much attended by the residents of the city, who entrust to it their daughters and female relatives who are consecrated to God. The nunnery of Santa Catalina Mártir is a more modern foundation; it occupies a wonderful site on one of the busiest and most important streets, between the main square and the Mercedarian convent. It counts over 50 nuns, who, like the others, are under the rule.

**617.** The chief hospital of this city, where they care for the indigent sick, has His Majesty as its patron. It is on the main street, which runs from the Plaza Mayor to the nunnery of La Concepción, and possesses revenues sufficient for the generous care of the poor invalids. Nearby in the direction of the Cathedral is a college or seminary of resident students with purple sashes and dark gray gowns; here they are taught Latin, Arts, Theology, and singing, and take part in the Cathedral services and choir.

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#### CHAPTER IX

Continuing the Description of the Churches of This City and Other Factors Contributing to Its Dignity and Embellishment.

**618.** Besides the Cathedral staff, there are two curates who administer the Holy Sacraments, since the city is too large and extensive for the Cathedral clergy alone. There is another parish church, San Sebastián, with its curate for the administration of the Holy Sacraments to its parishioners, who are the residents of that quarter of the city toward the village of Jocotenango on the Mexico highway, and reaching the ward of San Domingo. The church is finely appointed, with excellent services and attendance of the faithful.

**619.** At the other limit of the city, opposite the Franciscan convent on the road to the Old City is the church of Los Remedios, an excellent building, parish auxiliary to the Cathedral. Besides these, in all the quarters of the city and in the suburbs where there are many small Indian villages, there are more than 20 churches and shrines where Mass is said on Sundays and holy days, confession heard, and Christian doctrine taught by the friars of the various convents who have them under their charge.

620. Besides the above-described, there are in this lovely valley within sight of the city and at a distance varying from 2 leagues down to  $\frac{1}{8}$  or  $\frac{1}{6}$  league, more than 20 other Indian villages, in which Christian doctrine and instruction are likewise under the charge of the friars. Chief among these is the village of Jocotenango, and a number of others adjoining it (anejos), which are under the charge of the friars of the Glorious Patriarch San Domingo; since this village follows close upon the houses of the city itself, there are usually three or four friars to be found there. This village is a bit of Paradise, with many gardens and orchards of fruit trees, both of Spanish and indigenous sorts, in great abundance, and especially jocotes, which are the plums of the Indies, and resemble the Michaelmas plums of Spain, almost the same in color, and a very sweet and delicious fruit; they dry quantities of them, although they are to be had for the greater part of the year; there are many varieties of bananas and other kinds of fruit. They plant quantities of corn, wheat, horse beans, chickpeas, kidney beans, and all other sorts of cereals, vegetables, and garden truck, both Spanish and native varieties; they yield abundantly.

**621.** The Indians of this country and all the district have a very different system of bathing from what prevails elsewhere. Everyone makes, or has made, in his house a sort of small furnace which they

heat with a fire; then the person who is to bathe, strips and washes himself with hot water or they give him a good scrubbing, and then he gets into this furnace, which is hot or heated, and he sweats away there as long as he can stand it; then he comes out, wraps himself up and gets into bed; in this way if they have tumors (syphilis) or any other trouble, they sweat it out immediately and become perfectly well. This method is likewise used by some of the Spaniards, men and women, and seemed to me very healthful and beneficial; I did not see it in any other part of all the Indies I visited.

**622.** The city has a fine and enjoyable outlook, and on every quarter one can make pleasant excursions from it, with numerous Indian villages and pleasure gardens, in which, besides large numbers of fruit trees, they grow all sorts of Spanish products; what with the fertility of the soil, the excellent climate and the fine water, they grow tall and luxuriant. The trees are all green the whole year through, laden with flowers, leaves, and fruit, making it all seem one spring.

## Chapter X

Continuing the Description of Guatemala, With Its Avenues of Exit and Its Highways.

**623.** Besides the above, this city has on every side pleasant and sightly avenues for excursions, with many Indian villages, orchards, and gardens full of fruit trees and flowers, thanks to the good climate, equable the entire year. The village of San Cristóbal lies on a height within view of the city; here one finds all the kinds of fruit mentioned, with many capulies (which are like Spanish mazard cherries), figs, peaches, apples, all in abundance. The view embraces many other villages of equal attractiveness, both in the valley, on the tops of those ridges, and on the slopes of the volcano.

**624.** Near the Old City toward the Fire Volcano there are famous hot baths, where the city has put up a bathhouse with rooms and compartments for invalids, since the waters are very health-giving. At this spot there are large banana plantations and many other fruit trees, both of Spanish and native sorts, so that everything makes it appear that God has set the earthly Paradise here.

**625.** The city is most abundantly and cheaply supplied with every kind of foodstuffs. A fanega (about 1.6 bushel) of wheat is usually worth 2 tostones, i.e., 8 reals (one dollar); one of chickpeas, 5 reals; a hen. I real; 16 pounds of beef, I real; an arroba (25 pounds) of sugar, 16 reals, and everything else in the same ratio. This district contains large cattle, sheep, and hog ranches, quantities of horses

and mules, and rich sugar mills, for which reason everything is cheap and abundant. They have many flowers all the year round—pinks, white lilies, roses, etc.

**626.** Since this city and valley are so to speak boxed up by ridges of mountains, there are only three points of egress, arranged like an equilateral triangle. The exit on the WNW., which is where the valley starts and is narrowest, is called Apassón; this is the way out for Chiapa, Oaxaca, Mexico City, and all New Spain. Near Apassón there are many pine groves, and in their midst on the bank of a small stream, a water-power sawmill where they turn out much planking, both for construction in the city and for the crates for the export of indigo to Mexico City and Spain.

627. On the NE. there is another road leading out; they call it the Petapa road, from a large Indian village of that name 5 leagues from the city; here Christian instruction and the administration of the Holy Sacraments are under the charge of the Dominican friars; leaving the city by this road, one has to climb up a steep grade. This is the road for Puerto Dulce (or Golfo Dulce), the Diocese of Honduras, Sonsonate, San Salvador, San Miguel, and the Diocese of Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and as far as Panama. On the SE., which is where the rivers and streams issue from the valley, one passes between the two high volcanoes, leaving the Water Volcano to the left and the Fire Volcano to the right, and sets out for Esquuintepequec and all the Pacific coast, or Costilla, as they call it in that country. That coast has a very hot climate; it all looks like a bit of Paradise, full of trees with thick green foliage, and abounding in flowers; it is prolific in cacao, corn, of which they get two crops a year, many kinds of native fruit, oranges, citrons, limes, and lemons; there are many trees of valuable and highly prized timber, and extensive forests with many sorts of handsome birds of different colors, which flit about singing in the verdure of the trees. In the rivers there is great variety of delicious fish, in particular tepemechines, which are much esteemed and are better than trout.

**628.** At 5 leagues from the city, and 1 from Petapa village, is the village of San Juan de Amatitlán, richly supplied with provisions and a favorite excursion point. It is a curacy of the Dominican friars, with many Indians; like Petapa, it will have over 600 Indian residents; it has a hot climate. A hot-water brook runs through this village; it is highly salubrious and originates in a volcano nearby which they call the Volcano of Amatitlán. This had an eruption in the year 1623 and laid waste all that district with fire and ashes;

the land yielded no crops and they could not make any indigo; the land was buried in ashes.

**629.** Near this village is an important mill and sugar plantations where they turn out much sugar; it belonged to Juan González Donís, and is now in the possession of his heirs. This village is likewise close to a large lake which is more than 6 leagues in circuit and very full of fish, especially excellent mojarras, but many alligators live in it, which are like the crocodiles of the Nile. From the volcanoes they get quantities of rock sulfur, copperas (copper pyrites?), and alum.

# Chapter XI

Continuing the Description of Guatemala and Its District.

**630.** Within a 5-league district this city has over 60 Indian villages, called the Corregimiento del Valle. These Indians are for the service of the city and its residents, and the Corregidor who regulates and governs them is one of the regular Alcaldes for that year; the oldest governs for the first 6 months and is called the Corregidor del Valle; then the second Alcalde for the other 6 months.

**631.** The Circuit Court comprises five Dioceses, viz, that of Guatemala, Chiapas, Verapaz (which was given up and annexed to that of Guatemala), Comayagua with all its provinces of Honduras and Nicaragua. On the W., from the farthest bounds of Chiapas next to Tehuantepec, where it borders on the Circuit Court of Mexico, up to Costa Rica on the E., which belongs to the Diocese of Nicaragua, suffragan to Lima—on that side it borders on heathen Indians and the Province of Veragua in the District Court of Panama—it is almost 400 leagues long; and in breadth from the Province of Soconusco, which is on the Pacific Coast, to the port of Trujillo, over 200 leagues.

**632.** The Diocese of Guatemala holds very wide jurisdiction from W. to E. along the sierra, from Huistla in the Corregimiento of Totonicapa, which is 2 leagues from Acuespalatl (which means river saurian) in the Diocese of Chiapas and fronting on the Pacific, and from the farthest bounds of the Province of Zapotitlán or Suchite-péquez, which borders on the W. on the above-mentioned State of Soconusco, up to the farthest bounds and villages of the Province of Chuluteca and town of the Valle de Jerez, where it borders on the Diocese of Nicaragua, which is to the E. It runs over 160 leagues E. and W., and its width N. and S. from one sea to the other is more than 80 leagues, and it contains many provinces and villages; in them are three Alcaldías Mayores, where His Majesty appoints in consultation with the Supreme Council of the Indies. These are

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Zapotitlán, also called Los Suchitepéquez, which raises much cacao; Sonsonate and the town de La Trinidad, likewise with large yields of cacao; and the city of San Salvador and its provinces, with many indigo laboratories, mule ranches, and large crops of cacao.

**633.** And there are nine Corregimientos where the President of the Circuit Court of Guatemala appoints, viz: that of the Valle mentioned above, Totonicapa, Tepantitlán, Atitlán, Quezaltenango, Casabastrán, Esquintepeque, Guazacapán, and Chiquimula de La Sierra.

**634.** Since this is the largest city in all these provinces and the Circuit Court has its seat here, and since these provinces and Dioceses are so far removed from Mexico City, whose suffragans they are—and that of Nicaragua is suffragan to that of Lima, which is more than 600 leagues distant overseas, while it is only 125 leagues from Guatemala—it is highly important and desirable that the Cathedral of Guatemala be made Metropolitan, and since the provinces of the Diocese of Verapaz have been joined to it, that it be given an Archbishop, with the Bishops of the district of the Circuit Court as his suffragans; then all that kingdom will be better governed and many matters will be remedied.

635. The Corregimiento of Totonicapa lies WNW. of Guatemala, on the Chiapas Diocese boundary. Totonicapa is in the sierra and has a cold climate. This town and all its district are very rich; they make quantities of excellent bacon and ham there. In this village of Totonicapa they gather such an abundance of apples that they fatten the hogs with them. This Corregimiento includes 40 villages; they raise much cotton and weave it up into large amounts of cloth for the Indians' clothing. There is raised and gathered in this district much wax, honey, copal (which is a resin of much medicinal value, exuded by tall trees like walnut trees) and likewise tacamajaca (tacamahac gum), which comes from a tall tree with thick foliage. There is much mechoacan root, which is an excellent laxative; still better is that from the matalista, which is another root, like a turnip; the plant, a vine, and its leaf are like bindweed; it has a white flower and black seeds like tiny beads. This province abounds in wheat, corn, and other cereals, with much fruit and large cattle ranches.

#### CHAPTER XII

Continuing the Description of the Corregimientos of the District of the Diocese of Guatemala.

**636.** The Corregimiento of Tepantitlán is 8 leagues distant from Totonicapa; they raise quantities of indigo, which is worth 4 reals

the arroba. They gather much cummin seed, which brings the same price. They likewise harvest abundance of corn, which sells very cheap. There is in this district a very sizable lake, which is 5 leagues long and 3 broad; it is fresh water and they cannot reach bottom. They get quantities of pejerreyes (fresh-water sardines?), crayfish (cangrejos), and other fish, in such abundance that they supply fish for over 150 leagues, although the whole country has plenty of fish. This Corregimiento has 22 villages under its jurisdiction, 16 in the sierra and 6 down on the coast, where they raise quantities of cacao and other fruit and luxuries.

**637.** On the farther side of the lake the Corregimiento of Tepantitlán borders on that of Santiago de Atitlán; the lake divides them. This has 20 villages under its jurisdiction; in these they work up quantities of cloth into escapapules, which are the cloaks of the Indians. They raise quantities of swine, goats, sheep, and cattle; they produce silk and get much corn and other cereals and medicinal fruits, gums, and roots.

**638.** This Corregimiento borders on the coast with the Alcaldía Mayor of San Antonio de Los Suchitepéquez, whose incumbent is appointed by the Council. This district raises quantities of cacao and has very active trade with Mexico City and all of New Spain; it is 36 leagues from Guatemala.

639. Along the coast this borders on the Corregimiento of Esquuintepeque in the hot country, 7 leagues from Guatemala. This region produces much cacao, and its rivers are full of delicious fish, especially tepemechines, which are much better than trout. This Corregimiento contains within its district more than 40 indigo laboratories, where they prepare and turn out the best indigo that comes from the Indies. It has 16 Indian villages under its jurisdiction, and likewise one village of free Negroes and mulattoes. This has its Town Council with Alcaldes and Regidores (Aldermen) from their own number for its administration. They are responsible for the satisfactory government and the tranquillity of the region; when any Negro slave runs away from his master to join those in the bush (cimarrones), it is their duty to track him down, and they return him to his master for a moderate fee given them as compensation for the care and trouble they take in searching for him and in keeping the slaves under sure control.

640. Along that same coast toward the E. runs the Corregimiento of Guazacapán, on the Pacific coast, in hot country. It has large crops of cacao, among the best harvested in all that country. In its district it contains more than 60 indigo laboratories producing indigo dye; they raise much fruit, and in their rivers they get abundance of delicious fish and crayfish.

**641.** This is followed on the same coast by the Alcaldía Mayor of Sonsonate, to which His Majesty appoints in consultation with the Supreme Council of the Indies. This is hot country, very rich in cacao; in the villages of its district—Los Izalcos, Naulingo, Caluco, and others—they gather the greatest amount in all that country; in fact, within a district of 2 leagues of these cacao plantations or groves, they harvest 50,000 loads, worth at the very lowest 500,000 ducats. And since the reputation and the richness of this bean, from which chocolate is made, are so well known and quite unique in the world, it will be well for me to explain the method of reckoning by cacaos, and describe the nature of the tree.

**642.** A load of cacao contains 3 xiquipiles; each xiquipil consists of 8,000 cacao beans, making 200 zontles; thus each zontle has 400 cacao beans and each load, 24,000; that is their system of computation. At the harvest they sell 200 seeds or beans for I real or less, depending on the crop and the circumstances. It is so abundant in the district of the Diocese of Guatemala that every year this district takes in over 1,500,000 ducats, in the Provinces of Soconusco, Suchitepéquez, Guazacapán, Sonsonate, Zacatecoluca, and Chiquimula, which are the chief producers; the other parts of this jurisdiction are held in less esteem.

643. The cacao tree is of medium size, like an apple tree; it is of a delicate constitution, requiring much attention; it will only grow in the hot country and nowhere else. When they plant it, it is in the shade of a large tree which is called the cacao mother, to protect it from the sun and the wind; they have to keep watering it with care or else it dries out. The leaves are long and broad, about the distance from the end of one's thumb to that of the forefinger, and sharp-pointed, very green and delicate. It is a tree which spontaneously gives great satisfaction, for it repays its owner for all the care he has taken in its cultivation; beans ripen every month the whole year through. There are two chief crops, one at St. John's Day, and the other at All Saints. The fruit grows out from the stem or trunk and along all the branches in a sort of pointed ears shaped like large pine cones and looking like overripe cucumbers; this divides up into slices (tajadas) like a melon, but more pointed. The outer skin is hard and almost a finger thick; some are red, others yellowish, others red and white, still others green. Inside it is very

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white; all the beans or seeds are attached to a core with surrounding pulp in which the seeds are preserved; this pulp is bittersweet and very soft. Each ear contains from 25 to 30 beans; they get them out by sucking out the pulp, or digging them out if there are very many; then they lay them in the sun for them to get wrinkled and dried. This is the way they handle the cacao.

## CHAPTER XIII

Of the Town of Sonsonate and the Villages of Its District, and Other Remarkable Things To Be Found There.

644. The town of Santissima Trinidad was established in the Province of Sonsonate on account of the wealth of cacao to be found in that province, in the year 1578 and in an attractive and suitable location; although it has a hot climate, it enjoys bright skies and healthful breezes; a small stream of excellent water runs close by. The town contains 200 Spanish residents, besides many Indians living in its outer wards, and free Negroes and mulattoes, whom they call navorios. It has an excellent parish church which is not yet finished, a Dominican convent with a Vicar, and Franciscan and Mercedarian convents, a hospital, the church of the True Cross, that of Our Lady of the Pillar and other churches and shrines. There are some small Indian villages round about the town, which is all paved. There are many mercantile establishments. His Majesty appoints an Alcalde Mayor here, in consultation with his Royal Council of the Indies, and likewise a Treasurer, whose jurisdiction covers also its port of Acaxutla which is 5 leagues distant; some ships come here from Peru with cargoes of wine, and load local products.

**645.** The town being in the hot country has much wooded and forest land; there are some sugar mills here and they raise quantities of rice, balsam, mechoacan, indigo, corn, kidney beans, and other cereals, many kinds of native and Spanish fruit, medicinal extracts, fruits and roots, and annatto; there are large cattle ranches. The district contains many Indian villages, as: Naulingo, Caluco, Los Izalcos, and others in the hot country and Apaneca and Ataco in the cold country, where they grow much wheat, quinces, large peaches, and other Spanish varieties of fruit. Deer in this country have excellent bezoar stones. A league beyond these villages, at the foot of the sierra toward Guatemala, and in a plain, lies the village of Ahuachapán; all the Indian women in this village are expert in the manufacture of fine pottery—pitchers, jars, jugs, and other products—

in red earthenware, made of a very fine clay which they get from a watercourse running at the foot of the sierra.

646. The town of Sonsonate has many cattle ranches in its district. All this country is full of groves and woods and seems a bit of Paradise. In the woods there are many fruit trees and especially red sapotes, guavas, oranges, lemons, siuties, white sapotes, custardapples, bananas, cojiniclules, aguacates, and others, to enumerate which would lead to infinity; leguminous trees bearing small beans, resembling oak trees, but with bigger leaves; the beans come in large round pods; when they are ripe the sun's heat makes them explode with a loud noise like the report of a gun; each pod contains 12 or 14 beans. There are other small trees producing another excellent laxative; they call them piñones (pine nuts). The matalista is another laxative, and good antidote as well. They raise annatto also. Five leagues from the town on the San Salvador road there are many balsam trees, which will be described in their proper place. Guatemala lies 36 leagues approximately W. of Sonsonate, and the city of San Salvador, 12 leagues to its ENE.

**647.** In the district of this town there is a volcano which has thrown out much fire and ashes. It is in a mountain range, all along whose slopes lie many Indian villages. This range is covered with woods and groves; it is very fertile, and in the clearings they have made, wheat and corn yield very large crops. The oaks growing on this sierra bear acorns as large as inkwells and they make inkwells out of them. They have fine tall cedars, ebony, red ebony, and other aromatic and valuable timber.

**648.** There are many kinds of animals here: small bears with no mouth but at the tip of their snout an opening through which they put out their tongue and suck up the honey they find in hollow trees, and when that fails them they go to the anthills and when their tongue is covered with ants, they draw it in, and that is how they live. They have wolves they call coyotes, quite like Spanish ones but not so savage; tapirs, stags, tigers, lions, and other animals, and many varieties of unusual birds.

**649.** In the woods on this sierra rise many streams of hot water with various constituents. The Indian women of Ahuachapán put the clay in this water for the operations of their pottery; a cochineal-red creamy substance is deposited on the clay, and they use it to give a delicate color to their pottery; it is a kind of Armenian bole, being valuable for bloody flux and for other troubles.

# Chapter XIV

Continuing the Description of the Strange Things To Be Found in the District of the Town of Sonsonate.

**650.** In these sierras there are springs of very hot water, of different colors; many of the mouths or apertures from which they flow, seem like openings into Hell, for the hot water spouts out of them much compressed in space and with loud noises and reports—some like mill wheels, others like fulling mills, others like bellows, and like someone snoring, and many other ways; in some places the water comes out clear, in others roily, in others red, and in others yellow, according to the location and the minerals through which it passes. All these springs together form a river which they call the Hot River (Río Caliente), which is very healthful for those who bathe in it; so when I went by there in the year 1621 I profited by the occasion and bathed in it; and although that spot was some distance from the source of its waters, it was almost too hot to be borne.

**651.** In this same sierra there are other springs or breathing holes issuing from a cliff which is some 5 varas high and 3 across, and split in the middle, and from this fissure a great deal of smoke comes out; when one gets near it, a very awesome sound is to be heard, and when the weather is boisterous, fearsome noises and thunderclaps are to be heard all over that neighborhood. This sierra and volcano are also the source of very pure and delicious springs, which form a very pleasant and attractive river. Near this is another watercourse rising in the same sierra, which runs nights, up to 7 or 8 a.m., and then gives out and is not to be seen again till the following night at the same hour. There are other extraordinary things which at first glance would seem physically impossible.

**652.** There are many health-giving herbs and trees of great virtue, such as gum mastic, dragon's blood, gum anime, benzoin; these trees have thick foliage with rounded tops. As has been stated, on the Tonalâ coast in the district of the village of Guayamoco there are great numbers of balsam poplars; they are tall trees, with bark and leaves something like white poplars, but handsomer and more attractive. They bear a fruit or seed like an almond, and inside it has a liquid ruddy as gold. The balsam wood is very tough and heavy. All that country where these trees grow, has a hot climate; it is very sweet-scented and laden with the perfume of this balsam.

653. They get the balsam two different ways. Virgin balsam can be had only by giving the tree some slashes, from which a liquid

trickles down ruddy as gold; this is the pure balsam. The Indians scorch the tree to make the balsam run, and boil the bark, which makes it come out black; and although they try many schemes to increase its bulk, like the women innkeepers in Madrid putting water in the wine, the balsam will not unite with anything of different nature from its own; in fact, it draws apart immediately and becomes recognizable and easy to distinguish. The chief crop is from November and December till May; that is the spring crop; but it flows the whole year.

**654.** Captains Pedro de Solórzano and Pedro Ortés de Velasco made a beginning of the conquest of these provinces, under Commander Don Pedro de Alvarado, but they were given Indian allotments in Chiapas and settled down there. It was Don Juan Vázquez de Coronado who finally subdued and took possession of them; he was a noble gentleman of Salamanca, descendant of the royal house of France; he pacified the Provinces of Los Izalcos, Caluco, Naulingo, and other villages, and founded the city of La Trinidad, together with Capt. Gaspar Árias de Ávila, who had aided Don Pedro de Alvarado in those campaigns.

### Chapter XV

Continuing the Description of the District of the Diocese of Guatemala, and of the City of San Salvador and Its Provinces.

655. The city of San Salvador is 12 leagues from the town of Sonsonate and 45 from Guatemala. It lies in the Province of Cuzcatlán in an attractive and fertile valley at 13° N. This valley is traversed by a small river with sweet and crystal-clear water, on which some gristmills have been built. It has a hot climate with bright skies and healthful breezes. The city contains over 200 Spanish residents, but has been going downhill since the great earthquakes; many of the citizens live for most of the year on their farms, ranches, and mills. It has an excellent parish church, in which lies the body of its sainted Bishop Fray Don Juan Ramírez, who went out there as a zealous and vigilant shepherd, visiting his Diocese and looking after his flock of sheep. To give him the recompense of his labors, God called him and took him to Himself. Thus this city and church are greatly favored and exalted in having such a great relic as the body of this sainted prelate, which is deposited here as a treasure from Heaven.

**656.** This city has an excellent Dominican convent with large revenues and many indigo laboratories for the support of the friars,

who in their zeal, virtue, and observance of their rule and constitution, are worthy imitators of their glorious patriarch. The Franciscan convent is very strict; there is another convent, of the Mercedarian Order, which is a modern foundation; there are other churches and pilgrimage shrines for the comfort and relief of the citizens.

**657.** On the other side of the river is a small Indian village called San Jacinto, where the administration of the Holy Sacraments and the teaching of Christian doctrine and good morals are in the hands of the Dominican fathers; and there are many other Indian villages near the city. The city has an Alcalde Mayor appointed by His Majesty in consultation with the Supreme Council of the Indies; this official has very wide jurisdiction over many provinces and Indian villages, and in them over 200 laboratories in which they extract and put up indigo dye, and many ranches where they raise cattle, horses, and mules.

**658.** This district begins at the Indian village of Atiquizaya, on the Guatemala road; this is followed by the village of Santa Ana and others. In this village of Santa Ana, which is one of the largest in those provinces, besides a plentiful supply of foodstuffs, they have an excellent dyewood which colors tawny and blue; they gather much contrahierba and other drugs and medicinal fruits and roots; there is also a small tree which produces a very fine gum like benzoin; dragon's blood, mechoacan, and excellent laxative beans are gathered also. All this country has a hot climate. On this side it borders on the district of Chiquimula de La Sierra.

**659.** Beyond the city in the direction of the large Rio de Lempa lie the Province and Indian villages of Tecoluca, Zacatecoluca, and others, on the slopes of a tall volcano toward the S. This country raises large crops of cacao and has many indigo laboratories and cattle ranches; trade is very brisk and for that reason many Spaniards live in the Indian villages and [many] traders travel through to buy the local products. On the northern slopes of this volcano lie the Indian villages of Istepeque and Apastepeque, in whose district they put up large amounts of indigo which ranks with the best manufactured in those provinces.

**660.** Close by the city is a very large lake where they catch quantities of fish, especially mojarras, for the food supply of the residents. One-fourth league from the city there are famous hot baths, where invalids bathe and recover their health, for they are very beneficial. It is considered certain that these hot baths and other streams of hot water come from, or pass through, the volcano which is near the city; in times past this volcano ejected great quantities of fire, but at the present there is neither eruption nor sign of it.

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**661.** The volcano of Zacatecoluca is very tall; it has two points or peaks, and is well known by navigators on the Pacific, for from far out at sea its two peaks look like a cavalry saddle. It neither erupts nor seems active; in fact it is all well covered with forests containing many valuable aromatic trees, cedars, ebony, guaiacum, and others highly prized, as well as many wild animals—tigers, lions, ounces, many species of monkeys, squirrels, huge royal eagles which are dark gray and crested and are also to be found on most of the mountain ranges and volcanoes of that country. At its northern foot it has five hot springs with famous baths; there is abundance of sulfur and alum.

**662.** The district of this city along the Pacific coast contains extensive meadowlands and plains with much pasturage, everywhere dotted with indigo laboratories, farms, and cattle and mule ranches, down to the Río de Lempa, which separates the territory of this city of San Salvador from that of the city of San Miguel, although all of it falls within the district of the Alcalde Mayor. Deer abound and most of them have excellent bezoar stones in their stomachs, thanks to medicinal plants of great virtues, among which is the contrahierba, a root growing underground like galangal roots. There is much fruit : wild grapes, some small and black, like Rota grapes, and others very large and red, like the vineyard grapes known as jar-bursters; there are other sorts also. They raise excellent melons, particularly for Lent; quinces, pomegranates, limes, sweet and sour oranges, and other delicious native fruits.

### Chapter XVI

Continuing the Description of the Diocese of Guatemala, and of the City of San Miguel and the Town of Chuluteca.

**663.** The Río de Lempa, which flows into the Pacific, separates the territory of the city of San Salvador, 16 leagues away, from that of the city of San Miguel, which is 14 leagues from the river. At the halfway point of 7 leagues is the Indian village of Ereguaiquín, with a few Spanish residents running indigo laboratories; Franciscan friars oversee religious instruction in this village. Seven leagues farther is the city of San Miguel, 30 leagues distant from San Salvador and over 70 from Guatemala. It contains within its district more than 80 Indian villages, though most of them are small, and many indigo laboratories and cattle ranches. The city will have a little over 100 Spanish residents, though most of them usually live on their farms and ranches or at their laboratories, and only 40 or

50 live in the city itself. The houses are all built of straw and bajareque, which is wattlework of poles driven into the ground and plastered with clay to form walls. There is a parish church and two convents, Franciscan and Mercedarian. The city and all the country round have a hot climate; there is much woods and pastureland. Native fruits abound—bananas, papaws, jocotes, which correspond to plums; they get two crops of corn each year; most of the Indian villages have cacao plantations and they get much honey and wax in the woods.

**664.** Three leagues N. of this city there are rich deposits of very fine silver ore mixed with gold; on this location they discovered and are working rich mines which are called Marcilla because a man of that name made the discovery and settlement. They have taken large amounts of silver from this mine and would get much more if there were labor or slaves available, for the mines are rich and have a high yield per quintal. However, the little that the operators can get out of the mines is of small significance for their luxurious mode of life, for they are very rich. The locality where the mines are is very suitable and gives evidence of wealth. The climate is springlike, with bright skies and healthful breezes.

**665.** Nine leagues to the S. of the city of San Miguel is the port of Amapala on what they call the Bay of Fonseca, a large arm of the sea running into the land. There is a splendid harbor here and sometimes ships from Peru come here to load pitch and other local products. Near the harbor lie some Indian villages with cacao orchards or plantations; there is another on an island in the harbor. These villages all receive religious instruction from Franciscan friars. This is hot country, with many groves and woods. Travelers for the Province of Nicaragua usually cross this bay in canoes of the Indians on the island, thus saving many leagues and much trouble; I myself, taking advantage of this economy, said Mass for the Indians of the island on the day of Holy Trinity, 1613, and then crossed the bay in 24 hours, coming out 5 leagues from the Indian village of El Viejo in the Province of Nicaragua, which is 3 leagues from the port of Realejo.

**666.** The city of San Miguel just mentioned is built on a plain near the slopes of a tall volcano to its ESE.; this volcano is likewise well known to all navigators on the Pacific. It has erupted, and erupts, much flame and ashes; it is very handsome from a distance for its size and its sugar-loaf appearance, though the top has been considerably worn away by fire. Round about it are many Indian villages and indigo laboratories; wax, honey, and all sorts of native fruit are abundant; there are great numbers of deer, rabbits, turkeys, and pheasants, and on the slopes of the volcano, royal eagles, tigers, lions, bears, tapirs, ounces, monkeys, squirrels, and many other kinds of animals.

667. Thirty-six leagues beyond the city of San Miguel is the town of Jerez de la Frontera, lying in the Choluteca Valley; this will count some 60 Spanish residents, though the majority live most of the year on their farms, and usually not over 30 in the town itself. It has a parish church and a Mercedarian convent. In its district and province it contains some Indian villages; it is a country of large cattle and mule ranches, with a few indigo laboratories; they raise good tobacco in this district. This town and its district belong ecclesiastically to the Diocese of Guatemala, on which it borders ; its farthest territory to the E. borders on the Diocese of Nicaragua; this will be 120 leagues from Guatemala. On the temporal side it comes under the jurisdiction of the Alcaldía Mayor of the mines of Tegucigalpa, which are in the northern part of the district of the Diocese of Honduras. In this district there are tigers, lions, deer, and many other kinds of animals and birds, and in its rivers many alligators, excellent fish, crayfish, and swordfish, which it caused me great surprise to see in the rivers.

### CHAPTER XVII

Continuing the Description of the District of the Diocese of Guatemala, and in Especial, of the Corregimientos of Chiquimula and Casabastrán.

**668.** Returning to Guatemala: the territory which borders on the N. the district of the Alcaldía Mayor of San Salvador, is the Province and Corregimiento of Chiquimula de la Sierra, which contains in its district over 30 Indian villages. It is very rich in cacao, with large harvests of the best and biggest beans to be found in the whole district of Guatemala. There are many cattle and mule ranches in the district; the country enjoys a lively trade and is fertile and prolific in corn, kidney beans, and other cereals, with many kinds of native fruit and medicinal extracts and roots. Many Spaniards live in Chiquimula, for the country is rich and well supplied with everything.

669. Bordering on this province and Corregimiento is that of Casabastrán, rich cacao country. This province and Corregimiento has 16 Indian villages under its jurisdiction. It lies on the road from the Golfo Dulce, the chief point of importation into Guatemala of the commodities which the ships bring from Spain for those provinces, and where they load native products for export. But the chief port is that of Amatique, named Santo Thomás de Castilla, as it was discovered by that great administrator, Dr. Alonso Criado de Castilla. He was Justice of the Circuit Court of Panama for the years 1573, 1574, 1578, and 1579, in which he subdued the fugitive slaves, who had rebelled and looted and devastated all the province, and had their headquarters in the Cerro de Cabra; those of the Puerto Bello faction and of that of Vallano, he brought under control in the year 1582, and settled them in the village of Santiago del Príncipe. Thus the entire country was pacified, an achievement of great service to His Majesty, and for his good services he was promoted to the Circuit Court of Lima; here he continued this record, thanks to his foresight and Christian character, and was advanced to be President at Santiago de Guatemala in the year 1596. As a man of wide experience in affairs of the Indies, he realized that there was no suitable harbor; Puerto Caballos was unsatisfactory because of the disastrous enemy raids there and of its lack of safety for the ships coming from Spain to those provinces. In the year 1604 he discovered the harbor of Amatique, and sent Capt. Don Estéban de Alvarado with distinguished pilots there; they sounded the harbor and found it deep and ample. So in that same year of 1604, on the day of St. Thomas Aquinas, they established the port there, and to commemorate the Saint and the President, at whose orders it was founded, they gave the port the name of Santo Thomás de Castilla. For its greater security he subdued and pacified the Indian tribe of the Tequeguas; they were baptized and have been peaceful ever since, and serve in the port, which is very safe and adequate. From its entrance to the Morro it is a league long, E. and W., and 11 leagues across N. and S., all deep and clear, without rocks or shoals except for a mud bank which would serve as a cushion for any ship resting on it; this is all due to that farsighted governor. This Corregimiento of Casabastrán borders to the N. on the Alcaldía Mayor of Verapaz.

670. The Province of Verapaz is 50 leagues NE. of Guatemala. From the time of its discovery until 1609 it had a Bishop; but in view of its poverty and for other reasons, His Majesty ordered it to be annexed to the Diocese of Guatemala. Some of the Bishops who have presided in that city were unwilling to justify this, in view of the overwide jurisdiction of this Diocese of Guatemala, such that it was impossible to make all the episcopal visits and confirmations; but finally Bishop Don Fray Juan Zapata accepted the situation and conformed to it, so that now with full justice this Diocese of Guatemala may be made an Archbishopric, for the reasons stated in the preceding chapters and those presented by the city in its petition. **671.** This province of Verapaz contains 17 Indian villages, and has the port of Golfo Dulce within its jurisdiction. His Majesty appoints an Alcalde Mayor for it, in consultation with the Supreme Council of the Indies. All this province is under the religious supervision of the Dominicans. The chief village and the capital is Cobán, where they have a convent. This is all hot country, with many groves and forests. They raise two crops of corn a year but they cannot hold much over because the country is so hot and damp. They raise much cotton and make very fine annatto, the best in all that country; they get sarsaparilla, wax and honey from bee trees, other medicinal extracts and roots, and many kinds of native fruits.

672. Between this diocese and that of Yucatan lie the Provinces of the Lacandones and those of Manché, which are still to be brought into our Holy Faith, although Dr. Alonso Criado de Castilla, late President of the Circuit Court of Guatemala, with his farsightedness and useful energy, converted and baptized 1,400 Manché Indians in the years 1600-1607; but then the President died, and after 1600 there was no Bishop in the Province of Verapaz, His Majesty having commanded that the Diocese should lose its independence and be annexed to the Diocese of Guatemala. With the departure of the Bishop, conversion of the Indians ceased, and so they are still in their heathendom. It is a shame that so many savage tribes are still in their blind paganism, in the midst of so many provinces of Christians ; they could easily be brought to the knowledge of our Holy Faith and as a result they would be peaceful and well off in consequence of trading with each other, particularly the Provinces of Yucatan with those of Guatemala and its adjoining territory. In these Provinces of Verapaz one finds the same birds and animals as in Guatemala and Chiapas, so I omit reference to them; in the following chapter I shall treat of various plants and herbs to be found in the district of Guatemala, and in particular of the jiquilite, from which indigo is made, of cochineal, and of other plants.

## Chapter XVIII

Of the Jiquilite from Which Indigo Is Made, and of Other Trees and Plants.

**673.** The jiquilite from which indigo dye is made, is a plant whose leaves and general appearance are quite like clover, but it grows taller. It is produced in all the hot, damp country of the Indies, but where it grows in greatest abundance is the district of the Circuit Court of Guatemala; the main harvest is that made in the district

of the Diocese of Guatemala, where they make the best indigo in all the Indies; it is also largely raised in the Diocese of Nicaragua. As has been stated, the plant looks like clover, but it ordinarily grows as high as a man or taller. The flower is blue and the seeds resemble those of the radish or turnip.

**674.** They usually begin working it late in July, before the seeds ripen, and the operation lasts late into September, and even later if the crop is very large; that applies also to the wild plant, which grows in the fields without cultivation. There is another sort of indigo they call zacamile, which they sow after burning over the fields, without hoeing or cultivating, just scattering great quantities of seed on them; they begin working this after finishing the other, about All Saints, and it lasts till about Christmas, according to the yield.

675. For the manufacture of indigo dye they have large stone basins in their laboratories like wine presses; they throw into them 200, 300, or 400 loads of this jiquilite plant, according to the capacity; and when the basin is full of the jiquilite plant, the establishment being generally beside a stream or watercourse or irrigation ditch, they fill the basin with water and put some timbers or weights on top, so as to cover the plants entirely with water, as they do with flax or hemp, and they leave it to soak 24 hours, more or less, according as the water is hard or soft. When it seems to those who are preparing the dye that the right and proper moment has arrived, they pull out its bung from the basin so that all that water may come out and run into another deeper basin next to the steeping basin. This has a wheel in it, run either by water or horse power, which keeps beating up the water; this movement of the wheel raises great quantities of foam, yellow with blue glints. When it seems to those who are preparing the dye that things have reached the right point, with the foam breaking up and taking on color, they stop beating it with the wheel, so as not to overdo it; the water quiets down, the dye settles, and they pull out another bung in this wheel basin where the dye is forming; the water runs off and the dye is left on the bottom like cream. They take it out and put it into sheets of coarse linen cloth strainers, or melinge, as they call them, and keep it there till the water has all drained off. Then they make bricks of it and put them on planks in the sun to cure and dry, and after 4 or 6 days of sunning, it comes out dry and pure, and they pack it in sacks, pouches, or boxes. The dye is not all of even quality, as a result of not catching the right moment; some overstep it, others fall short. This is the way in which indigo is prepared and manufactured.

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**676.** From 100 loads of this jiquilite plant, each load consisting of three bundles, they usually get 100 pounds, i.e., a quintal, more or less according. In this country one of every 20 quintals is paid as a tithe. As soon as the water from the steeping basin has run off into the wheel basin, they take out the plants or zacate, from which the water has withdrawn the virtue, and the harvesters come and fill it up again; they make two or three trips a day, according to the quantity of zacate or jiquilite needed. This is the method of manufacturing indigo.

**677.** In this Province of Guatemala they gather quantities of fine grain or cochineal; this specialty has made, and is making, great progress, for the country is highly suited to it, as the prickly pear, on which the insect is raised, grows very well here.

**678.** In the district of this Diocese of Guatemala there is abundance of contrahierba, which grows underground, like galangal root. It has leaves like bindweed, but smaller and slenderer. It is good for all sorts of troubles; its virtues are well known for colds, convulsions, and all sorts of poisoning, as its name and virtues indicate, and has been demonstrated on many occasions.

## Chapter XIX

Of Other Trees and Plants Unique in the World, and of the Method of Preparing and Manufacturing Annatto.

**679.** In these provinces there is a tree called pataste, which resembles the cacao tree but is taller, straighter, and more cuplike in form; its leaf is smaller than the cacao leaf, and rounded. It likewise bears large pods which look like small melons, with an outer husk which is tough, scribbled over, as it were, and pockmarked; the fruit is inside, much like sweet almonds with an excellent flavor when they get dry, and then they put them in chocolate; but when they are green they have an unpleasant smell.

**680.** In the jurisdiction of this Diocese, along the coast in the hot country, there are tall trees which bear fruit looking like medium-sized melons, which they call lacandón. The outer skin is a yellowish green; the flesh is yellow; it produces a flower which is grayish and very fragrant. The leaves of this tree are broad and rounded, very green and smooth; but the fruit is not wholesome.

**681.** There is another tree called sunsapote which is tall and has thick foliage. It bears fruit resembling medium-sized melons, with grayish-white outer skin; the flesh is yellow and well-flavored; the stone is full of threads. It has excellent medicinal properties for

various troubles; when parched, it is good for constipation; when boiled, for fevers; and it has other virtues.

**682.** There is another tall and bulky tree called nance, with small rounded leaves. It bears fruit like jujubes and well flavored; they come red and yellow. There is a vine which climbs like ivy and bears very fragrant and medicinally beneficial pods (vaynillas) which they put in chocolate. There are other low bushes growing on the cliffs which bear slender whitish pods with great fragrance and medicinal virtues; they call them mecasuchil, which means thread-flower, and they put this also into chocolate.

683. The achiete or arnotto tree resembles an apricot tree in size and leaf, though somewhat taller. It produces a flower like that of the brambleberry, which develops into a fruit composed of red granules smaller than hemp seed. When these are ripe and the proper time has come, they pick them and squeeze and rub them under water till they come apart and lose their husks; then they boil this water in large kettles (or of a size suitable to the quantity). As it boils, they skim off the greasy scum which comes to the top and put it in another vessel; then they strain it through cloths or strainers; cooling, it comes out like dough; they make bars or cakes out of this, and cure and dry them in the sun. Annatto is good for urinary complaints, as a heart stimulant, and for other troubles; for these reasons and for its color, they put it into chocolate. Much is exported from these provinces and from New Spain to China, where it sells very well for dyeing silk and for other purposes. There is another variety of annatto of a saffron color, which they call achiomico, which is utilized in stews, and is likewise good for urinary and heart troubles and other afflictions.

**684.** There is a root in this country which they call amole (soaproot), of the shape of a round white potato, and in its foliage like a radish. The Indians wash their soiled clothes with it, and it serves as soap for them. It makes much lather and whitens the clothes. It is a great help to the poor in this country for their laundering; it is likewise useful for catching quantities of fish; they pound it up and throw it into the streams, and it intoxicates the fish and they take as many as they want.

685. There is another root which looks like parsley root, of a saffron color, which is put into stews; they make much use of it in that country. It is good seasoning and has medicinal value.

# Chapter XX

Of the Costumes and Customs of the Indians, and of the Indians Who Were Converted in the Days of Dr. Alonso Criado de Castilla, and of Other Facts about That Country.

**686.** The Indians of these provinces have the same customs and dress as those of New Spain and Yucatan, but with certain differences. The mountaineers wear ample trousers, undershirts, and the escapapul, which serves them as a cloak; it is a woolen blanket, which they wear fastened over the left shoulder and under the right. The Indians of some provinces of these tribes wear cues, as friars do the tonsure. The Indians of the hot country wear tilmas—white, yellow, or striped in different colors—of cotton, or of linen in some cases; these are the same as the escapapules of the highlanders, and serve them as cloaks. The most important Indians wear ojotas, which are a kind of sandals, for protection against stones and thorns.

**687.** During the 13 years that Dr. Criado de Castilla governed these provinces, among other great things he accomplished through his remarkable foresight and executive ability for the Christianization and instruction of the Indians, was his subjugation of several provinces of them and his conversion of them to the Faith. Among these were part of the Province of Manché and of the Xicaque Indians of Costa Rica, and the Tequeguas and Montañeses of Nicaragua. In this he was greatly aided by his son Don Andrés Criado de Castilla, Knight of the Order of Santiago, who was Captain General of those provinces, and is at present Gentleman of the Household (Gentilhombre de la Boca) of the Infante Cardinal and Governor of Mérida; he converted them more by good example and management than by force of arms.

**688.** The Indians are all naturally impassive, and at the same time ingenious; they learn easily whatever they see the Spaniards do, and whatever handicraft exercises skill. The majority are good singers and expert with all sorts of musical instruments—flageolets, flutes, sackbuts, bassoons, cornets, and organs which they make out of numerous reeds very cleverly and ingeniously joined together; these they use to celebrate divine service with greater solemnity. All the chiefs and leading Indians enter their sons for the service of divine worship, which they greatly appreciate and honor.

**689.** In all Indian villages throughout the Indies, both in New Spain, Honduras, Nicaragua, the New Kingdom of Granada, and Peru, no matter how small the villages may be, they have distinguished cantors and choirmasters, who officiate with great seriousness and

piety at the Mass; they sing vespers to organ music, and celebrate saints' days much better than Spaniards do. Every day they repair with as much exactitude as if they were monks or canons, to their choir in the church to repeat the office of Our Lady, and they never fail to do this every day with great solicitude and devotion.

690. They are very active and ingenious in the decoration of their churches, for which they use many flowers and unusual ornaments; in this they much excel us and leave us far behind their good example. They show great charity to those in need, and particularly to their priests, whom they respect and reverence as ministers of Christ. Most of them embrace the truths of our Holy Faith with such fervor that only the bad example we set them is responsible for the fact that there are no great saints among them; I convinced myself of this while I was in those kingdoms. When the priest arrives at their villages, they receive him with music and celebrations, with flower arches and the ringing of bells. The Indian women come out with their children in their arms for the priest to bestow his benediction upon them; if it is a religious festival, the leading Indians come out with bouquets of flowers in their hands and present them to the friar or priest whom they are receiving; wherever he goes, they strew rushes and flowers before him-all this for the glory of God.

**691.** These countries of the Indies are strange in every respect. When it is the wet season and it usually rains, the traveler can get up early and do a day's journey before noon with the certainty that it will not rain, for in the Indies it is a miracle if it rains mornings; but after midday rain is certain; clouds cover the sky in the direction of the breeze and the heavens open to pour down water without respite.

# CHAPTER XXI

Of the Diocese of Comayagua and the Foundation of the City of Valladolid.

**692.** The Province and Diocese of Honduras lies 100 leagues to the ENE. of the city of Guatemala. It was conquered by Capt. Alonso de Cáceres at the instance of Commander Don Pedro de Alvarado in the year 1526; and in its famous valley of Comayagua, which is 16° N. or more, he founded in that same year the city of Valladolid, on a level site under bright skies and wholesome breezes; the Governor and the Bishop of these provinces have their residence here. The city has more than 200 Spanish residents, plus the mestizos, i.e., the children of Spaniards and Indian women, and many Negroes, mulattoes, and Indians of the serving class. It has a Cathedral, which

originally was in the city and port of Trujillo, up to the year 1558, when it was transferred to this city. There are two convents here, a Franciscan and a Mercedarian; a hospital, and other churches and shrines.

**693.** The climate of this valley and city is like spring all the year. It abounds in corn, wheat, kidney beans, and other cereals and vege-tables, both native and of Spanish sorts. A river runs through this valley and on its banks there are many ranches of cattle, sheep, hogs, horses, and mules; they have quantities of fruit of both Spanish and native varieties. The city has Royal Officials who take turns going down to the port of Trujillo every year for the clearance of the ships arriving from Spain for Guatemala and those provinces with wine and merchandise, to load local products in great quantities. His Majesty, in consultation with the Supreme Council of the Indies, appoints a Governor and Captain General for the administration of justice.

**694.** When the Spaniards took possession of these provinces, they were first called Las Higueras, because when they came sailing there they found along the coast quantities of calabashes or gourds (jicaras) of the calabash tree, which is abundant in those provinces; and since they called them higueras (fig trees) in Santo Domingo, they gave this name to this province; but the only name that has stuck is Honduras, because all that coast is very deep water (hondable), and the Spaniards who came out to conquer those provinces found no bottom on sounding, even when they were close to land, until they got into port; once there, they said "Blessed be God, who has brought us out of those deep waters (honduras)," and so that name became attached to these provinces and persists there.

**695.** These provinces were thickly peopled with Indians, but their internecine wars, and those with the Spaniards, destroyed the greater part of them. The whole country is much broken up with tall mountain ranges; in between them lie fertile and attractive valleys, and the crystal-clear rivers running through them carry sand with grains of gold, since there is much there: this is especially true of the Río de Guayape, which is near the Olancho Valley and the rich Province of Tegucigalpa; in the early days they took great wealth of gold out of this river.

**696.** The district of this Diocese contains many provinces and villages of Indians, and cities with Spaniards. That of Gracias a Diós lies almost west of Valladolid or Comayagua some 30 leagues, mid-way on the Guatemala highway. It was founded by Capt. Gabriel de Rojas in the year 1530 on a bluff in a strong position, for warfare

against the natives and to exploit the rich silver and gold mines in that district, which at present are not worked for lack of labor. The country is very rough, with grand mountain ranges. This city was deserted after a few days on account of the Indian wars and the lack of support given the Spaniards; but later, in the year 1536, Capt. Gonzalo de Alvarado established it again and it exists today, with as many as 60 Spanish residents. Trade in this city is based chiefly on its mule ranches, wheat and other native products, which they export to adjoining provinces. The Circuit Court now in Guatenala was originally in this city.

697. Five leagues from this city, near the village of Copán, there are some grand buildings from an immemorial past, of which the memory has been lost for many generations, and all information about those who created and built them, from their great antiquity. Among their ruins are things extraordinary and admirable; among these is a beautiful hall, in the center of which there is a very large and well-made table in a stone like alabaster; round about it are seated many well-sculptured figures, with good features and long beards, decked out in their breastplates and backplates and helmets, with swords in their belts; with them is another figure in pontifical vestments and a mitre on his head; the workmanship and the dress are very strange and altogether different from what prevails in those regions. Close by this hall run galleries very well built in stone with tall monolith pillars which remain standing, thanks to their strength. And for 4 and even more than 6 leagues round about this superb building there are great quantities of dressed stone, from which it appears-and these ruins give proof of it-that there was once in these parts a people of great intelligence, energy, and efficiency, and great cities, which long lapse of time has obliterated, reducing them to what our Spaniards found when they discovered them, and what is visible today. These ruins are very much like those which have been found in Yucatan, not far from those provinces where they established the city of Mérida, which today is the capital of that Diocese and State.

### Chapter XXII

Continuing the Description of the Diocese, Provinces, and Cities of Honduras.

**698.** To the N. of Comayagua some 14 leagues is the city of San Pedro, near Puerto Caballos, where they used to unload the merchandise coming from Spain for Guatemala and all those provinces; it was dismantled in the year 1604 by order of the great Governor

Dr. Alonso Criado de Castilla, President of the Circuit Court of Guatemala, and transferred to the port of Amatique, to which he gave the name of Santo Tomás de Castilla; this is where the ships lie discharging their cargoes and loading native products, and where the garrison stays which the ships bring along, until they leave to take on what additional cargo there is at the port of Trujillo.

699. The city of San Jorge de Olancho is 40 leagues ENE. of Comayagua on the King's Highway from the city and port of Trujillo. It is built in a spacious and attractive valley, which is over 10 leagues long, and 2 wide. The city has a little over 40 Spanish residents; the houses are all straw-thatched. The church in this city has a miracle-working image under the appellation of La Purísima Concepción de Nuestra Señora. In this city and in the Indian villages of its district they work up quantities of very fine henequen; and the whole region is very rich in gold, all the rivers being gold bearing, but they get none out for lack of labor. This valley has a rather large river running down it and watering its meadows, on which there are some cattle ranches; it has a hot climate. When the Spaniards explored and subdued it, this valley and its surrounding country were thickly peopled; now there are few inhabitants, because the Indians wasted away and died out in the wars which arose between the Spaniards. It was in this valley that Gil González de Ávila took 120,000 gold pesos from Capt. Hernando de Soto; it was here that they killed Capt. Juan de Grijalba and others, and that Capt. Gabriel de Rojas prevented the entrance of Gonzalo de Sandoval, Captain under the Marqués del Valle.

700. The city and port of Trujillo are 24 leagues from the valley and city of San Jorge de Olancho, and 62 from Comayagua. The harbor is good, although it is a wide bay, but it is sheltered. The city is built at the water's edge on a high and prominent bluff; there will be over 100 Spanish residents here, besides many Negroes, mulattoes, and Indians of the service class. It has a parish church, a Franciscan convent, and a hospital for the care of the indigent sick. All the houses and churches are thatched with palm leaves; palms abound in this country. Capt. Francisco de Las Casas began the work of building this city in the year 1525, at the order of Don Fernando Cortés; the work was finished and settlers brought in by the Marqués del Valle himself, when he came down from Mexico City to these provinces. The Cathedral for these provinces was in this city up to the year 1558 when it was removed to Comayagua, where it is at present.

701. This city and its neighborhood have a hot climate and many groves and woods with healthful waters, excellent to drink because flowing over gold ore and sarsaparilla roots; they raise much sarsaparilla in this city and region, of the best quality to be found in the Indies; every year they load quantities of it on the ships for Spain. It has many ranches in its district with innumerable cattle, from which they export quantities of hides every year to Spain on these ships. Coconut palms abound here, bananas and other indigenous varieties of fruit, and other medicinal roots and extracts. The city does a large business and has much commerce on account of the port and the ships running from Spain to Guatemala, which stop here going and coming, and ships and frigates ordinarily come here for cargoes of native products, of which there is great abundance. They get much wax and honey in the woods. Opposite this city, and almost within sight, at 8 leagues out to sea, are the islands of Guanajas and Ruatán, inhabited by Christian Indians and under the jurisdiction of this city. They are very fertile and prolific, producing quantities of cassava and fish, poultry, etc.; they are of great service for the provisioning of the ships. The district of this city is bounded by large provinces of heathen Indians, wearing clothes, viz, those of the Provinces of Tegucigalpa and others to the E. of them.

### CHAPTER XXIII

Continuing the Description of the District of the Diocese of Honduras, and in Particular, of the Mines of Tegucigalpa.

**702.** The rich silver-mining town of Tegucigalpa lies 16 leagues to the E. of the city of Comayagua. It is built in the midst of great pine forests; its climate is springlike the whole year. It has abundance of wheat, corn, chickpeas, kidney beans, and other kinds of cereals and fruit, both native and Spanish. The city is bountifully supplied with cheap and delicious provisions. In its district there are many farms and ranches of cattle, sheep, hogs, nules, and horses. The city has over 100 Spanish residents and some Negroes, mulattoes, and Indians of the service class and those who come to work in the mines. It has a parish church, a Franciscan convent, a hospital and other churches and shrines.

**703.** His Majesty, in consultation with the Supreme Council of the Indies, appoints an Alcalde Mayor for the city; he has under his jurisdiction 36 Indian villages, small to be sure; 24 are in this Diocese of Honduras and 12 in the Choluteca district of the Diocese of Guatemala. These were all organized under Capt. Don Juan de

Espinosa Pedruja when he was Alcalde Mayor of those mines, by dint of great efforts and much expenditure of his own money, as a good servant of His Majesty; all of this I verified with my own eyes when I was in that country.

704. This country around Tegucigalpa is very rich in silver veins and ore. Three leagues from the city is the rich Cerro de Santa Lucía, from which a great amount of silver has been taken; they have four foundries to smelt the ore. Five leagues across from Santa Lucía, in the year 1621, through the diligence of this Don Juan de Espinosa, at that time Alcalde Mayor, another very rich range of silver ore was discovered and given the name of San Juan; the grade from its foot to the top is 2 leagues long, full of veins and ore deposits of the best-quality silver, from 2 to 6 ounces per quintal, and easy to smelt, work, and get out; and the fact that the surface deposits are so rich rouses hopes that great wealth will be obtained by following the veins to the center and core of all the branches. For this reason this Don Juan de Espinosa has aided the project and has set up beside it three establishments to prepare and smelt the ore; and if His Majesty would graciously send this province 200 slaves (as it is already provided and ordered by his royal warrants that they shall travel at his expense), for the working of these mines, his royal 20 percent share would greatly increase and the province would be one of the most prosperous and wealthiest of the Indies, for besides what is stated above, the whole country is paved with veins and ore deposits of silver.

705. Eight leagues E. of the town of Tegucigalpa is located the mining camp of Yuscarán, where there are likewise rich mines and veins of the best-quality silver; for working and smelting the ore there are three foundries there. The eastern boundary of this Alcaldía Mayor with the Diocese of Nicaragua is at the city of Nueva Segovia, which is in this Diocese of Nicaragua; it is built among great pine forests, in a very rich gold region. Here they make quantities of tar or pitch, which is the chief and most important business in this country; they transport it to the port of Realejo to be loaded in ships for Peru. In this district of Tegucigalpa they make quantities of tar in the pine woods; it is taken to this port of Realejo and that of Amapala for shipment to Peru. In the pine forests on the edges of rivers and watercourses are quantities of liquidambar trees; these are very tall, straight, and handsome, with a resemblance to white poplars, but the leaves are better looking and more peculiar; each has five points. As seed or fruit they produce a sort of round rosette the size of a small filbert, but not smooth. On the trunk of the tree there are large swellings; they slash these, the liquid runs out and from each they get a small jugful of liquidambar, a fluid ruddy as gold; its efficacy and virtues in the cure of diseases, are very well known.

**706.** In the woods they collect much wax and honey from bee trees; there are other medicinal fruits, roots, and extracts, and the guaiacum tree, whose virtues are so well known. There is plenty of game, both feathered, such as turkeys, paujies, pheasants, pigeons, turtledoves, etc., and four-footed, viz, deer and much else, with various kinds of monkeys, squirrels, and many other small creatures.

### CHAPTER XXIV

Concluding the Description of the Diocese of Honduras.

**707.** In the district of this diocese there are other settlements and provinces, but as they are not of much importance, I give no description of them. The rivers and valleys are among the best in the Indies. The Río de Ulua has over 20 leagues of attractive borders lined on both sides with many farms, gardens, and cacao plantations; they raise abundance of corn and other cereals and vegetables, with quantities of fruit of both native and Spanish varieties. Within the limits of this Diocese, along the Nicaraguan boundary, there are over 50 leagues of thick pine forests where they make all the pitch exported to the Kingdoms of Peru for their ships and for use in the jars and jugs in which they keep the wine produced in all the vineyards of the Peruvian plains and valleys.

**708.** These Provinces of Honduras were originally governed by Gov. Francisco de Montejo, gentleman of Salamanca; he accomplished much that was noteworthy here in the service of His Majesty, as is related in detail by the historians of the Indies. Some years later they were administered by Don Juan Vázquez de Coronado, likewise a gentleman of Salamanca; he distinguished himself above others in bringing under control many Indians who had rebelled, and by his excellent government.

**709.** Between this Diocese of Honduras and that of Nicaragua, which is 100 leagues off to the E. along the Atlantic coast, from the city and port of Trujillo to a point near Puerto Bello, a distance of over 300 leagues in length and over 40 leagues inland, counting to the valley of Olancho and the mining region of Tegucigalpa and the Nicaraguan boundary, there are large provinces and settlements of heathen Indians who wear clothing, are well behaved and well governed; this territory is rich in gold and other valuable commodities,

and in medicinal gums, fruits, and roots. Among these provinces is that of Tegucigalpa, large and greatly celebrated and renowned in that region. Here are many Mexican Indians, about whom there is a tradition that on account of the wealth of that country, Motezuma used to send down a delegation every year for his tribute in gold and other valuables; and when these Mexican ambassadors who happened at that time to be in these provinces received word of the arrival of the Spaniards and that they had overthrown their king and taken the stronghold of Mexico City and all its territory, they stayed in these provinces after learning this, and have maintained them in good government and normal growth ever since.

710. Since these provinces have so many inhabitants and such great wealth, many have desired to subdue them and bring them to the knowledge of our Holy Faith; but up to the present they have had little success, for with such an extensive country the strong hand of His Majesty is required. In the year 1621 Franciscan missionaries went in and converted many to the Faith and baptized them; in fact, they all take kindly to the truths of our Holy Faith. One of these friars left in order to get various necessities and to secure aid in the person of immigrants; he told of the excellence of the soil and the wealth of the country, and the enthusiastic reception they gave the missionaries who were among them and had converted and baptized many of them. But other Indians who were of far different customs and religion, murdered them. It is important that we should undertake the conquest of these provinces which have such a large population of Indians who wear clothing, and should settle Spaniards there, entrusting the task to some important and experienced person in that country; with the favoring aid which His Majesty is accustomed to give such men, someone will appear to undertake this conquest and pacification. Many of the governors of Honduras have desired to do this, but such a large and important enterprise cannot be undertaken or carried out without His Majesty's command and authority, and without money and other requisites. There are over 300,000 souls in this district of 300 leagues, still heathen; they could easily be pacified, and His Majesty and vassals, in addition to bringing them to the real knowledge of God, would enjoy the profits of those rich and extensive provinces, and the adjoining ones would be richer and more tranquil.

[CHAPTER of the Province and New Kingdom of León of Nicaragua. The Province and New Kingdom of León of Nicaragua was discovered by Gil González de Ávila in the year 1522; he made a beginning of settlement, and baptized over 30,000 Indians. Later, Gov. Diego López de Salzedo gave it the name of New Kingdom of León; it lies 134 leagues E. of Guatemala.]

**711.** This Diocese of Honduras is over 100 leagues in length, approximately E. and W., along the Atlantic coast from the city and port of Trujillo and its environs, up to the farthest territory of Gracias a Diós on the boundary line of the Diocese of Guatemala; and it is over 50 leagues broad, from the Atlantic coast down to the Indian village of Somoto (near Nueva Segovia in the Diocese of Nicaragua), which lies in the district of the Diocese and State of Honduras.

# Chapter XXV

Of the Provinces and New Kingdom of León de Nicaragua, and the City of Granada Which Has Been Built There.

**712.** The Province and New Kingdom of León de Nicaragua was discovered by Gil González de Ávila in the year 1522; he made a beginning of settlement and baptized over 30,000 Indians there. Later, Gov. Diego López de Salcedo gave it the name of the New Kingdom of León. It lies 134 leagues E. of Guatemala. Pedro Árias de Ávila, Governor of Panama, sent Capt. Francisco Hernández de Córdoba to this province to bring it into subjection. In this campaign in the year 1523 he founded the city of Granada on the shore of its great lake on a level and attractive site, and although the country has a hot climate, it has bright skies and healthful breezes. It is 150 leagues from Guatemala.

**713.** The city contains over 250 Spanish residents, not counting the Indians of the service class, Negroes, and mulattoes. It has a parish church, but the Cathedral of this diocese is in the city of León. It has Franciscan, Mercedarian, and Jesuit convents, a hospital and other churches and shrines. The Bishop and the Governor of these provinces reside here. A very good Indian village called Agalteca adjoins the city, and many others live in the outer wards, with free Negroes and mulattoes. The city has abundance of inexpensive foodstuffs, and although wheat cannot be raised here on account of the hot climate, they bring flour from the city of Cartago in Costa Rica. They have excellent poultry, beef, veal, abundance of mojarras and other fish caught in the lake and sold very cheap, much corn, kidney beans, and other cereals and vegetables, both of native and Spanish varieties, with many delicious kinds of native fruit and some Spanish.

714. In its neighborhood there are some sugar mills, farms, and ranches of cattle and mules, and cacao plantations, which in that country are a great source of wealth; they have large tobacco crops,

especially in the Province of Chontales. The city enjoys lively trade and commerce, having two ports; that of the Laguna Grande (Lake of Nicaragua) to the N. and its outlet is the route by which they export native products such as indigo, cochineal, tobacco, cordage, brazilwood, hides, poultry, corn, and other commodities to Cartagena and Puerto Bello; in return, merchandise and wines are brought to the city, which is well supplied with them.

**715.** The other port it possesses is that of Realejo, which is 30 leagues away, on the Pacific coast. Many ships come there from Peru, to load such native products as are mentioned above, and other things, like pitch, which they export in quantities, canvas, of which an excellent quality is manufactured from cotton in this province, bateas (painted trays; the word also means a flat-bottomed punt), honey, wax, etc., which are all highly esteemed and valued in Peru.

**716.** This Diocese is 150 leagues long, approximately E. and W., and over 70 leagues across at its widest point. In its district it contains four cities with Spanish residents and two towns, viz, the cities of Granada, León, Nueva Segovia (which is over 30 leagues to the N.; here they manufacture pitch), and the city of Cartago in Costa Rica; and the town and port of Realejo and the town of Esparza on the Costa Rica highway. There are also many provinces and villages of Indians. There are two Governorships and one Alcaldía Mayor, filled by His Majesty in consultation with the Supreme Council of the Indies; these are the posts of Governor of Nicaragua, Governor of Costa Rica, and Alcalde Mayor of the village and port of Nicoya, where there are wonderfully hard varieties of timber for shipbuilding, and yards in which they construct them. This Province and Diocese has other ports on the Pacific coast besides those mentioned above; such are those of San Juan, Zapoapa, and others.

**717.** In the district of this Diocese and State of Nicaragua, the President of Guatemala appoints to four Corregimientos, viz, that of the town and port of Realejo and the Province of El Viejo; that of Quezalguaque and Sutiaba; that of Monimbó, Masaya and Managua; and that of Chontales, whose capital is Sebaco. These are all rich and very profitable, because the country is rich and fertile, and there is a lively trade and exportation of native products.

#### CHAPTER XXVI

Continuing the Description of the Diocese of Nicaragua and of Its Provinces and Corregimientos.

**718.** The town and port of Realejo lies 30 leagues S. of the city of Granada. It is a famous port, and every year many ships come

here from Peru with silver and merchandise to load in exchange the native products, which are numerous and important, as has already been remarked. The town will count about 100 Spanish residents, plus the Negroes and mulattoes, free and slaves, who live there and are in the service of the Spaniards; there are some Indians. It has a parish church with a curate to administer the Holy Sacraments, and three small convents of recent foundation—Franciscan, Mercedarian, and Jesuit—and a hospital where they care for the indigent sick, and other shrines. The town and all that country have a climate that is invariably hot; there are many groves and woods. An inlet comes in from the sea right up to the very houses of the town, navigable for small ships and frigates up to the houses at high tide.

**719.** In this town and in the Indian villages of its neighborhood many kinds of excellent and delicious native fruit are to be found, such as aguacates of many sorts, sapotes and sapodillas, pineapples, jocotes (which are their plums), many varieties of guavas, and among them the matos, which is an excellent fruit and highly prized, sweet and sour oranges, limes and lemons. They raise quantities of corn, kidney beans, and other cereals, greens, and vegetables of both native and Spanish varieties; all the villages of its neighborhood provide it with abundance of all kinds of fruit and delicacies like chicken, etc.

**720.** This town and port contain famous shipyards, and thanks to the abundance of excellent hardwood, ships are regularly built in this town and in the Cotiguina yards, which are good also, and many others in the neighborhood; every year they launch ships built here, in which they export local products to Peru.

**721.** The President of Guatemala appoints a Corregidor for this town, for its good government and for the administration of justice in the town and in all the Indian villages of its district, which are numerous and large; such are the Province of El Viejo, 3 leagues out from the town, where there are 12 villages connected or forming wards; the village of Chinandega, Chichigalpa, Posoltega, and others. So this Corregimiento is not only a very agreeable post but also highly profitable, both for the wide jurisdiction it has and the number of ships coming to this port, as well as the quantities of local products to be exported in them.

722. The harbor is good and safe, but it is hot and for that reason infested with shipworms, which do much damage to the ships. These are little worms like waterworms which bore into the ship's timbers;

but these local timbers are so good and strong that for that reason or because they are bitter, not much harm is done. In these ships they load the native products referred to, and the most important export is pitch, because it is so essential for ships and for the Peruvian vineyards. In this the dealers make extravagant profits, for a quintal of pitch brought down (as has been described) from Nueva Segovia, is usually priced at the port of Realejo at 20 reals, and it sells at Callao, the port of Lima, for at least 12 pesos and upward, and a quintal usually gets to be worth 30 reals of 8 and more. Of course it is true that there is much expense for freight and duties; nevertheless with the low original cost and the extensive consumption of it in Peru, the trade is very profitable, for it has made many men rich.

**723.** This town is abundantly supplied with delicious fish, both from the sea nearby and much that is caught in the inlet, of all sorts. They sell excellent poultry cheap, at I real each. They serve excellent veal and fat and well-flavored beef and pork. Nearby is a sugar mill and they import it also from Peru, with other luxuries like wine, olives, patas, and other sweets; and it is well provided with everything else, but they have to import the flour for their bread, the climate being too hot and stimulating for wheat. The Royal Officials of this Province of Nicaragua have a representative here to clear the ships entering and leaving the port, and collect the royal impost for port dues.

### Chapter XXVII

Continuing the Description of the District of This Corregimiento of the Port of Realejo, and in Especial, of the Village and Province of El Viejo.

**724.** The Province and Indian village of El Viejo is 3 leagues WNW. of Realejo; this is all groves and forests, and among them some brooks and rivers of sweet and crystal-clear water, and many different kinds of birds and animals; it is all level country, with cool and shady groves. Three-fourths of a league before reaching the village of El Viejo, one passes the village of Chinandega to the right; this is abundantly supplied with corn and all sorts of native fruit so that it seems a bit of Paradise. Franciscan friars have charge of religious instruction and rites in this village; the Indians are well taught and good Christians, and deeply devoted to the ceremonies of divine service. So their church is very painstakingly and success-

fully decorated, and they have many trained singers with all the musical instruments for the services and for singing Mass.

**725.** The Indian village of El Viejo is one of the largest in the Province of Nicaragua; it is divided up into II clans, parties, or wards. Each ward has its shrine, for them to celebrate there the feast day of the saint for whom their ward is named. This village has a Franciscan convent with a Superior and three or four friars, who instruct the Indians and administer the Holy Sacraments. Although the village has a hot climate, like all the province, it has bright skies and health-giving breezes; it is abundantly supplied with poultry, beef, veal, and many kinds of delicious native fruit.

726. This village has active trade and commerce; there are Spaniards and traders living among the Indians-in that country they call them quebrantahuesos (nuisances)-who trade and deal with the Indians and other Spanish residents of the country. They have inns, hostelries, or taverns, which serve as a refuge for poor Spaniards-the chapetones, as they call newcomers; these inns are full of these transients who ordinarily stay in them while awaiting passage to Peru whenever ships leave the port of Realejo. And since this country is so prolific and cheap and well administered, the Governor or principal cacique and the Alcaldes keep service Indians with constables at these inns, to be at the service of poor Spaniards stopping there, and go and get their supplies, and Indian women who wait upon them for weeks and do their cooking, preparing the corn tortillas, which is the ordinary bread of that province; and so they support themselves at small expense, for with I real they can buy 2 arrobas (50 pounds) of beef, dripping fat, and with another real, 2 celemines (pecks) of corn, which will furnish them with bread for several days, and as for fruit, of which there is great abundance aguacates, bananas, sapotes, guavas, sapodillas, oranges, limes-they can buy them with 8 or 10 cacao beans; and for their cooking the Indians bring them wood, of which there are quantities in every direction.

**727.** All the Indians in this village and province are ladinos (i.e., civilized) and dress after the Spanish fashion, with cotton trousers and jacket, dyed black in this village; in all this province they still cut up great numbers of deerskins, out of which they make boots and shoes for their footwear. They have artisans of every handicraft in this village. The whole produces the effect of a bit of Paradise on earth, situated as it is among groves composed entirely of fruit trees. They have planted royal tamarinds in this village; these are trees of medium height with many small leaves of about the color of a friar's

gown; the seeds are contained in pods like those of the vetch or jicante, but are somewhat larger, like kidney beans; they have a sour bittersweet taste, and form an excellent, safe laxative. These grow in the Philippines, and they imported them from there to the port of Acapulco and to Chiapa de los Indios; while it is an excellent laxative, it is not to be found in other places, as it thrives only in hot climates.

**728.** In this province they have a variety of valuable and highly prized timber—ebony, brazilwood, cedar, and the giant tree or ceiba, which grows exceedingly tall and very thick. A little over a league from this village stands a high volcano, with smoke and some fire coming from it. They call it the Volcan del Viejo; it is very tall and overtops its neighbors; it resembles a sugar loaf in form. Three leagues from this village is that of Chichigalpa, which has the same climate; it receives religious instruction from Mercedarian friars, and I league farther on, in the village of Posoltega, is their convent with a Prefect and two friars, who are engaged in teaching the Indians. In this village they have plantations of cacao and vanilla, and they gather much annatto. In this district under the Corregidor of Realejo there are many cattle ranches, laboratories in which they make indigo, and sugar plantations. They have wild bamboos that grow as thick as joists and have a jugful of water in every joint.

**729.** On the seacoast along the salt-water inlets grow trees called mangroves, which are tougher, harder, and heavier than iron. They put out roots by suckers and they hang down; they call them bejucos (rattans) and they are used as rope and cord; thus all the houses constructed with planking in this country have the planks fastened together with these bejucos. This seems contrary to nature, but it is not, for either the Creator provided these trees with this characteristic, or the reason is that they grow in hot, wet places and that also would cause it, for in this country these bejucos are found on other trees and hang down from the top of the tree to the ground; in fact this results in large tracts where a man can hide under them anywhere.

**730.** There are many deer here, and another wild animal called lapa (agouti?), like a rabbit but larger; its flesh is excellent and well-flavored; the skin is streaked like a tiger's, with white and gray blotches. They have various kinds of squirrels and monkeys; there are some big red ones with beards like men, and others are tiny marmosets. The copey tree has suckers growing straight up from the roots it sends out, and so they make excellent spear shafts.

**731.** This whole Province of El Viejo and that of Posoltega as far as Sutiaba is full of streams of delicious water, and covered with

groves and forests, so that it seems a paradise. But from Sutiaba to Granada there is not one stream the whole way, although the country is fertile and prolific, with many cattle and mule ranches and indigo laboratories; being level country it all seems one forest.

# CHAPTER XXVIII

Of the Corregimiento and District of the Village and Province of Quezalguaque and Sutiaba, and the City of León.

732. The Corregimiento of the Province of Quezalguaque adjoins that of Realejo; it is 7 leagues distant from the port, and 3 from the village of Posoltega. It has the same climatic conditions, abundance of foodstuffs and general attractiveness as those just mentioned; it has streams of beautiful water and many fruit trees, and also large forests, as in the Province of El Viejo. They raise quantities of corn, kidney beans, and other cereals and vegetables; there is abundance of goats and poultry, and much wild game. In this village and in those of its district they produce much cordage from the fiber of the maguey or henequen plant; it has abundant supplies of everything. There are Spaniards living here, engaged in business. It has other Indian villages in its district, such as Telica and Sutiaba, which is the largest in its jurisdiction. This is I league from the capital, and the residence of the Corregidor who is appointed by the President of Guatemala for its good administration and the dispensing of justice. This village of Sutiaba is somewhat cooler than the others; it has abundance of the same products, and much rope and cordage is made here. Some Spaniards live here, and business is brisk because of the abundance of everything and because it is on the King's Highway of this province and only a couple of gunshots from the new city of León. In the district of this Corregimiento they manufacture some indigo. There is a volcano which is always active and emitting flame. It rises from a low mountain range, and throws out such sheets of flame that it looks like a prairie fire raging.

**733.** The city of León, capital of these provinces, seat of the Cathedral and residence of the Governors, was likewise founded by Capt. Francisco Hernández de Córdoba at the direction of Pedro Árias de Ávila, Governor of Castilla del Oro (who resided in Panama) in the year 1523, on the shores of the smaller lake (Laguna Menor) 21 leagues from Granada. It lies on a level, pleasant, and tranquil plain, not far from a lofty volcano which emits quantities of flame. This Capt. Francisco Hernández de Córdoba was beheaded by Gov. Pedro Árias de Ávila in the year 1526 in this city of León,

quite without reason; he alleged that Hernández planned to rebel, for he suspected that he was favorable to Don Fernando Cortés, Marqués del Valle.

734. This city was originally very wealthy and notable for the numbers of distinguished citizens; it contained over 500 Spanish residents. Gov. Pedro Árias married off his daughter, Doña María de Peñalosa, to Rodrigo de Contreras, a nobleman native of Segovia, and at his death he left his son-in-law Governor, who already had two sons, Hernando de Contreras and Pedro de Contreras. At first he governed in a reasonable and Christian manner; but later he changed methods and inflicted much injustice on the citizens, depriving them of their revenues and estates (encomiendas) and transferring them to his own account and his sons'. The citizens brought their protests to the new Circuit Court which had been established in Guatemala City, after originally sitting in Gracias a Diós. The Court suspended him because of his misdeeds and delinquencies, removed him from his post of Governor, and deprived him of the properties, which he had appropriated in contravention of the new regulations. So he was forced to go to Spain to plead his cause before the Supreme Council of the Indies; they approved and confirmed the verdict of the Circuit Court, and thus he was divested and deprived of the governmental post and the properties.

735. When the sons of this Rodrigo de Contreras got news of their father's failure in his suit, they suspected likewise that the Bishop of those provinces, Fray Don Antonio de Valdivieso, had done them a bad turn in writing against their father; others say however that the hatred and enmity which Hernando de Contreras felt for the Bishop, arose because the Bishop had reproved him for certain immoralities. At this time many of Gonzalo Pizarro's soldiers had come there, some deserters and others exiled. Among these was a certain Juan Bermejo, of a boisterous and insubordinate character. When he had received word of these matters and of the resentment felt by the Contreras, he persuaded and incited them to kill the Bishop and start a general rebellion, since His Majesty had rewarded them so ill in penalizing them and depriving them of the Indians whom their grandfather Pedro Árias de Ávila had acquired; with these and other such considerations presented to him, he incited him and puffed him up, telling him to name himself Prince of that country, since it belonged to him.

**736.** In this way he brought many over to his side, without giving any indication of his purpose to those who were less disaffected; and to inaugurate his dreadful project, they went over to the Bishop's

residence one Wednesday afternoon, January 26, 1549, day of St. Polycarp Bishop and Martyr; and while the Bishop was talking with a Dominican friar and a cleric, he stabbed him several times. The Bishop fell beside a large earthen jar which stood there; and while the friar was aiding him to die like a Christian, and was hearing his confession, they plundered the Bishop's residence, and the Royal Treasury, and committed other robberies and outrages in the city. Meanwhile the friar Padre Fray Alonso was aiding the Bishop to die like a Christian; the Bishop was holding a crucifix in his hands; and when he asked him to whom he left his church entrusted, he replied that he left it to the One whom he was holding in his hands; He was the bridegroom and would take care of the church; and having confessed and done acts of contrition, he repeated the credo and expired in the friar's arms, in the presence of his grief-stricken mother.

# CHAPTER XXIX

Continuing the Theme of the Preceding Chapter and Describing the End Met by the Contreras; of the City of León, and Other Matters.

**737.** After the Bishop's death they begged permission from the Contreras to bury him; having secured this, they buried him with great lamentation and shedding of tears on the part of most of the citizens. Thereupon the rebels proclaimed liberty throughout the city, raised an army and threw all that kingdom into confusion; then they left after committing a thousand crimes, and went to Panama, where they captured the city and all the treasure which Licentiate Gasca was conveying to His Majesty; but with their maladministration they lost it all, and then all perished, as is related by Zarate of Palencia, Gómara, and Antonio de Herrera, where the details may be seen.

**738.** The city of León from its beginning had grown in population and wealth; but after the great sacrilege committed by Contreras in murdering its prelate, it commenced to feel the displeasure of Heaven; great plagues and mortal disasters came; wives did not bear living children, and those who did live, did not thrive. The neighboring volcano thundered and bellowed, so that there were several earthquakes and rivers of fire dashed down its sides. All this intimidated the citizens, as chastisement from Heaven; but they held out under these afflictions, though continually growing fewer, until 1605-1606, when the volcano gave such tremendous and aweinspiring thunderclaps, with terrific earthquakes, that I was assured

by trustworthy persons who were present, residents of the city, that the earth rose in some places a stade (1.85 yards) into the air, undulating from one side to the other, as if indicating that it could not abide them. Since they were all much terrified by these threatening portents, they brought out and held the Holy Sacraments in the center of the plaza, begging God to show mercy and lay aside His righteous anger; that they would appease Him by abandoning that accursed site, where such dreadful murder and sacrilege had been committed in the violent assassination of His prelate and shepherd. So in their fear they deserted the city and that location, and settled down 6 leagues farther on toward the Pacific near the Indian village of Sutiaba. Here, thanks to the goodness of God, since they had moved and resettled, their city is growing, and it would appear that after their abandonment of that spot, Our Lord has shown His customary clemency.

**739.** When I was in those provinces the first time, in the year 1613, I went to see the ruins of the city and the residence of the Bishop, where the blood was said to be still fresh, and there certainly were splashes of it on the ruined wall at the spot where they murdered him; and this circumstance, together with the sight of the ruins of the city and its temples prostrate, which were once noble buildings but had been utilized as material for the construction of the new city—all this moved me to compassion.

740. The new city of León will count 80 Spanish residents. The Cathedral is here, with some Prebendaries in residence; but the Bishop usually lives in Granada, 24 leagues away. There is a Mercedarian convent here. What was observed in the case of this city and its inhabitants shows what respect should be paid to prelates, of whom His Divine Majesty said, by the mouth of David, "Touch not Mine anointed, etc."; He enjoins respect for them in neither permitting such misdeeds nor in leaving them unpunished; for one person committed the crime and the whole city paid for it.

**741.** Almost the same thing happened in Comayagua in Honduras, where a sainted Franciscan friar, Don Luís de Andrada, was Bishop. Don Juan Guerra de Ayala, Governor of these provinces, inflicted a penalty unjustly on a certain honorable personage, and it was the duty of the church to defend his cause as its own. The Governor was therefore requested by the Bishop to deliver his prisoner to the church, from whose custody he had unjustly taken him. He refused to grant the request, and the fires of his passion ran so high against the Bishop that the latter was obliged to excommunicate him for his disobedience. The Governor tried to force the Bishop to absolve

him from the censure and excommunication he had incurred, without however any proper action on his part and without returning his prisoner to the church, from which he had forcibly and violently seized him. And since the Bishop would not absolve him unless he took these necessary steps, he cut off the Bishop's income and sealed the doors of his residence, placing guards there at the same time and forbidding under heavy penalties that anyone should bring him food or water, so that necessity should force him to grant absolution; and although some priests and good Christians helped their pastor secretly, by tossing food to him over the walls at unseasonable hours, nevertheless the sainted prelate suffered in the cause of justice and of the authority of his church, great trials and actual hunger. Now the Governor laid false charges against the Bishop, with perjured witnesses; the case went to the Circuit Court in Guatemala, where the justice of the Bishop's cause and his innocence were recognized, and the Governor was found guilty.

742. The President of the Court at that moment, Conde de la Gomera, was a near relative of the Governor, and he perverted the judgment so that it went against the Bishop and in favor of the Governor. But God seeing that justice had been denied this sainted prelate, came to her rescue, and began punishing the crimes committed against him. A pustule appeared on the Governor's face and within 6 months a cancer had eaten it away, with a stench such that no one would stay near him, and so he died in a fit of insanity. One of his sisters, who attended him and whom I knew personally, had her face all covered with leprosy. One of the judges who voted unjustly against the Bishop, hanged himself; another died without confession, and others after the same fashion. Of the false witnesses against the Bishop, one was murdered by his own son; another was dragged by his horse and killed; another fell dead without confession; and all those who committed injustice against the Bishop, came to a disastrous end. I saw part of this myself, and most of it was told me authentically by leading residents of Comayagua; and there were other facts also, which I omit so as not to make this story too long.

743. This event took place in the year 1610. Now although this sea route to Honduras is one of the best and shortest to the Indies, let us consider what fate befell the ships coming to those provinces after this happened: some were lost on the voyage out; others were plundered by the enemy; in fact, there has not been a year that failed to have some calamity, while previously ships went and came unmolested. Righteous are the judgments of God, who chastises those who treat His ministers ill when they defend His cause. I could bring

up many other instances to this effect, but these must suffice; let us describe the remainder of the Diocese of Nicaragua.

# CHAPTER XXX

Of the Corregimiento of Monimbó and Villages in Its District, and of the Corregimiento of Los Chontales.

744. After leaving the city, although the whole province enjoys the climate described above, there is no stream before the city of Granada. On the way, at o leagues from León, is the Indian village of Nagarote; continuing 4 leagues farther and descending a steep grade, one reaches the village of Mateare de las Mojarras, which is built on the shores of the Laguna de León. This is called the village of the mojarras because of the large quantity of these fish which are caught in the lake; they sell them 18 or 20 for a real; they are the size of bream. It happened that while I was there in the year 1621, an Indian woman went down to the lake with a jar for some water ; she was seized by one of those ferocious alligators or caymans of which the lake is full, and it ate her up, although, as appeared later, others helped in this task. When the woman failed to return, her husband suspected the misfortune or calamity which might have taken place, and went in search of his wife, arriving at the moment when those fierce creatures finished devouring her. Returning to the village in grief and anguish at this terrible misfortune, he described the dreadful event to his relatives, friends, and neighbors; they all combined to go and take vengeance. They cut up a quarter of beef into pieces; then, taking chunks of tough wood the thickness of one's arm and about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a vara long, they tied pieces of meat to them with a rope and cast them out into the lake; and as the fierce animals were ravenous and excited, they rushed to the bait, and so they caught many of them; then they killed them, and slashing them open on the sides, from one they took a leg, from another an arm, from another a piece of the body, from another the head; and so this good Francisco (for that was the Indian's name) put together the fragments of his deceased wife, taking them out of the stomachs of those fierce aquatic animals, after killing many of them in revenge for his wife's death; and when they had united all the pieces, they buried her in their church, and held her funeral there and had Mass said for her; and it was I who said Mass for her, because I happened to be staying there. I have described this occurrence because of its strange and unique character, and to show the ferocity of these creatures, and the ease with which the Indians capture and kill them.

745. Five leagues of level country with groves and forests, and among them a few cattle ranches and indigo laboratories (of both of which there is a good deal in this province), and one comes to the Indian village of Managua, built on the shores of the lake. This village is large and very attractive and well supplied. It is the usual residence of the Corregidor who is appointed by the President for these provinces. They work up quantities of cochineal carmine here, and cordage for shipping. Many Spaniards live here, and in the inns or taverns there are traders whom they call quebrantahuesos (nuisances) or mercachifles (peddlers; lit., one who pares his goods), because they operate on small capital. They sell the Indians native and Spanish cloth, hats, knives, and other such notions, and cacao, which serves them for money; they barter and exchange commodities for others. In this village they raise quantities of corn, kidney beans, and other cereals and vegetables; there is abundance of fish which they catch in the lake, which empties into the Laguna Grande less than 100 paces below it, although this lake is over 25 leagues in circumference. They have many kinds of delicious native fruit in this village, and although the climate is hot, it is healthy, being on sandy soil.

**746.** Four leagues beyond Managua toward the city of Granada, is the village of Nindiri, with so much fruit and so attractive that it seems a bit of Paradise. They make quantities of cordage here, and cotton sailcloth for the Peruvian ships. There is no water in this village, so they go down for it to a nearby lake which is very deep; if I were to try to describe it and this district, I should certainly have to lengthen my pen.

747. About half a league beyond this village comes that of Masaya, which is one of the largest in this province. It is a very pleasant spot, with plenty of fruit, corn, and other cereals and vegetables, although it has no water; in fact, the Indians get water from the same lake as do those of Nindiri. In this village they make quantities of cordage and canvas, which is an important business in this country, and the Corregidores get rich. Near this village rises the volcano of Masaya which is so famous; although the range in which it lies is low in comparison with the height of the others, it surpasses them in volume of flame and smoke which it sends out; there is so much that when the wind is right, it carries such thick smoke that it appears a huge thick cloud.

**748.** One league from Masaya is the village of Monimbó, capital of this Corregimiento, with the same products as those before; there are other Indian villages, such as Niquinihomo, Nicaragua de Los

Indios, and others. Masaya is 5 leagues from Granada; 6 leagues farther, and 2 from the lake, rises the great volcano of Mombacho, which has thrown out much flame and ashes, and still does; it is one of the largest and highest in that country. On its slopes and in its circuit there are many fruit orchards and pleasure groves and cacao plantations; the cacao is the best and largest variety in all those provinces, all of which belong to the district of this Corregimiento. All the Corregimientos of this province are under the jurisdiction of the Governor of Nicaragua, jointly with the Corregidores.

**749.** The Laguna Grande is over 80 leagues in circumference (and at Nicaragua de Los Indios it is only 3 leagues distant from the Pacific, and the land is level; but it empties into the Atlantic). On the other side of the lake is the Province of Los Chontales, whose capital is the Indian village of Sebaco, whose Corregidor is appointed by the President of the Circuit Court of Guatemala. In this province they plant and gather great quantities of tobacco and other valuable crops for which these provinces are none the poorer. The Indians here are the most unsophisticated of all those provinces, to such a degree that in the other provinces when they want to call someone an offensive name, they tell him he is a Chontal, which amounts to saying he is a dumb animal.

### CHAPTER XXXI

Of the Provinces of Costa Rica and Its Government, and of the Alcaldía Mayor of the Port of Nicoya.

**750.** Before tracing the description of the Provinces of Nicoya, Costa Rica, and Cartago, which form the remainder of the Diocese of Nicaragua, it will be well to note in passing the clothing of the Indians in these provinces. These Indians are quite civilized, and their clothing and styles are those of the Spaniards; they use cotton cloth, either white or dyed black; great quantities are manufactured in this province. The Indian women dress like those in New Spain, except that on their heads they wear a kind of black cotton hood, like the cowls of tertiary friars, peaked in front and behind. Most of the Indian men wear palm-leaf hats.

**751.** The great majority of the provinces in the Indies, both in New Spain, the New Kingdom of Granada, and Peru, lie within the Tropics and about the Equator; thus the days and nights are equally long, with only slight differences. For the same reason their climate has little variation and is even in temperature. They are exceedingly fertile; so there is fruit on the trees the whole year through; they get two crops of corn and other cereals.

**752.** Leaving the city of Granada for the city of Cartago and the Provinces of Costa Rica, one comes to the Indian village of Nicaragua de Los Indios, which has the same climate and fertility as the others. From this village the route lies E. to the port and village of Nicoya, which is 45 leagues from Granada on the Costa Rica King's Highway. This village and port of Nicoya is provided by His Majesty, in consultation with the Supreme Council of the Indies, with an Alcalde Mayor for its good government and the administration of justice. They build many ships here for navigation on the Pacific, having excellent timber and shipyards for their manufacture.

**753.** Near here is the port of La Caldera and others, all located on an arm of the sea running inland between this country and the Province of Veragua. These export flour and other local products raised in Costa Rica, to Panama, Realejo, and other points. In Nicoya they make fine cotton quilts, cloth, and other specialties, of the best and finest quality produced in all the Indies. Religious instruction is imparted by Franciscans in this village and those of its province lying on the island of Chira 8 leagues out to sea from Nicoya, and in the port of Paro, which lies opposite.

754. Forty leagues E. from Nicoya are the Provinces of Costa Rica. On the way lies the town of Esparza y Aranjuez, occupied and settled by Don Juan Vázquez de Coronado; his descendants are in possession of his farms and entailed property. Then comes the Province of Costa Rica, which this Juan Vázquez subdued, establishing in it 20 leagues back from the sea, the city of Cartago in the year 1574. He explored and subdued other rich provinces, thus doing His Majesty great service, in addition to having governed the Provinces of Honduras and Nicaragua. For these services the Catholic Majesty of King Philip II of glorious memory granted the title of Adelantado Perpetuo (Commander in Perpetuity) for those provinces to him and his successors, and they enjoy this and other great favors today. On his return from Spain with men to finish up his conquest and pacification of the rich Provinces of Tegucigalpa and those adjoining, he was caught in a terrible tempest, and drowned at sea; so the Great Conquest ceased, and since then nothing of importance has been accomplished; had he lived, it would all have been brought into subjection.

**755.** The city of Cartago has more than 100 Spanish residents, a parish church and a Franciscan convent. It is the residence of the Governor of all these provinces; he has the title of Captain General and is appointed by His Majesty in consultation with the Supreme Council of the Indies. The country has a springlike climate and is well provided with excellent foodstuffs. In the district they harvest

quantities of wheat, corn, and other cereals and vegetables, both indigenous and of Spanish varieties. They get the best sarsaparilla in all the Indies, and work up very fine henequen fibre in all colors. They have many sorts of medicinal fruits, gums, extracts, and roots, and tobacco; and in all the district of these provinces there are rich deposits of gold ore, and so gold sand is found in all the streams. This province is the easternmost of New Spain; it borders on hostile Indians, and on the Province of Veragua in the district of the Circuit Court and Diocese of Panama.

756. Near the city of Cartago, another city of Spaniards named Talamanca was once established; but thanks to the negligence and bad administration of the Spaniards, the Indians rebelled and laid it waste, killing many of them; and although since then Governor Olivera undertook the task of pacification and conquest, he did not accomplish anything of importance, for he thought more of his own personal interest than of the well-being of his soldiers and the conversion of so many souls. So [the Indians, who previously were tractable] they remain rebellious and in their free estate and idolatry. The country is very rich in gold and other things of value; the Indians are very intelligent and great silversmiths; hence most of them wear gold pins (?) and spirals, pendants, and other ornaments of much value. These Indians border on many other provinces of heathen, all wealthy, and on the Province of Tegucigalpa, where there are more than 300,000 Indians, plus women and children, to be converted to our Holy Faith.

**757.** Every year many Spaniards traverse this Province of Costa Rica on their way to those of Veragua and Panama, with mules from Honduras and Nicaragua, to sell them in Panama for the transport trade to Puerto Bello. After leaving Costa Rica they have to travel over 100 leagues through settlements of heathen Indians before reaching the Province of Veragua, but these heathen come out peacefully to guide and serve the Spaniards and barter native products and fruit with them for axes, knives, and other articles, and are very faithful and obedient to them; so it would be easy to pacify them. This must suffice for the district of Costa Rica in the Diocese of Nicaragua; now we shall deal with the volcanoes to be found in this region.

#### Chapter XXXII

Of the Active Volcanoes To Be Found in These Provinces and the Rest of the Indies [and What Causes Them].

**758.** In this Province of Nicaragua and in much of the Indies there are many volcanoes which are constantly erupting flame; such

are the volcano of Mombacho, 6 leagues from the city of Granada; that of Masaya, which is continually sending forth great sheets of flame and quantities of very thick, dense smoke; that of old León, which is remarkable for flame and height; that of Telica, on fire all the time; that of El Viejo, of surpassing height and smoking continually; its height makes it a landmark for navigators on the Pacific; and many others to be found in the Province of Nicaragua.

759. In the district of the Diocese of Guatemala there are many others, like that of the city of San Miguel, which is remarkably high and has ejected much flame and ashes; that of Zacatecoluca, which is covered with woods and forests, and having two peaks, is a familiar landmark to navigators; although it has (not) erupted, its hot springs and the sulfur which oozes out and is collected on its slopes, indicate that in its center and bowels it contains a great amount of fire; that of the city of San Salvador in the Province of Cuzcatlán has cast out much flame, smoke, and ashes, and though it has ceased doing so, it does contain much stone sulfur and boiling springs; that of the town of Sonsonate, which has been famous in that country; that of San Juan de Amatitlán, which had an eruption in 1622 and did great damage in all that region to cattle and crops with the fire and ashes it threw out; and the three of Guatemala City so famous for their height: the tallest is called the Water Volcano, on account of the flood it shot forth when it destroyed the first city of Guatemala; the other two are connected with it; one of them has thrown out in the past, and continues to throw out, such quantities of fire and ashes that at times they have covered all the countryside and risked destroying the city with the ashes and the great earthquakes it has caused.

**760.** In New Spain there is the volcano of Puebla de Los Angeles which is part of the Sierra de Tlaxcala; although it has thrown out fire and ashes in the past, and still does, it is always snow-capped; there are many others in those kingdoms. Among those of Peru and the Spanish Main are that of La Grita in the New Kingdom of Granada, and many others which rise inland. There are many in the district of Quito, like that of Pichincha and of Tunguragua, whose height keeps it snow-capped, although it lies under the Equator; quantities of smoke and flame issue from it continually; that of Chimborazo, and others. In Arequipa there is the volcano near the city, which however has not erupted, and that of Los Ubinas, which had an eruption in the year 1600 and did great damage with fire and ashes over all that countryside, leaving it desolate; the ashes fell over 500 leagues away, as far as Nicaragua. In the highlands of Arica there

are the volcanoes of Atacama and Cosapa, and in Chile that of Villa Rica and many others in the Cordillera Nevada, which are continually throwing out flame and smoke; and many others in those broad vast expanses, which it is impossible to enumerate. There are also those in the Philippines and the Moluccas; that of Ternate is famous for the quantities of flame and ashes it has ejected, and still does; all its slopes are covered with clove trees. And since I have seen all those mentioned, I will state what views my limited talents have enabled me to form on this subject, and every reader may judge of them as he sees best.

# CHAPTER XXXIII

Continuing the Subject of Volcanoes: What Are They, and What Is Their Origin?

**761.** These volcanoes are in general very lofty mountains; almost all have the shape of a sugar loaf, and stand out conspicuous above the peaks of the highest and steepest mountains of their ranges. These volcanoes, or most of them, are continually ejecting rivers of fire, which never stop or end, although they have been burning so long—since time and eras immemorial—without stopping or ending.

**762.** Many who have studied and written excellently on this subject, state that these volcanoes are the result of the existence of great deposits of sulfur in those localities and regions; as the sulfur is continually being deposited, the fire always has material to consume; thus these volcanoes are the earth's breathing holes, through which the fire issues to find its level, out of the hollows of the earth into the region of the air.

**763.** Others maintain that these volcanoes are mouths of Hell, and that is the general view and opinion of the sainted Doctors of the Church, and of theologians, that Hell is in the center of the earth, which is 6,480 leagues in girth or circumference, and the length of whose diameter in a straight line from one side to the other is  $2,061\frac{3}{4}$  leagues. The opinions and views of the best writers on this subject are such as those expressed by Cortés on folio 22 and by others. According to this view, the distance from the surface of this earth where we mortals dwell, at any point of it, down to the center, where Hell is situated, is  $1,030\frac{5}{8}$  leagues. Here the unfortunate souls of the senses which may be imagined from the statements and opinions of the Saints and the Doctors of the Church, and are

indicated in the representations and engravings which the Church has drawn and made visible for us in pictures and the other descriptions given us by the sainted Doctors of the Church, to the effect that the larger part of the wretched souls are tortured with natural material fire which burns and tortures in natural fashion the souls of the miserable damned, as the instrument or executioner inflicting divine justice, and that it is the more painful in proportion to the material.

764. And not only do they suffer pain of sense and touch, in which every sense is tortured to an intense degree: sight, with the horrible and frightful appearance of the devils; hearing, with the shrieks and howlings of the devils and the damned, and that infernal confusion; smell, the stench of the sulfur; and that tormenting horror which would result from such a calamitous place and which would transfuse everything. What material will there be there? What food can the fire find? Can there be anything worse smelling than sulfur? On this subject it is generally stated that sulfur is the material and stench of Hell, that it will last forever, and that it will feed those horrible dark flames; of which the Glorious Doctor St. Basil says in his exposition of Psalm 28, and as is stated by other Saints and Doctors, that it is fire without light, horrible, dark and shadowy, from which God has withdrawn light and radiance for greater torment of the miserable damned souls, just as in the fiery furnace of Babylon He suspended the fire's activity, as is evidenced in Chapter III of Daniel, so that it should not burn or afflict the sainted children who were ready to suffer for His Holy Name. But since this subject surpasses all human judgment, may what is hidden and obscured be left to the Divine and Most Holy Providence who so ordained and arranged it; for man cannot penetrate or pry into His divine secrets.

**765.** The terrible torments of the senses with which the unfortunate souls of the damned are tortured, are increased and augmented by another still greater evil—that they are forever bereft of the presence and sight of God. This penalty must take place in the region most remote and distant from that Heaven empyrean where the fortunate behold the Divine Essence; and where can that be but in the center of the earth, where Hell is?

**766.** To conclude this subject of volcanoes, I would say that their fire has lasted since immemorial ages, or since God created the world; they have been casting forth fire without ceasing, and it would almost seem that this filthy pumice and ashes that they vomit and throw out, is endless. It makes no difference that sometimes they erupt

greater quantities of flame and ashes, and at others die down; for, as I myself have noted and considered in the case of some where it happened that they were in eruption and then seemed to have finished and used up all their material or the sulfur deposits, since they did not throw out flame as they did usually in the past, it is evident from other indications that they keep the fire deep within, since even when the fire seems to have stopped, springs of boiling water and other manifestations issue forth from such regions, as I observed in the case of the volcano of the Province of Cuzcatlán. Thus it is clearly and demonstrably proved that the fire exists; and even though the center of the earth is so remote, Divine Providence and Plan has so ordained and disposed matters that man shall thus be vividly warned and reminded that in everything he should serve, please, and praise his Creator. May this account suffice for a superficial discussion of the subject of volcanoes; now let us return to Mexico City, 500 leagues NW. of Costa Rica, and then travel 70 leagues from there to the port of Acapulco, which is the point of departure for the voyage to the Philippines.

#### Воок VI

Of the District under the Circuit Court of the Philippines Located in Manila, with the Provinces It Contains and the Remarkable Things in Them [and the Corregimientos and Alcaldías Mayores to Which the President Makes Appointments.]

### Chapter I

Of the Route Followed to the Philippines, and the Island of Luzón Where the City of Manila Is Located.

**767.** The famous port of Acapulco is the chief point of embarkation for the Philippine Islands. This is a longer voyage than from Spain to the Indies. The port is at 17° N.; it has a hot climate, somewhat unhealthy at times. It contains as many as 70 Spanish residents, with as many more free mulattoes and Negroes, and slaves living there. It has a brisk trade in connection with the ships coming from the Philippines. The Viceroy of Mexico appoints its Alcalde Mayor for the administration of justice. It contains a Spanish garrison and Royal Officials—Paymaster and Treasurer—who collect and administer the funds of the Royal Patrimony and the dues from the ships going to and coming from the Philippines. This port belongs to the district of the Circuit Court and Archbishopric of Mexico.

768. The ships sailing to the Philippines, once out of the harbor of Acapulco, turn SW. and lose altitude until they reach 12°30', in search of breezes. The good season is in November, December, and January; then they always have a following wind toward the W., and follow the sun, with nothing but water and sky to be seen. Then, after 40 days more or less of navigation, they reach numerous islands called the Ladrones; there are 16 principal islands and many others of less importance. These run N. and S., on a line with Japan; they lie in 12° N. and are called the Ladrones (Thieves' Islands) because the natives have thievish tendencies. They come out to meet the ships they see passing the islands, in boats which are unique and unlike all others; boat, mast, and sail are all made of bamboo; there is only one of these heathen islanders in each, tiller in one hand and sheet in the other; and these boats are in fact as light as bamboo; our ships may be under full sail with a good following wind, and they can sail around them all they please, thanks to their lightness.

They come out to the ships with native fruit, poultry, etc., to trade for iron, which is what they most highly prize, to use for their weapons and the tools they use for working their land. They are such remarkable swimmers that if an iron cannon ball is thrown down from our ships, they dive after it till they catch it under water; but once they have it, they are so apprehensive that it will be taken from them that they take to their boats and sail off with it.

**769.** These savages live in a degraded state, never having known kings or lords, but merely divided up into clans or families; this is the way they govern themselves, and they maintain peace, except that at times those of certain islands are apt to make war against natives of others. These islands are healthy, with a good climate; the natives are well-disposed and could easily be converted to our Holy Faith.

**770.** Sailing along the same westerly course from these islands, at less than 200 leagues one comes into the Archipelago, full of islands almost all of which are inhabited by heathen and Negritos (Morillos); since they are innumerable and have been described by other writers, and since my sole purpose is to give an account of what belongs to the Crown of Castile, I shall only discuss the famous island of Luzón and those subordinate to it. Eighty leagues after entering the Archipelago, and having passed various islands mostly to the N., one reaches the island of Luzón. This is rich in gold ore, both high and low grade; it is fertile and very productive of rice, chickpeas, barley, and other cereals and vegetables, and many kinds of fruit; it has large cattle ranches with both native and imported cattle.

771. The first to discover these islands was the celebrated Fernando Magallanes (Magellan) in the year 1520, under orders from the Crown of Castile on an exploring expedition for the Spice Islands; but his bravery led to his being killed on the island of Cebú. Later, they were rediscovered under orders from the Viceroy of New Spain, Don Luís de Velasco, in the year 1560 by Gen. Miguel López de Legaspi; he completed the exploration and charting of the island, which is over 200 leagues in length, but narrow, although in places its width surpasses 40 leagues. In that same year he established on this island the city of Manila, at 14° N.

772. The President of the Circuit Court makes appointments to 18 judicial posts; 13 are Alcaldías Mayores: Pampanga, which lies 10 leagues from the city; Bulacán, 6; La Laguna de Bay, 10; Batangas, 15; Camarines, 100; Pangasinán, 30; Ilocos, 50; Cagayán, 100; Cebú, 100; Otón, or town of Arévalo, 50; Panay, 50; Leytezamaribabao, 50; and Caraga, 100. He appoints to five Corregimientos: Marinduque, which lies 40 leagues from Manila; El Embocadero, 130; Isla de Negros, 60; Mariveles, 7; Calamianes, 60. He makes many other appointments also to positions both on land and at sea, and also names many military captains and officers, as is usual in New Spain.

#### CHAPTER II

Of the Famous City of Manila, Capital and Court City of the Philippine Islands, and of Its Foundation.

773. Considering that the country was excellent and prolific; that the island was fertile and abundantly provided with many kinds of supplies, and thickly settled, with large native communities; that it could develop communications and trade with the Spice Islands, Great China and adjoining islands, both for their native products and for valuables like silk; Gen. Miguel López de Legaspi searched for a suitable location with a good harbor. Having found it at Cavite, which is the leading one in the Philippines, he established the city of Manila at the water's edge, on the banks of a large river named Pasig which bathes its walls and likewise irrigates and fertilizes its fields and meadows. The city contains 1,000 Spanish residents, and occupies an area suitable for a large and thickly settled city. The houses are all well constructed, built of stone, very luxurious and imposing. The city is completely surrounded by a good strong wall. It is the seat of a Circuit Court, with Judges, Attorney, and President, who is Governor and Captain General of all those islands; he makes appointments in them of Corregidores, Captains and other officials in both the civil and military establishments.

774. The Mother Church of this city is Metropolitan, with large and sumptuous buildings. It has an Archbishop and Prebendaries who are in residence and conduct services. There are famous Dominican and Franciscan convents with many friars. The Augustinian convent, both in respect of its cloisters and dormitories and of its famous church, can vie with the best in Spain and the Indies. There is another Augustinian convent in this city, belonging to the Recollect Friars. The Company of Jesus have an excellent house and a very rich and elaborately decorated church. There is a very good nunnery with many nuns, which is called Santa Potenciana; a hospital, in which they care for the indigent sick; and other churches and pilgrimage shrines. In the outer wards reside many natives, who are quite essential for the service needs of the city.

775. And on the other side of the Río Pasig there is another Triana (suburb) which is a fine, large settlement of over 3,000 residents,

called Tondo; this is where the Chinese and Sangleyes live, and helps to make this a very large and well-provided city. These Sangleyes are in great majority craftsmen of great ability, diligence, and accuracy in all handicrafts; and so they set up shop in whatever line seems to them most in demand and with the best prospects, and a few days later they start another, no matter how hard the change may appear, for they are so clever that they shine in whatever occupation they follow, doing as well as if they had practiced it all their lives. So this abode of these Chinese craftsmen or Sangleyes who have come over from Great China to be Christians, is of great importance for the city, for everything needful is to be found in this suburb.

**776.** These Sangleyes wear their hair very long and coiled up on their heads, and they let their nails grow long; he who has the longest is considered the most fashionable; the same is true of the hair, and in fact they make these their criterion of happiness. They eat all their meals with two slender little sticks, very dexterously, without touching hands to food, no matter what kind it may be; in fact, the two chopsticks seem like two additional fingers to the hand, from the ease and dexterity with which they use them for everything.

777. The city has a very hot climate; it is abundantly supplied with good things at low prices. The bread generally consumed there is made of rice, that being the chief grain raised on the island. There are many sugar mills there, and because of that fact and the quantity of delicious fruit available, there is abundance of excellent candied fruit and preserves. The city has very active business. There are Officials of the Royal Patrimony—Paymaster, Treasurer, and Factor; a Spanish garrison in the city, with its Militia Captain, captains and other military subalterns and accessories; and excellent galleons for defense and protection at sea, in the harbors, and along the coast and the country generally.

#### CHAPTER III

Continuing the Description of Manila and the Extensive Trade Carried on There; and of the Other Dioceses on These Islands.

**778.** This city keeps expanding as a result of the profitable trade carried on with Great China in silks, chinaware, and other valuable and unusual specialties which are imported every year from that rich and powerful kingdom; from the Moluccas they import spices; from Japan, much other merchandise and wheat; from other islands, pearls and precious stones, diamonds, rubies, amber, and other perfumes and valuables—all this makes it rich and prosperous.

779. Their usual bread, as has been remarked, is made out of rice, and they make wine from it also, though ordinarily wine is made from the palms whose fruit is the coconut. Since this is a mysterious tree, indispensable for the natives' needs, and very surprising, I shall give this remarkable illustration of its great qualities: It happened that a ship came into Manila in which both the ship itself and all the commodities for sale in it, its cables, rigging, sails, masts or uprights, and the spikes, were all made from this tree; the cargo was all rugs very ingeniously made out of its bark with much nicety and skill; the food and water for the crew all came from this tree; and it is a fact that on the island of Maldivia (Maldives) there is nothing available for their support except what this tree gives them; they make their houses out of it. Its fruit, the coconut, has a flavor which is well known, like that of good filberts; each has inside it a pint of very sweet and delicious liquid. If the nut is cut open and the meat and juice removed, they set the shell on the trunk under an auger hole; it fills with sap, they put various things in it, and it becomes excellent wine, the usual beverage of that kingdom; they make vinegar from it, and very good oil with medicinal qualities from the meat, as well as something resembling milk of almonds, a sort of honey syrup, and excellent sugar. It certainly is astounding that from one single tree these natives can make so many different things, and that it meets and fills all their needs. They also make very good wine from the honey syrup.

**780.** The Archbishopric of Manila comprises three suffragan Dioceses; two in the island itself, viz, that of Nueva Segovia or Cagayán, and that of Cáceres or Camarines; and another on the island of Cebú, known as the Diocese of Jesus and also by the name of the island itself. In the district of the Archbishopric and the three Dioceses there are more than 2,000,000 souls converted to the Faith and baptized. The districts and chief cities of these Dioceses are like the city of Manila in climate, fertility, and comfort of living; they raise abundance of rice and many kinds of delicious native fruit.

**781.** The city of Manila, which is built on this island of Luzón at 14° N., lies between the Kingdoms of Great China, Japan, East India, and the Moluccas. Its distance from the Kingdom of Great China and from Japan, which are both to the N., is 250 leagues; from the Moluccas, which lie to the S., 400 leagues; and from East India, to its E., 500 leagues. In the Archipelago there are more than 11,000 islands large and small, inhabited by those blind and heathen tribes, and the Mohammedans; here the Devil had spread his nets and his power through the accursed instrumentality of Mohamme-

danism, whose devotees the Persians had planted and disseminated it over these islands; in fact, most of the inhabitants of the islands, diminutive Moors in rites and ceremonies, have maintained this accursed worship, though some of them have been released and freed from the power the Devil had over them, through the light of the Holy Gospel, which has been preached in more than 50 of these islands. May God in His infinite goodness and mercy, bring them all to the true knowledge of Him, and take them out of the darkness in which they are living!

# Chapter IV

Of Other Islands, in Which Diamonds and Other Precious Stones Are Produced; and of the Delicious Fruit Growing in the Philippine Islands.

**782.** In all the islands which lie toward India, they find diamonds, rubies, and other precious stones of the first quality; amber, and great beds of fine rich pearls. Many of them have abundance of gold, extracted from their mines and all their rivers; their petty kings have great treasures of these valuables and set all their happiness in them. I do not enter on the description of them, not wishing to lengthen out this story, and also because it does not belong in my account of what comes under the Crown of Castile.

**783.** In these Philippine Islands there are some kinds of fruit quite different in every respect from those to be found in the West Indies. The santor is a fruit of the shape and general appearance of a peach; it differs in having three or four seeds of the size of peeled beans. It is a delicious fruit; they make excellent preserves out of it, and from the core and seeds a marmalade like that made from quinces.

**784.** The fruit called nanca grows on a plant resembling an artichoke. It has the green color and the shape of a pineapple, but the divisions are larger. The flesh is yellow; each section contains a seed surrounded by flesh. In taste it resembles Michaelmas plums, but more mucilaginous.

**785.** Bilimbines are a fruit the size of a small olive, divided into four quarters; each quarter contains a seed. It is yellow in color and sour in taste. They make a delicious preserve out of it, very healthful and refreshing. The banquilín fruit is like the bilimbín, the only difference being that they are smaller; it is a safe and agreeable laxative.

**786.** Paos are a fruit altogether like almonds when green, but larger; they put them in vinegar and pickle them, and then eat them

like olives. There is another kind of paos which is smaller; they eat them when ripe; the skin and the flavor are like damson plums, but they are juicier; they have a hard stone.

**787.** Piles are a fruit growing in clusters larger than pine nuts. The rind is tough, and the kernel or almond inside is very juicy. This is a delicious fruit; they make salad oil out of it. There are many more varieties of bananas and plantains, and pineapples, than in New Spain and the Spanish Main; they grow much larger and sweeter to eat.

**788.** They have royal tamarinds, which are the seeds of a tree; they come in pods like kidney beans, and are an excellent laxative. In New Spain they put them up in a syrup to sweeten the dose for invalids. They have many different kinds of excellent oranges, some bigger than a man's head, very good eating; others are red inside like pomegranates; others are tiny, just about like ours; they have very smooth, thin skins, and are very sweet. Others are imported from Great China, tiny yellow ones with skins thin as paper; these are all good to eat and very refreshing. There are many other kinds of fruit strange and unusual, and impossible to enumerate.

# Chapter V

Of the Molucca Islands, Ternate and Tidore and the Others, and the Unusual Things To Be Found There.

**789.** The Molucca Spice Islands, Ternate, Tidore, and the rest, lie 400 leagues from the city of Manila, on the Equator. The island of Ternate is the most important of the Moluccas, though not the largest. It is 10 leagues in circumference, all very mountainous and heavily forested. In the center a lofty volcano overtops the rest; sometimes it emits flame, and sometimes smoke. There was a settlement of Persian Moors here, who had their own king, and were among the most warlike of the tribes on that island. They used to gather very great quantities of cloves here, this island being the richest in that spice; but there is none at present, for on account of the Dutch our men have cut down all the clove trees, although there are some left on the slopes of the volcano.

**790.** On this island of Ternate, which was conquered from its king by Gov. Don Pedro de Acuña, we have established the city of Rosario and a military force which is entitled that of Ternate, since that is the chief stronghold and place of arms, where the Governor and His Majesty's army have their headquarters. There are two convents established there, one of Franciscans of the Province of

the Philippines, and the other of the Religious Company of Portu-guese India. From this city and fortress of Rosario they send supplies and aid to the others on the island-the forts of St. Peter and St. Paul, which are on the same island I league from Rosario, and to the fort of Malayo on another, which is the chief place of arms of the hostile Dutch. The valiant Spaniards, loyal to their king though few and badly supported, and suffering great trials in their sore need, fight every day with countless enemies, both Dutch and Ternate Moors friendly to the Dutch; they win many victories over them and support themselves on the booty they take from them; for their supplies from Manila, which is where they have to be sent from, keep arriving more and more precariously and practically never get there. Accordingly, since the Spaniards are few in number and always have to go weapons in hand, they have no chance to farm, and when their rice or other supplies give out, they take advantage of a tree called sagumaruco, and make sago flour from the heart of it and bake it up in little biscuits, and so eat it fresh, and likewise store it for long periods against their great needs.

**791.** The fort of St. Peter and St. Paul is like a retirement stronghold for the city of Rosario, for it has a very high and strong position. The island is very fertile and has a good climate though under the Equator, for Heaven provides it with heavy showers and fresh breezes, so that it comes to be cooler than Manila, which is 14° away from the Equator. The trees are always loaded with fruit; vines yield abundance of grapes every four months; corn gives large crops and the stalks grow as high as lances, with many ears; it is the same way with the other products of the soil, which are very different and diverse from ours and those in the West Indies.

**792.** On this island they have wild hogs which are very large and fierce, and usually range through the thick woods on the slopes of that lofty volcano; but, large and ferocious as they are, there are bloodthirsty serpents of extraordinary size, which hang or swing from a tree where the wild hogs pass, and with their forked tongues fascinate and paralyze them; and big and fierce animals as these hogs are, they gobble them up and swallow them as if they were mazards or cherries in a nice dining room, without the hogs being able to make any resistance. There are many small animals called tusas which have a pouch in the abdomen in which they put their young to run away with them or on expeditions for food; they are the size of a very small dog. There are many other kinds of unusual animals.

## Chapter VI

Continuing the Description of the Moluccas, and in Especial of Tidore, and of the Clove Tree and Other Spices.

**793.** The island of Tidore lies half a league from that of Ternate, from which it is separated merely by the breadth of the channel running between these two islands. The King of Tidore and his vassals are friends of ours and hostile to the people of Ternate and the Dutch. The island is somewhat larger than that of Ternate. We have two forts there, one in the city where the king resides, and the other on the beach, plus other points which we keep fortified with garrisons of Spaniards and Philippine Indians; these go and serve His Majesty valiantly, undergoing great trials at the side of the Spaniards, serving them and helping on all occasions, in order to get certificates of their services, which is a great honor among them and highly prized.

**794.** On this island of Tidore there are quantities of clove trees, which are those in our possession, but few compared with what the Dutch have on the islands of Makián and Motiel, which lie under the Equator and are quite close neighbors of Ternate and Tidore. Motiel is 4 leagues in circuit; the island of Makián is 3 leagues to the S. of Motiel, and is 7 leagues in circuit. These are the principal clove islands held by the Dutch; there are a few trees on others, but of slight importance. Our supply is on this island of Tidore; the great bulk come by way of India.

**795.** The chief place of arms which the Dutch have, is that of Malayo on Ternate, residence of the Governor they have there, with plenty of men in their garrison, well provided with arms, supplies, and munitions. On the same island they have another fortress which they call Tacome, and they have another on Tidore which they call Marieco, and others still, all well fortified and supplied with men and necessities; but our Spaniards, though fewer and badly off, with their spirit, valor, and energy keep them at bay; they are always eager to dash out and fight with the enemy as the best celebration they can have, so as to have the benefit of the spoils they get and carry off from them. In fact the mere recital of the deeds of those few valiant Spaniards, would need a special book.

**796.** The clove tree is tall and handsome; its bark is like that of the olive, and its leaf like that of the laurel. Its flowers grow in clusters, and consequently the cloves which develop out of the flower are like the similar clusters of the paradise tree or the hawthorn hips. When the clove emerges from the flower, it is green; when it is a

little larger, white; and when ripe, red; and when the right time comes, they fall and turn black, the color they have as exported and when we see them. Every year they bear fruit twice; but the really heavy crop for export comes every 3 years; this is the big yield, which they call monsón. These clove trees usually grow on the mountain ranges and heights, where in those regions the clouds cover them now and then; they neither grow nor bear in plains or valleys; if there are any there, their fruit is not worth considering.

**797.** Although cinnamon grows and bears on many islands, the chief crop comes from the islands of Ceylon and Matier. The cinnamon tree is very similar in all respects to the pomegranate, but is much taller, handsomer, and more graceful. The cinnamon is its bark, which splits and peels with the intensity of the sun's rays, and so they tear it off and put it to cure in the sun. The cinnamon flower is very fragrant and they distil and get a perfumed liquid from it which is much sweeter and more refreshing than that from orange blossoms.

**798.** In Bandán and other islands near it in 4° S., is the chief headquarters of the nutmeg or spice-nut production. This grows on a small tree like a pin oak; the nuts are like acorns, and the cups at their base are mastic (mace?). These islands grow other aromatic products also.

**799.** Pepper grows in many of the spice islands of that archipelago but its chief and most abundant center of production is in Zeinda, 50 leagues NW. of the island of Timor and lying in 20° S.; this island is over 50 leagues in circuit. Both this and all the other islands abound in spices and other luxuries, some of course more than others.

[CHAPTER Of the Diversity of Languages Existing in the World and How the Natural and Holy Language Which God Gave Our First Fathers, Was Confounded, and of the Origin of the Disorder Due to So Many Languages.

**800.** [Seeing that in this first part I have treated of the kingdoms of New Spain and of what pertains to its district, and of the diversity of tribes and of languages so diverse to be found there and in the district of Peru, and what pertains to them, I shall write briefly in the subsequent chapters on the following subject: what the duration was of the natural and holy language which God our Lord gave our first fathers, [till when it lasted], how it became corrupted, and in what manner the nationalities were scattered over the world's provinces; and in particular about the tribes and languages which were discovered and found in all the regions of Colonia, as it should

justly be called rather than America, since it took its beginning from that famous Admiral and Viceroy in Perpetuity of the Indies, Don Cristóbal Colón, in the year 1592 (sic), viz, all the West Indies of New Spain and the Southern Indies of Peru with all that attaches to them, for (after God) he is owed the glory of those famous discoveries.

**801.** Sixteen hundred and fifty-seven years after God had created the earth, the aboninable sins of mankind and their departure from His divine worship and knowledge brought on the universal Flood, in which all perished and only righteous Noah and his children were saved. Two years after the Flood, in 1659, Shem son of Noah begat Arphaxad, and in the year 1694, when Arphaxad was 35 years old, he begat Salah; and in the year 1724, when Salah was 30 years old, he begat Eber, who was righteous and a prophet. He it was, when 101 years had passed since the Flood, who was present at the foundation of Babylon and of its haughty Tower, on which occasion God confounded the natural and holy language He had given our father Adam in Paradise.]

(Paragraphs 800 and 801 were all crossed out in the MS, and the pages left without numbers.)

# Secretariat of New Spain

**802.** Statement of the cities (ciudades) and towns (villas) of Spaniards in the Indies, by the districts of the Circuit Courts (Audiencias) and Dioceses (Obispados); the cities are indicated in the margin by a C, the towns by a V, the mining camps by an M.

**803.** In the district of the Circuit Court of the island of Hispaniola and its Archbishropric.

- C. Santo Domingo.
- C. Santiago de Los Caballeros.
- C. La Concepción de La Vega.
- C. Nuestra Señora de Alta Gracia.
- V. Seibo.
- V. Yaguana.
- V. Salvaleón de Higüey.

- V. Cotuy.
- V. Azúa or Compostela.
- V. Monte Christi.
- V. San Antonio de Monte de Plata.
- V. Ayquimo.

V. Coamo.

V. Arecibo.

V. Boano or Buena Ventura.

804. In the Diocese of Puerto Rico.

- C. San Juan de Puerto Rico.
- V. Guadianilla.

**805.** In the island of Margarita, which for a limited time is attached to the above Diocese.

- C. La Margarita. V. Valle de Paraguachi.
- V. Valle de La Margarita. V. Valle de Tacarigua.

**806.** On the Spanish Main, the cities of the State of Nueva Andalucia of Cumanâ.

- C. Cumanâ.
- C. Cumanagoto.
- C. San Felipe de Austria.

807. State of Guiana (Gobierno de Guayana), new prelacy.

- C. Santo Tomé de Guayana.
  - 808. Diocese of the island of Cuba.
- C. Santiago de Cuba.
- C. San Cristóbal de La Habana.
- V. Baracoa.
- V. Bayamo.

On the mainland.

C. San Augustín, Florida.

On the island of Jamaica.

V. La Vega.

809. Diocese of Venezuela.

- C. Santiago de León de Caracas.
- C. Coro.
- C. San Sebastián de Los Reyes.
- C. Nueva Valencia.
- C. Trujillo.
- C. Barquisimeto.

810. District of the Circuit Court of Mexico.

- C. Mexico.
- C. & Port of Acapulco.
- V. Toluca.
- V. Santa Fé.
- V. Santiago de Los Valles.
- V. & M. Pachuca.
- V. & M. Tasco.

811. In the Diocese of Tlaxcala.

- C. Puebla de Los Angeles.
- C. Old Vera Cruz.
- C. & Port of New Vera Cruz.
- V. Jalapa.

There are other cities of Spaniards and Indians, not listed.

812. Diocese of Yucatan.

- C. Mérida.
- C. Valladolid.
- V. & Port of San Francisco de Campeche.

- C. City of Porsí.
- C. San Juan de La Laguna de Uchire.
- C. San Joseph on the island of Trinidad.
- V. Santi Spíritus.
- V. Villa and Puerto del Príncipe.
- V. La Trinidad.
- V. El Cayo.

- C. Tocuyo.
- C. La Laguna de Maracaibo, called Zamora.
- C. Carora.
- C. Guanare.
- V. & M. Sacualpa.
- V. & M. Sultepec.
- V. & M. Temascaltepec.
- V. & M. Simapán.
- V. & M. Cuauhtitlán.
- V. & M. Huautla.
- V. Querétaro.

V. Carrión del Valle de Atlisco.

- V. Orizaba.
- V. & M. Teutlalco and Tlalzingo.
- V. Salamanca.
- V. Nuestra Señora de La Vitoria in Tabasco.

# 813. Diocese of Oaxaca.

- C. Antequera in the valley of Oaxaca.
- V. Nixapa.
- V. Tehuantepec.
- V. Villalta de San Ildefonso.
- V. & Port of Huatulco.

## 814. Diocese of Michoacán.

- C. Valladolid or Patzcuaro.
- V. La Concepción de Celaya.
- V. San Felipe y San Miguel.
- V. & M. San Luis de Potosí.
- V. & M. Los Ramos.
- V. & M. Sierra de Pinos.
- V. Colima.
- V. Zacatula.
- V. & M. Guadalcázar.

- V. & M. Santa Catalina de Chichicapa.
- V. Guasacoalco.
- V. Espíritu Santo on the Río de Alvarado.
- V. & M. Sinagua.
- V. & M. Guaxuato (Guanajuato?).
- V. & M. Tlalpujahua.
- V. León.
- V. Xacona.
- V. & M. Súchil.
- V. Zamora.
- V. & M. El Palmar.

**815.** District of the Circuit Court of Santiago de Los Caballeros de Guatemala.

- C. Santiago de Guatemala.
- C. San Salvador.
- C. San Miguel.

#### 816. Diocese of Honduras.

- C. Valladolid in the valley of Comayagua.
- C. & Port of Trujillo.
- C. San Jorge de Olancho.
- C. San Pedro.

817. Diocese of the New Kingdom of León of Nicaragua.

- C. León.
- C. Granada.
- C. Nueva Segovia.

818. Diocese of Ciudad Real de Los Caballeros de Chiapa.

C. Ciudad Real (Royal City) of V. Huehuetlán, in Soconusco. Chiapa.

**819.** District of the Circuit Court of New Galicia, located in Guadalajara.

- C. Guadalajara.
- C. & M. Zacatecas.
- C. Compostela.
- V. & M. Jerez.
- V. & M. Tepezalá.
- V. & M. Sombrerete.
- V. & M. Jora.
- V. & M. San Martín.

- V. Nombre de Diós.
- V. San Lucas.
- V. San Sebastián.
- V. San Miguel de Culiacán.
- V. Santa María de Los Lagos.
- V. Espíritu Santo de Tepic.
- V. & M. El Fresnillo.
- V. & M. El Palmarejo.

- V. La Trinidad or Sonsonate.V. Jerez de La Choluteca.
- V. & Port of Tomás de Castilla.
- C. Gracias a Diós.
- V. & M. Tegucigalpa.
- V. & M. Yuscarán.

V. & Port of Realeio.

V. Ulúa.

C. Cartago.

V. Esparza.

820. Diocese of Guadiana in New Vizcaya.

С.	Guadiana, named Durango.	V.	& M. San Andrés.
С.	Nuevo Mexico (New Mexico).	V.	& M. Yndehé.
C.	Santa Lucía.	V.	San Juan de Sinalóa.
С.	& M. Topia.	V.	& M. Saltillo.
V.	& M. Cuencamé.	V.	& M. Guanasibi.
V.	& M. Mapimi.	V.	& M. Santa Bárbara.
V.	& M. Mazapil.	V.	& M. Los Plateros.

There are many other settlements and silver-mining camps which it is impossible to enumerate.

821. District of the Circuit Court of Manila, located in the Philippine Islands.

C. Manila.

C. Cebú.

C. Nueva Segovia.

C. Nombre de Jesús, called Cáceres,

In the Molucca Islands.

C. & Fort of Rosario.

C. San Pedro y San Pablo.

V. Punta Hermosa.

V. Otón or Arévalo.

V. Panav.

822. Thus in the district of the Secretariat functioning in the Kingdom of New Spain, in which belong the Kingdoms of New Galicia, New Vizcaya, Honduras and Nicaragua, the Windward Islands, and the Provinces and States on the Spanish Main, viz, those of Venezuela, Cumaná, and Guiana, the Philippine Islands and those dependent on them, and the Moluccas, there are 158 Spanish settlements, of which 70 are cities and 98 towns (villas) and those designated with an M are mining towns, not counting many others which might be adduced, and noting that in New Spain many cities with numbers of Spaniards are not enumerated because they are cities of Indians, like the cities in the Archbishopric of Mexico of Texcoco, Xochimilco, Tacuba, Chalco, and others, and in the district of the Diocese of Puebla the cities of Tlaxcala, Tepeaca also called Segura, Huejotzingo, Cholula, and others-60 cities, 98 towns.

823. Table of the Circuit Courts (Audiencias), Governorships, Corregimientos, Alcaldías Mayores, Secretaryships (Officios de Pluma), Archiepiscopates, and Episcopates whose incumbents are appointed by His Majesty in the district of the Secretariat of New Spain, and those appointed by the Viceroy, the Presidents and the Governors, with the salaries and incomes which they receive.

824. The Circuit Court of the island of Hispaniola with seat in Santo Domingo was the first established in the Indies; it has a President with a salary of 5,000 ducats, 4 Associate Justices (Oidores) and an Attorney (Fiscal), each with an annual salary of 600,000 maravedís.

**825.** The Circuit Court of Mexico is the most important in New Spain; the Viceroy resides there; his salary is 20,000 ducats. The Court has 8 Associate Justices, 4 Alcaldes de Corte, and 2 Attorneys; each has a salary of 800,000 maravedis. This Court has 3 Relators.

**826.** The Circuit Court of Santiago de Guatemala, which includes the Provinces of Honduras and Nicaragua, has a President with a salary of 5,000 ducats, 5 Associate Justices, one Supernumerary, and an Attorney; these are likewise Alcaldes de Corte, each with a salary of 750,000 maravedís per annum.

**827.** The Circuit Court of New Galicia with residence in Guadalajara, has a President with a salary of 3,000 ducats, 4 Associate Justices who are likewise Alcaldes de Corte, and an Attorney, each with an annual salary of 2,000 ducats.

**828.** The Circuit Court for the Philippines with seat in Manila has a President, who is Governor and Captain General, with a salary of 8,000 assay dollars (pesos ensayados) per annum; 4 Associate Justices who are Alcaldes de Corte; and an Attorney, each with a salary of 2,000 assay dollars a year.

**829.** Thus His Majesty fills 40 positions by appointment in the district of New Spain, viz, in the five Circuit Courts, a Viceroy, 4 Presidents, 24 Associate Justices, 4 Alcaldes de Corte, and 6 Attorneys, plus other officials like Secretaries, Relators, and other necessary functionaries.

**830.** The Circuit Court of Santo Domingo with residence in the island of Hispaniola, contains within its district 9 Governorships; 8 are filled by appointment of His Majesty in consultation with his Royal Council of the Indies, viz: that of Puerto Rico; 2 in the island of Cuba, that of Santiago de Cuba and that of Havana; that of Florida; that of Caracas, Province of Venezuela, with another in Cumanâ; that of Margarita, and that of Guiana and Trinidad; and that of the island of Jamaica, whose incumbent is appointed by the Duke of Veragua. There is one Alcaldía Mayor, filled by His Majesty in consultation with the Supreme Council; this is called the Alcaldía Mayor de la Tierra Adentro (of the country inland.)

It likewise contains within its district the Archdiocese of Santo Domingo and three Dioceses, viz, Puerto Rico, Cuba, and that of Venezuela with seat in Caracas; and 2 Abbacies, that of Jamaica and the one which orders have been issued to establish in the Provinces of Guiana.

831. The Circuit Court of Mexico, which is the most important in New Spain, comprises within its district 9 judicial posts, viz, Governor of Yucatan, Alcalde Mayor of Tabasco, Governor and

Alcalde Mayor of Tlaxcala, Corregidor of Mexico City, Alcalde Mayor of Istlavaca or Mequetepec, Alcalde Mayor of Tacuba, Alcalde Mayor of Huautla and Amilpas, Alcalde Mayor of Tlanepantla, and Alcalde Mayor of San Luís de Potosí.

It comprises also within its district the Archdiocese of Mexico and 4 Dioceses, viz, Tlaxcala, Michoacán, Oaxaca, and Yucatan, and one more for whose constitution orders have been issued, as was related in due course.

**832.** The Circuit Court of Santiago de Guatemala comprises within its district 4 Governorships and 7 Alcaldías Mayores. The Governorships are those of Soconusco, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica; the Alcaldías Mayores, Chiapas, Verapaz, Suchitepéquez or Zapotitlán, Sonsonate or Villa de La Trinidad, San Salvador, Tegucigalpa, [Guaxutla] and Nicoya.

It comprises also within its district 4 Dioceses, viz, those of Guatemala, Chiapas, Honduras, and Nicaragua.

**833.** The Circuit Court of New Galicia comprises within its district 2 judicial posts, whose incumbents are appointed by His Majesty in consultation with the Supreme Council; these are: Governor of New Vizcaya, and Corregidor of Zacatecas.

It comprises also within its district two Dioceses, viz, that of Guadalajara and that of New Vizcaya.

**834.** The Circuit Court for the Philippines comprises within its district the posts of Governor of Ternate and Archbishop of Manila, and 3 Dioceses, viz, of Cebú, Nueva Segovia, and Nuevo Cáceres.

**835.** Index of the gubernatorial and secretarial positions filled by appointment by His Majesty in the district of the Circuit Court of Santo Domingo, and the salaries received.

Governor and Captain General of the island of Puerto Rico; each	
year he receives a salary of 1,600 ducats	duc.
Governor and Captain General of the city and port of Havana; 2,000	
assay pesos2,000	pesos
Governor and War Captain of Santiago de Cuba: 1,800 assay pesos1,800	"
Governor and Captain General of Florida; 2,000 ducats2,000	duc.
Governor and Captain General of the Province of Venezuela; 2,000	
ducats2,000	"
Governor and Captain General of Cumanâ and Nueva Andalucía;	
2,000 ducats	,,
Governor of the island of Margarita; 1,500 ducats1,500	"
Governor and Captain General of the Provinces of Guiana and Trini-	
dad; 3,000 ducats3,000	33
Governor of the island of Jamaica 600	pesos
Alcalde Mayor of the Country Inland (Tierra Adentro), of the island	
of Hispaniola; 500 ducats 500	duc.

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**836.** The Royal Officials appointed by His Majesty in consultation with the Supreme Council of the Indies in the district of the District Court of the island of Hispaniola.

Paymaster (Contador) and Treasurer of Santo Domingo; each	
receives 300,000 maravedís salary 300,000 r	mds.
Paymaster and Treasurer of San Juan de Puerto Rico; at 100,000	
maravedís	,,
Paymaster and Treasurer of Havana; at 200,000 maravedis200,000	,,
Paymaster and Treasurer of Florida; at 400,000 maravedis400,000	,,,
Paymaster and Treasurer of Caracas in the Province of Venezuela;	
at 150,000 maravedís	"
(sic)	
Paymaster and Treasurer of Río de la Hacha; at 100,000 mara-	
vedís	,,
Paymaster and Treasurer of Cumanâ; at 150,000 maravedís150,000	,,

Paymaster and Treasurer of La Margarita; at 150,000 maravedís..150,000 "

**837.** Index of the Governorships, Corregimientos, Alcaldías Mayores, and Secretaryships (Officios de Pluma) whose incumbents are appointed by His Majesty in the district of the Circuit Court of Mexico, and the salaries they receive.

Governor and Captain General of Yucatan; 1,000 assay pesos	1,000 as. ps.
Alcalde Mayor of Tabasco; 300 ducats	300 duc.
Governor and Alcalde Mayor of Tlaxcala	
Corregidor of Mexico City; 500,000 maravedís50	0,000 mds.
Alcalde Mayor of Mequetepec or Istlavaca; 300 pesos	300 pesos
Alcalde Mayor of Tacuba; 200 pesos	200 "
Alcalde Mayor of Huautla and Amilpas; 600 pesos	600 "
Alcalde Mayor of Tlanepantla; 600 pesos	600 "
Alcalde Mayor of the mines of San Luís de Potosí; 400 assay	
pesos	400 <b>as.</b> ps.

**838.** Royal Officials appointed by His Majesty in consultation with the Supreme Council of the Indies in the district of the Circuit Court of Mexico.

In Mexico City there is a Tribunal de Cuentas (Central Accounting
Office) with 3 Contadores (Paymasters); each receives a salary
of 2,000 ducats 2,000 duc.
There are 2 other Paymasters or Ordenadores (Auditors); each
at 1,000 ducats 1,000 "
There are 3 Royal Officials, Contador (Paymaster), Treasurer,
Factor; at 510,000 maravedís
Paymaster for Tribute and Quicksilver; 1,700 pesos 1,700 pesos
Paymaster and Treasurer for Vera Cruz; 510,000 maravedis510,000 mds.
Paymaster, Treasurer, and Factor of the port of Acapulco; at
300,000 maravedís
Paymaster and Treasurer of the mines of San Luís; at 350,000
maravedís
Paymaster and Treasurer of Yucatan: at 200.000 marayedis200,000

839. In the district of the Circuit Court of New Galicia:

Governor and Captain General of the Provinces of New Vizcaya;

2,000 ducats	2,000	duc.
Corregidor of Zacatecas; 800 pesos	800	pesos
Paymaster and Treasurer of Guadalajara; at 400,000 maravedís4	00,000	mds.
Paymaster, Treasurer, and Factor of Guadiana in New Vizcaya;		
at the one were the		,,

**840.** Index of the Governorships, Alcaldías Mayores, and Secretaryships (Officios de Pluma) filled by His Majesty's appointment in the district of the Circuit Court of Guatemala, and the salaries they receive.

Governor and Captain General of Honduras; 1,000 pesos de minas.1	,000	pesos
Governor and Captain General of Costa Rica; 2,000 ducats2	,000	duc.
Governor of Nicaragua; 1,000 ducats	,000	33
Governor of Soconusco; 1,000 pesos1	,000	pesos
Alcalde Mayor of Chiapa; 800 pesos de minas	800	,,,
Alcalde Mayor of the Suchitepéquez; 700 pesos de minas	700	11
Alcalde Mayor of Verapaz; 800 pesos	800	39
Alcalde Mayor of the town of Trinidad or Sonsonate; 700 pesos	700	99
Alcalde Mayor of San Salvador; 500 pesos de minas	500	39
Alcalde Mayor of the mines of Tegucigalpa; 600 pesos de minas	600	"
Alcalde Mayor of Nicoya; 200 ducats	200	duc.

841. Royal Officials functioning in the district of Guatemala:

Paymaster and Treasurer of Guatemala; at 300,000 maravedis....300,000 mds. Treasurer of the town of Trinidad and port of Acajutla; 600 ducats. 600 duc. Paymaster and Treasurer of Honduras and the port of Trujillo; at

**842.** In the district of the Circuit Court of the Philippine Islands, His Majesty appoints, in consultation with the Supreme Council of the Indies:

Governor and Captain General in the island of Ternate;

843. Thus His Majesty, in consultation with the Supreme Council of the Indies, appoints in the district of the Secretariat of New Spain, to 32 judicial posts: the 14 Governorships, and 18 Alcaldías Mayores;

plus 2 Corregimientos and 45 posts of Paymaster, Treasurers, Factors, and Inspectors, as has been tabulated; not counting many delegates (tenientes) appointed by the Royal Officials in their districts, since they have wide jurisdictions and cannot give personal attention on account of the distances involved. 844. Posts whose incumbents are appointed by the Viceroy of New Spain in the district of the Circuit Court of Mexico City. The Corregimientos are indicated by the letter C, and the Alcaldías Mayores by the letter A; those with a  $\pounds$  are the best. In the Archdiocese of Mexico the Viceroy appoints to 22 Alcaldías Mayores and 24 Corregimientos, and the Marqués del Valle to I Alcaldía Mayor and 2 Corregimientos. Their salaries run from 200 to 250 and 300 pesos.

### 845.

- A. Warden and Alcalde Mayor of Acapulco; £; 200 pesos.
- A. Chalco and Tlalmanalco; £; 250 pesos.
- A. Mines of Sacualpa; £; 250 pesos.
- A. Mines of Sultepec; £; 250 pesos.
- A. Mines of Simapán.
- A. Mines of Escanela.
- A. Hueypoxtla.
- A. Mestitlán; £; 200.
- A. Malinalco.
- A. Otucpa.
- A. Mines of Pachuca; £; 500 pesos.

#### 846. Corregimientos.

- C. Atengo Misquiaguala; 200.
- C. Atitalaquia; 200.
- C. Atlatlahuca del Valle; 200.
- C. Chico Nautla; 200.
- C. Zumpango, and Zitlaltepec; 150.
- C. Zempoala; 150.
- C. Coatepeque.
- C. Estapalapa.
- C. Guachinango; £.
- C. Huayacocotla.
- C. Guajutla; 200.
- C. Otumba; 350.

- A. Pánuco; 100 pesos.
- A. Querétaro;  $\pounds$ .
- A. Mines of Taxco; £; 250.
- A. Texcoco; £; 250 pesos.
- A. Tepoztlán and Cuauhtitlán.
- A. Mines of Tetela; 200 pesos.
- A. Mines of Temascaltepec; £; 200 pesos.
- A. Tula; 200 pesos.
- A. Town of Santiago de Los Valles;
   £.
- A. Jilotepec; 250.
- A. Ixmiquilpán; 250 pesos.
- C. San Juan Totiguacán.
- C. Totolapa; 200.
- C. Tarasquillo.
- C. Tulanzingo.
- C. Tetela del Volcan.
- C. Tepeapulco; 250.
- C. Teutenango.
- C. City of Xochimilco; £; 400 pesos.
- C. Xuchiquautla.
- C. Ixcateopa; 200.
- C. Yguala; £; 200 pesos.
- C. Yahualica; 200.

847. The Marqués del Valle appoints 3 incumbents in this district of the Archbishopric, viz, A. Cuernavaca; C. Coyoacán, and the town of Toluca. These make a total of 49 Alcaldías Mayores and Corregimientos.

**848.** In the district of the Diocese of Tlaxcala, he appoints to 14 Alcaldías Mayores, and 19 Corregimientos.

- A. City of Los Angeles (Puebla);
   £; 400.
- A. Tlaxcala, formerly in His Majesty's appointment; £; 300.
- A. Acatlán; 150.

- A. Chiautla de La Sal; 200.
- A. Zacatlán, and Hueytlalpán.
- A. Tehuacán; £.
- A. Mines of Tonalá, and Silacayoapán; £.

- A. Mines of Teutlalco, and Tlalzingo; £.
- A. City of Tepeaca; £; 300.
- A. Town of Carrión de Atlisco; £.

#### 849. Corregimientos.

- C. Ahuatlán, and Coyatitlanapa.
- C. City of Cholula; £; 300.
- C. Chilapa.
- C. Chietla.
- C. Cuzcatlán; 200.
- C. City of Huejotzingo; £; 250.
- C. Huatlatlauca; 200.
- C. Orizaba.
- C. San Juan de Los Llanos; £.
- C. San Antonio Guatusco.

- A. Old Vera Cruz; £.
- A. Town of Jalapa; £; 350.
- A. Ysucar; £; 250.
- A. Tamiagua, and Guachinango.
- C. Tlapa; £.
- C. Tonatico, and Cozocolco; 200.
- C. Teziutlán, and Atempa; 150.
- C. Tepejí de La Seda.
- C. Tixtla, and Zumpango.
- C. Tuxtepec, and Quimixtlán.
- C. New Vera Cruz; £.
- C. Jalacingo; 200.
- C. Xonotla; 200.

**850.** In the district of the Diocese of Oaxaca, the Viceroy appoints to 34 judicial posts; 22 are Corregimientos, and 12 Alcaldías Mayores.

- A. Mines of Chichicapa and Santa Catalina; £; 200.
- A. City of Oaxaca; £.
- A. Port of Huatulco; £; 150.
- A. Teposcolula; £; 200.
- A. Teutila; 200.
- A. Town of Tehuantepec; £; 600.

**851**. The following are Corregimientos:

C. Atlatlahuca de Oaxaca; 200. C. Teutitlán del Camino. C. Chinanta, and Ucila. C. Tilantongo; 200. C. Cuicatlán; 200. C. Teozacoalco. C. C. Zimatlán; 100. Tecocuilco. C. Huaxolotitlán.C. Huaxpaltepec; 200. C. Temauaca, and Quictepeque; 200. C. Texopa; 200. C. Teotitlán and Macuilxochil; 150. C. Huajuapán. C. Miahuatlán; £. C. Xustlaguaca; 200. C. Mitla, and Tlacolula.C. Nochixtlán; 100. C. Yanguitlán; £; 250. C. Ixtepexi. C. Papalotipaque; 200. C. Isquuintepeque de Los Peñoles.

**852.** The Marqués del Valle appoints in this district to 3 offices, viz :

C. Tuxtla; £.

A. Las Cuatro Villas; £.

C. Jalapa del Marqués; £.

**853.** In the district of the Diocese of Michoacán, the Viceroy appoints to 13 Alcaldías Mayores and 10 Corregimientos. (In margin: 13 to 1; but the list gives 14 Alcaldías.)

 A. City of Valladolid; £; 500.
 A. Mines of Sinagua; £; 100.

 A. Zacatula; £; 300.
 A. Guacomanmotines; £; 250.

- A. Town of Guasaqualco; £; 600.
- A. Town of Nixapa; £; 250.
- A. Villalta de San Ildefonso; £; 350.
- A. Xicayán; £; 200.
- A. Igualapa; £.
- A. Yagualulcos.

- A. Mines of Guanajuato; 200.
- A. Mines of Guadalcázar.
- A. San Luís de Potosí; £; 400.
- A. Mines of Súchil; £; 200.
- A. Mines of Tlalpujahua; £; 250.
- A. Town of Colima; £; 300.
- A. Town of Celaya; £.
- A. Town of San Miguel y San Felipe; £; 400.
- A. Town of León; £.
- A. Town of Xacona.

854. The following are Corregimientos in the same district:

- C. Chilchota; 150.
- C. Cuyseo.
- C. Guayameo, and Sindaro.
- C. Tancítaro; £; 150.

- C. Tuxpán, and Zapotlán.C. Tlazazalca; 150.
- C. Tingüindín; 140.
- C. Jiquilpán; 150.
- C. Tajimaroa, and Maravatio; £; C. Xaso and Temerendo; 200. 150.

And the Marqués del Valle appoints to:

C. Matalzingo.

**855.** The above are the offices whose incumbents are appointed by the Viceroy in the district of the Circuit Court of Mexico City; in the district of New Galicia he appoints to 7 Alcaldías Mayores, 6 of them in the Diocese of Guadalajara; they are:

- A. Auitlán, and Port of La Navidad. A. Saltworks of Peñol Blanco.
- A. Amula; £.
- A. Savula, Province of Avalos; £. A. Ysatlán.

A. Saltworks of Santa María.

**856.** And in the district of New Vizcaya, which is likewise under the Circuit Court of New Galicia, one, viz:

- A. Town of Nombre de Diós.

**859.** The President of the Circuit Court of Santiago de Guatemala appoints in his district to 13 Corregimientos; 9 are in the district of the Diocese of Guatemala:

- C. Totonicapa; £.
- C. Tepantitlán; £.
- C. Atitlán.
- C. Quezaltenango; £.
- C. Esquintepeque.

- C. Guazacapán; £.
- C. Casabastrán.
- C. El Valle.
- C. Chiquimula de La Sierra; £.

860. The others are in the Diocese of Nicaragua:

C. El Viejo and Port of Realejo; £. C. Monimbó, and Masaya; £. C. Quezalguaque, and Sutiaba. C. Los Chontales.

He appoints also many other officials and Juezes de Milpas (Plantation Inspectors).

861. The President of the Circuit Court of the Philippines, with seat in Manila, appoints to 18 judicial posts; 13 are Alcaldías Mayores, designated by the letter A, plus the distance of each from Manila; the 5 Corregimientos are indicated by the letter C.

- Pampanga; 10 leagues. A.
- A. Bulacán; 6 l.
- A. Laguna de Bay; 101.
- A. Batangas; 15 l.
- A. Camarines; 100 l.
- A. Pangasinán; 30 l.
- A. Ilocos; 50 l.

The 5 others are Corregimientos.

- C. Marinduque; 40 l.
- C. Embocadero; 130 l.
- C. Isla de Negros; 60 l.

Besides these, he appoints to many other posts, both for civil government and to military posts on land and sea.

862. The Vicerovs of New Spain appoint to the following offices; normally they are assigned to servants, who administer through representatives, or rent them out; most of them have the salaries indicated, in pesos of 8 reals (dollars of pieces of eight), with other perquisites they have:

Captain of the Guard, 1,000 p. Juez Repartidor of Mexico City, -----. Repartidor for Chalco, 3,000 p. Repartidor for Tacuba, 3,000 p. Repartidor for Tacubaya, 3,000 p. Repartidor for Tepoztlán, 3,000 p. Repartidor for El Valle de San Pablo, 3,500 p. Repartidor for the Taxco mines, 2,000 p. Repartidor for the Pachuca mines, 1,200 p. Repartidor for the Sultepec mines, 1,100 p. Repartidor for the Sacualpa mines, 800 p. Repartidor for the Huautla mines, 500 p. For the Guanajuato mines, 2,500 p. For the Temascaltepec mines, -For the Simapán mines, -----. For the Chichicapa mines, -----.

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- C. Calamianes; 60 l.
- A. Caraga; 100 l.

A. Leyteza Maribabao; 50 l.

A. Otón, or town of Arévalo; 50 l.

A. Cagayán; 100 l.

A. Cebú; 100 l.

A. Panay; 50 l.

- C. Mariveles; 7 l.

For the Tlalpujahua mines, -----. Repartidor for Oaxaca, 2,000 p. Mill inspector (Juez de ingenios) for the Marquesate del Valle, 2,000 p. Mill inspector for Michoacán, 2,000 p. For Jalapa, 2,000 p. For Ysúcar, 2,000 p. Superintendent (Mayordomo) of the New Vera Cruz Hospital, 400 p. Of the Old Vera Cruz Hospital, 400 p. Inspector (Veedor) of the Mexico City slaughterhouses, 400 p. Portero de Cadena (Chain Porter), 200 p. Alguacil de la Guerra (War Constable), 300 p. Alguacil de las Casas Reales (Constable of the Royal Palace), 400 p. Two Alguaciles de Vagabundos (Vagrancy Constables), 600 p. Alguacil de Calzadas (Highway Constable), 400 p. Warden (Alcaide) of Chapultepec, 500 p. Repartidor for Atlixco for His Majesty, ------Inspector (Juez) for Las Amilpas, -----. Inspector for the Old Highway to Vera Cruz, 600 p. Inspector for the New Highway, 1,000 p. Guarda mayor (Chief Customs Officer) of Acapulco, 200 p. Verifier of Royal Warrants, 300 p. Registrar of Fines (Penas de Camara), 800 p. Constable-Protector for the Atatilulco ward of Mexico City, 200 p. Constable for the San Julio ward, 200 p. Sergeant Major of the fortress of San Juan de Ulloa, -----. Ensign of the fortress, -----. Chief Warden of the Cathedral of Tlaxcala, 800 p. Factory Inspector for Mexico City, 800 p. Factory Inspector for the environs, 800 p. Factory Inspector for Texcoco, 600 p. Factory Inspector for Puebla, 1,000 p. Factory Inspector for Tlaxcala, 1,000 p. Auditor for deceased persons' property, 1,000 p. His solicitor, 600 p. Inspector for hog slaughtering, 2,000 p. Leather Inspector, 2,000 p. Five companies of infantry each year, -----. Ensigns and Sergeants, -----. Sergeant Major of Mexico City, -----. Ensign Royal of the Philippines Fleet, -----. Lieutenant for the Captain General for the Chichimecas, 500 p. Lieutenant General of New Galicia; these are at 500 p. Governor of New Mexico, 2,000 p. Chief Guard of the galley prisoners in the Philippines, ----. Guard for the prisoners whom they send to Spain, ----. Two sentinels at His Majesty's gate, -----. Factory Inspector for Vera Cruz.

863. The Viceroys of New Spain appoint to 144 judicial posts: 68 Alcaldías Mayores, 75 Corregimientos, and 1 Governor, for New

Mexico. Seven posts are filled by the Marqués del Valle, as indicated in their proper place. The President of the Circuit Court of Guadalajara in New Galicia, makes 90 appointments; the Governor of New Vizcaya, 27; the President of Guatemala, 13; the President of the Philippines, 18. Thus the total of judicial appointments made by the Viceroy, the Marqués, the Presidents, and the Governors, amounts to 299, not counting appointments mentioned of Attorneys (de Gracia) and other inspectors named for cochineal and plantations, which it would be impossible to enumerate.

**864.** His Majesty appoints, in the Secretariat of New Spain, in consultation with the Supreme Council of the Indies, to 3 Archdioceses and 16 Dioceses; one more has already been outlined, to be carved out of that of Tlaxcala; the Cathedral will be built in the town of Guasacoalco, or city of Vera Cruz, or wherever may seem most suitable; that will make 17 Dioceses, plus 2 Abbacies, one in Jamaica, the other to be established in the Provinces of Guiana. These will all be tabulated in order under their Metropolitans, with all their revenues, dignities and prebends.

865. Archdiocese of Santo Domingo and its suffragans.

Archdiocese of Santo Domingo; 3,000 ducats. Diocese of Puerto Rico; 5,000,000 maravedís. Diocese of Cuba, or Havana; 5,000,000 maravedís. Diocese of Venezuela; 5,000,000 maravedís. Abbacy of Jamaica; 1,000 pesos. Abbacy of Guiana; 1,000 p.

866. Archdiocese of Mexico City and its suffragans.

Archdiocese of Mexico; 25,000 pesos. Diocese of Tlaxcala; 50,000 p. Diocese of Yucatan; 6,000 p. Diocese of Oaxaca; 6,000 p. Diocese of Guadalajara; 8,000 p. Diocese of Guadalajara; 8,000 p. Diocese of Guadalajara; 5,000 p. Diocese of Guademala; 5,000 p. Diocese of Guatemala; 6,000 p. Diocese of Guatemala; 6,000 p. Diocese of Honduras; 5,000,000 (maravedís). Diocese of Nicaragua; 500,000 (maravedís). (Suffragan of Lima).

# 867. Archdiocese of the Philippines, and its suffragans.

Archdiocese of Manila; 3,000 ducats. Diocese of Cebú; 5,000,000 (maravedís). Diocese of Nueva Segovia; 5,000,000 (maravedís). Diocese of Nuevo Cáceres; 5,000,000 (maravedís). 868. Archdiocese of Santo Domingo; 3,000 ducats.

869. Diocese of Puerto Rico; 500,000 maravedís.

Bishop.

It has 3 dignitaries: the Dean, 400 8-real pesos. Archdean and Precentor (Chantre), at 3,000 reals. Four Canons, at 200 pesos. Two Prebendaries, at 150 pesos.

870. Diocese of Santiago de Cuba.

Bishop, Dr. Don León de Cervantes; 500,000 mds. It has 2 dignitaries: the Dean, 4,000 reals. The Precentor, 3,000 reals. Four Canons, at 200 ducats.

871. Diocese of Venezuela; 500,000 maravedís.

Bishop: Fray Gonzalo de Ángulo, of the Order of Our Lady of Victory.

It has 3 dignitaries: the Dean, 4,000 reals. Archdean and Precentor, at 3,000 reals. This church has no Canons.

Abbacy of Jamaica: 8,000 reals.

Abbacy of Guiana.

872. Archdiocese of Mexico City; 25,000 pesos.

Archbishop: Don Francisco Manso. It has 5 dignitaries: the Dean, 2,600 pesos. Archdean, Precentor, Choirmaster, and Treasurer, at 2,400 pesos. Eight Canons, at 1,700 pesos. Six Prebendaries, at 1,000 pesos. Six half-time Prebendaries, at 600 pesos.

873. Diocese of Tlaxcala, or Los Angeles.

Bishop: Dr. Gutierre Bernardo de Quirós; 50,000 pesos. It has 5 dignitaries: the Dean, 4,400 pesos. Archdean, Precentor, Choirmaster, and Treasurer, at 3,800 pesos. Ten Canons, at 2,800 pesos. Six Prebendaries, at 2,000 pesos. Five half-time Prebendaries, at 1,600 pesos.

874. Diocese of Yucatan; 6,000 pesos.

Bishop: Fray Gonzalo de Salazar, Augustinian. It has 5 dignitaries: the Dean, 800 pesos. Archdean, Precentor, Choirmaster, and Treasurer, at 600 pesos. Three Canons, at 450 pesos. 875. Diocese of Michoacán; 16,000 pesos.

Bishop. It has 5 dignitaries: the Dean, 1,500 pesos. Archdean, Precentor, Choirmaster, and Treasurer, at 1,200 pesos. Ten Canons, at 1,000 pesos. Four Prebendaries, at 600 pesos.

876. Diocese of Guadalajara; 8,000 pesos.

Bishop: Fray Francisco de Ribera, Mercedarian. This church has 5 dignitaries: the Dean, 800 pesos. Archdean, Precentor, Choirmaster, and Treasurer, at 600 pesos. Six Canons, at 500 pesos. Four Prebendaries, at 300 pesos.

877. Diocese of Guadiana; 6,000 pesos.

Bishop: Fray Gonzalo Hermosillo, Augustinian. This church has 3 dignitaries: the Dean, 1,300 pesos. Archdean and Precentor, at 1,100 pesos. Two Canons, at 900 pesos.

878. Diocese of Oaxaca; 6,000 pesos.

Bishop: Fray Juan de Bohórquez, Dominican.This church has 5 dignitaries: the Dean, 1,000 pesos.Archdean, Precentor, Choirmaster, and Treasurer, at 800 pesos.In this church, His Majesty ordered the post of Choirmaster to be abolished.

It has 9 Canons, at 500 pesos.

**879.** The following churches are in the district of the Circuit Court of Guatemala:

Diocese of Chiapas; 500,000 maravedís. Bishop. It has 5 dignitaries: the Dean, 400 pesos. Archdean, Precentor, Choirmaster, and Treasurer, at 300 pesos. Two Canons, at 200 pesos.

880. Diocese of Guatemala; 6,000 pesos.

Bishop: Fray Juan Zapata, Augustinian. This church has 5 dignitaries: the Dean, 600 pesos. Archdean, Precentor, Choirmaster, and Treasurer, at 500 pesos. It has 7 Canons, at 450 pesos.

881. Diocese of Honduras; 500,000 maravedís.

Bishop: Fray Luís Cañizares, Victorian. This church has 5 dignitaries: the Dean, 400 pesos. Archdean, Precentor, Choirmaster, and Treasurer, at 300 pesos. There are no Canons.

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882. Diocese of Nicaragua; 500,000 maravedís.

Bishop: Fray Benito Valtodano, Benedictine. This church has 3 dignitaries: the Dean, 500 pesos. Archdean and Choirmaster, at 400 pesos. Two Canons, at 300 pesos.

883. Archdiocese of Manila in the Philippine Islands.

Archbishop: Fray Miguel García, Augustinian; 3,000 ducats.
This church has 5 dignitaries: the Dean, 600 pesos.
Archdean, Precentor, Choirmaster, and Treasurer, at 500 pesos.
It has 2 Canons, at 400 pesos.
One Prebendary, at 300 pesos.
The Diocese of Cebú, or Nombre de Jesús.
Fray Pedro Arce, Augustinian; 500,000 maravedís.
The Diocese of Nueva Segovia.
Maestro Guerrero; 500,000 maravedís.
That of Cáceres, or Camarines.
Fray Francisco Sanudio; 500,000 maravedís.
These churches have no Prebendaries.

He appoints in the ecclesiastical sphere to 21 churches, 3 of which are Archiepiscopal, 16 Episcopal, and 2 Abbacies......21

**885.** The Viceroy of New Spain appoints the Presidents of Guatemala, Guadalajara, and the Philippines, and the Governor of Nueva Vizcaya; 299 officers of justice—Corregidores and Alcaldes Mayores

There is in the City of Mexico the Tribunal of the Holy Inquisition, with 2 Inquisitors and an Attorney, appointed by the Inquisitor General and approved by the Royal Council for the Indies; each has a salary of 2,000 assay pesos. It has Secretaries and the other officials and functionaries necessary. There is also a Tribunal of the Holy Crusade.

#### TABLE

Table of the Six Books and the Chapters of Part I, Dealing with the District of the Secretariat of New Spain.

Book I deals with navigation to the Indies, and with the problem of its first settlers.

Chapter 1. Of the course laid to the Indies, and the return voyage to Spain.

Chapter 2. Demonstrating the sphericity of the earth, its dimensions, and how in His Majesty's dominions at every hour Mass is being said.

Chapter 3. Of the Universal Flood, and of the confusion of tongues at the building of the Tower of Babel.

Chapter 4. Continuing the description of the preceding subject.

Chapter 5. Discussing the vicissitudes of the countries which had just passed through the Flood, and how they split apart and how the first settlers crossed to the Indies.

Chapter 6. Continuing this subject, and how the first settlers crossed to the Indies.

Chapter 7. Continuing the preceding subject, and how those peoples crossed to settle the Indies; and the animals living in them.

Chapter 8. Discussing the origin of the first settlers of the Indies, and when they arrived, and by what route.

Chapter 9. Continuing the discussion of the same subject, with an elucidation of the prophecy in conformity with the peculiarities and characteristics, of the Indies.

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Chapter II. How the Indians are altogether similar to the Hebrews from whom they are descended.

Chapter 12. How in their burial rites the Indians were like the Hebrews, and in other matters.

Chapter 13. Of the confusion and diversity of languages existing in the Indies.

Chapter 14. Some notes regarding the Quichua, Aymará and other languages of those kingdoms of the district of Peru, Chile, the New Kingdom of Granada, and the Río de la Plata.

Chapter 15. On some words in the Mexican language and in others of New Spain and the Spanish Main belonging to the district of New Spain.

Chapter 16. Of various other languages spoken on the Spanish Main and in the Dioceses of Caracas and Puerto Rico, which belong to the Secretariat of New Spain. SMITHSONIAN MISCELLANEOUS COLLECTIONS VOL. 102

Book II deals with the district of the Circuit Court of the island of Hispaniola. It contains 39 chapters.

Chapter I. Of the island of Hispaniola, its extent and characteristics, and when it was discovered by Christopher Columbus.

Chapter 2. Of the city of Santo Domingo and the Circuit Court which has its seat there, and of its district.

Chapter 3. Continuing the description of the city of Santo Domingo and the district of its Circuit Court, on the ecclesiastical side; and of the towns and cities which have been established on this island.

Chapter 4. Of the island of Puerto Rico and the city which has been founded there, capital of that diocese.

Chapter 5. Of the island of Margarita in the district of the Diocese of Puerto Rico; its description, and other matters.

Chapter 6. Of the raid on that island and city, of the rebel commander Lope de Aguirre; and the way in which they fish for pearls.

Chapter 7. Of the city of Cumaná in Nueva Andalucía, and other matters in its district and state.

Chapter 8. Continuing the description of the district of Cumaná, and in especial, the iort and saltworks of Araya.

Chapter 9. Of the island of Trinidad and city of St. Joseph de Oruña which is located there.

Chapter 10. Of the island of Trinidad and city of St. Joseph, and the way they grow and cure tobacco.

Chapter II. Of the Provinces of Guiana and city of Santo Tomé de Castilla which has been established there.

Chapter 12. Of the different tribes living on the banks of the River Orinoco, near the district of Guiana.

Chapter 13. Of the Indian tribe of the Aruâcas, valiant beyond the other Indians, and of their ceremony of commissioning warriors, and of their achievements and victories over other tribes.

Chapter 14. Of the naval battle fought by the Aruâca tribe against the Carib tribe of the Garinas.

Chapter 15. Of the rites and customs of the Aruâca tribe.

Chapter 16. Of the ceremony of commissioning warriors in the Carib tribe and of the mouths of the Orinoco, where they live.

Chapter 17. Of the route they follow in their dugout voyages from Trinidad to Margarita, and of other features of that country.

Chapter 18. Of the extraordinary fruit growing in the Indies, and of that on the island of Trinidad.

Chapter 19. Continuing the description of fruit and of other things.

Chapter 20. Of the Provinces of the Cumanagotos and the Palenques.

Chapter 21. Of other rivers between the Orinoco and the Marañón, the homes of various tribes.

Chapter 22. Of the founding of the city of San Juan de la Laguna de Uchire.

Chapter 23. Of the district of the Provinces of the Diocese and State of Venezuela.

Chapter 24. Continuing the description of the preceding subject, and other noteworthy things.

Chapter 25. Of the city of Santiago de León de Caracas, of other features of these provinces, and of the valiant deeds of the Spaniards.

Chapter 26. Of the boundaries of these provinces, and of other cities established in them.

Chapter 27. Of other cities in this Province of Venezuela.

Chapter 28. Continuing the description of the Provinces of Venezuela, and of the strange things to be found in its district.

Chapter 29. Of the island of Cuba, its extent, and the cities built there.

Chapter 30. Of the city of St. Augustine, Florida, and its district.

Chapter 31. Of the city and fort of St. Augustine, Florida, and other remarkable things in these provinces.

Chapter 32. Of many other provinces belonging in the Florida district, and of the wealth of amber and pearls to be found there, and of their need of a prelate.

Chapter 33. Continuing the description of the provinces, etc., discussed in the preceding chapter.

Chapter 34. Of the island of Jamaica, its fertility, and the remarkable things to be found there.

Chapter 35. Continuing the description of the remarkable features of this island, and how it was originally a help for further conquests.

Book III deals with the district of the Circuit Court of Mexico City; it contains 30 chapters.

Chapter I. Of the Province of Yucatan, its fertility, and its other remarkable features there.

Chapter 2. Of the foundation of the city of Mérida, and other features of that country.

Chapter 3. Of the city of Vera Cruz and port of San Juan de Ulloa in the Diocese of Tlaxcala, and other features of the district. [Marg.: Chap. 4.] [Marg.: Chap. 3. Of the number of convents, curacies and Indians in this province.]

Chapter 4. Continuing the description of the country and of the new Diocese whose creation has been ordered, to be located in the city of Vera Cruz or the town of Jalapa, seeing that it is healthier.

Chapter 5. Of the cities of Los Angeles (Puebla), Tlaxcala, and other features of the district of the Diocese.

Chapter 6. Continuing the description of the chief features of this city and Diocese, and of other cities.

Chapter 7. Of the city of Tlaxcala and other cities, and of the amount of fine cochineal gathered in the district, and of the judicial posts filled by the Viceroy in the district of this Diocese.

Chapter 8. Continuing the description of the district of the Diocese, and of the Corregidores and Alcaldes Mayores appointed here by the Viceroy.

Chapter 9. Of the great city of Mexico, seat of the Court, and capital of the Kingdoms of New Spain, and of its foundation and its beginnings in the days of its heathendom, and of the kings who reigned there, and their dates.

Chapter 10. Of the origin and filiation of the kings and lords who ruled in New Spain.

Chapter 11. Continuing the story of the filiation of the Mexican kings.

Chapter 12. Continuing the account of the filiation of the Mexican kings.

Chapter 13. Recording the surviving descendants of the kings of Mexico.

Chapter 14. Of the great city of Mexico, of its foundation, and of the omens which preceded the end of the Mexican monarchy.

Chapter 15. How Fernando Cortés, Marqués del Valle, on learning of that powerful kingdom, made his entry into it and conquered it, and of the rest that happened in the siege of Mexico City.

Chapter 16. Continuing the subject of the preceding chapter, and how the Marqués besieged Mexico City and took it.

Chapter 17. Of the great city of Mexico, and of the sumptuous temples it contains, and of its environs.

Chapter 18. Of the splendid convents of the religious orders, in the city of Mexico.

Chapter 19. Continuing the preceding subject, of the convents and nunneries in the city of Mexico.

Chapter 20. Of the Tribunal of the Holy Inquisition, the University and other colleges and remarkable establishments of this city of Mexico.

Chapter 21. Of the district of the Archdiocese of Mexico, of the provinces and cities and other important features.

Chapter 22. Continuing the preceding subject, of the district of the Archdiocese of Mexico, and in especial, describing the journey to the Province of Huaxteea and to Pánuco.

Chapter 23. Continuing the description of the Archdiocese of Mexico.

Chapter 24. Of other features of the district of the Archdiocese of Mexico, and the fruit growing there.

Chapter 25. Of the district of the Diocese of Michoacán.

Chapter 26. Continuing the description of the Diocese and Provinces of the Kingdom of Michoacán, and of the town of San Luís de Potosí.

Chapter 27. Continuing the description of the Diocese of Michoacán.

Chapter 28. Of the city of Antequera, founded in the valley of Oaxaca [and of the Alcaldías Mayores and Corregimientos to which the Viceroy appoints in it] and the district of the Diocese.

Chapter 29. Continuing the description of the Diocese of Oaxaca, and of the Alcaldias Mayores and Corregimientos to which the Viceroy appoints in it.

Chapter '30. Continuing the description of the Diocese of Oaxaca; and of the strange caverns to be found there.

Book IV treats of the district of the Circuit Court of Guadalajara; it contains nine chapters.

Chapter I. Of the city of Guadalajara, capital of the Kingdom of New Galicia, and of other features of its district.

Chapter 2. Continuing the description of the Kingdom of New Galicia and the district of the Diocese of Guadalajara, and its rich mines.

Chapter 3. Continuing the description of the Kingdom of New Galicia, and the Kingdom of California.

Chapter 4. Of the Kingdom of New Vizcaya, and of the provinces comprised within its Diocese and civil administration.

Chapter 5. Continuing the description of New Vizcaya; and of the famous deeds performed in its pacification by Gov. Francisco Vázquez de Coronado.

Chapter 6. Continuing the exploits of Gov. Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, with a description of the rest of New Vizcaya, and the exploration of New Mexico.

Chapter 7. Continuing the preceding subject, and of the favors shown to the Marqueses of Villamayor, descendants of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado.

Chapter 8. Continuing the description of the Provinces of New Mexico, as made known by another expedition which took place in the year 1581.

Chapter 9. Continuing the story of the exploration of the Provinces of New Mexico.

Book V describes the district of the Circuit Court of Santiago de Guatemala; it contains 33 chapters.

Chapter 1. Of the Royal City of Chiapa, and the district of its Diocese.

Chapter 2. Continuing the description of the Diocese of Chiapas, and its provinces.

Chapter 3. Of the variety of curious animals and birds to be found in the district of this Diocese.

Chapter 4. Of the variety of aromatic trees and other sorts; flowers, springs, and caverns to be found in this district of Chiapas.

Chapter 5. Of the strange serpents, snakes, and worms to be found in this district.

Chapter 6. Of the city of Guatemala and its district.

Chapter 7. Of the city of Santiago de Guatemala, of its extent and its convents and the other churches it contains.

Chapter 8. Continuing the description of the convents and the extent of this city.

Chapter 9. Continuing the description of the churches of this city, and other monuments which aggrandize and ennoble it.

Chapter 10. Continuing the description of Guatemala; its avenues of egress, and its highways.

Chapter 11. Continuing the description of Guatemala and its district.

Chapter 12. Continuing the description of the Corregimientos of the district of the Diocese of Guatemala.

Chapter 13. Of the town of Sonsonate and villages of its district, and of other strange things therein.

Chapter 14. Continuing the description of the remarkable things to be found in the district of the town of Sonsonate.

Chapter 15. Continuing the description of the district of the Diocese of Guatemala, and of the city of San Salvador and its provinces.

Chapter 16. Continuing the description of the Diocese of Guatemala, and of the city of San Miguel and town of Choluteca.

Chapter 17. Continuing the description of the district of the Diocese of Guatemala, and in particular, of the Corregimientos of Chiquimula and Casabastrán.

Chapter 18. Of the jiquilite, from which indigo is made, and of other trees and plants.

Chapter 19. Of other trees and plants unique in the world, and of the way in which annatto (achiote) is made.

Chapter 20. Of the costumes and customs of the Indians; and of those converted in the days of Dr. Alonso Criado de Castilla; and of other features of that country.

Chapter 21. Of the Diocese of Comayagua, and the foundation of the city of Valladolid.

Chapter 22. Continuing the description of the Diocese, and the provinces and cities of Honduras.

Chapter 23. Continuing the description of the Diocese of Honduras, and in particular, of the mines of Tegucigalpa.

Chapter 24. Concluding the description of the Diocese of Honduras.

Chapter 25. Of the Provinces and New Kingdom of León, of Nicaragua, and of the city of Granada which was founded there.

Chapter 26. Continuing the description of the Diocese of Nicaragua, its Provinces and Corregimientos.

Chapter 27. Continuing the description of the district of the Corregimiento of the port of Realejo, and in particular, of the village and Province of El Viejo.

Chapter 28. Of the Corregimiento and district of the village and Province of Quezalguaque and Sutiaba, and city of León.

Chapter 29. Continuing the preceding subject; and of the end which the Contreras met; and of the city of León, and other events.

Chapter 30. Of the Corregimiento of Monimbó and villages of its district, and of the Corregimiento of Chontales.

Chapter 31. Of the Provinces of Costa Rica and its administration, and of the Alcaldía Mayor of the port of Nicoya.

Chapter 32. Of the volcanoes emitting flame, to be found in these provinces and the others in the Indies.

Chapter 33. Continuing the subject of volcanoes: what they are, and what their origin is.

Book VI deals with the district of the Circuit Court of the Philippine Islands, whose seat is in the city of Manila; it contains six chapters.

Chapter I. Of the route followed to the Philippines, and of the island of Luzón, where the city of Manila was built.

Chapter 2. Of the famous city of Manila, court city and capital of the Philippine Islands; and of its foundation.

Chapter 3. Continuing the description of Manila and of the extensive commerce it carries on; and of the other Dioceses of these islands.

Chapter 4. Of other islands, in which diamonds and other precious stones are found; and of the delicious fruit growing in the Philippine Islands.

Chapter 5. Of the Molucca Islands, Ternate and Tidore, and the others, and the strange things to be found in them.

Chapter 6. Continuing the description of the Moluccas, and in particular of Tidore; and of the clove tree, and other spices.

END OF PART I

## Part II

### Воок І

Which Describes the District of the Circuit Court of Panama.

### CHAPTER I

Of the City of Panama, and the Circuit Court Established There.

**886.** The city of Panama is at 9° N. It was founded by Pedro Árias Dávila when he was Governor of Nueva Castilla del Oro, in the year 1519, on the Pacific coast, at the water's edge. It is a port and the chief transshipping point for all the kingdoms of Peru, at which they disembark all the gold and silver coming from there for Spain, and load all the merchandise coming from Spain for those kingdoms.

887. This city has more than 500 Spanish residents, not counting the transients and all the service rabble, free Negroes, and mulattoes. All the streets start at the harbor and run E, and W., so that the winds (which blow ordinarily N. and S.) may cool them from both sides-all except two streets, those of Santo Domingo and of Calafates, and they are hotter for that reason. It has a hot, damp climate but although it has had the name of being unhealthy, it is not. It is built, as I have stated, at the water's edge, and along the seashore, so that when one comes by boat from Peru, it looms up very extensive and attractive, although it is built practically altogether of planking; from the sea it looks like a large city, because the house plots are ample and spacious, on account of the heat, and for that reason they cover much ground and space. It is abundantly supplied with all the varieties of fruit found in the Indies; of Spanish sorts they raise only grapes, figs, melons, and pomegranates, two crops a year, the climate being hot and moist; they have some Spanish vegetables; corn is raised in large quantity, and is shipped in by boat, being indispensable both as food for the inhabitants and for the great numbers of mules which serve for the transportation from Panama to Puerto Bello, which is one of the busiest routes in the world. Excellent beef and yeal are to be had in quantity, and other provisions and luxuries-flour, preserves, etc.-come from the valleys of Peru, Lima, Trujillo, Saña, and other points.

**888.** The Circuit Court has its seat in this city; it is the oldest of those established on the Spanish Main. It usually has a President, who is the Governor and Captain General, four Justices, who

are likewise Alcaldes de Corte, an Attorney and Secretaries, a Relator, and the other necessary functionaries and officials. The district of this Circuit Court, originally called Nueva Castilla del Oro del Reyno de Tierra-Firme, is bounded on the E. by Darién; in that quarter it borders on the Dioceses of Cartagena and Popayán of the district of the Circuit Court of the New Kingdom of Granada. From Darién it runs along some narrow mountain ranges from E. to W.; at their widest it is not over 40 leagues across; they are narrowest between Panama and Puerto Bello. On that side this kingdom runs parallel for some 360 leagues (up to its frontier against Costa Rica) with the Diocese of Nicaragua and the Circuit Court of Guatemala. And although it is true that the Emperor Charles V, of glorious memory, assigned to this Circuit Court on the E. up to Buena Ventura, and on the W., Nicaragua, these two territories are subject: Buena Ventura, to the Circuit Court of Bogotá, and Nicaragua to the Circuit Court of Guatemala, both because they were closer to the courts mentioned, and because it was more suitable from the nature of the country.

**889.** This city of Panama contains the Cathedral; the Bishop and Prebendaries who reside there and conduct its services, are suffragan to the Archdiocese of Lima in Peru. The city has Dominican, Franciscan, Mercedarian, Augustinian Recollect, and Jesuit convents, a nunnery called La Concepción, and an excellent hospital for the care of the indigent sick, with other churches and pilgrimage shrines. It was from this city that valiant Don Francisco Pizarro sailed, that glory and honor of our nation, to explore and conquer the rich and opulent kingdoms of Peru. In this exploration he suffered great hardships, as is told by the ancient historians, and among the moderns, by Francisco Caro de Torres, of the Military Orders; then he went to Spain, and in the year 1530, he returned to carry out his conquest, bringing with him many cavaliers from his home region, and among them, his brother Fernando Pizarro, who was of great aid to him in the conquest, and in what happened later.

**890.** The city has a lively trade with the kingdoms of Peru, Nicaragua, and Guatemala; in fine, it is a market through which everybody passes, and so its inhabitants are traders and merchants. They have ships and frigates which are made and built on its coast and in its district, and which they utilize in commerce to ship and transport the products of the country, in which they make large profits. The country has many woods and groves, so that it appears like a bit of Paradise, except that its rivers produce the ferocious alligators or Nile crocodiles.

### CHAPTER II

Continuing the Description of the District of the Circuit Court of Panama; and in Particular, of the City of Puerto Bello.

**891.** The city of Puerto Bello is where the galleons come to transport the silver from Peru to Spain. It is 80 leagues' sail from Cartagena. The first to discover it was the Admiral Don Cristóbal Colón, but Diego de Nicuesa was the first to settle Nombre de Diós, in the year 1510; later, a settlement was again made there by Diego de Albites, by order of Gov. Pedro Árias; but since it was very unhealthy and not so convenient, this city of Nombre de Diós was relocated at Puerto Bello, a healthier and safer spot, and with a deep harbor, by Don Alonso de Sotomayor in the year 1596; he had been a wise and courageous Governor both in peace and war, having beaten the corsairs and caught and chastised the fugitive Negroes.

**892.** The city will contain 150 houses of Spaniards, free Negroes, and mulattoes. It has large stocks of merchandise from the fleets and galleons, and from other quarters. Its climate is hot and damp; it generally rains hard most of the year, and the drops of water after falling turn into little toads. It has been a very unhealthy place, and the graveyard of Spaniards, particularly those new arrivals who are so incautious as to eat fruit and do other imprudent things. At present it is healthier than it used to be, for they have cleared it out and built more houses, which experience has shown is a good thing. It has a parish church and a small Mercedarian convent.

**893.** It gets most of its provisions by cart; the meat comes from Panama, for the two herds or ranches which there are near the city, serve merely for the luxury of milk and an occasional veal calf. The country is heavily wooded and so prolific that it seems a bit of Paradise. Practically everything planted there runs to growth and does not fruit; rice does yield very well, and many varieties of fruit such as bananas, pineapples, aguacates, sugarcane, excellent oranges and lemons, and other fruit.

**894.** Most of its provisions come to it by cart, from Suerre, Coche, and other points; and while the galleons are in port, a fowl sells for 2 or 3 reals (at 8 to the peso); flour, preserves, and other luxuries come to it from Panama, imported from the valleys of Peru. Along the Atlantic coast there is no other city or settlement, and their only communications are with the galleons, and Cartagena, and some frigates coming from Nicaragua with provisions and other local products.

**895.** The fleets and galleons anchor at this port; here they take on the gold, silver, and other valuables which are brought from the

Kingdoms of Peru. This is all disembarked at Panama and carried overland to Puerto Bello, 8 leagues-though the woods road is so rough and winding that it comes to 18 leagues. The transport is by mules; some of the muleteers have become very rich and important, and have acquired large troops of mules and much property with their gains; in fact, at the season of the fleet, the hire of a mule for the 18 leagues comes to 25 or 30 pesos. There is transportation also by the Río de Chagre. This rises 3 leagues from Panama in its hills, near the Pacific, but runs to the Atlantic, gathering in almost all the other streams on its way as it bursts through all the mountain barriers and is a navigable river when it reaches the Atlantic. They transport merchandise on it in boats ordinarily rowed by 20 Negroes. The mouth of this Río de Chagre, on which these goods are freighted, lies 8 leagues W. of Puerto Bello; there is a fort at the river's mouth with six large bronze cannon, with its Warden or Captain, and soldiers of the garrison, for the defense of the river entrance. They go up this river 16 leagues by dint of rowing, up to the Casa de Cruces; there they unload the freight and carry it 5 leagues on muleback to Panama.

**896.** The city of Puerto Bello has two forts or castles; one is at the entrance or mouth of the harbor, named San Felipe, with its Warden and 60 soldiers in garrison, plus the gunners and other assistants and artisans, and with excellent bronze artillery. The castle of Santiago is at the approach to the city; it has an enrollment of 125, not counting the Captain, gunners, assistants, and artisans, with excellent heavy bronze artillery. The city has an Alcalde Mayor, appointed by the President. Half a league from Puerto Bello is the village of the free Negro hangers-on (Mogollones), with their Spanish Captain, who is the administrative officer for these Negroes. They are occupied with service and supplies for the city, and in seeing that no Negro runs away from his master, for they catch him immediately. These Negroes have been of value on many occasions, for besides being skillful workers and herdsmen in the country, they are brave and loyal in His Majesty's service.

# CHAPTER III

Continuing the Description of the District of the Circuit Court of Panama; and of Some Spanish Settlements Established in Its Provinces.

**897.** Two leagues from Panama is the island and port of Perico; since that sea is shallow, and the coast runs out gradually, large ships

anchor there. In its districts it has many islands, with fine large pearl beds, from which they have gathered, and still gather, many fine large ones.

898. Starting the district of the Circuit Court at Darién, which is 200 leagues E. of Panama: the whole country in this quarter is occupied by hostile Indians. It is true that at the mouth of the Río del Darién the city of Nuestra Señora del Antigua was established. It was from there that Commander Vasco Núñez de Balboa set out when he conquered rich provinces and discovered the Pacific. He was so valiant a gentleman that for his deeds he deserved great rewards and honors; but his father-in-law Pedro Árias de Ávila had him unjustly beheaded, in a village called Acla, at the entrance to the Gulf of Uraba. This has now been abandoned, for it was not right that a place should remain standing where such an injustice had been committed as to take the life of a gentleman who, besides his many other merits and his conquest of so many tribes, was the first who through his valor and his invincible spirit, discovered the Pacific and left his fame immortal, as is said in his praise by Dr. Solórzano in his "De Jure Indiarum," book I, chapter 5, Nos. 27-28, on folio 53.

899. The Cathedral of Panama was originally in the city of Nuestra Señora del Antigua; it was, and is, one of the most ancient in the Indies. When the city of Antigua was abandoned, they moved and transferred the church to Panama. Between Darien and Panama, at 40 leagues from the latter city, a settlement had been established, with some sawmills and cattle ranches, at a point called Del Vallano; but in the year 1611, when Don Francisco de Valverde was President of that Circuit Court, the 30 soldiers of their garrison having been withdrawn, the hostile Indians descended on them several times and massacred the Spaniards and slaves who were living on these ranches and farms, so that it was all completely abandoned, and is today, up to the city of Chepo, which is 12 leagues from Panama. And although the Supreme Council of the Indies by unanimous resolution in the year 1621 made provision and issued orders that this garrison should be renewed and restored, the President and Sergeant Major then in office unjustly countermanded the orders and would not let Capt. Jerónimo Ferrón Barragán carry them out, the highly suitable person whom the Council had sent for that purpose; hence this piece of land which is the best in all the province, is abandoned and at the mercy of hostile Indians, as has been stated.

**900.** Twelve leagues before Panama is Chepo, an Indian settlement existing ever since the discovery of the country; these have lost

their native language and speak ours. It is a village of little over 30 houses; all that district, as far as the sea and the mountains, is thickly covered with herds or ranches of cattle, fields of corn, and sawmills turning out planks, beams, and other lumber for ships and for export to Lima; there are likewise some sugar mills; so it runs all the 12 leagues to Panama.

**901.** Proceeding W. from Panama, at 30 leagues comes the city of Natâ, an Indian and Spanish settlement; it is small, but well supplied with provisions, and very attractive, so that it seems like a garden. Eight leagues farther on is the town of Los Santos, a settlement with 200 Spanish residents, and with abundant supplies and conveniences; nearby is the Indian village of Parita, where all the Indians talk Spanish, having forgotten their native mother tongue. In this district lie the Indian villages of Coclé and Penonomé, whose Indians are civilized and good fighters. The President of Panama appoints a Corregidor for this district, for its good government and the administration of justice. This district borders on that of the State and Province of Veragua.

### CHAPTER IV

Which Gives a Description of the Provinces of Veragua, and the Cities Established There.

**902.** Ten leagues beyond the town of Santos, to the W., and 48 from Panama, begins the Province and State of Veragua. Here His Majesty, in consultation with the Supreme Council of the Indies, appoints a Governor with the title of Captain General, for its good government and the administration of justice, and with the power of assigning Indians, although the assignments are poor and insignificant, there being very few natives, most having gone back to their heathendom. But the present Governor, Don Juan Cortés de Monroy, Knight of the Order of Santiago and son of the Militia Captain of the Kingdom of Chile, Pedro Cortés de Monroy, was brought up in the Chile Indian wars and is doing well in the conversion of the Indians, bringing many to the knowledge of our Holy Faith.

**903.** All this Province and State has few natives but great wealth in gold ore; it is all paved with this metal; the rivers and streams carry it; but since there is nobody to do the washing and extraction, they get little profit from this wealth. There are many sawmills for valuable timber, like cedar and other highly prized wood; they turn out planks, beams, and other lumber, which is exported to Lima. The sawmills in this province are the largest and best on the Pacific

coast; in these and the others under this jurisdiction there are more than 4,000 Negro sawyers and workmen employed only in this work and in building ships and frigates, for there are fine and famous shipyards in this Province of Veragua and its Pacific coast.

**904.** This province contains quantities of excellent pasturage for cattle and swine. The capital of this Province and State is the city of Santa Fé, which has as many as 30 Spanish residents and some Indians. Nine leagues farther on is the new village of Los Remedios, with as many as 80 houses, of Spaniards and Indians. El Montijo lies another 9 leagues beyond; and at 20 leagues along the same route W. and parallel, is the city of Santiago de Aljanje, called Chiriquí, built on the banks of its river, which gives it its name. The city contains as many as 80 Spanish residents and some Indians.

**905.** All these places mentioned were established on the Pacific coast, because most of the country N. is in hostile Indian territory, except for a few small camps, of which the rich mines discovered there have occasioned the rise and the disappearance. The city of Chiriquí is the last settlement in the Province and State of Veragua, for all the territory W., up to the Province of Costa Rica, belongs to heathen Indians. These give passage and provisions to the traders traversing those provinces with mules and other goods, taking their pay in knives, machetes, axes, and other commodities. From Chiriquí to Costa Rica it is 125 leagues; practically all of this is inhabited by heathen Indians.

**906.** Near these Provinces of Veragua lie those of Guaimí and Duy on the Atlantic coast, through which the Río de La Estrella flows; this is very rich in gold, as is all its mining region. These Provinces of Guaimí and Duy border on the extensive Province of Tegucigalpa, which is very rich in gold and other valuables. The Indians are quite civilized, and have the same dress and customs as the Mexicans.

**907.** There are in Panama Royal Officials, viz: Paymaster, Treasurer, and Factor. These administer the Royal Patrimony in the district of this Circuit Court, and go down to Puerto Bello for the arrival and departure of the galleons.

# Воок II

Of the Circuit Court of Santa Fé de Bogotâ, of the New Kingdom of Granada.

# Chapter I

Of the City of Cartagena and What It Contains; and When That Country Was Discovered.

908. The city of Cartagena in the Indies is 1,500 leagues' sail from Spain. The first to see and discover this country was Capt. Rodrigo de Bastidas, in the year 1502; in 1504 Luís Guerra and Juan de la Cosa made a beginning of its conquest; and for a period of 28 years this Juan de La Cosa and Alonso de Ojeda were engaged in subjugating the country; it was then that they employed Americus Vespuccius as pilot. But they, like others who worked so long in this task, accomplished nothing of importance. Finally in the year 1532 Commander Don Pedro de Heredia, a native of Madrid, came out as Governor and with great courage and persistence subdued and pacified part of the country, and settled and established this city of Cartagena, after having great battles with the Indians, who were more warlike and courageous in the defense of their country than any others who had been seen or encountered up to that time; in fact, among them was an Indian girl of not over 18 who before they seized and captured her, had killed eight Spaniards with her bow and arrows, and done other marvelous deeds.

**909.** The city is built by the sea, at the water's edge, 2 leagues from the Punta de La Canoa, to its W. It has a flat and sandy location, and is an island; on the N. it is surrounded by the sea, with a rough and shallow coast; on the land side there is an arm of the sea, which extends to La Ciénega (the swamp), with its lagoon Canapote, which rises and falls the same as the sea.

**910.** This city is not only built on a sandbank at 11° N., but has a hot and damp climate. It is the residence of the Governor and the Bishop of those provinces, and is one of the busiest trading ports in the Indies; they come here from many of the inland provinces of the New Kingdom of Granada, from the whole coast of the Spanish Main, from Nicaragua and other points, with supplies and other merchandise; and in the harbor, which is the westernmost of the mainland, the silver fleets and galleons take up anchorage.

**911.** At the entrance to the harbor it has an island, like the Cartagena in Spain, but larger, for it is 2 leagues long and half a league wide. In time past they called this island Codego; now it is known as Cajes. When the Spaniards discovered and conquered this country, it was thickly populated and inhabited by fishermen, though without water; and so from the resemblance of the island with that of Cartagena in Spain, they named their city Cartagena; it has hard water and its winds are salubrious breezes. It has abundant supplies of fish and beef; their pork is healthful, since they feed it to invalids and it acts as a laxative.

**912.** The city contains more than 1,500 Spanish residents, not counting mestizos, mulattoes, free Negroes and other categories, and the population is increasing; and since the whole island where the city is built, is occupied, they have started another settlement a stone's throw from the main one. This is called Gegemanî, and is already considerably the larger; one enters and leaves it by a causeway running its entire length.

**913.** The city is surrounded by a wall on every side, and the entrance to the harbor is defended by the fort of San Matias, and opposite it, connected with the island which they call Naba, is the fortress platform. And at one side of the fort of San Matias there is another fort called Del Judío, and at the end of the other side, the fort they call Oribe; and back of Gegemani there is another stretch of wall with its stronghold, with two pieces of artillery; and at the weakest points they have built two bulwarks and towers, which are very strong and well finished; one is called Santa Catalina, and the other, Santo Domingo. In all these forts and on the fortified towers and walls, there are 50 pieces of artillery, of excellent bronze and of all sizes.

#### CHAPTER II

Which Continues the Description of Cartagena.

**914.** The city possesses its own mansion, home of the Governor, who is also Captain General. Here are the guardroom and the city prison; every afternoon the company mounts guard here, with a garrison of 400 infantry, a Sergeant Major, and 2 Captains, whose squads man the towers, the half-moon of Oribe, and other posts; and one squad each month mans the forts and the platform.

**915.** The city possesses an armory, with many muskets, harquebusses, lances, and pikes, with a powder magazine; besides which, there are five local infantry Militia Captains, with excellent soldiers, for the citizens with their constant training are very expert militiamen. There is another company, of cavalry, with very fine troopers and horses. There is another company of free creole colored men, with a Captain appointed by His Majesty and 600 soldiers, as good as Spaniards and in their very image. These are employed in the handling of the artillery and other matters in His Majesty's service, like trench and fascine work.

**916.** There are Royal Apartments for the Judges and Royal Officials; a mole and a customhouse, where they store the merchandise of the fleets and other ships and frigates coming from all points. There is much commerce in this city and port, with Peru, the Spanish Main, New Spain, the Windward Islands, and Angola, from which every year 10 or 12 ships with Negroes arrive, and almost as many from Cape Verde and the Guinea rivers.

917. It has a very good Cathedral, of distinguished architecture, with the Bishop, Prebendaries, and much clergy in attendance. There is a very sumptuous Dominican convent; a Franciscan, called San Diego, of excellent design and architecture, erected at his own expense by Capt. Gramajo; an Augustinian, another excellent one of the Mercedarians, and a very good Jesuit establishment. There is a hospital with rooms for the sick and the injured, and others for maternity cases and for tumors (syphilis) and for salivations. There is a nunnery of Barefoot Carmelites, founded by Doña María de Barros; another nunnery, of Santa Clara; and in the other settlement of Gegemani there is a very elaborate and interesting Franciscan convent ; another hospital, Espíritu Santo, for incurables ; and outside of the city, another hospital, which they call San Lázaro, for the injured; and half a league off, on top of the hill which they call the Popa de La Galera (Galley Poop) is the convent of Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria of Augustinian Recollect friars, which is very strict.

**918.** At its beginning and foundation, the city was very small and its buildings very humble, of cane plastered with clay outside—what they call bajareque in that country—and for roof covering, straw or palm leaves; even today some such still exist in some quarters of the outlying wards. But the excellence of the harbor and the number of galleons, fleets, ships, and frigates flocking from every side to the lively commerce of this famous city and port, have contributed to its great increase, and it continues to grow in population and wealth; and since it is one of the best and busiest cities in the Indies, I shall say something of its republic, government, and tribunals, in the following chapter, with the remainder of its district.

#### CHAPTER III

Of What Remains To Be Said of the Government of the City, and of the District of Its Diocese.

**919.** The Governor appoints a Lieutenant General, and takes cognizance of matters pertaining to the government, war, and the preservation of the Indians; his lieutenant or he attend in person to the clearing of ships. The Sergeant Major of the garrison has jurisdiction over controversies among the soldiers and over the two Captains, whose nomination lies with the Governor and the War Council (Junta de Guerra) of the Indies.

**920.** There are 2 regular Alcaldes, and 2 of the Hermandad (Confraternity), an Alguacil Mayor (Head Constable), and 12 Regidores (Aldermen), with a Receiver General (Depositario), Attorney General (Procurador), and Secretary of the Council, in which the Governor and Alcaldes have no vote. The Lieutenant General and Alcaldes are such as one finds elsewhere, both the regular ones and those of the Hermandad; appeals from their decisions, if for any considerable amount, go to the Circuit Court at Bogotá.

**921.** The Judges and Royal Officials handle cases dealing with ships, putting in under stress, legal discharge of cargo, disposition of smuggled goods, customs fraud, and other matters pertaining to the payment of the royal revenues; appeal is taken from their decision to the Circuit Court at Bogotá; and in this instance the case is tried before them, and the Lieutenant General, being a lawyer, is their counsel.

**922.** The Galley Chief (Cabo de la Galera) has jurisdiction over matters and cases pertaining to the galleys and their soldiers; he has his Auditor, Inspector (Veedor), and Paymaster; appeals from their decisions are taken to the Royal Council of the Indies, the War Council, and (in some cases) the Circuit Court.

**923.** There is a Tribunal of the Holy Office with two Inquisitors, an Attorney, and a Secretary and other functionaries. There is a Tribunal of the Holy Crusade with its functionaries; appeals are taken from it to the Tribunal Mayor of Bogotá. There is an Episcopal Tribunal with its Provisor and Vicar General, Attorney, Notaries, Chief Constable (Alguacil Mayor), and other functionaries; appeals from their decisions must be tried before the Circuit Court of Bogotá in the New Kingdom of Granada, which is 200 leagues away. This inconvenience is such that it should be considered and remedied, for this city is so important that it could well have its own Circuit Court, or one could move that of Bogotá here, or that of Santo Domingo;

it would be more accessible from all sides, and many evils would be obviated which now are suffered by poor people who cannot afford such a long journey for their relief. Or one could take one Justice from each Circuit Court to take up residence in this city. Santa Marta is only 30 leagues away, to the E.; part of its administrative district comes under Bogotá, which is 200 leagues off; but part of this district of Santa Marta, viz, the Rio de la Hacha, which is 35 leagues distant from this city, comes under the Circuit Court of Santo Domingo. This would all be remedied if one of these Circuit Courts mentioned should be transferred to Cartagena, or if one Justice should be taken from each of them, and thus a new Circuit Court formed. That would put an end to great inconveniences and everything would be settled reasonably.

**924.** The Diocese of Cartagena has for its district, running E. and W., from the great Río de La Magdalena, which is its boundary with that of Santa Marta, up to the Río Darién on the W., a distance of 80 leagues; it is another 80 leagues from N. to S., up to the town of Mompós, a settlement of the Commander Don Pedro de Heredia, as is likewise the town of Tolû, where they gather very fragrant balsam, dragon's blood, and other medicinal resins and extracts. The whole country is heavily wooded; there are many valuable trees and timbers; bees make quantities of wild honey there; there are many different kinds of animals and birds, impossible to enumerate.

**925.** Communication is had by the great Río de La Magdalena, which is inland from the city, with the port of La Barranca at 18 leagues distance; there they disembark what is transported from Tenerife, Mompós, Ocaña, Zaragoza, Guamacó, Bogotá, and all the New Kingdom of Granada; and by the same great river and port they embark on boats the passengers, merchandise, etc.; so that this city is rich and well supplied and keeps growing in population and fine buildings. The harbor of Santa Marta lies 30 leagues to its E., and that of Puerto Bello 80 leagues W.

**926.** It contains in its district a great many farms where they plant and harvest quantities of corn and of yucca for cassava; there are large cattle ranches, and many varieties of fruit: of Spanish sorts, grapes, pomegranates, and figs; of native kinds, bananas, pineapples, mammees, guavas, custard-apples, sweet and sour oranges, very large and good, limes, and lemons. There are excellent truck gardens where they raise all sorts of Spanish and native vegetables.

927. On the farms they raise much poultry, but since it does not suffice for the needs of the city's large population, trading boats go to the Province of Uraba, which belongs to hostile Indians, to get

poultry in exchange for deep-sea coral, axes, machetes, knives, and other things. From the town of Tolû come frigates loaded with fat hogs, tortoises, poultry, bananas, planks, and other things for the provisioning of the city.

**928.** There are other farms, called Barû, on islands at 6 and 7 leagues from the city, and on what is called the Isla Fuerte, at 14 leagues; from all of these they bring by boat the crops they raise there, for the city's supplies. Half a league away is the Ciénega (Swamp) called Tesca, from which they provide themselves with fish, which are abundant there—robalos, lebranches, lisas, mojarras, large sabalos (shad) and many other varieties of excellent fish. During the rainy season this swamp overflows and communicates with the sea, at which time it is impossible to cross it, for it is very deep; the sea fish then run in to spawn, and while the water rises, the force of the sea breeze closes the inlet, so that it stays full of fish and abundantly supplied.

**929.** Inland there are excellent Indian villages, where they grow quantities of corn and raise much poultry and swine. The village of Tubarâ nets its encomendero 6,000 pesos a year. It was here that the curate and missionary was the glorious Padre San Luís Beltrán; he taught the natives of this village and neighborhood Christian doctrine and good morals, like a real master and minister of the Gospel.

**930.** The Indian village of Sipacua is larger than Tubarâ, and nets over 8,000 pesos annually. That of Malambo is 26 leagues from Cartagena and 2 from the Río Grande (de La Magdalena); from its harbor one travels by boat to Santa Marta, sailing 16 leagues. This suffices to describe the Diocese of Cartagena and all that is in it.

#### CHAPTER IV

Of the City of Santa Marta and the District of Its Diocese and State.

**931.** The city of Santa Marta lies 30 leagues E. of Cartagena, at 10° N. These provinces were discovered and subdued by the Commander Rodrigo de Bastidas, and in the year 1524 he founded here the city of Santa Marta, in level country on the seashore. It has a famous harbor, one of the best in the Indies; it has a hot climate, but healthy, because of the breezes which usually blow here. At the start the city was well settled, for the country is rich and prolific; but it has gone downhill, its residents leaving the city and deserting the country on account of the exactions which the governors have

been in the habit of making. At present it will have as many as 60 residents. It is the residence of the Governor and the Bishop of these provinces, and has an excellent Cathedral and two convents, a Dominican and a Franciscan.

**932.** The city has abundant, cheap, and delicious supplies of meat, fish, corn, cassava, and bread from flour made in this same State. Its chief commerce is in small amounts of pearls gathered there, brazilwood, guaiacum, very fine henequen fiber, both loose and made into thread, tobacco, some gold and silver from this same State, and other valuables. It has an excellent fort for its defense, with some pieces of bronze artillery. It is the residence of the Royal Officials, Paymaster and Treasurer, for all the provinces of the State.

933. The district of this Diocese and State is over 70 leagues wide along the seacoast E. and W., from the Río Grande (de La Magdalena) which divides it from the territory of Cartagena on the W., to the Río de La Hacha on the E., its boundary with the Diocese of Venezuela. It is 128 leagues long inland, with 10 small cities with Spanish residents in its district. This Diocese is suffragan to that of Bogotá, which bounds it on the S.

**934.** Two leagues away from Santa Marta, the Sierra Nevada begins, and runs over 40 leagues, to the Upár Valley. On account of this Sierra Nevada, although Santa Marta has a hot climate, the water is cold and delicious. It has great abundance of fruit, like bananas, aguacates, pineapples, and many sorts of sweet potatoes. The chief provinces of this District and State are Posiguay, Vetona, Chimila, and Tayrona; but the natives have fallen off greatly in numbers.

**935.** The city of La Ramada is 25 leagues E. of Santa Marta; it has only a few residents, who are busied with their herds of cattle. Ten leagues beyond this city, and thirty-five from Santa Marta, is the city of Río de la Hacha, which is one of the best and richest in this State. It has over 100 Spanish residents, a parish church, 2 convents, a Dominican and a Franciscan, and a hospital in which they care for the indigent sick. It has a good fort with four heavy bronze pieces, with a Warden appointed by His Majesty in consultation with the Supreme Council of the Indies, and with a garrison of soldiers for the defense of the city. There are here a Paymaster and Treasurer of the Royal Patrimony, appointed by His Majesty in consultation with the Royal Council. There are many rivers in the district of this city; (although it is in the State and Diocese of Santa Marta, it falls in the district of the Circuit Court of Bogotá).

This city and district of Río de la Hacha belong to the Circuit Court of Santo Domingo.

**936.** The products of this city are quantities of hides dressed here, brazilwood, guaiacum, and other valuables; they get many pearls in its district. The pearl beds where they get them lie 8, 10, 12, and 16 leagues off, up to the Cape of La Vela. In their exploitation there are at present engaged seven boats of Negroes who fish for them. In fact, this specialty forms the greatest wealth of the Indies, and they get them in quantities in the district of this city.

# Chapter V

Continuing the Description of the District of the State of Santa Marta and the Other Cities Which Have Been Established in Its Provinces.

**937.** Thirty-two leagues S. of Santa Marta lies the city of Los Reyes in the Upár Valley, founded by Capt. Santana at the command of Licentiate Miguel Díaz de Almendáriz when he was Governor of those provinces. The city of Los Reyes contains as many as 40 Spanish residents, with a parish church and a Dominican convent. Their chief occupation is with their herds of cattle and some farming.

938. Four leagues S. of the city of Los Reyes is the city of Nombre de Jesús, with some 30 Spanish residents. They have herds of cattle and raise quantities of wheat in the sierra; they cart the flour in to Cartagena and Santa Marta. In the district of this city there are silver mines in operation. It has likewise very rich copper mines in this Upár Valley, which are among the richest known of this metal. The division line between these two cities, Los Reyes and Jesús, is the Río de Cezár; on the other side of it runs the Cordillera Nevada, down to the Straits of Magellan, over 1,500 leagues. This Río de Cezár has Tupes Indians living along it, of the Carib family; these could easily be converted and brought to the knowledge of our Holy Faith. Among these savages in the early days the city of Becerril de Campos was established ; at that time most of them were Christians, and it is a pity that they are in their heathendom among so many provinces of Christians. The land is very fertile and highly suitable for cattle ranches, wheat and other crops; but through our negligence, neither the land nor the Indians are of any advantage. It was through this province that Commander Gonzalo Ximénez de Quesada passed, on his way to the conquest of the New Kingdom of Granada.

939. The city of Sevilla is 14 leagues from Santa Marta, with a few Spanish residents. The country is very rich in gold ore; all the

rivers carry it in abundance, but they fail to take out and enjoy this great wealth through lack of labor. The city of Córdoba is 4 leagues W. of Santa Marta; from there one goes to the Indian village of La Ciénega, where they take boats and travel on the Río Grande de La Magdalena to the town of Tenerife, which will have 40 Spanish residents, and is 30 leagues S. of Santa Marta. From this city they ship its fruit, poultry, preserves, and other luxuries to Zaragoza. Thirty leagues S. of Tenerife is the city of Tamalameque, with as many as 10 Spanish residents. From Tamalameque one sails 30 leagues up the Río Grande de La Magdalena to the port of Ocaña; and from this port it is 18 leagues' land journey to the city of Ocaña, which has over 100 Spanish residents. The chief commerce of its citizens is in wheat, sugar, preserves, and other luxuries which they ship to Cartagena and to the new mining camp of Guamacó, near Zaragoza, which has yielded, and still yields, great wealth of gold.

**940.** This is the district of the Diocese and State of Santa Marta: on the W. it is bounded by that of Cartagena, divided only by the Rio Grande, and Ocaña, which belongs to this district of Santa Marta; on the S. it borders on the city of Pamplona, of the Archdiocese of the New Kingdom of Granada; on the E. it touches the Diocese of Venezuela with the Lake of Maracaibo dividing them, which is 30 leagues from the Rio de la Hacha; one passes from one State to the other over the prairies of Orino, where there are countless stray and wild mares. At 8 leagues from Orino are the Guajijos Indians, idolatrous heathen, who could easily be converted to the Faith; these go naked, both men and women, wearing nothing but a bit of cloth over their loins.

**941.** The clothing of the Indians of the Diocese and State of Santa Marta consists of shirts and painted cotton blankets; they wear gold earhoops (orejeras), bits of gold in their nostrils, gold plaques and eagles on their breasts, with pebble bracelets, and gold pieces on their wrists and insteps. The caciques and principal men with more wealth than the others, wear also fine round precious stones and gold jewels. The Indian women wear petticoats and painted cotton blankets, lavishly adorned and decorated with gold jewelry and other precious stones.

## CHAPTER VI

Of the City of Santa Fé de Bogotá, Its Foundation and Extent, and of Other Features of These Provinces.

942. The city of Santa Fé de Bogotá, court city and capital of the New Kingdom of Granada, is named Bogotá after the powerful

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monarch or king who was ruling when Commander Gonzalo Ximénez de Quesada came through the Sierras de Opón in the year 1536 on his expedition for the conquest of those kingdoms and provinces. It took him 2 years to subdue and pacify the territories of the great monarch Bogotá, who enjoyed great authority and majesty, and had 400 wives; those of the great monarch Tunja, his neighbor, with whom he had controversies and wars; they were all of the Moxca tribe; and the provinces of the savage and warlike Panches, a brutish, fierce, and cannibal tribe, and therefore feared by all the surrounding peoples. He conquered and pacified these provinces, and saw the great native settlements they contained, and how rich they were in gold, silver, emeralds, and other valuables, and the favorable climate and nature of the soil.

**943.** In the year 1538 he founded and established the city in a plain under the slopes of a sierra; two ravines run down from it, each with a small stream in it rising on the mountain; one is named the Río de San Francisco, the other the Río de San Agustín; they enclose the city between them, one passing on each side of it; they have built two fine bridges to cross them.

**944.** The city will contain 2,000 Spanish residents, not counting the many natives who live there, the rest of the service class, and many slaves. It occupies the area of a very large city, and is very well laid out, with excellent buildings, and the streets or blocks of houses very straight. It lies in 4° N. and enjoys a marvelous spring-like climate the whole year, rather cool than hot, but always uniform, and the days and the nights equal. The city is abundantly provided with cheap and delicious supplies; in its district they raise quantities of wheat, corn, chickpeas, horse beans, and other Spanish and native cereals, with excellent vegetables and garden truck. They have potatoes that are better than truffles, many sorts of sweet potatoes, sugar mills and all kinds of Spanish fruit, with which they make excellent and delicious preserves; large ranches of cattle, sheep, hogs, mules, and horses; so that there are abundant supplies of everything.

**945.** They raise quantities of cotton, out of which they make and manufacture much cloth for the Indians; they work up also very fine henequen fiber. In the rivers they catch much excellent fish, especially the captain fish of the Río de Bosa. There are many gold, silver, and emerald deposits, and all the rivers carry gold; but through underpopulation, the wealth of this kingdom makes little show. And if His Majesty would send orders for the miners to be aided with

a certain number of slaves, there would be a great increase in the royal 20 percent impost.

946. This city is the seat of the Circuit Court, which has a President, who is Governor and Captain General; six Justices and an Attorney, with Secretaries, Relators, and other functionaries and officials. This Court has wide jurisdiction; in it, His Majesty, in consultation with the Supreme Council of the Indies, appoints to five posts of Governor, those of Cartagena, Santa Marta, Antioquía, Los Muzos, and Mérida, and part of that of Popayán; and three Corregimientos, those of Tunja, Mariquita, and Tocaima and Ibagué. His Majesty appoints also 12 Paymasters (Contadores) in the district of this Circuit Court : in the city of Bogotá, where there is a Tribunal de Cuentas (Court of Accounts), with two Contadores Mayores, two Ordenadores (Auditors), a Contador, and a Treasurer ; in Cartagena, a Contador and a Treasurer; in Santa Marta, a Contador and a Treasurer; and in Antioquía, a Contador and a Treasurer. In addition, the President appoints to 22 offices, 20 of them Corregimientos; one Boat Inspector (Juez de Canoas), an Administrator of Mitayos (forced Indian service), and other offices; besides which he appoints to two garrisons, one at Carare on the Río Grande de La Magdalena, and the other in the Chaparral, called San Lorenzo.

**947.** In Bogotá there is a Cathedral, with the Archbishop and Prebendaries in residence, and two curates who administer the Holy Sacraments. There are three other parishes, which are Nuestra Señora de Las Nueves, Santa Bárbara, and San Victoriano. It has Dominican, Franciscan, Augustinian, and Jesuit convents. There is a college under the Jesuit Fathers, with 60 collegians, who wear dark gray gowns and red sashes. There are three nunneries—La Concepción, the Barefoot Carmelites, and another new one; a General Hospital for the care of the sick; and outside of the city a Franciscan Recollect convent called San Diego, and other churches and shrines.

**948.** The Circuit Court has for its district from Cartagena to Popayán, N. and S.; and from E. to W., from the end of the jurisdiction of Mérida up to Buena Ventura, which is about 300 leagues. It comprises in its district the Archdiocese of Bogotá with the Dioceses of Cartagena, Santa Marta, and part of the Diocese of Popayán, with five posts of Governor named by His Majesty in consultation with the Royal Council of the Indies; these are Cartagena, Santa Marta, Zaragoza, Muzos, and La Grita or Mérida; these last three are in the district of the Archdiocese; with two Corregimientos to which His Majesty appoints—Tunja, and the mines of Mariquita. In addition the President of the Circuit Court appoints to 20 Corregi-

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mientos, which are all in the district of the Archdiocese; 10 of them are Ubaté, Guatavita, Suesca, Chia, Ubáque, Bosa, La Sabâna de Bogotá, Los Panches, and Los Sutagaos; and 10 in the district of Tunja—Chita, Gámeza, Tensa, Toca, Ceniza, Moabita, Turmequé, Sogamoso, Soata, Sáchica, Pamplona. When any of the Governors dies, or the Governor of Popayán, the President of the New Kingdom appoints a Governor ad interim.

#### Chapter VII

Continuing the Description of the Features of Bogotá and Its District.

**949.** There are in the city of Bogotá Superior Courts of Accounts (Tribunales Mayores de Cuentas) and of the Holy Crusade; furthermore, it has Officials of the Royal Patrimony. The Archdiocese has wide jurisdiction: N. and S., from the town of Mompós to San Juan de Los Llanos, over 200 leagues. In its district it has the States (Gobiernos) of Antioquía or Zaragoza, that of Los Muzos, and that of La Grita or Mérida, with 2 Corregimientos, those of Tunja and Mariquita, to which His Majesty appoints; plus the 19 Corregimientos in the appointment of the President of the New Kingdom, and 2 garrisons, that of Carare on the Río Grande de La Magdalena, and that of Chaparral, called San Lorenzo.

**950.** The Archdiocese of Bogotá has three suffragan Bishops: those of Cartagena, Santa Marta, and Popayán. In the district of the Archdiocese there are many cities and towns with Spanish residents, the principal being Bogotá, Tunja, Pamplona, Antioquía, Zaragoza, Mariquita, San Matías, Vélez, La Palma, Mérida, San Cristóbal, and other of less importance.

951. The New Kingdom is level country with many valleys, in which there are settlements of the Moxca tribe; it is surrounded on all sides by the tribe of the Panches. The Panche country is all in the hot belt; that of the Moxcas, which is the district of Bogotá and Tunja, is almost like spring in its uniform climate, and the days are the same length as the nights. It is some 150 leagues long, from less than  $3^{\circ}$  N. up to  $5^{\circ}$  and  $6^{\circ}$ , in which district are the tribes mentioned. The wealth of gold, emeralds, and silver to be found in these provinces is well known all over the world, and it would be much greater if 1,000 Ethiopians should be sent over for the exploitation of these precious metals with which the country is paved.

**952.** The natives of this kingdom are of good stature and proportions; they wear cotton clothes, striped and many-colored; the women

wear a sort of large blanket which they call anacos in Peru, covering all their body, and much wound around; over their shoulders they wear another one, small and serving as a mantilla, though they do not cover their heads with it, but only the shoulders. On their heads they wear garlands of different colored roses, made of cotton; they take great pains with their clothing, and the men the same. They are all docile people, and good Christians.

**953.** Twenty-two leagues NNE. of Bogotá is the city of Tunja, founded on a cool hillside by Capt. Gonzalo Suárez Rondón, acting under orders of Commander Gonzalo Ximénez de Quesada in the year 1538; he gave it the name of the monarch of that country, Tunja. The city has over 600 Spanish residents, with a parish church, Dominican, Franciscan, Augustinian, and Jesuit convents, two nunneries, hospitals where they care for the indigent sick, and other churches and shrines. In this city His Majesty appoints a Corregidor in consultation with his Royal Council of the Indies. It has very wide jurisdiction; the President of the Circuit Court appoints to 10 Corregimientos in it, viz: Chita, Gámeza, Tensa, Toca, Ceniza, Moabita, Turmequé, Sáchica, Pamplona, Sogamoso—9 of them of Indians, for the jurisdiction of Tunja is the most thickly settled in the whole kingdom; Pamplona is a Spanish settlement.

**954.** The whole Tunja district is thickly settled, and rich in gold and silver ore. In this district they raise quantities of wheat, corn, and the other cereals and fruit of Spanish and indigenous varieties. In the adjoining Tensa Valley there are four sugar plantations and some sugar mills, and large cattle ranches. In Tunja they make many cotton blankets and much cotton cloth for the Indians' clothing. Five leagues S. of the city lies the town of Leiva, which will contain about 150 Spaniards, with a marvelous springlike climate; there are large cattle ranches here and some sugar plantations; they raise some cotton and work up fine henequen fiber. Near this town is a convent of Recollect Augustinians, in which is the image of Nuestra Señora de La Candelaria. This is one of the greatest sanctuaries of that kingdom and has wrought many miracles; they come here from every side on pilgrimage, to receive the favors of this great Lady and offer Her their gifts.

**955.** The city of Vélez is some 16 leagues from Tunja, toward the Sierras de Opón, through which Commander Gonzalo Ximénez de Quesada made his conquering entry. After subduing the country, in the same year that he founded Bogotá and Tunja, i.e., 1538, he sent Capt. Gonzalo Suárez Rondón to found a new city, and since he was a native of Granada, he gave it the name of Vélez. This will

have 100 Spanish residents; its climate is hot. In its district and valleys there are large sugar plantations; they put up wonderfully delicious preserves. They raise Spanish and native fruit, plenty of wheat and corn, and have cattle and sheep ranches; they gather quantities of cotton, and work up very fine henequen fiber. There is rich gold ore, and wherever it is worked, they get gold of the finest quality.

# CHAPTER VIII

Of Other Matters Pertaining to the District of the City of Tunja; and of the City of Pamplona.

**956.** Two leagues from the city of Tunja, on the way to Bogotá, is the source of the Río de Meta; and the Río de Casanare rises 3 leagues from Chita, a Corregimiento in the jurisdiction of Tunja. These rivers after receiving other rivers and watercourses, unite and form a mighty stream, which flows eastward and is perhaps the chief component of the Orinoco; after a course of 300 leagues, it passes through the Provinces of Guiana, where the city of Santo Tomé has been established. On their banks grow many valuable trees, from which are derived aromatic extracts, such as balsam, canime, liquidambar, and others, benzoin, storax, dragon's blood, copal, and other medicinal fruits and roots.

957. In the village of Turmequé, an Indian Corregimiento 5 leagues from Tunja, the Indian alcaldes, at the chief's orders, arrested a mestizo whom they had caught in some thefts, after he had been warned and rebuked; and as he had made no improvement, the chief sentenced him, on that occasion in view of his offenses, to 200 strokes of the lash. When he had been notified and had heard the verdict. he said he wanted to see the chief and was very insistent about it. Finally the chief acceded to the mestizo's prayers and importunities and came to see him; whereupon the mestizo told to his face: How did it come about that he sentenced him, the son of a Spaniard and under the jurisdiction of Spanish justice-a thing impossible to do? The chief, who was shrewd and discreet, replied to the mestizo: "Where were you born? Here, or in Spain? Is your mother an Indian woman or Spanish?" and told him to answer formally. The mestizo answered that he was born there, and the son of an Indian woman. Then the chief said: "Since I have jurisdiction over what of you is Indian, on your mother's side, I will give you the 200 lashes, according to the sentence; and as for the rest of you, Spanish on your father's side, I'll turn you over to the Spanish authorities, for them to chastise you in that regard, for what concerns them." Thus he disposed of him and the case—a keen and wise judgment, and by an Indian.

**958.** The city of Pamplona is 42 leagues ENE. of Tunja, and 64 from Bogotá. It was founded by Gen. Pedro de Ursuá in the year 1548, under orders from Licentiate Miguel Díaz de Almendáriz, Governor of Santa Marta, in a valley which will be little more than  $1\frac{1}{2}$  leagues in circuit, between four ridges. Two small streams run through it; one rises in the Sierra de Zulia, half a league from Pamplona, where there is an Indian village; the other brook is named Miraflores. The land in this neighborhood is fertile and prolific; they raise quantities of wheat and corn, twice a year, one crop in August, the other at Christmas. The valley where the city is built is attractive; they grow quantities of fruit, of native and Spanish varieties, and flax, which they work up with care and they make excellent linen from it.

**959.** Pamplona will have 400 Spanish residents, with a parish church, and Dominican, Franciscan, Augustinian, and Jesuit convents; there is a nunnery of Santa Clara, a hospital where they care for the indigent sick, and a pilgrimage shrine of Our Lady of the Snows. The city is at  $6^{\circ}$  N. and is abundantly supplied with provisions at low prices. There are large cattle and mule ranches in the district, and many gold mines.

**960.** Seven leagues from the city, on the way to Ocaña, there is a mining camp called Vetas de Oro; the gold is all in veins, and so to treat the ore there are 13 crushing mills in this camp. Two leagues beyond there is another mining camp, for silver, called Mongora, where there are 3 mills to grind the ore. Two leagues farther on there are other gold mines, named Montuosa; here also the gold occurs in veins, and there are 10 mills to crush the ore. All these mines were discovered by Capt. Ortún Velasco.

**961.** Besides all this, on the Páramo Rico, which is 2 leagues from Vetas de Oro on the slopes of a sierra forming a large open space, there was discovered in the year 1555 the largest amount of gold on the surface of the ground that has ever been discovered in the world, nor was such great wealth ever seen before in one spot; in fact, merely what virgin gold was melted and paid the 20 percent impost amounted to 18 millions, apart from what was concealed and what was made into chains and jewelry of great value and high price.

**962.** Nine leagues ESE. of Pamplona lies a valley which is 7 leagues long and a little over 2 leagues broad; it is called the Valley of the Crazy People (Los Locos). When the country was explored and subdued, it contained over 60,000 Indians; when the Spaniards

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came in, these Indians were so unsophisticated that they took them for big monkeys, and picked up hemp ropes (which they call cabuyas in the kingdom) and tried to tie them with the ropes, without defending themselves from them; and the Spaniards, seeing them with so many ropes, and the faces that they made, decided they must be crazy, and so gave them that name, and the valley has kept it to this day.

963. Eleven leagues from the city there is another valley, which they call La Matanza (The Massacre), with a little butte in the center of it like a castle. In the early days 24 Spaniards came in here; and the Chitareros Indians of that province, seeing foreigners on their territory—and they were brave and warlike—got more than 40,000 together, armed with arrows, lances, and war clubs, to kill the Spaniards who were exploring. Since they saw they were lost, being so few against such a multitude of savages, they retreated with the utmost circumspection and reached the top of the butte, where they defended themselves valiantly, rolling down boulders or large stones; thus they killed many of the enemy, and coming off victorious through their great energy and precautions, they escaped from the danger. In this valley there are excellent hot baths, where invalids bathe and recover their health.

964. Fifteen leagues from Pamplona there are two valleys, one called Bucarica, and the other Los Cañaverales, where there are many gold-washing enterprises, in which 17 gangs of Negroes and Indians are employed in washing and extracting the gold; they have taken out large amounts of gold, and still do; it is  $22\frac{1}{2}$ -carat gold. These gold deposits were discovered by Capt. Ortún Velasco, and his estates are here, exploited by his children.

#### CHAPTER IX

Of Other Matters Pertaining to the District of the City of Pamplona.

**965.** In the district of this city, and at a distance of 15 leagues, lies the Cucuta Valley, which is fertile and with wide pasturelands; there are large mule ranches here; these mules are among the largest and best in the kingdom, and they take great troops of them down to Peru to sell; the same is true of the Los Locos Valley, which is likewise large and fertile.

**966.** In Pamplona there are extensive plantations of sugarcane; they make quantities of sugar there, and there are 17 sugar mills. The Rio de Zulia which runs through the valley in which the city

lies, unites with other streams, and 20 leagues below Pamplona, already a large river, it receives another river which runs through the town of Salazar de Las Palmas; this is a settlement with 40 Spanish residents, 23 leagues from Pamplona; it has an Alcalde Mayor in the private appointment of Capt. Alonso Rangel de Cuellar. This town was established for the subjection of the Orotomos Indians between Pamplona and Santa Marta; there are many of these Indians to be conquered; it is one of the best and richest projects in this kingdom; the Indians are civilized and wear clothes, and the country is rich in gold ore.

967. Some 12 leagues from the town of Salazar de Las Palmas, this Río de Zulia unites with another large river, carrying still more water, at the port of Astillero; here one takes boat for the Lake of Maracaibo. From the city of Pamplona they freight overland by troops of mules, flour, sugar, quantities of preserves, hides, tobacco, and other commodities to the port of Astillero, 22 leagues; from here they ship them on boats and rafts to the Lake of Maracaibo, which is 40 leagues from this port of Astillero.

**968.** This river always was the channel of navigation; it will be 40 years since two provinces or tribes, the Motilones and Zaparas, who live along the banks of this mighty river, rose in rebellion with their adjoining valleys; it was Capt. Juan Pacheco Maldonado who in person subdued and pacified the Saparas, who live near the Lake of Maracaibo. After having been Governor of Los Muzos, he arranged with His Majesty to be given the governorship of Mérida, in order to finish the conquest and pacification there, as he has done.

## Chapter X

Of the Administration of the City of Mérida, and Its District.

**969.** The city of Mérida, capital of this new State, is 50 leagues from the city of Pamplona, and 114 NE. of Santa Fé. It was established in a pleasant and fertile valley, on the slopes of a Sierra Nevada. It is the last town in that direction of the Archdiocese of Bogotá, and borders on Venezuela; it is 24 leagues from the city of Trujillo in that Diocese. This country was explored and subdued, and the city founded, by Capt. Juan Rodríguez Suárez, who was one of the bravest and sturdiest pioneers of those days. He was aided in his campaign by Capt. Guillermo de Vergara and other soldiers and officers.

**970.** The city has a constant springlike climate and is surrounded by fertile valleys, in which they raise quantities of wheat, corn, and

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other cereals and root crops of both Spanish and native varieties. They have wonderful pasturage in the district, and so there are large cattle and mule ranches; there is much gold and silver ore. The city will contain 300 Spanish residents, with a parish church, Dominican, Franciscan, and Augustinian convents, a hospital, and other shrines for worship. This city was founded by this Capt. Juan Rodríguez Suárez in the year 1547; afterward he headed a campaign into the Provinces of Venezuela, and after subduing and pacifying many tribes, he founded among other cities, Santiago de León, now called Caracas. He was engaged in pacifying those districts when he received word, late in 1560, that the corsair Lope de Aguirre had come down the Marañón and had done much damage there and in Margarita; and when fuller details of everything had reached him, to the effect that the rebel was attacking the Borburata and Nueva Valencia, he left the city of Barquisimeto where he was, for the relief of the other Spaniards resident in those provinces, from the rebel's attack, at the end of the year 1560. But on the slopes of Terepayna he was met by a great multitude of savages, who killed the few Spaniards he had with him; he himself, after killing many of the savages, being exhausted by the heat and thirst, and worn out by his exertions, leaned up against a rock and died there; but the savages did not dare touch him even after his death, such was his courage and the reputation he had among the savages. I have set out of its right order the story of the death of this captain, worthy of eternal praises, because he founded the city of Mérida.

**971.** There are other cities in the district of the State of Mérida: that of Espíritu Santo de La Grita, which will contain as many as 80 Spanish residents; it lies 20 leagues from Mérida, toward Pamplona; at the start this was the capital of the State. Five leagues from this city there is a volcano which erupted with a great earthquake on February 3, 1608; the earthquake was so severe that a hill flew up from where it was, near the volcano, and came down over a league away on a small stream, whose waters it turned aside and dammed, forming a lake which flooded much territory. Near La Grita is the city of San Cristóbal, which will contain 100 Spanish residents.

**972.** Capt. Juan Pacheco Maldonado, after his career in this State, established at the mouth of the Río de Zulia, on the banks of the Lake of Maracaibo, the city of San Matías, which has a few Spanish residents. Besides this there are two other cities, but with only a few Spanish residents: the city of Barinas, so famous for the celebrated tobacco grown and prepared in its district—the best in the

Indies—and the city of Pedraza. The port of San Pedro is on Lake Maracaibo; this is where they come from all the cities of these provinces with their products, to ship them. In the other direction, toward the W., this State is bounded by the district of Tunja, Vélez, and La Palma, the State of Los Muzos, and Colimas.

## CHAPTER XI

Of the Provinces of Los Muzos and Colimas, and the Emerald Mines To Be Found There.

973. The Provinces of Los Muzos and Colimas are 24 leagues ENE. of Bogotá, bordering on the territory of Tunja and Vélez. The Indians of these tribes were very brave warriors and very hard to subdue; they were cannibals and carried out devastating raids on the Moxca Indians, their neighbors, bringing troops of them back to their own country, where they made cannibal feasts on them. They seized these provinces from the Mauras and other tribes and drove them out, to settle later on the banks of the Rio Grande de La Magdalena. The subjugation of these provinces was begun by a few Spaniards, in particular by Gen. Pedro de Ursuá, a cousin or nephew of Licentiate Miguel Díaz de Almendáriz; when he had subdued part of this tribe, he established Tudela in a valley on the banks of the Río Zarbí near the sierras. This was abandoned in consequence of the continual forays of the savages from the sierras; so he set out with the idea of exploring the Provinces of El Dorado; and finding other large provinces toward the E. with plenty of natives and wealth of gold and provisions, he founded and established the city of Pamplona, as has been noted.

**974.** The Muzos and Colimas Indians, greatly set up because they had driven the Spaniards out of that region and made them abandon the new city, joined forces with Saboya, chief of the Moxca tribe, and massacred a few Spaniards and many Indians of adjoining tribes who had been converted; they carried many of them off to eat, being guilty of great treachery and deceit in so doing; and thus they exterminated great numbers of Indians in the jurisdictions of Bogotá, Tunja, and Vélez.

975. On learning of the great harm caused by these savages, Gen. Luís Lanchero set out with Captains Bartolomé de Soto, Juan de Poveda, and others, and a large force of well-armed soldiers, to subdue and chastise them, and in the Province of Paya, belonging to the jurisdiction of Vélez, they proposed to establish the first Spanish settlement, in the name of the Most Holy Trinity (Santísima

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Trinidad). They had some encounters with the heathen, from which the Spaniards always came off victorious; but the General was wounded with an arrow dipped in vegetable poison, so that they realized he must die. At this moment Capt. Juan de Ribera arrived with reinforcements, including some dogs as auxiliaries; they fought better than the Spaniards against the savages, and the latter were afraid of them, for they dashed in among the savages and tore them to pieces. So they subdued the greater part of these provinces and brought that warlike tribe into subjection, and although it was so fierce and so averse to subjection, it remained a subject tribe. They were brave, well-built, and robust; they fought with deadly poisoned arrows, with war clubs and with lances 25 palms long, made of a tough and poisonous palm. They attacked with loud war whoops, shouts, and the blowing of horns and conchs. At the time of the harvests they used to ask for a truce with the Spaniards, to gather the crops, which they shared with them in return for letting them harvest them, and then they would go to war again. When they had realized the courage of the Spaniards and the ferocity of their dogs, which they dreaded more than the harquebusses, they submitted and made peace. Thereupon search was made for a suitable location and site, and they found the one known as La Caldera, which is abundantly supplied with provisions, wood, and water, but has a hot, damp climate, being at 6° N. It is healthy and has salubrious breezes. They have two summers and two winters; one from the beginning of December lasting till the end of February; then it is winter till the beginning of June, when another summer starts, lasting all through September. It is not that it gets colder or hotter, for the climate is always uniform and the days and nights the same length; it is a question of water, for in these two winter seasons, it rains, and generally it falls at night, and there is no rain in the daytime. Every 4 months they get a crop, and it is abundant.

# CHAPTER XII

Of the City of Trinidad de Los Muzos; and of the Rich Emerald Mines in Its District, and the Way They Handle Them.

**976.** The city of Trinidad de Los Muzos was founded in the year 1547 by Gen. Luís Lanchero on the site known as La Caldera, in a level spot on the slopes of a mountain, with a climate as described. It lies in 6° N., 6 leagues from the great Cordillera, which runs N. and S. more than 1,500 leagues, from near Santa Marta to the Straits of Magellan; it is E. of the city. In the jurisdiction of this

city there are very rich mines of 22-carat gold veins; but the country is not settled, for lack of labor and because the location is low and unhealthy. There are likewise silver, copper, and iron mines, and a mine of stone unique in nature; it is all shot through with white pyrites (marcasite), gold and silver streaks; they make very handsome and attractive altars out of it, and it is utilized for other special purposes.

**977.** The hill of Itoto, on which are the very rich emerald mines, is a league out of the city. There are many veins in which chalcedony occurs and other forms of emerald, altogether like diamonds in being hard, white, and with a diamond's cutting edge, but for some reason not mature or ripened. They have come on other mines of these emeralds in the neighborhood of the hill of Itoto, at half a league, I league and farther off. The hill of Itoto where this rich mine is, is very high, with soil black as charcoal; the veins where the emeralds are formed, are in general soft. The way they handle them is to dig out all that earth following the veins in their search for the emeralds; they have flumes coming from a river which runs near the hill, and nearby, large tanks full of water with sluice gates, which they call tamires.

**978.** When they have excavated and followed the veins enough, they raise the sluice gates and the water which has been dammed up, dashes out with such force that it carries off all the earth excavated and leaves clean what has been mined, and at once they find the emeralds in that sort of soft, black, stony covering in which they are formed. Those that are matured and ripened, are of a very fine and uniform green, and among them are stones of priceless value; others are green with some whitish blotches, which are not fully matured; the white ones need seasoning. It sometimes happens that many are found together, which means great wealth. In fine, it is usual in these mines, just as in gold and silver mines, that sometimes they run richer than others. The water of this river which flows near the city, is generally almost black, both from the soil it runs through and from the mine operations.

**979.** Three leagues from the ridge of Itoto there is another called Abipi, on which there are likewise very rich emerald mines. These are not exploited, for lack of water, which is quite essential for working and exploiting a mine; without it there can be no exploitation. There are also mines of very fine beryls, among which there are large crystals, brilliant, clear, and transparent, with other mines to give thanks to the Creator for.

**980.** The city of Trinidad will contain 200 Spanish residents, with large numbers of Indians and Negroes, most of whom are engaged in the working and exploiting of the mines, which give much employment and profit. His Majesty appoints a Governor here, in consultation with the Royal Council of the Indies, for its good government and the administration of justice in it, the city of Palma and its provinces, and for the exploitation of the mines. They make in this city quantities of cotton cloth, very fine henequen fiber, and other specialties. It is abundantly supplied with provisions, wheat, corn, and other cereals and fruit, and cattle, as will be shown in the following chapter.

#### CHAPTER XIII

Of the City of La Palma, and of Other Special Features of the District of Its Provinces and Those of Trinidad; and of the Diversity of Trees and Fruit To Be Found There.

**981.** The city of La Palma is some 18 leagues from the city of Trinidad; the Indians of the region belong to the same tribe, and the country has the same climate and fertility. It will have some 200 Spanish residents; it has in its district quantities of cattle and sheep, and mule and hog ranches. In the city and its neighborhood they work up much very fine cotton cloth, serge, coarse woolen cloth, very fine henequen fiber, lisle and cotton stockings, and other specialties.

**982.** The country is very rough and wooded, like that of Trinidad. They raise quantities of corn, kidney beans, rice, and other cereals, fruit, and root crops—sweet potatoes, which they call camotes and are of numerous sorts, like those grown in Spain, purple, red, and yellow; potatoes, jicamas, and all sorts of Spanish vegetables and garden truck, which yield abundantly. Between these sierras there are fertile and attractive valleys, with rivers and streams of sweet and crystal-clear water running through them, full of delicious fish; there are sweet and sour oranges, grapefruit, citrons, limes, and lemons, not only cultivated but growing wild in the woods.

**983.** In these provinces there are almond trees growing tall and thick-foliaged like pines, which produce very large almonds, like large pears; the kernel or nut has the same color and taste as ours. The jobo or jocote has a fruit like Michaelmas plums; its bark and shoots are beneficial for swellings, wounds, and diarrhea; they make excellent parsley from its shoots. There are big fig trees which bear large figs, bigger than pippins, sweet and palatable; from its wood they make marvelous round shields. The papaw is a tall spongy

tree with thick foliage; it bears fruit the whole year through, shaped like a medium-sized melon, and red, with seeds like peppercorns and  $\mathbf{a}$  taste like cress; it is good for the digestion.

**984.** There is a very tall cup-shaped tree whose fruit looks like a hand, and is very sweet and palatable; very tall chestnut trees with burrs of the size of pomegranates and three or four chestnuts in each. The guabo or coxiniquil comes in two or three varieties; its fruit grows in pods like beans, some half a yard long and others less; the substance is inside the pod, white as snow, and very sweet and spongy; inside are soft seeds like green beans. There is another tree like the almond, which produces beans as large as chestnuts. The caeque tree is very tall and stocky; its fruit is like a peach and of the same size.

**985.** As for the granadilla (passionflower), the vines producing this fruit are like ivy; they wind around and cover a tall reed fence or climb a tree to which they hang fast. The fruit is like an egg, but somewhat larger; when ripe, the skin is yellow; they are very fragrant and palatable. The inside is very sweet, and liquid like the white of an egg, with some small seeds, which are swallowed with it. There are walnut trees in quantity in the woods. The jagua (inaja) tree has sap which is white and crystal-clear, but dyes black as ink. There are quantities of very fragrant cedars; maria trees, with tough timber red as cochineal; guaiacum, whose wood is indestructible and has medicinal value; the cariuri, with tough and highly prized timber; the namoré tree, with valuable timber; trees from which they get turpentine; the canime, copal, benzoin, balsam, and liquidambar trees.

**986.** The acuapa tree is poisonous; whoever sleeps under its shade gets swellings. They have ebony and brazilwood trees; palms which bear fruit called cachepais, excellent to eat; others whose wood is black as ebony, and very tough and harmful; the Indians make their weapons out of it, and pilgrim's staffs of it are exported to Spain. There is another tree called caimito; its fruit is like that of the strawberry tree, and the kernels roasted look and taste like chickpeas. There are aguacates, or paltas. There is another tree with stringy bark, from which they make thread and rope just as from henequen. The tree which is a giant among the others is the ceiba; it is very tall and straight, rounded and with thick foliage. Every month its leaves drop off and new ones come. They are so large that from the hollow of one trunk they fashion a dugout which will carry 600 jars of wine and 50 or 60 men and all the food and drink they need for a sea voyage.

#### CHAPTER XIV

Of the Diversity of Birds and Animals To Be Found in These Provinces and Regions of the Colimas.

**987.** They have very large royal eagles, falcons, sparrowhawks, primas (female falcons), kestrels, gerfalcons, large owls, barn owls, red owls, large bats bigger than pigeons, condors, and carrion buzzards; these two species of birds clean things up and prevent bad smells and tainted air, for they eat up whatever animals and small creatures die, so that they never get to decaying and causing bad odors. There are many other birds of prey, impossible to enumerate.

**988.** There are many sorts of waterfowl: Geese and many kinds of ducks, widgeons, pelicans (whose pouch will hold an arroba of water), cranes, flamingos, widgeons, mergansers, gulls, bitterns, white and gray egrets with fine plumes, and many other birds which live on the lakes and rivers and feed on the fish they catch.

**989.** In the woods and forests among the trees live wild turkeys, turkeys, pheasants, guinea hens, chachalaca grouse, pigeons, turtle-doves of many sorts, large, medium, and tiny as sparrows, partridges, quail, moor cocks, and many other kinds of wild and of domesticated barnyard fowl.

**990.** They have wild animals: Tigers, black bears like those in Spain, small lions which will run away from a dog barking, tapirs, gray-haired pigs with their navels on the backbones; other little ones mottled almost like wild boars; black wildcats, great pilferers; when they make a catch, they run off to the woods on their hind legs, carrying their prey tight in their forelegs; ant bears, who stick out their long slender tongue alongside the entrance to the anthill, and when it is covered, they draw it in with their catch, and so live on the ants; slender (? agalgados) water tigers with fore and hind feet webbed like a duck's, and they generally live in the water. There is a kind of foxes, great chicken thieves; they carry their young stowed away in a pouch with which Nature provides them.

**991.** They have deer like ours, and there are great numbers of them everywhere in the Indies. There are others small and red, like goats, which grow fine bezoar stones. The armadillo is good eating; it lives in holes in the ground. Guadatinajas are a sort of hare. Sloths are the size of a small dog, and very ugly; they take a long time to raise their foot and make a step forward, making a great enterprise out of it; they will use up a whole day in covering the distance of a stone's throw; they usually move only at night. The usmaca is like a cat; after bearing its young it keeps them hanging tight to its teats until they are grown enough to shift for themselves.

**992.** The pizma is the size and shape of a badger, but ugly, with a long snout; it has a note like a bird, and defends itself courageously against whoever tries to do it harm. They have porcupines which cast their quills if attacked; and hedgehog-cats which sleep all day and at night hunt mice, birds, and whatever small fry they can find. And there are many other species of animals never known or seen in Europe.

**993.** In the great river Magdalena there are countless alligators, as naturally fierce as I have described them elsewhere; but this great river has the largest number of them of any in the Indies. Its shores are usually full of their eggs; the Indians and Negroes break and eat endless amounts of them, but they never give out. This must suffice for the description of this jurisdiction.

## CHAPTER XV

Of the State of Antioquía, and the Cities Comprised within Its District; and of Other Remarkable Things.

**994.** The State of Antioquía borders on that of Popayán to the S. at the city of Arma; on the ESE., with Santa Fé de Bogotá and the country between the two rivers (entre los dos ríos); and to the NW., with the Atlantic, whose coast is under its jurisdiction. This begins at the Río Zenû, which separates it from the State of Cartagena; in that quarter it runs near the town of Tolû and continues along that coast up to Puerto Bello and Panama, along the Río Darién, into which run many others. This country is inhabited by Urabâes Indians, who live near the seacoast where were originally established the cities of Nuestra Señora del Antigua, in which the Panama Cathedral was first built, and of Acla, in the days of the valiant Commander Vasco Núñez de Balboa, who first discovered the Pacific, and who subdued these tribes of the Urabâes and the Guasuseês their neighbors, and kept them in subjection and converted them.

**995.** But Gov. Pedro Árias de Ávila unjustly beheaded his sonin-law Commander Vasco Núñez, through jealousy and with flimsy motives, to obscure his glories and his victorics, and so these tribes rose again in rebellion. Later they were subdued by Capt. Pedro Martín, and he established a village; but it was burned by the savage Guasuseês, and they massacred the Spaniards, so as to free themselves from the obligation of service. We have sure information that these Indians have great wealth of gold in their tombs.

996. Coming up from Darién there are large provinces of hostile Indians, and in particular along the Río del León, which runs into the Provinces of the Ytunos, Quenequenes, and Oromiras, with large settlements; these were explored by Capt. Rodrigo Alonso in the year 1604. He made sample tests along the river banks and located many gold mines and found great indications of free gold. On one of these rivers which fall into the Darién, we are informed that there is the rich temple of the god Dabaybe, which means gold lion; it contains untold wealth, offered by the savages since time immemorial to their god, for that is the greatest sanctuary they have in all those provinces. But although many have tried to reach this sanctuary of the heathen, they have failed, for it is a very wide country, with high crags and trackless mountains.

**997.** This country extends from the Urabá coast on the Atlantic to the port of Buena Ventura on the Pacific; between these two oceans on the W. is the district of Panama, with coasts on both. There are pearls not only on the Panama islands but in some of the inland rivers, for some have been found in the possession of the Chocó Indians, who inhabit these provinces over a wide territory, but with few settlements. These Indians live in pile dwellings which they build on the highest and loftiest ridges in their country, which is good and rough.

**998.** The weapons they use in their wars are light lances made of palm which they fire with great skill and accuracy long distances; but they have great fear of firearms, and run away from them, especially when their lances have given out. These savages are depraved morally, treacherous, and highway robbers; they do not keep their word. They have forced the abandonment of the town of Toro in the State of Popayán, whose gold mines are among the richest of the Indies, and are lost for that reason. They have likewise frequently raided Antioquía, harming and killing its residents, as well as Indian villages in its jurisdiction, and mining camps.

**999.** Many courageous captains have gone in there to subdue the tribes of these savages, and have been lost. The reason is that the country is poorly provided with supplies, like most of the gold-mining country; the settlements are few and far between, and although there are supplies of corn and other provisions of good quality stored in them, they are scanty.

# Chapter XVI

Continuing the Description of the State of Antioquía and of the Customs of the Savages.

**1000.** When the Spaniards come in to subdue them, the first settlement or pile dwelling from which they are spied, is set on fire

by the savages and as they are thatched with palm leaves (palmicha), they burn up at once and are abandoned. This gives the alarm to their neighbors, who imitate their example by following the same course and abandon everything, without the Spaniards being able to get any benefit from it. Then they take to the Río Chocó in their dugouts or rafts and go on downstream to some swamps formed by the river, where they fish and live on the product of their fishing until the Spaniards retire, for the country is rainy and unproductive, although richest in gold in the Indies.

**1001.** The best method to follow for the subjection of these provinces and enjoy the great wealth of gold which God has planted there, is for two captains to enter the country at the same time, one up the Darién and the Chocó, and the other across the Chocó territory; in this way the Indians will not be able to escape, and they will have to give themselves up and become subjects. They have a large stretch of rich land, covered however with woods, groves, and water-courses. Between these Indians and the State of Popayán at one side there are more than 4,000 hostile Indians of the Quirimbaraes tribe.

**1002.** From Antioquía to the seacoast it will be over 150 leagues; the very high and extensive Sierras de Abibe have to be crossed, with thick woods and uninhabitable wildernesses. This State is divided from the Corregimiento of Mariquita by the city of Los Remedios, which lies at the apex of a triangle formed by Antioquía and Zaragoza, to the ESE. It is separated from that of Cartagena by the town of Mompós, which is almost straight N., over the vast wildernesses formed by the Río de Cauca and Río de La Magdalena.

1003. It contains within its district five Spanish settlements: three cities—Santa Fé de Antioquía, Cáceres, and Zaragoza; and two towns, San Jerónimo del Monte, and Guamacó, although Guamacó falls within the Diocese of Cartagena. They have a Governor and Royal Officials; but the whole State comes under the jurisdiction of the Circuit Court and Archdiocese of Santa Fé de Bogotá; Santa Fé de Antioquía is in the Diocese of Popayán, from whose State administration it was severed by special agreement with Andrés Valdivia, so that the city might become a fortified post for the subjugation of the country between the two rivers (entre los dos ríos).

1004. The original Antioquía was settled by Jorge de Robledo in the year 1541; it was 30 leagues S. of where it is today. They established Valdivia on Forge Hill (Loma de La Fragua), to maintain a post near their subjugated area, and then moved their city to a point half a league from the Río Cauca, on the banks of the Río de Tonusco and on the slopes of the high ridge of Buritica; this is one of the richest in that country, for both it and its periphery are paved with very rich veins of gold, which they call lace gold (oro de encaje); great amounts of gold have been taken from it. Antioquía has very pleasant, bright weather; it has a marvelous location, level and attractive, with salubrious breezes, for which reason the natives consider it one of the healthiest places in the world.

**1005.** To the E., on the other side of the Río Cauca, rises the lofty and famous ridge of Taamî; and to the W. there are high mountains beyond Buritica, from which one gets excellent views of the city and the whole countryside. They drink the water of the Río Tonusco, which is somewhat hard on account of the numerous salt springs which discharge into it; but the water is healthy and the springs of great importance for the cattle of the large ranches there.

**1006.** In early days there was lively trade and commerce on the part of the Indians with these springs; they boiled the water and made quantities of salt, and sold it all over the country. At present they make only a little; it is salter than ours and milder; it is colored dark gray like the ground. They have a springlike climate, rather hot than cold.

## CHAPTER XVII

Of the Abundance of Cattle, Fruit, and Provisions To Be Found in the District of This State.

**1007.** In this district they have abundance of native and Spanish fruit, corn, rice, and other cereals. The Río Cauca forms some swamps, where they catch quantities of small-mouthed sardines, which have as good a flavor as salmon, and many other kinds of fish. In this country there are many prairies and meadows, pleasant and cheering to the eye and very attractive, which they call sabânas. Twenty leagues from Antioquía is the valley of Aburra, which is one of the most fertile and rich in pastureland, in all the Indies, for which reason it contains great numbers of cattle, sheep, horses, mares, and mules, and produces excellent vegetables and garden truck. Its climate is rather cold than hot. They harvest here great quantities of corn, and four or five varieties of beans, some of them better and bigger than horse beans—the Peruvian pallares de los llanos. They grow abundance of potatoes; they get honeycombs in the trees, without care or effort; on the land there are wild and domestic swine and every variety of cattle.

**1008.** The Río Cauca, which traverses all this State, carrying along great wealth of gold, rises in the State of Popayán, which it runs

completely across. At the village of Arma, the last in the district of Popayán, they build large rafts on it, of 40 or 50 bamboos, which they call guáduas. They fasten these together and build a compartment on them, which they call a barbacoa; here they stow their stuff or merchandise, so that it will stay dry. They navigate these rafts down this river to Antioquía, 40 leagues, in 8 hours' time; they have never traveled upstream, that being impossible, on account of the rapid current.

**1009.** From Antioquía to Cáceres there is no river travel, although it is a mighty stream and many others join it; but it runs confined between lofty sierras and mountains, with a strong current and great falls. It runs in this fashion to the gorge of La Gomera, and the mouth of the Río del Espíritu Santo, a league and a half from the city of Antioquía and not very far from the Río Cauca, some 30 leagues from Cáceres, was founded the city of San Juan de Rodas, which was deserted in the year 1599, for the Guasuseés Indians burned it down one night, massacring the Spaniards and carrying off the Spanish women into captivity.

# Chapter XVIII

Of the City of Cáceres and the Rich Gold Mines in Its District.

**1010.** The city of Cáceres is built at one end of the Loma de Nuabá. From the city down to the Río Cauca and the port of Valdivia, through which passes all its commerce, it is a very rough and steep descent a league long. The site of the city is likewise very rocky, with plenty of springs on account of the proximity of the rivers, and misty also; but as it lies on such a high point, it enjoys good pure air, which makes it healthy. The climate is most delightful, and the ground is free from obnoxious creatures. It has beautiful views over the Río Cauca and other high mountains toward the E., with lovely valleys and meadowland between them. The city was first founded on a level stretch, a quarter of a league from where it is today.

**1011.** This city was moved and settled on the site where it has remained, by Gov. Andrés de Valdivia, the first to explore and subjugate these provinces. He named it Úbeda, in memory of that in Andalusia, his native town. This gentleman was killed by the Indians in the valley of the Río de San Andrés, where he had a stronghold which the savages burned down. Later, Capt. Gaspar de Rodas came in to chastise them; he was a native of Cáceres in Estremadura, and called his city Nueva Cáceres. From here it is 32 leagues to the city of Antioquía—14 to the valley and Río de San Andrés, and 18 from there to Antioquía. The greater part of this country is uninhabited waste land, although in the ravines of Querquía, San Andrés, and Santa María there are a few scattered Indians, but no settlements.

1012. The city of Cáceres is well supplied with the products both of Spain and of the New Kingdom of Granada, all brought by boat on the Río Cauca to the port of Valdivia. The city will contain 20 encomenderos and 100 Spanish residents, with a parish church and 2 shrines, one of Santa Bárbara and the other of Santa Lucía. This country is rainy from April to September, which is their winter; they have great storms with thunder and lightning, which frighten more than harm; since they put up the shrine of the glorious martyr Santa Bárbara, there have not been so many. In the neighborhood of this city there are rich gold deposits, free and in veins, in the páramo of Porcí between Cáceres and Los Remedios; there are others in the páramo of Taubina, above the sources of the Río Valdivia; others in the páramo of Carûquiâ and Río de Osos, and the veins of Acacerí, between Cáceres and Zaragoza. All the rivers within this jurisdiction carry great wealth of free gold, and the ravines of Nurí, Ocó, Puqui, Purí, and many others in that region are paved with this precious metal.

**1013.** The Río Cauca has many mines on both banks; the richest are those called Las Pesquerías, which start at 6 leagues downstream from Cáceres. Rich above all others in this jurisdiction are those discovered by Gov. Don Juan Meléndez de Valdés in the year 1608 in the ravine of Nuparâ and on the Cerro de San Pedro at the mouth of the narrows of the Río Cauca. All this gold is 23-carats fine, coming from the highlands and having been refined and its fineness increased by the virtue of the sun; although this free gold, being remote from its source, contrary to what Aristotle asserts, that it is only formed in the cliffs, veins, or earth where it is engendered by the virtue of the sun, it is certain that it gets refined and gains in quality, as has been proven by experience; for the same gold found in the rivers and streams is of inferior quality to that found outside, because the dampness hinders somewhat the operation of the sun and it cannot refine it as if it were outside.

# CHAPTER XIX

Continuing the Description of the District of Cáceres; and of the Diversity of Fruit, Animals, and Birds To Be Found There.

**1014.** The city of Zaragoza is 30 leagues E. of Cáceres; the trail is rough, over sterile country without settlements, and with high

mountains and some rivers to cross; it is shorter and easier to travel down the Río Cauca and then up the Río de Nichí. In Cáceres they get two crops of corn a year, rice, many sorts of beans, cassava, sweet potatoes, and yams, which are another variety of them; there are both wild and cultivated or garden sorts; rascaderas, two kinds of arracachas, and aoyamas, which are like Guinea gourds.

1015. They have many different sorts of flowers, like pinks and carnations; garden truck and vegetables; many kinds of fruit, bananas, aguacates of three varieties, in season the whole year round; pine-apples, oranges, limes, lemons, citrons large and small, sugarcane, with establishments for making syrup and sugar. They have papaws, chontaduros, jocotes, guanábanas (bullock's heart), besides which there are many others excellent to eat, called caguyes. These grow on very tall trees in pods and when they are ripe, they drop when the wind blows. They have a hard thorny skin or rind, and inside, an almond big as three of ours, as mellow as ours and sweeter and oilier. The season for this fruit is 2 months, from March through April.

**1016.** There is another they call cerezas (cherries), though they neither look nor taste like them. They taste better, and are smaller; they grow a number on the same stalk; the trees are very tall. This fruit is highly prized, both because of its excellence and of the extraordinary fact that it only bears every 3 or 4 years, and then in abundance; the season is only March and April. There is another they call buñuelos (crullers) because of the similarity; the flavor is bittersweet, and pungent. Huevas (roe) grow on very pliant trees with broad leaves; they put out large pods and in each pod there are three or four huevas covered with a dark gray hull, each of the shape of a medium-sized pear; they are eaten boiled or roasted, and have a chestnut flavor.

1017. There is another fruit they call caimitos, of the size of an orange and purple outside when they are ripe; inside they are white, sweet, and well-flavored. There are others which are small, hardly larger than apricots, yellow, and well-flavored.

**1018.** The animals found in this country are: Very large and fierce tigers; small lions; tapirs the build of a mule; large bears; in the woods, very handsome and remarkable spotted wildcats, and others of the ordinary kind; many sorts of monkeys, some with long tails; squirrels; cuchumbies; armadillos; foxes; chuchas (opossums) which carry their young in a pouch and suckle them; they are great chicken thieves, and generally commit their depredations on stormy, rainy nights. There are three sorts of wild hogs; the best are the cariblancos, which are very wild; to kill them, they climb

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trees and whack them with a lance; and when they come and bite the tree where the man is who is making the noise, he kills them with his lance. They run in packs, and are usually led by the meanest and thinnest of the lot, who is their captain. Both they and the tatabaras have their navel on their backbone; after killing them, it has to be removed immediately because of the stench it makes. They are of the build of wild boars, and their flesh is of the same sort.

**1019.** There are animals they call perico ligero (sloths) which have a melancholy cry and move with extreme slowness and deliberation. There are otters and guadatinajas, both land and water kinds, which are hunted with dogs and snares. There are many species of snakes, large and small, land and water sorts; most of them are very poisonous; there is no remedy for a water-snake's bite.

**1020.** They have royal eagles and very fine bastards; many sorts of sparrow hawks, herons, guaguacos, gulls, paujíes, turkeys, the bird called urrí, parrots, macaws large and small, parrokeets, catalnicas (lories?) of beautiful and varied colors, nightingales and many other birds with sweet and harmonious songs. There are rabrahorcados, royal and bastard ducks, and many kinds of small ones, which are called zarzuelas; ravens, vultures, and turkey buzzards or zopilotes; some have red legs and hazel feathers, but most are black.

1021. They have partridges larger than our hens, with blue legs and hazel plumage; they call them guagraes, and catch or hunt them with snares ; there are others exactly like ours. They have turtledoves and the carpenter bird (woodpecker), with red crest and breast, which mauls and pecks at the trees as if recalling the story of King Tereus. There are other birds they call picos largos (long bills); they have them very large, yellow and black. The gulls nest on the sandbanks of the Río Cauca; they lay their eggs on the sand; they are almost as big and good as hen's eggs, and so they hatch them and carry them off. The turtles also lay their eggs in the sand and cover them over with it; they hatch under the heat and virtue of the sun, and the tiny turtles come straight out and make for the water. They get eggs and turtles in the backwaters of the river. The alligators hatch their eggs the same way; they are not to be found usually at Cáceres, the river having such a rapid current there; some have come up with the boats from Mompós; they have likewise brought rats, or large mice, which have come off the ships arriving from Spain.

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#### CHAPTER XX

Continuing the Description of the Preceding Theme.

1022. The iguana is built like a lizard, only larger and uglier. It lives in the water and on trees, and nests in the sand in ravines and along streams; and though that is a country of sudden rains which cause floods and freshets in the rivers, the iguanas have such sure instincts that at the time they choose for hatching their eggs, the sky is clear and the river smooth and peaceful. These iguanas are eaten roasted or fricasseed or in other ways, and you would think you were eating chicken or rabbit.

1023. There are certain birds from whose notes the Indians derive their auguries, and some Spaniards also; one of them is the bird which in that country they call the Valdivia bird, and in other regions, the guacagua. They call it the Valdivia bird because when the savages burned down the fort and massacred this gentleman and the Spaniards who were with him, these birds kept calling importunately for 3 or 4 days; they are held to be harbingers of people's approaching death and of misfortunes. There are animals known as memeyes which utter melancholy notes at night, but nobody has even seen this animal, nor is it known what it looks like, nor has it ever been caught.

1024. The Río Cauca is very full of fish, particularly in summer, when quantities come up from the marshes of the Río Magdalena to spawn in its shallows. The best fish in rivers tributary to the Cauca is the sabaleta (shad) which looks and tastes like trout. There are fish called donzellas, barbudos, bagrecillos white and small, others very large; dorados, picudas, getudos, and bocachicos. After the Río Nichî falls into the Cauca, it turns W. and unites with the Río de La Magdalena 9 leagues below the town of Mompós. It has navigable tributaries, one being the Río de San Jorge, which will be described later.

#### CHAPTER XXI

Of the City of Zaragoza, of Its Rich Gold Mines, and Other Features of Its District.

1025. The city of Zaragoza is built on the banks of the Río Nichi, 5 leagues below where this river is joined by the Río Porcí. In ancient times this country was the home of the Yamicies tribe of Indians, but since it was subjugated by the Spaniards, they have completely died out and disappeared, partly through voluntary action on their part, since rather than be subject to the Spaniards they preferred death and bled themselves to death from their noses, and partly because the country is naturally unhealthy in the extreme. The climate of this settlement and city is rather hot than cold; the sun is never seen free from clouds.

**1026.** The Río Nichi empties into the Cauca and is navigable up to the point of its junction with the Río Porcí; accordingly Zaragoza is well supplied with all products both of Spain and the New Kingdom of Granada. They bring what is necessary up the river in boats and dugouts; and they also import from Aburra and the Río Negro overland beef cattle and swine, with which it is abundantly provided, although the country is essentially sterile and uninhabitable; its only product is its wealth of gold, which is responsible for everything else.

**1027.** Nature compensated for this with the prairies (sabânas) of Tacasoluma, which is healthy country and covered with herds, particularly cattle, which come here to get cured and recover from the ailments contracted in Zaragoza. Zaragoza will contain 300 Spanish residents and many Negroes and mulattoes; it has active trade and commerce in its jurisdiction. It has many mines of free gold; they are the richest and best gold mines discovered in the Indies. From 3,000 to 4,000 Negro slaves work in them, divided up into gangs, with 300 Spanish miners.

1028. Every year they take out over 500,000 pesos worth of highgrade gold. There is a Royal Treasury, a parish church, and a hospital for the care of the indigent sick. The birds and animals are the same as in Cáceres, which lies 30 leagues away, over a very rough hard trail, to the W.; to the E., Guamacó is 25 leagues distant; S. lies the city of Los Remedios, which belongs in the Corregimiento of Mariquita; in between are the mines of Canâ and Las Lajas; it will be 12 leagues from Zaragoza, and 20 to Los Remedios. In the year 1598 many of the slaves revolted and wrecked the mines, killing the Spanish miners and some of their masters; they fortified themselves behind palisades and took up arms as if to destroy and exterminate the Spaniards in that province. Everything being in confusion and the Negroes in rebellion, their punishment and subjugation was entrusted to Juan Meléndez de Valdés, with the title of Captain General. With the courage and energy he had displayed in large measure in his campaigns and settlements in that State and several others previously, he put them to rout and killed many of them in the following year, 1599; those whom he took alive were dealt summary justice; he broke up their palisade; and having smoothed out all the difficulties, he pacified the country, and the city and its residents enjoy tranquillity. It was founded by Gov. Gaspar de Rodas in the year 1580.

# CHAPTER XXII

Of the Mines in the New Settlement of Guamacó.

**1029.** The Province of Guamacó was explored and settled by Capt. Juan Pérez Garabito and Francisco Ortíz Chiquillo, in the year 1612. Although word of the great wealth of this country had already occasioned several expeditions, none was successful; the country is rough and broken, supplies could not be brought in from any quarter, and those sent in could not be preserved because of the humidity and roughness of the region, which is rendered uninhabitable by its crags and lofty mountains; there was even hardly enough food for the horses and mules; in addition, rain falls without interruption the whole year; so the first explorers withdrew without accomplishing anything, unable to stand the inconveniences and hardships.

**1030.** In the year 1610 it was entered approximately from the W. near the State of Popayán at the mouth of the Río Caribona, where it empties into the Río Grande de La Magdalena, by Capt. Andrés Díaz Calvo, a resident of Santa Fé de Bogotá, with a large number of Negroes and Indians at his own expense, exploring the country; but although he came upon very rich gold mines at many points, he could not proceed farther and so returned, bringing word of the great wealth there; but for the reasons given, nothing resulted at that time.

1031. But later, man's desire for wealth being able to overcome difficulties, as this news of the great wealth of gold in this country spread around, another second Hercules in strength and courage, Capt. Juan Pérez Garabito, felt impelled to undertake this expedition; he was joined by Francisco Ortíz Chiquillo. He took along many Negroes and other people at his own expense, with a priest for what occasions might offer, Dr. Tomás de Andrada. After several days' journey under great difficulties they made a halt on their arrival at a certain spot which seemed to them an agreeable site with a suitable mild climate. They put up their tents and started prospecting the country, finding many rich and profitable mines; so they settled at this point and named it the city of San Francisco del Antigua del Guamacó; the first name, because it was the Saint's day when they arrived there; and Antigua, because of the very holy image of Nuestra Señora del Antigua in Seville, to which this pioneer was devoted.

**1032.** When the settlement was established, they tendered allegiance to the Circuit Court of Bogotá, in whose jurisdiction it falls, and on the ecclesiastical side, to the Bishop of Cartagena, asking to have

priests sent them for the consolation of their people and the administration of the Holy Sacraments. There being a vacancy, the Chapter of the Holy Church, considering the great difficulties in the way, this being new country and so rough and uninhabited, and that no priest would venture to go there, nevertheless tried to send some, but they all made excuses. So they finally sent one priest and committed to him the spiritual consolation of the new settlers and the administration of the Holy Sacraments for a territory of over 1,000 souls, for they had flocked in from several quarters at the news of the wealth there, with a large number of freshly imported Negroes without the knowledge or the light of our Holy Faith. So being appointed by the vacant seat as Curate and Vicar of that city and province, he set out for it with zeal in the service of God and His Majesty and for the good of their souls.

# CHAPTER XXIII

Continuing the Description of the New Mines of Guamacó; and of Other Matters.

**1033.** Having been appointed Curate and Vicar of the Province of Guamacó and the new settlement, he made a journey from Cartagena of over 200 leagues. From Cartagena he went up the Río Grande de La Magdalena, a very unpleasant and uncomfortable trip, as is well known, against the strong current of the river, with its great heat and the annoyance of various sorts of mosquitoes, and the risk and danger of alligators and other trials of the river journey. Finally they arrived at a port on the Río de Cemití (Gemiti?), where the encomendero of the Indians is Capt. Pablo Durán de Cogollos, a resident of the town of Mompós in the State of Cartagena.

1034. At that moment Capt. Alexandrino Ramírez was at the port, with the intention of going on and blazing a trail through there suitable for transporting provisions, having learned that the people there would die of hunger and perish; and the wealth of the country roused his ambition not to let it be abandoned. So this Capt. Alexandrino Ramírez and the priest took up their journey, and in 15 days' time they opened up a suitable trail for a distance of 20 leagues, though with great difficulty; and God was pleased to bring them in this fashion to the new city and many supplies are sent in.

1035. The new mines have turned out to be very rich, and His Majesty's 20 percent keeps growing, for with the settlement's prosperity and wealth, many Spanish settlers have come in, bosses of gangs of 30 slaves, and up to 80 and 100. This locality has a very

temperate climate the whole year, like spring, neither hot nor cold, but it rains most of the year, which is a good thing for the extraction of the gold and the working of the mines. The land is sterile and bears no crops; its only wealth is gold; but for love of it they flock here from all sides, from Cartagena, from the State of Santa Marta and from the New Kingdom, with supplies, so that it is well provided with everything.

# Chapter XXIV

Of the Town of San Jerónimo del Monte and Its Rich Gold Mines. 1036. The town of San Jerónimo del Monte is built on the hill of Pirura; it has a good and agreeable climate. Its district has the same animals and birds as Cáceres, from which it is 24 leagues distant. Seven leagues from the town runs the Río de San Jorge, which empties into the Cauca; some dugouts come up it. There are 10 encomenderos in this town; they raise what is needful in products of the soil.

1037. There are very rich mines of free gold, and two hills which are paved with veins of this precious metal. In the ravine of Urare, a Negro belonging to Don Francisco Vélez de Guevara, by name Lorenzo, found a gold nugget which weighed 900 pesos; many others have been found of 400, 200, and 100, so that this region is one of the richest in the world in this metal.

1038. There are in this district many aromatic trees; abundance of canime oil, turpentine, balsam, copal, benzoin, and other aromatic resins, with quantities of game and fish. This town was settled and built in the year 1595 by Capt. Juan de Erano, of the Kingdom of Navarre, native of the town of Luquín. He was a valiant cavalier in the conquest of all that State, being Lieutenant General of Gov. Andrés de Valdivia. He named it San Jerónimo del Monte in commemoration of his wife, Doña Jerónima de Valdivia.

#### CHAPTER XXV

Of the City of Mariquita, otherwise known as San Sebastián de La Plata, for the Rich Mines It Contains.

1039. The city of Mariquita, called San Sebastián de La Plata, is on the outskirts of the State of Popayán, 30 leagues SW. of the city of Bogotá. It was established and settled in an agreeable level spot on the banks of the Río Gualî, 3 leagues from the port of Honda on the Río de La Magdalena. It is the capital of a Corregimiento, to which His Majesty appoints in consultation with the Supreme

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Council of the Indies. It will contain 150 Spanish residents, among them 24 encomenderos of Indians of the Panches tribe; they were brave and warlike cannibals, and had public feasts of human flesh.

**1040.** In this city there is a parish church and a Dominican and a Franciscan convent. Its climate is rather hot than cold, and the country is rough; it has cattle and sheep ranches, sugar plantations, and quantities of native fruit. Fish are abundant in the rivers, and there are rich mines of free gold, for the ground is full of it. Guillermo de Vergara, grandfather of Ensign Utrera, campaigned in these provinces and in those of Pamplona.

**1041.** Here are the Lajas de Plata (Silver Slab) mines, which are very rich; they have 32 mills to grind the ore. This city was founded and settled in the year 1536 by Commander Don Sebastián de Belalcázar; the Indians massacred many Spaniards, and later, seven of his encomenderos. Some Spanish captains came in to chastise the savages, but they never could accomplish anything, for the savages were warlike and the country very rough and rocky.

**1042.** Finally the task of pacification was entrusted to Gen. Juan Meléndez de Valdés, a gentleman of well-known energy, caution, and courage; in the numerous fights he had with them, he broke them up and defeated them, killing many of them, until he subdued them and brought them into servitude, since when they have stayed quiet and peaceful there.

1043. The town of Timana is in this Corregimiento; it is 60 leagues from Bogotá, and was established by Capt. Lope de Salzedo Iaureguí as a station on the way to the State of Popayán and the Kingdoms of Peru, and to open up a route for the commerce of those provinces. It is 40 leagues from Popayán; it was founded by Commander Don Sebastián de Belalcázar in the year 1537. There used to be in this jurisdiction and province more than 20,000 Indians. The city has a very delightful and healthy climate, and looks attractive and handsome; it possesses abundant pasturelands for cattle, and so there are large ranches. The Indians and the Spaniards in this country make very good preserves, for they have abundance of wild honey gathered and stored by the bees in the woods, and much excellent fruit to make them with, and in particular, very good almonds which grow on tall trees, out of which they make delicious nougat, which they take to the Almaguer mines and others; for in all those provinces there are many deposits of gold ore.

**1044.** In this jurisdiction of Timanâ there are large plantations or chacras of the prized coca of the Indians, which for them is a magic herb. The shrubs which produce it are low; the leaves look like

myrtle leaves. The Indians keep it in their mouths all day long, for they say it gives them strength, and when they go without and then take it up again, it takes away their sense of hunger, thirst, and fatigue. In short, it has for the Indians the same virtues as tobacco for tobacco users.

**1045.** They gather and work up quantities of very fine henequen fiber, all of which has an excellent market. Every week in Timanâ they have fairs or markets, to which come all the Indians of the neighborhood and the province, and trade with the Spaniards, who are well off in this city, for it has a delightful healthy climate; hence they raise in the district many kinds of native and Spanish fruit in abundance. The city is on the other side of the Cordillera, and is well supplied with excellent provisions. People live there largely on account of its equable climate and its healthfulness.

# CHAPTER XXVI

Of the City of Los Remedios and Its Rich Mines; and of Other Cities.

1046. The city of Los Remedios is 24 leagues from Bogotá, in a rough mountainous country. It has a hot climate and its neighborhood is unproductive. It was established in the province of the Patangora tribe, 30 leagues from the city of Antioquía. In its mountains there are many fierce tigers, which have killed many people, for they are man killers; and there are many other kinds of animals.() The district of this city has the same kinds of animals, birds, fruit, and fish as that of Cáceres.

**1047.** The city will have 30 Spanish residents and 15 encomenderos, with a parish church. It has rich mines of gold, both free and in veins; they have taken out a large amount of gold, but of low grade. Its commerce comes in over the Río Naré, which empties into the Magdalena, near the port of Honda. Spanish merchandise comes in also by the Río Nichi and through Zaragoza, being brought in from there overland on muleback.

1048. From Antioquía and the Aburra Valley are imported cattle and hogs for their sustenance. This city was established and settled, and its Indian allotments made, by Gen. Lope de Salzedo Iaureguí in the year 1552, among those who helped him in its exploration and conquest. All this country is full of deposits of gold, free and in veins, for this whole country is paved with this metal.

1049. The city of Ibagué is 30 leagues W. of Bogotá. It has a hot climate and is rich in gold ore, with abundance of fruit, cattle, and poultry, like the others which have been described. This city

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was founded and settled under orders and a commission from the Circuit Court by Capt. Andrés López de Galarza in the year 1551 to prevent the depredations committed by the Indians of this province, united with those of Tocaima and Cartago, on persons traveling to the State of Popayán.

**1050.** The city of Vitoria is 50 leagues NW. of Bogotá; it was founded and settled by this same Capt. Andrés López de Galarza, but it has already been abandoned. This country abounds in fruit, animals, and birds; it has a few gold mines.

1051. The city of Tocaima is 15 leagues E. of Bogotá and is built on the banks of the Río Grande de La Magdalena. It has a very hot climate and is supplied with everything necessary for human existence. There is a parish church and a Dominican convent. The Royal Circuit Court named Lope de Salzedo Iaureguí as General for the villages of this province, to resist the corsair Lope de Aguirre, who had come down the Marañón and had then looted Margarita, leaving after having done much damage and killed many citizens of that city. Then he struck in via Borburata and the State of Caracas, with the idea of entering the New Kingdom of Granada, but God intercepted his path, and he was defeated and killed in the year 1561 in the city of Tucuyo by the valiant Militia Captain of His Majesty's forces, Diego García de Paredes, conqueror of the Provinces of Cuicas, and founder and settler of the city of Trujillo in those provinces; he came from the city of Trujillo in Estremadura in Spain of the noble manorial family of the great Diego García de Paredes, glory and honor of our Spanish nation; and although in this life he did not receive his deserts, God honored him in his death, for he was sought out by the greatest monarchs in the world, the Supreme Pontiff and the Emperor Charles V; the Pontiff responded for his soul and the Emperor for his debts and obligations. And since I have made some mention at this point of the corsair, for it was in this province that men were found to stop him, however out of place it may seem, I shall nevertheless recount briefly in the following chapter other cruelties which he perpetrated in Margarita before he left there, and the subsequent events, up to his death.

# Chapter XXVII

Of the Cruelties Perpetrated by the Rebel Lope de Aguirre; and of What Followed, up to His Disastrous End and Miserable Death.

**1052.** As soon as the freebooter Lope de Aguirre had treacherously gained possession of the island and city of Margarita, and had cap-

tured its Governor, Alcaldes, and other officials and highly placed citizens, Pedro Alonso revolted at the thought of standing his inhuman cruelties any longer. This excellent man had come down out of Peru with Gov. Pedro de Ursuá, and at several critical moments had come near losing his life with this tyrant. Feeling that he was not safe with him, and trusting himself rather to the stormy billows of a swollen sea, he ran away one night and in a small dugout crossed to the mainland, bringing word everywhere of the corsair's approach, so that they might anticipate him and arm themselves.

1053. At this time Capt. Monguía tendered his allegiance to the Provincial, Fray Francisco Montesinos, and Aguirre's cruelties alienated Ensign Villena, who was surfeited with them; he was guest of one of the leading ladies of that city, named Ana de Rojas, so the tyrant had her hanged, and her husband with her, who was one of the chief pioneers in that country; and he made a soldier named Figueroa, his peer in evil habits and deeds, murder three friars in the Franciscan convent, and among them one sainted old man who was loved and revered for his virtue and sanctity by everyone, Fray Andrés de Valdés. The corsair perpetrated many other cruelties and murders, and left the poor city looted and devastated, and most of its residents murdered. Then he went to the port of Borburata, where he knifed and killed two of his own soldiers because they could no longer stand his inhumanities, and the attacks, assaults, and other crimes they committed on the girls and honorable married women, and the other robberies and cruelties.

1054. From Borburata he went on to Nueva Valencia, which had already been deserted by its inhabitants, fleeing from his infernal madness, although he did capture one noble gentleman, a resident of the city, named Don Julián, who had been unable to get away quickly enough with his wife and children and mother-in-law; Pedro Árias his father-in-law had escaped, so Aguirre ordered him to go and bring him back, under penalty of knifing his wife, children, and mother-in-law if he did not; so the wretched gentleman had to go after him and bring him to the slaughterhouse, thinking in this way to save his dear pledges from the bloodthirsty wolf.

**1055.** Pablo Collado was Governor at this time in the city of Barquisimeto. When he learned of the corsair's fury, he thought he would abandon the country with some of his followers; but as the tyrant's approach had already been heralded all over the country, many gentleman pioneers flocked in from all sides to resist the corsair, though inadequately armed. Among them were valiant Marshal Gutierre

de la Peña, Pedro Bravo de Molina, valiant Diego García de Paredes, and Capt. Pedro Alonso Galeas, who was the principal instrument of this victory; he had come up from Peru and had left his company, rousing and heartening all the country against the tyrant. With the others whom I do not enumerate for fear of prolixity, there were assembled 200 valiant soldiers, so that Gov. Pablo Collado was much encouraged and arranged defense.

**1056.** The corsair had 176 skillful harquebussiers, many small pieces of artillery, munitions and other instruments of war, and much baggage. Cruel, inhuman, and godless as he was, finding the city of Barquisimeto deserted by its inhabitants, he stopped there, and made Don Juan de Corella burn down the church in that city, so as to have him as security, and committed a thousand other abominations.

**1057.** At that moment Gov. Pablo Collado appointed as General, Marshal Gutierre de la Peña, commanding the right wing of His Majesty's army, with Pedro Bravo de Molina commanding the left : as Militia Captain, valiant Diego García de Paredes, who held that post in that country ; as Cavalry Captain, Diego Ruíz, the Governor's Lieutenant General.

**1058.** Before looking over the territory for giving battle when the rebel appeared, the valiant Militia Captain Diego García de Paredes went out with 40 soldiers on a reconnoissance of the rebel's forces. They took up their position where they could not be seen; and having reconnoitred the troop he was leading, he dashed down with his 40 soldiers and engaged all the corsair's baggage, guns, and munitions and other supplies which he was carrying, and cut then off. That was the total ruin of the rebel and his men, and the preparation for their destruction by His Majesty's army, and for the winning of such a great victory.

#### CHAPTER XXVIII

How the Rebel's Army Was Broken up, Thanks to the Energy and Circumspection of Valiant Diego García de Paredes.

**1059.** Now that Militia Captain Diego García de Paredes with his men had deprived the rebel of his baggage, munitions, and supplies, he was forced to retire to a fort he had built in Barquisimeto. Finding himself in need through lack of provisions, and being surrounded by His Majesty's army, he sent 100 harquebussiers to find some supplies for his men. This being learned by the sentinels of His Majesty's camp, they followed them and overtook them, so that they forced them to retreat and retire to their fort, from which the rebel came out to their aid; but many of them were tired of their criminal career or were dispirited by their necessities; they learned that the Governor would send them pardon in His Majesty's name, and were won over by loyalist Capt. Pedro Alonso, so that many abandoned Aguirre; nevertheless he kept defending his fort with bravery. But seeing that he was lost, he took a daughter who accompanied him in the company of other women, among whom was Joana de Torralba, and stabbed her to death, telling her that since they were now lost, she should die, and not be called the daughter of a traitor, or a traitoress.

1060. Having made away with her the eve of the day of the Holy Apostles Sts. Simon and Jude in the year 1561, he defended his fort that night with the few stubborn men who remained with him; and the day of the Holy Apostles in the morning the valiant Militia Captain Diego García de Paredes made his way into the fort with three soldiers, one a loyalist named N. de Ledesma, and two of those of his group, Galindo and Guerrero, eager to take him. They begged to be allowed to kill the wild beast, and so God permitted that accursed wretch, who had deprived so many persons of life without confession, to die without that consolation. Accordingly with his permission they gave him a blow from which he dropped dead at once; they cut off his head and carried it to Tucuyo, where they held a great celebration, giving thanks to God for joy over such a great victory, and every year they hold it in commemoration, on the day of the Holy Apostles. And so the country remained peaceful and tranquil, now that the world was rid of such a criminal.

**1061.** Immediately the Governor sent to have Figueroa brought to justice, and his quarters displayed on the highway, for his murders of the Franciscan friars in Margarita and other evil deeds he had perpetrated; and many others also, his accomplices in serious crimes. Another with a long criminal record, by name Paniagua, who had fled in apprehension over his guilt, was caught by Pedro de Molina in the city of Mérida; and having been proved guilty of many crimes, he was sentenced to be hanged and his quarters exposed on the highway. A certain Antonio Llamoso, the vile creature who on the Marañón, after the tyrant had killed worthy Gov. Pedro de Ursuá, was commissioned by him to murder Doña Inés de Atiensa, and put that poor lady to death with inhuman cruelty, fled from the rigors of justice under accusation for his crimes. He went and stopped off in the city of Pamplona, which had been founded by Pedro de

Ursuá, and was being governed by a valiant gentleman named Ortún Velasco. Here for this crime and many others he had committed, they hanged him and he was drawn and quartered; such was the end of those who had followed so evil a path. Herewith I conclude this chapter, to discuss Popayán in the following one.

### CHAPTER XXIX

Of the City of Timaná and Its District.

**1062.** The city of Timaná lies 60 leagues S. of Bogotá on the King's Highway to Quito and the Kingdoms of Peru; it is 40 leagues this side of Popayán. Within the territory of this city, the districts of the Circuit Courts of Bogotá and Quito meet; Timaná comes under the jurisdiction of that of Bogotá, and of the State and Diocese of Popayán, although most of that State comes within the district of the Circuit Court of Quito; at the death of the Governor, his successor ad interim is appointed by the President of the Circuit Court of Bogotá in the New Kingdom of Granada.

**1063.** The city has a hot climate and is very pleasant, but there are only a few Spanish residents. It has within its jurisdiction rich beds and veins of gold ore, and there are large gold-washing outfits on all the rivers. In this city they make up quantities of very fine twist henequen fiber, and some cotton cloth. On the E. they have wide rich provinces of heathen to be converted to the Faith, and in that direction they are very close to those of Eldorado, which have been so sought after and not found by the many who have set out for them, the great impediment being the roughness of the mountains and the wide extent of the country.

**1064.** From this city of Timana the King's Highway runs to Quito and all the Kingdom of Peru, along the Neiva Valley, which is level and attractive country, with excellent side valleys and a good climate; their slopes and waters run into the Río Grande de La Magdalena. In this Neiva Valley there are countless stray and wild cattle without owners, descended from those brought in by the Spaniards when they founded the city of Simancas; this was settled by Gov. Don Bernardo de Vargas Machuca; nearby was established the town of Neiva; but they were abandoned after several years because of bad administration and of the fatal proximity of the Pijaos Indians, whose raids caused much damage. These are strong and sturdy; their weapons are very strong lances 25 palms long, with an iron point at each end, and also throwing darts; in former days they used to use war clubs made of a very tough, hard palm, as heavy as iron; they used to make their lance points of it. Now they make use of iron from the swords and knives and other articles of steel and iron which they have taken and stolen from the travelers on their way from the New Kingdom to Peru. These savages are a depraved race, and cannibals; they live like the Bedouin, without towns or villages. They have certain moons in which they go raiding and pillaging other provinces adjoining; and they return from their raiding and plundering loaded with captives, whom they divide up among themselves, to be eaten, for which they hold cannibal feasts. They usually get as far as the city of Tocaima, which is 40 leagues from Bogotá.

#### Book III

Of the District of the Circuit Court of Quito, Containing a Description of Its Provinces and What They Comprise. [The Different Kinds of Country and Their Nature; the Native and Spanish Products They Bear; of the Gold and Silver Mines, the Cloth Mills, the Rites and Customs of the Indians; the Cities and Towns of Spaniards, with Their Establishment; the Posts of Governor, Corregidor, and Other Offices Filled by His Majesty in Consultation with the Supreme Council of the Indies, with the Salaries Paid; the Corregimientos and Other Offices Filled by the Viceroy; together with the Other Curious and Noteworthy Features of This Region.]

### CHAPTER I

Of the City of Popayán, Capital of Its State and Diocese.

**1065.** The city of Popayán is 40 leagues from Timaná and 100 from Bogotá, to the S. It is built on a hill or slope of a ridge which they call M, from the resemblance of its shape to this letter. Round about the city flow two small streams which take their rise about a league away. These provinces were subdued by Commander Sebastián de Belalcázar, and after he had pacified them he founded the city in the year 1536, on this site described above, at 2°30′ N. It has a better than springlike climate, and is very well supplied with provisions. They raise quantities of wheat, corn, and many other cereals and vegetables, both Spanish and native sorts, as is true also of fruit. They have large cattle, sheep, and hog ranches, and excellent horses and mules.

**1066.** The city has 300 Spanish residents, plus the troop of service classes, Yanacona Indians, Negroes, and mulattoes. It is the residence of the Governor and the Bishop of these provinces; there is a very fine Cathedral here, with Bishop and Prebendaries in residence for its service. They have three convents, Dominican, Franciscan, and Augustinian; a nunnery of Augustinian nuns; there is a hospital which serves as parish church for the Yanacona Indians who reside in the city and serve the Spaniards; some of them are artisans. There are in this city Officials of the Royal Patrimony: a Paymaster and a Treasurer.

**1067.** Eleven leagues from the city there is a páramo known as Papallacta, cold and inhospitable for all that it is under the Equator,

being a very lofty range whose ascent is 5 leagues long; on its top is a medium-sized lake which is the source and origin of the two famous mighty rivers paved with gold, the Magdalena and the Cauca. The Magdalena runs N. through a more easterly region, down the Neiva Valley; the Cauca, on the W. side through the State of Popayán. Rising in this little lake, and flowing each of them over 200 leagues, they finally unite 4 leagues from Tenerife in the Diocese of Santa Marta, some 30 leagues before they empty into the sea, which they enter together, forming one of the hugest and mightiest rivers in the world. After their junction they take the name of Rio Grande.

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**1068.** This city and State contain in their district the following cities: The city of Cali, 22 leagues from Popayán and 28 from the Pacific; it was founded by Capt. Miguel Muñoz in the year 1537 at the order of Commander Belalcázar at the foot of a sierra in a pleasant level valley with a hot climate; it has abundant and excellent supplies of meat, fruit, and fish. It has a parish church and two convents, Augustinian and Mercedarian. The Indians of this region are good Christians and well-disposed. The former lord of this country was named Peteylili. It has in its district good sugar plantations and cattle ranches, and within its jurisdiction it has the port of Buena Ventura on the Pacific, at 3°30' N.

**1069.** The city of Buga is 12 leagues N. of Cali; it has a springlike climate and excellent provisions and fruit. It has wonderful pasturage in its district, and many ranches there with large herds of cattle. It was founded by Commander Sebastián de Belalcázar in the year 1537; it has a parish church and a Dominican convent.

1070. The city of Toro is 14 leagues from Guadalajara de Buga; it was founded in the same year by Commander Belalcázar. It has a good climate, and in its district there are rich gold-ore beds and deposits; it has large cattle ranches and abundance of delicious fruit, fish, and other supplies.

### CHAPTER II

Of the City of Cartago, and Other Provinces of the District of Popayán.

1071. The city of Cartago is 10 leagues from Toro. It was founded in the year 1540 by Capt. Jorge de Robledo under orders from Commander Sebastián de Belalcázar. It is over 30 leagues from Popayán. It has in its district rich mines and alluvial deposits of gold, which gets washed down into the rivers from the ravines of its sierras by the continual heavy rains. Many tigers live here, lions, tapirs, and other fierce animals, which do very great damage in the herds of cattle, mares, and swine on the ranches. They raise quantities of corn and other cereals, and are excellently provided with native fruit. In this city there are a parish church, a Franciscan convent, and other shrines.

**1072.** Between this city, Guadalajara de Buga, and Toro, lies the Indian village of Rondanillo, where the Governor of Popayán appoints a Corregidor; the Circuit Courts of Popayán and Quito touch in its district.

**1073.** The town of Santa Ana de Anzerma is in the district of the Circuit Court of Bogotá, and in the State and Diocese of Popayán. It was founded by Capt. Jorge de Robledo by order of Lorenzo de Aldana in the year 1540 on the banks of the Río Cauca, to prevent the harm done by the Indians of this district, who were very savage cannibals. It has a hot climate, very subject to thunderbolts, and somewhat unhealthy, but with very rich gold ore and alluvial deposits. It has a parish church and a Franciscan convent.

**1074.** The town of Santiago de Arma is in the district of the Circuit Court of Bogotá; it is 50 leagues NE. of Popayán, in whose diocese it belongs; it is in the State of Antioquía. It has a hot climate, and is a foundation of Marshal Jorge de Robledo. It has in its district rich gold ore and alluvial deposits. There are a few farms and cattle and hog ranches. It has the fruit usual in the Indies.

**1075.** Fifteen leagues NE. of Santiago de Arma, and 65 from Popayán, lies the town of Caramanta, established on an excellent and attractive site near the Río Cauca. It belongs in the district of the Circuit Court of Bogotá and in the State of Antioquía, and ecclesiastically to the Diocese of Popayán. The Indians of this region were very bestial, eating one another up, which is the reason why there are few Indians today. This is a foundation of Commander Belalcázar, who cut off Marshal Jorge de Robledo's head in Arma. This town has a hot climate; in its district it has rich gold ore and alluvial deposits; they raise quantities of corn and other cereals and vegetables; there are cattle, mare, and mule ranches.

#### CHAPTER III

Of the City of Almaguer, and Other Cities in the District of Popayán.

**1076.** The city of Almaguer is 24 leagues SW. of Popayán, and has a hot climate. It has in its district rich gold mines and alluvial deposits. There are a few cattle and mule ranches, and abundance

of provisions and native fruit. It has a parish church and a Franciscan convent. On the other side of the Cordillera live the Paeses and Pijaos Indians; the town of Neiva was built near them, but was abandoned on account of the barbarities of these savages, who ravaged, robbed, and murdered and time and again waged actual war; although many of them were killed or starved or betrayed by slaves, that was not enough to quiet and tranquillize them, but they keep going from one point to another like fierce wild beasts doing what harm they can, and there has been no decisive action with them, this being rough country with much woods, forests, rivers, and swamps. In this city of Almaguer a resident Corregidor is appointed by the Governor of Popayán, both for the administration of justice and for the defense of the country against these savages.

1077. The city of Mocoa in this State is on the same parallel as Pasto to the E. It has a few Spanish residents; the climate is hot and they raise much cotton in its district; they have rich gold mines and alluvial deposits.

**1078.** The city of Calacoto, on the frontier of the Paeses Indians, is 16 leagues E. of Popayán; the climate is hot. It has a few Spanish residents. Near this city is the home of the Sucumbios tribe, where the city of Ágreda has been established. All these provinces are rich in gold mines and alluvial deposits, but for lack of labor they do not get much out and enjoy this great wealth, for all this country ranks among the richest in the world in gold.

1079. They have some cattle ranches and raise corn and much native fruit; the climate is hot. Furthermore, in all the ravines and streams of this State, gold is found in abundance, to such a degree that in the cities the very sweepings of the houses and the dirt, when washed, yields gold, for it is all paved with this metal. This is why their gold shows the greatest variety in quality that is known or observed anywhere in the world; for it runs from under 12 carats to over 23, and if there were only people instead of the present lack of labor, since there is abundance of mineral, this country would be among the richest in the world.

## Chapter IV

Continuing the Description of the District of Popayán, and in Especial of Pasto and of the Sources of the Great River Orinoco.

**1080.** The city of San Juan de Pasto was founded by Capt. Lorenzo de Aldana in the year 1539. He called it Villa Viciosa, for the site where he established it is very pleasant and attractive, with wide

pasturage for cattle. It is a little beyond 1° N., and has a springlike climate. It is on the King's Highway between Popayán, 40 leagues to the N., and Quito, 44 to the S. It is in the district of the State of Popayán, and ecclesiastically, in the Diocese of Quito. The Pacific lies 40 leagues W.; its location is opposite Gorgona.

**1081.** The country is very prolific; provisions are cheap and excellent. They raise much wheat, corn, and other cereals in abundance, both Spanish and indigenous. They have very fine sugar plantations, and all kinds of Spanish and native fruit, with large cattle and sheep ranches and countless hogs, with which they supply this country and ordinarily export much to Lima, a distance of 400 leagues; there are also mare and mule ranches, quantities of poultry, and rich gold ore, though of low grade. In its jurisdiction, together with that of Pasto, it has more than 24,000 Indians, who have not been dying off, as in other provinces. These Indians work as agricultural laborers and on the hog ranches.

**1082.** The city has over 300 residents, with an excellent parish church and Dominican, Franciscan, Augustinian, and Mercedarian convents, a nunnery and a hospital for the care of the indigent sick. The city is well laid out and supplied with cheap and excellent provisions. The Governor of Popayán appoints a Corregidor here, for its good government and the administration of justice. In this province there is a stream of hot water, very pleasant to the taste; it is on the King's Highway from Pasto to Popayán. After this river comes the sierra from which Gonzalo Pizarro pursued Viceroy Blasco Núñez Vela in the year 1545 up to the Río Angasmayu, which was the limit of the conquests of King Huayna Capac. This river of hot water comes down from a volcano which is continually emitting flame and smoke, beyond the sierra; it has erupted in times past, and done great damage in the country.

1083. On this páramo of Papallacta, near the lake where the Magdalena and the Cauca have their source, another lake gives rise to the Río de Saqueta, which flows E., and at 40 leagues from its source runs through the city of Ágreda, which has been established in the Province of Mozoa in a wooded country; it has some 10 encomenderos, with 400 Indians in their service. It belongs to the State of Popayán.

**1084.** Beyond this city, this Río de Saqueta becomes very sizable, and runs through level country, though surrounded by mountains. This river is the main stream of the great river Orinoco, which traverses the Province of Guiana and empties into the Atlantic by so many mouths that it forms a sea. Crossing the Cordillera to the

W. of this city, one comes to the city of San Juan de Pasto, at a distance of 38 leagues; 8 leagues before reaching the city, there is a prairie valley named Sinbundoy, where three rivers originate, the Ríos de San Pedro, Santiago, and San Francisco, all of which are likewise components of the great river Orinoco; at the end of the valley within a distance of 2 leagues all three unite and burst through the Cordillera, and running E. receive the name of Purumayu. Six leagues from this valley and two leagues before Pasto, there is a páramo on whose summit lies a very deep lake which will be ten leagues around. This gives rise to another river which is likewise a component of the Orinoco. It runs straight E., and at 14 leagues from its source it passes near the city called Nuestra Señora del Valle de Écija in the Province of the Sucumbios in the State of Popayán. This is mountainous country; the province contains 500 Indians, under bondage to 18 Spanish encomenderos.

# Chapter V

Continuing the Description of This Country and the Río Orinoco. 1085. Twenty leagues below this city to the E., this Río de La Laguna unites with the Río de Purumayu to form a mighty stream with a gentle current, for it flows through level country. From Écija it runs along the slope of the Cordillera to the S., and at 10 leagues distance it unites with two other rivers, the Río Azuela and the Río Rodela; they form a mighty stream which the Spaniards call the Río San Miguel; this runs E., and flows into the Río Purumayu 45 leagues below the city of Écija, forming a great, broad, deep stream, sometimes over a league wide from bank to bank, with large numbers of islands. Fifteen leagues S. one comes to another junction of two rivers, named Zimba and Aguarico, of the Province of Puzi, and Cofanes. The union of these two large rivers forms a mighty stream which the Spaniards call the Rio del Oro, for there is much gold in this province; it runs E. This is the end of the Diocese of Quito. Traveling 3 leagues S. from this river, one comes to the city of San Pedro de Alcalá del Río Dorado in the State of Los Quixos, a region with few Indians; there will be 300 in this province, in bondage to 10 encomenderos. This country is all mountainous and heavily wooded.

**1086.** From this city to Baeza, capital of the State of Los Quixos, it will be 30 leagues to the S.; from Baeza to Quito, which is to the W., 20 leagues. Within its boundaries is a páramo named Antisana whose slopes give rise to two rivers; one, on the N., is called

the Río de la Coca; it runs E., passing near the city of Baeza. The other rises on the S. slope at a little beyond 1° N. and is called the Río Napo; it unites with the Río de la Coca some 50 leagues below its source, and runs E. [Near the junction of these two, Orellana embarked at the order of Gonzalo Pizarro in the year 1541 in a brigantine to explore the country and search for food for the army, from which fact this great river took the name of Río de Orellana.] After their junction some 70 leagues downstream they unite with the Río del Oro, which forms a huge stream, broad and deep, which is the Orinoco; its waters run steadily E. Along this downward course there are many provinces and settlements of Indians; they are heathen idolaters, with differences in their clothing and ceremonies. Some, by name Ycaguates, are naked cannibal savages, although their country produces abundance of meat in the form of deer, tapirs, and other animals, and many varieties of game and fish, both those living in the rivers and those which come up from the Atlantic. There are other tribes: those named Omaguas, people who wear clothing, ingenious and civilized; [others named] Buaques; [and others] Abalios; [others] Micuaras; [and others] Quilibinas; and [others] Apalaques, with many other tribes, whose names are unknown, for they are numerous and the country very extensive. Some go naked, others make clothing out of the bark of trees, others out of coarse cotton; some worship a tree, others a rock, others the river, and others make gods out of animals. The weapons they use are lances and darts of palm wood and small shields made of wood or in some cases out of raw tapir hide. They war with each other to get victims for cannibal feasts, or to deprive their enemies of their lands and their women.

**1087.** Between this river and the Río Purumayu there is an island of firm ground which is 30 leagues across at its widest point. These two rivers unite over 270 leagues below the Cordillera, and at the end of this island above the junction point there is a very large province stretching from one river to the other and named Aricana; the natives wear clothing and are very particular in having their cotton cloth painted with a brush; the Indian women wear for foot covering small half boots and half hose made of cotton, worked up with great skill and blacked with a sort of polish so that from a distance it looks like leather; they wear their hair caught up with red cotton ribbons, very neatly; they have their persons adorned with jewels, gold, and featherwork. Their houses are very carefully built; their dishes are very neatly fashioned out of clay with much decoration. They are a very warlike people; they always travel on the rivers in very large dugouts all of a piece, like great boats; these form their navies against other tribes. Their weapons are lances and throwing darts, which they call estolica, like tournament darts; they have small round shields of tapir leather.

1088. In this country the hills get low and from here downstream it is level prairie land, called San Juan de Los Llanos. Below the union of these two rivers they are joined by the Río de Saqueta; the island between this river and the Purumayu will be some 50 leagues across, and in length from that point of union to that with the San Miguel, over 100 leagues. Within those bounds of length and width there is not a league of waste land; it is all occupied in the form of settlements or small villages every half league, or quarter or less, some only a gunshot apart, by clans. Each village has 10, 15, 20, or 30 houses; each house has 5 or 6 family fireplaces, or more; these people are all clothed and very intelligent. Both men and women have their heads clipped crown-fashion, like friars. Their weapons are lances and darts of palm wood with fishbone points; they put poison on them, but it is not deadly, merely paralyzing the wounded person for 24 hours. The shields they use are made of thick, heavy planking, over a yard across. They are very industrious folk; they use stone axes and cut down very thick trees with them. They plant crops and raise much corn, beans, peanuts, and other cereals and vegetables in abundance; they make cassava of wild yucca; they eat meat and fish, which are to be found in abundance in those provinces.

1089. When they go out to battle, they march in troops, and in one battalion of their squadrons they take along many Indians loaded with bundles of throwing darts to be handed to those who have disposed of those they brought with them. In each of their villages there is a drum, and when they call to arms on it, in an instant it is known 100 leagues around, for that is the way they notify one another.

1090. Their custom is to burn dead bodies and give the ashes to the bravest to drink; they receive them willingly and assemble for this all their relatives, friends, and neighbors. They are all of one language, though of different provinces; some call themselves Neguas, others Seños, others Tamas, others Acanecos, others Atuares, and there are still other tribes.

1091. From these last river junctions going downstream toward the E., NE. and SE., there are large settlements behind a low cordillera, which comes to an end above these junctions; they say there is very great wealth of gold and silver there, and that at its foot there is one village or city which has over 3 leagues of habitations, and the great majority of its inhabitants are silversmiths, who turn out many pieces of jewelry and curiosities fashionable among them, in gold, and the people round about trade food and other commodities for them; it is generally believed that there are very large settlements of people of other tribes which are quite civilized, with rich clothing of woolen and cotton cloth very skillfully woven; all the buildings in their cities and their homes are of stone and very attractive; [and reason makes this credible because the heart of this country has an excellent climate and topography; and it is certain] they have in those great provinces a king to whom all pay obedience as was done with the Incas in Peru and Motezuma in New Spain. [And since I shall write about these regions when I come to describe the city of Moyabamba in the Diocese of Trujillo when I tell of the expedition headed by Gen. Pedro de Ursuá, let what I have written on this subject suffice for the present.]

## Chapter VI

Of the City of San Francisco del Quito, and of the Characteristic Features within Its District.

1092. [Traveling S. from Popayán] the city of San Francisco del Quito is 80 leagues S. of Popayán, at 0°20' S., for the line [or Torrid Zone] passes through Mira, 5 leagues from the city, where King Atahualpa was born, son of Huayna Capac; it will be 60 leagues from the Pacific. It was founded by Commander Don Sebastián de Belalcázar in the year 1534 in the midst of the Cordillera in prairie country on the slopes of the Sierra de Pichincha. There the Emperor of those realms, Topa Inga, had built some famous castles and a city modeled after his court city [of Cuzco] which was later embellished and ennobled with sumptuous edifices by his son Huayna Capac for his son Atahualpa, to whom he left that kingdom [having ordered and commanded when he died that his son Huascar Inca, the first-born and legitimate heir of this kingdom, should hand the Kingdom of Quito over to his brother Atahualpa] and later the two brothers went to war with each other, just when Francisco Pizarro came in with his Spaniards; he captured [this] Atahualpa or Atabaliba at Cajamarca in December of the year 1531, and later, for the reasons given by the historians, in March 1532 cut off his head.

**1093.** The city has a cold [temperate] climate with clear and serene sky, and it rains just as in Spain from October till March. It is densely populated; it will have more than 3,000 Spanish residents with the mestizos, who are sons of Spaniards and Indian women, not counting the [many] transients, for it is a region with a lively

trade, and on the King's Highway and a necessary transit point for all those coming from the Spanish Main and the New Kingdom of Granada to Peru. There is a large service contingent in the city, Indians, Negroes, and mulattoes, and within a district of 5 leagues [from the city] it has over 40 Indian villages [very large and thickly settled and very] well supplied with corn, wheat, peanuts, small beans, and other cereals, with many sorts of native and Spanish fruit which bear abundantly.

1094. There is a Circuit Court in the city, with President and Justices, for legal matters, for administrative matters belong to the Viceroy of Peru; it is at this city [and its jurisdiction] that the Kingdom of Peru begins. There is a Bishop here with a very fine Cathedral and its Prebendaries who reside there and conduct the services, with many clerics. It has seven parish churches, San Sebastián, San Marcos, Santa Bárbara, San Blas, and San Roque and Santa Prisca [and others whose names I do not recall]. All possess the Holy Sacraments and administer them to their Spanish and Indian parishioners. It has two fine Dominican convents, one in the city, and the other, of very strict observance and known as the Recollect convent, as one leaves the city for Lima; two Franciscan convents, the principal one in the center of the city and the other, of Recollects, on a suburban height above the city, known as San Antonio, and able to rival in excellence and architectural finish any other anywhere; two Augustinian convents, one (a very fine one) belonging to the parent order and chief chapter for the province, and the other of Recollects, only recently established; and [there is a fine] Mercedarian convent. All these convents maintain schools. There is a [very fine] Jesuit convent with a [very good] college which is [like] a seminary, with students wearing sashes and studying Arts and other sciences. There is one [excellent] numery, La Concepción, with 200 nuns, and another of Santa Clara and Santa Catalina de Seña, [very fine], and another named Santa Marta, which is a house of correction. There are [many] other churches and shrines, and [excellent] hospitals where they care for the sick. This city has a Corregidor who is appointed by [the Royal Council] His Majesty for its administration, [Royal Officials], a Council of Aldermen, and other functionaries, emphasizing the importance of this city. Near it to the N. is the field or valley of Añaquito, where Gonzalo Pizarro gave battle to Viceroy Nuñez Vela and defeated him Monday afternoon January 18, 1546, in which battle the Viceroy and many others in His Majesty's service, lost their lives.

**1095.** The city is abundantly supplied with excellent provisions [and] so cheap that 8 one-pound loaves sell here for I real; 20 eggs, I real; I fowl, I real; a mutton, 4 reals; a ham, 3; and so on for everything else [in food]. [It is well supplied and the market place is full of everything. There are many varieties of Spanish fruit, like pears.] It has many kinds of delicious fruit, like apples, peaches, figs, small peaches, and others [of the sort], [all] in such abundance and so cheap that for I real they give you a large basket of apples or peaches, weighing considerably over half an arroba; native fruit, [which are likewise in profusion and cheap, like] bananas, paltas or aguacates, pineapples, [native] cucumbers quite different from ours and better, and granadillas from Los Quixos; many excellent and cheap vegetables; and the whole year round they have roses, pinks, carnations, and other Spanish flowers [as in general in most parts of the Indies.]

**1096.** In this whole district they raise much corn and wheat; it sells very cheap; small beans, chickpeas, peanuts, and other cereals. They have large cattle, sheep, and hog ranches. Here they begin to have the Peruvian sheep (llamas) not found anywhere else in the world; they are like small camels the size of deer; their wool is like that of Spanish merino sheep, their neck long, and they have no horns; they are of many colors, like ours. In the fields, as everywhere in the Indies, there are many deer, and large mare and mule ranches, [and many] goats, from which they make much leather in this city [which is a very important business; it is] exported to the city of Los Reyes (Lima) and other points. The price in Quito and its district of a pair of cordovan shoes with three excellent sole thicknesses, is 3 or 4 reals.

## Chapter VII

Continuing the Description of the Diocese of Quito.

**1097.** In the district of this city there are many silver and gold mines in operation. They have mines of quicksilver and other metals; many sugar plantations, and in the whole district [many] shops where they work up large amounts of woolen cloth and grogram. Some belong to the communities of the Indian villages and they pay their tribute to their encomenderos with the product. In this district there are some volcanoes which are continually emitting smoke and flame; that of Pichincha is near the city; that of Tunguragua, [very] high and steep, sends forth flame, and although under the Equator, is always covered with snow; this is the case with many other sierras

which usually have snow, and particularly with Chimborazo, which is [always] white with snow and very conspicuous on account of its height [and whiteness].

**1098.** The jurisdiction of the Circuit Court of Quito is bounded on the N. by that of Panama, at the port of Buena Ventura which is on the seacoast opposite the city of Cali; that is uninhabitable country, hilly, wooded, and full of streams; it rains practically all the time there. There are some heathen tribes in those regions, living like savages, though they have settlements; some live in the trees, building their houses there so that when the rivers are in flood they shall not be drowned.

1099. On the NE. it touches the territory of the New Kingdom of Granada at the Corregimiento of Rondanillo in the State of Popayán, and at Timanâ; on the S. it borders on the Circuit Court of Lima at the Río de Calva in the Province of Los Calvas and Paltas, near the village of Ayabaca, which belongs to the Court of Lima, to the Diocese of Trujillo and the Corregimiento of Palta.

1100. From the port of Buena Ventura, which is on the Gulf of Panama, along the coast to the port of Paita, first on the plains of Peru and 12 leagues from Piura, from which the whole Kingdom of Peru takes its name, it is some 300 leagues; and from Paita to Popayán, where the jurisdiction of the Circuit Court terminates near Timanâ and Rondanillo, it is over 300 leagues, almost straight N. and S.; in breadth E. and W. it is very narrow, in parts only 20 leagues, and at the widest, 60. On the E. there are large provinces and regions to be converted to the Faith; they are heathen, well settled and rich. The Circuit Court contains two Dioceses, Quito and Popayán, as well as three States and four Corregimientos, appointments to which are made by His Majesty, and nine Corregimientos whose incumbents are appointed by the Viceroy and the Governor of Popayán [and outside of the State of Popayán a Corregidor appointed by this Governor just mentioned, in Rondanillo; in the district of the Diocese of Quito, two States and four Corregimientos to which appointments are made by the Council: the States of Los Ouixos and of Zaguarzongo, and the Corregimientos of Quito, Cuenca, Loja, and Guayaquil; and five other Corregimientos whose incumbents are appointed by the Viceroy, which are Otavaló and Latacunga ; the Governor of Popaván appoints to four Corregimientos, which are in Popayán, 400 pesos; Pasto, 500; Almaguer, 300; Rondanillo, 100]: Riobamba, Chimbo, and Los Yumbos, in the hot country some 6 leagues W. of Ouito, which are administered and

governed by the Corregidor of Quito [as shall be described and related with brevity and the greatest clearness of which I am capable.] **1101.** In the city of Quito there are Royal Officials and a Royal Treasury. This Diocese is suffragan to the Archdiocese of Lima. The city has bright and health-giving skies, favorable to human life. The days and nights are of equal length and equable temperature, for they have no winter to distress them with its cold, nor summer to try one with its heat, nor those extreme changes experienced in other quarters and particularly with us in Europe.

1102. The Diocese measures in length from N. to S. along the Peru King's Highway from the city of Pasto which is the last in the diocese to the N. and 45 leagues from Quito, down to the Provinces of Los Calvas and Paltas, the last in the Diocese to the S., and to the Corregimiento of Loja, border town with the Diocese of Trujillo and with the Circuit Court of Lima, more than 150 leagues; and in the same direction more to the E., [over] 170 leagues to Nieva, Santiago de Las Montañas, and Valladolid; and from Quito to Puerto Viejo on the W. (which is 7 leagues from the port of Manta) on the Pacific, it is over 120 leagues. In the district of the Diocese there are over 20 cities and towns with Spanish residents, and many with large provinces of Indians [with large wealthy villages]. All these provinces have increased in population since their discovery and conquest [in contradistinction to all other provinces in the Indies].

**1103.** The city of San Juan de Pasto is 44 leagues N. of Quito. It will have 400 Spanish residents, not counting the service contingent of Indians, Negroes, and mulattoes. In civil matters there is a Corregidor appointed by the Governor of Popayán. It has a very fine parish church and Dominican, Franciscan, Augustinian, and Mercedarian convents, and an excellent nunnery and other churches and shrines, and many villages in its district.

**1104.** Twenty leagues from Quito in the Province of Carangue lies the town of San Miguel de Ibarra. The country is [very] fertile and prolific, with crops of corn, wheat, potatoes, and other cereals, and with cattle. Near this province and town is that of Otavaló, [very] rich and lavish, with a Corregidor appointed by the Viceroy. All this country is among the best and most thickly settled in the Indies.

1105. Near the city of Quito to the W. is the Province of Los Yumbos, in the hot country and thickly wooded; there are sugar plantations [producing much sugar] and in the woods honeycombs and wax. This tribe comes under the administration of the Corregidor

of Quito. They plant and gather cotton and make very nice cloth out of it for their clothing.

## Chapter VIII

Continuing the Description of the Diocese of Quito and the Provinces of Los Quixos.

1106. Twenty leagues E. of Quito in the Province of Los Quixos lies the city of Bacza, residence of the Governor of these provinces, who is appointed by the Council. The country is hot [and] heavily wooded and forested; wheat will not grow there. They raise corn and much cotton, from which they make [much] cloth and [in particular] beautifully worked bed-canopies (pabellones), famous in all the Kingdom of Peru for the quantities turned out in this State, and they export them for sale all over the kingdom. The country is very rough and there are only a few Indians. They raise [much] very fine fruit and especially the granadillas known as Los Ouixos granadillas (passionflowers). These are one of the [greatest delicacies] best fruits of the Indies; the vine on which they grow is like ivy, twining around a tree; it puts forth [many] flowers which are mysterious, for in each flower there is a very vivid representation of the five wounds of Christ Our Savior. This produces a fruit of the shape of an egg but considerably larger, like a lemon, and when it is ripe its skin has an orange color; one pulls off a bit of it and sucks out the contents, which are watery with a few very smooth sweet seeds; they are not harmful even if eaten in quantity, and they give out much fragrance when eaten. Although this fruit, which is one of the most delicious in the Indies, is found in many regions, those of this Province and State are the best of all.

**1107.** In this Province and State they have [very good] cinnamon laurel; this is a very handsome tree like a laurel but taller and showier. The cinnamon comes in the buds; all that region where it grows is very sweet and fragrant with its perfume. Beyond Baeza some 20 leagues to the SE. is the city of Archidona, with the same climate and only a few residents. The city of Ávila is 24 leagues N. of Archidona; [the city] of San Pedro de Alcalá lies in the Province of the Cofanes, hot, wooded country, 30 leagues from Baeza [and] in the same State, which is crossed by large rivers; it runs N. and S. more than 100 leagues, to the city of Sevilla del Oro in the Province of Macas; when I discuss Riobamba I shall touch on it; it is very mountainous country. Connected with it to the E. are broad provinces of heathen. In all this country the bees make much wild honey in the woods. [There are many other noteworthy things one could write about but I omit them, to pass on to the Corregimiento of Latacunga.]

1108. The town of Latacunga is 12 leagues from Quito on the King's Highway through Peru. It has a cool climate, and is abundantly supplied with cheap and excellent provisions. It is a [very] great place for Indians, and many Spaniards have settled down here also. It has a parish church, a very fine Franciscan convent (the first), a Dominican and an Augustinian. It is the residence of a Corregidor appointed by the Viceroy of Peru, who has jurisdiction over this place and the Province of Mulaló, Pansaleo, Aloasí, and the Province of Los Sigchos [nearby] to the W. This is all cold country, with great abundance of excellent products; they have very large cattle ranches in the district, and especially of merino sheep, for which reason there are many woolen mills in this country; the most important is the one owned by the Indian community of this town, which turns out one whole piece of cloth every day; the Indians pay their tribute in it.

# [CHAPTER IX]

[Continuing the Description of the Preceding Subject.]

**1109.** This town has another remarkable feature, unequaled so far as I know anywhere else in the world; all its houses are built of the abundant pumice stone cast out by its neighbor the Tunguragua volcano; although this is in the Torrid Zone [and is] constantly emitting flame, it is always covered with snow; at its foot it has excellent hot-water baths, where many invalids come and bathe and recover their health. Almost all the jurisdiction of Latacunga and Sigchos is under the religious instruction of the Franciscans. [It is all cold country.]

1110. Five leagues from Latacunga is the village of Ambató, which is nine leagues from Riobamba, for which the Corregidor appointed by the Viceroy of Peru, delegates a representative. This place has a springlike climate, and is abundantly supplied with cheap and excellent provisions, with many sorts of local and Spanish fruit, figs, peaches, apples, etc., in quantity; there is much frutilla de Chile, i.e., strawberries, [native here,] much larger and better [there] than our tree strawberries. [They are very sweet to eat.] Near this village are those of Pelileo and Patate, where there is a rope bridge to cross the river, which is rather swift and swollen. There are sugar plantations here, and many other villages, such as San Andrés and

Chambo and many others in the Province of Los Puruaes, which is very cool and inhabited by Indians, with very large cattle and especially sheep ranches, for there must be over 600,000 sheep in these districts. Five leagues from Ambató, all of it level country, is the tavern (tambo) of Mucha, where the Incas had apartments in very imposing buildings; and at four leagues is the town of Villar de Don Pardo, or Riobamba. This is built in a cool and fertile valley 25 leagues S. of Ouito on the King's Highway to Lima. It was here that they originally started to establish Quito, in the Province of Los Puruaes, where the Inca rulers had extensive apartments. This is the place where Capt. Belalcázar had a very hot fight with the Indians and defeated them; and it was here that Almagro and Pedro de Alvarado made their agreement about the fleet he had brought. In this valley is a town with over 400 Spanish residents; it has a lively trade [and is very rich]. There are an excellent parish church, Dominican, Franciscan, Augustinian, and Mercedarian convents, a nunnery named La Concepción, and other hospitals and churches. There are numerous woolen mills here and in most of the places in its neighborhood, particularly at Chambo, where they turn out much cloth and grogram. The town has a level site; the country is well supplied with wheat, corn, potatoes (which are a kind of ground truffles), Spanish fruit like peaches, quinces, apples, figs, and other kinds of native fruit. All the Indians in this country are very docile and clever. In the nunnery in this town there is a small image brought here from Macas, through which God has wrought many miracles; it is a very holy relic and is held in much veneration in that country. It is on a paper print.

# Chapter X

Of the City of Sevilla del Oro in the Province of Macas.

1111. Thirty leagues from this town to the SE. is the city of Sevilla del Oro in the Province of Macas; it is mountainous country, and after crossing the Cordillera to get to this city, there is a páramo called Suña (which means cold sierra) on which there are two very large lakes. Of the rivers issuing from them, one runs W. and passes near Riobamba; they call it the Río de Chambo; after cutting through the Cordillera, its current turns E. and it becomes a large river; the Indians of the first provinces call it Coriño, those of the second, Parosa. At 180 leagues from its source it unites with the great Río de Orellana; there are extensive provinces on both sides of it, but thinly settled. **1112.** The other river follows a straight course to the E., running near the city of Sevilla del Oro, and is named Opáno. From this city its current turns S., and it traverses the Province of the Jíbaros. The country is the richest in gold in all the Indies. The natives are cannibals and very warlike, and devastated the city of Logroño de Los Caballeros, massacring the Spaniards and burning the churches. This was all caused by maladministration, negligence, and injuries inflicted by higher officials on certain residents of this city.

1113. This province lies between the Río de Cuenca and the Río de Sevilla; it is 25 leagues long and as many across. On the eastern slopes of the Cordillera General in the territory of this province, a low spur strikes eastward, finally petering out at the point of union of the Río de Orellana and this Río de Pano, which flows into the Puncu, which in our language means door, and that of Santiago. This river winds around the Cordillera on its southern front, and the Río de Coriño, on its northern; this Cordillera will be 50 leagues in extent from this river to the Río de Santiago, on whose banks lie the Province of the Maynas and other tribes; and 150 leagues downstream from this Puncu, other rivers flow into it [coming down from Cuzco,] and more than 120 leagues before that, the Río de Los Chachapoyas empties into it, which farther inland is called the Río de Los Motilones. Near this point is where all those rich and populous tribes are located where there is a settlement 3 leagues long and many Indian silversmiths and other artisans, all of them civilized, intelligent, and reasonable. These rivers all unite to form the great Río Marañón, about which I shall write what is known, in its proper place [when I discuss Chachapoyas and Moyobamba; now I shall return to the account of the jurisdiction of Quito and in particular, of the Corregimiento of Chimbo, which is 7 leagues from Riobamba.]

1114. From Riobamba it is 7 leagues W. to the village of Chimbo, capital of that province. There are over 100 Spanish residents living here, with a parish church and a Franciscan convent. It is on the King's Highway to the Desembarcadero (landing place) del Río, the route to Guayaquil. There is a Corregidor in this village, appointed by the Viceroy. The majority of the Spaniards living here are muleteers engaged in transporting the wine that comes up from Guayaquil, and other Spanish merchandise, to Quito and all the rest of the country; they have very large troops of mules. The first 2 days' journey from the Desembarcadero are over the worst road anywhere in the world; it is very steep and it rains all the time, the mules keep getting stuck in the mud and on the ridges which hit

them in the belly, so that it seems impossible for them to move; in fact, many of them die on this road.

### CHAPTER XI

Continuing the District of the Diocese of Quito.

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(Marg.: Note: This chapter should come at the point indicated below.)

1115. The Indian village of Chimbo has a cool climate and is well settled; in all the villages of its province [in which] they raise much wheat, corn, and other cereals; [and] they have large cattle and sheep ranches, and from the wool they manufacture here cloth and grogram; there are hog ranches also. They raise potatoes also on a large scale; these are a great recourse and support for both Indians and Spaniards. There is also the quinua, which is a plant like our Spanish goosefoot; its seeds are tiny, like mustard seed, but white in color. They make excellent stews with it, as well as cakes and cereal dishes which are delicious and sustaining.

1116. The Indians in this country wear their hair done up in a crown (cerquillo) like the Italians. They [mostly] wear their woolen shirts with [almost as large] an opening at the back and in front [as in the] Turkish style, [but] without sleeves; they have many sorts of them. As a rule they crouch (en cloquillas), spinning wool with their distaffs, which surprised me considerably when I saw them. This whole province is cold, like that of the Puruaes of Riobamba; but almost between these two provinces to the S. is the Province of Pallatanga with a hot climate; they have [very good] sugar plantations there and make excellent preserves. Near Chimbo to the E. is the volcano of Chimborazo, which is always covered with snow. This description must suffice for the Diocese of Quito and its jurisdiction, which is very extensive.

(Marg.: The chapter whose wrong entry was noted above, should start here.)

1117. From Chimbo one goes [15 leagues] to the Desembarcadero, [which is 30 leagues from Guayaquil] where there are [several] buildings and storehouses maintained [there] and kept by the residents of Guayaquil for the storage of their wine and other commodities till the mule troops arrive from Chimbo and all over that country, to carry them up to Quito and their other destinations. The region around the Desembarcadero is hot country, thickly wooded and forested. It is 15 leagues to Chincho (! Chimbo), 2 days' journey in hot country and over an execrable [and] deserted trail; from Chimbo

to Riobamba, 7 leagues, [and] from Riobamba to Quito, 25, which makes 47 leagues altogether; and with the 30 leagues down the river, it comes to 77 leagues from Guayaquil to Quito. This merchandise is shipped in medium-sized boats with decks, called botiquines (traveling medicine chests). The river is very large and its waters agreeable and very healthful, for besides being very soft, they run over much gold ore and pass where the finest sarsaparilla in the world grows; and so down in that country [and city] one can stay up and cure himself very easily of the tumors (syphilis) by merely drinking the water. The river flows through level country, very gently; along its banks there are many handsome trees with thick foliage, and on them, a thousand sorts of handsome and attractive birds with a thousand variations in color; many of them are songsters, such as conotes, nightingales (ruiseñores) and sinsontes (mockingbirds), which raise a very sweet and melodious harmony, so that both to the ear and the eye it appears a bit of earthly Paradise. The enjoyment of the view is enhanced by the entry of other leisurely rivers into its stream. Along the banks are many plantations or chacras owned by Guayaquil residents, with cacao trees loaded down with the pods of cacao beans, and other excellent fruit, like oranges in abundance, and limes. These cacao trees are not cultivated with the same devoted pains as in New Spain and Honduras; [but] the planting of them has enriched many people and swollen their tithes and revenues. There are likewise many cattle and hog ranches along the banks of this mighty river. But agreeable as it may be to the sight, seeming a delightful Paradise, to the feeling it is painful in equal degree. Besides the great heat of an excessive intensity, for it is only about 1° from the Equator, and the fact that the low-lying country, covered with groves and woods, keeps any wind from circulating, there is an infinity of mosquitoes of numerous varieties, which normally keep travelers in torture; during the day there are jejenes (gnats) and rodadores (midges) which are very painful and stick fast to one's skin, and leave bites that inflame; there are others much tinier which can hardly be made out, but their bites fester; there are others a sort of blue in color which force travelers by boat during the daytime to stay under canvas unable to enjoy the lovely scenery of the banks and forests along the great river, whose crystalclear and smoothly running waters make a pleasant and harmonious sound. Then when these pests are sleeping at night, others rise and set sail; these are the zancudos (night mosquitoes) which make an annoying and distressing noise and keep trying to find some part of the canopy through which they can bite the person inside. To these

troubles is added the care with which one must proceed on the river, covered as it is with fierce alligators, many of which are man eaters, having already devoured human beings, horses, and cattle. There are such numbers of them in this great river that on its banks I have seen great troops of them stretched out in the sun, in places more than 500 together. From a distance they look like very large beams or timbers, being of a dark gray color, much like rotten wood. They breed in great numbers in all these rivers; this is the one that has the most, except for the Río Grande de La Magdalena. The females come out of the water onto the banks [and] dig in the sand, making a hollow in it, in which they lay 30 or 40 eggs, larger than those of geese or ducks, [and] the same color; they cover them over [at once] with sand and [as it is hot country, and natural.] in 15 days they hatch out. [The females leave, and it is Divine Providence that as they are lazy in digging out the sand with their paws, they kill many; the little alligators.] They are now about 6 inches long (un jeme), and run down to the water, many dragging their eggshells along; and as they enter the water, the big alligators being in the habit of eating and swallowing fish, eat and swallow them too; but even so the rivers are covered with them, looking like timbers floating on the water; these are merely those which escape the jaws of their parents or other alligators [when they emerge from the egg], for they are so bestial that they do not even have the instinct to see and appreciate that these are their own offspring [and they eat them up.] If Heaven had not so ordained it, it would be impossible to live in those regions, or they would eat each other up. This Rio de Guayaquil is joined near the city by the Río de Daule and the Río de Vola, both very large and of the same nature with it; thus near the city it becomes a mighty river, very pleasant to look at. On its banks there are a few Indian villages, like Pimocha and Daule, from which the other mighty river takes its name, passing under it; it is built above the attractive river bank on a high plateau covered with fruit trees—bananas; aguacates; a sort of plum different from those in New Spain in taste and color, [being less juicy and mealier, and] with two stones; oranges and other kinds of fruit. In these huge rivers there are great quantities of fish. [This brief account must suffice.]

# Chapter XII

Of the City of Santiago de Guayaquil and Its District.

1118. The city of Santiago de Guayaquil is 77 leagues from San Francisco del Quito. It was founded by Commander Sebastián de

Belalcázar on the banks of its fine great river, 2° from the Equator and [some] 12 leagues from the sea and the island of Puná, although up to near the city the river looks like a sea, having widened out through its junction with others [like the Daule and Vola]. This settlement was abandoned because of an Indian rebellion in which many Spaniards were massacred; it was reestablished by Capt. Francisco de Orellana in the year 1537. The city is built at the water's edge on a level piece of land, ascending to a rather high hill; on top of the hill is the parish church; the town continues downhill on the slope running approximately E., up to the water's edge on the other side; the shipyards are over here; they turn out ships which are among the best in the world, the timber being very good and tough; [here they build very fine ships, and those of His Majesty's fleet for the protection of that sea and kingdom]. There is a Corregidor in this city, named by the Council, with the title of Militia Captain. This is the chief port of the entire Kingdom of Quito. It has a lively trade, both with the country inland, from which they bring down much flour, ham, cheese, and other commodities, not only for the city but also to ship to Lima and the whole land of Peru, such as cloth, grogram, cordovan leather, etc. They export also from this city much planking and lumber for the buildings of Lima and other localities in the plains of that country, where they have no suitable timber; they export also much cordage, which is worked up and manufactured in this city and the villages in its jurisdiction; this is made of henequen fiber. They export also [great] quantities of cacao raised on the plantations [or chacras] owned by residents of the city, along the banks of the rivers; it goes to Peru, New Spain, and the Spanish Main. Many ships come to this port with cargoes from Lima and the valleys of Ica and Pisco, with large amounts of jugs of wine for consumption in the Kingdom of Quito [for there are no vineyards there]; thus this port communicates with the whole Kingdom of Peru, with the Spanish Main, and New Spain; and it is from here that the gold ship of the Kingdom of Ouito. sets sail.

**1119.** In this port and city there are [the] Officials of the Royal Patrimony and a Royal Treasury; it has Dominican, Franciscan, and Augustinian convents and a [very good] hospital with other churches and shrines. The city will have as many as 400 Spanish residents. Its climate is hot and damp; [but] the country is healthy, on account of its salubrious breezes and water; it is heavily wooded and forested, and there is [great] abundance of [much very] delicious native fruit. Twelve leagues away is the island of Puná, which is

so famous and celebrated in that Kingdom because its Indians, who lived in great comfort, defended themselves from the Inca kings. They gather great quantities of sarsaparilla there, among the best and most highly prized to be found in the Indies. The island raises much cotton and other valuable products; its chiefs and lords were very powerful and lavish.

1120. On the mainland across the river from Guayaquil [and] near the sea lies the village of Tumbes, which was the starting point of the greatness and wealth which the Spaniards discovered; here the Inca kings had [some] royal castles and a temple to the Sun, with great wealth of silver and gold to be consecrated to the Sun, together with a house of maidens of the nobility dedicated to him, through the blindness due to the Devil. The magnificence that existed here is described at length by the Inca Garcilaso and other historians. Today it is a little Indian village, where religious instruction is dispensed by Mercedarian friars. It has a hot climate, but although it rains a great deal in Guayaquil, it does not rain here; this is where the plains begin, and it does not rain for a distance of 600 leagues, as far as Coquimbo in the Kingdom of Chile [as I shall note more particularly in its proper place]. [Much] Excellent cassia is grown here, which is exported all over the Kingdom, and there are other valuable products; but of what it was in the days of the Inca kings in its heathendom, there are only indications and ruins to convince one.

# [CHAP. 13. Of the City of Puerto Viejo.]

1121. From Guayaquil it is more than 30 leagues over level country or wooded ground covered with groves [and many sorts of trees], to the city of Puerto Viejo, ENE. of Guayaquil; it was founded by Capt. Francisco Pacheco at the direction of Commander Don Diego de Ahmagro in the year 1535 on the 12th of March. It lies almost under the Line, since it passes through Pasado, which is in its district and the first port in Peru. From Puerto Viejo E. to Quito over the traveled road it is 120 leagues, whereas by air it is not 50, but one cannot go directly on account of the numerous rivers and mountains [and the great swamps there are]. As one comes from the Spanish Main, it is the first city in Peru. It has a hot climate; it will have 60 Spanish residents, a parish church and [a] Mercedarian convent. They raise much corn [and beans and many root crops] and other products of the soil. Seven leagues away is the port of Manta, which is the usual port of repair for the ships

coming from the Spanish Main, and they take on [here] some supplies of poultry, bread, fruit, etc. It has in its district many other villages, like Picoasá and Jipijapa, where they raise much henequen and make quantities of cordage for the ships on that sea, Charapotó, and many other villages. The Corregidor of Guayaquil appoints a representative for the government of this city. Along its coast there are many pearl beds, [very fine], though they get [and take out] very few, for lack of labor and because the sea is icy cold there, even though it is on the Line. It has connected with it the Provinces of Las Barbacoas and Las Esmeraldas, of heathen Indians, [very] rich, mountainous, and heavily wooded. Next them comes the Province of Los Mulatos, heathen descendants of a shipload of Negroes wrecked at that point, and the origin of this tribe. They are good-looking and all wear gold nose plugs in their nostrils, gold plaques on their breasts, and gold ear hoops; I myself saw them with them; and as for emeralds, it is certain that there are very rich mines of them in this province, and that they are [much] finer than those from Muzo. These provinces are not pacified because those who could do it, would not risk their wealth in the effort, and poor men who want to do it, are unable to. The Circuit Court of Quito should be advised to have them pacified by offering honors and rewards to whoever should do it; this subvention would be a very important matter. [This is what may be briefly stated about this Puerto Viejo district, set down very accurately.]

**1122.** At Punta de Santa Elena in this district, there is a flowing well of pitch, which might very well be of much importance. In this region [there is a tradition that] giants used to inhabit [this country], of huge stature; by just judgments of God they were exterminated, as is noted in the histories written about the Indies. Where they came from, is doubtful; in New Spain at Puebla de Los Angeles they came upon bones of huge size when they dug the foundations of the parish church; these indicated that the men had been enormous; they have found them also in other places. Near the Straits of Magellan, inland from the coast of Los Césares, live huge men who are called Patagones; they are like savages and wear deerskins for clothing. It might be that they are the descendants of those who were here and lived at Punta de Santa Elena.

**1123.** In closing with the district of the Corregidor of Guayaquil, I shall set last what may serve as dessert, an event which is remarkable and worthy of note. In the village of Daule, which lies on the banks of its river, teeming with alligators, as is usual in the hot country, there is an Indian woman who is the chieftainess and mistress of

the village, named Doña María, a woman of much intelligence and good manners. One day she went [swimming] bathing in the river, and since there are so many alligators and many of them man eaters and greedy, one came up close to her without her seeing it, for she was not paying attention. The Indian women who saw it approaching, shouted to her to get away from the ferocious animal which was making for her; they gave her such a shock that she rushed in flight to shore: but once she saw herself out of the water, she felt so ashamed that she went back to the stream with a stick hardly over a foot long, disconcerted at having fled in the presence of her people. So she went out to face the frightful monster; when it saw her coming, it went straight at her, lifting its head above water, and opening its jaws; whereupon she reached out and stuck her arm in, with the stick, setting it crosswise so that the animal could not close its mouth [and as these fierce creatures have no tongue, the strain caused by the stick made the water run down into its belly] so it drowned and turned belly up. The Indian woman, much exhilarated by the victory she had won over the fierce aquatic monster, and the courage shown in the deed, came out of the water and ordered her subjects to pull out the creature which had caused her such a shockan episode worthy of being set in a historical record as an example and memento, though very risky.

1124. In this country they have very ugly wild bulls, raised in those forests and thickets without seeing people; but fierce as they are, the Indian, Negro, and mulatto cowboys are too clever for them. With the greatest of ease they catch the wildest bull there is—how, I don't know—and knock him over on the ground, and with a knife or other instrument they pierce the membrane which connects the nostrils and pass a strap or small rope through them, and in this way they lead off the wildest bull after them [and handle him] as if he were a sheep.

## CHAPTER XIII

Continuing the Preceding Subject.

**1125.** There are in this jurisdiction [since it is forested] many valuable kinds of timber and wild bamboos thick as beams; in each joint there is an arroba of water. There are huge snakes, [and many very large and] ferocious tigers, fierce saurians [and very treacherous; tigers have been seen to come down to a river or lake to drink, and be seized by the muzzle by alligators, with a bloody battle ensuing, ending in the death of both combatants]. Since this is hot country

and thickly wooded, at noon when the bulls try to escape from the heat and the flies they make for their haunts in the shade of certain trees where they usually gather to pass their siesta; and these savage tigers climb the tree under whose shade the bulls settle down, and when they are quietest and drowsiest, they spring down on top of the bull and slash his back with their claws; and when he bellows and writhes about in pain, trying to dislodge his burden, the moment he exposes his flank the tiger rips open his belly and kills him; with this treacherous maneuver they kill them quite frequently. There are likewise many lions, small and dark gray; they are not so ferocious and run away from people and from dogs barking at them. There are many other kinds of animals in these huge forests; they have rabbits like those in Spain, and [many] varieties of birds, notably the carrion buzzard or zopilote, which is found in [all the Windward Islands and] all the Indies. It is a very ugly black bird the size of a [large domestic] cock, with a bare head. These birds are the salvation [and sanitation] of the Indies, for they clean up whatever dead creature [and what refuse] lies on the ground and devour it. When they have no food in sight they sail very high up into the realm of the air, it must be for the purpose of descrying and discovering dead horses or cows or dogs or other animals; and these birds, which are also called auras (vultures), have either keen sight or smell, for no sooner does an animal die than there they are to devour it. They do no harm of any kind, for that is all they live on, and in some parts of the Indies since they are so useful in clearing up garbage [and aid sanitation], there is a fine if one kills them. It is not [even] known where they breed. There is another mysterious circumstance about them, and when I saw it, I was astonished, for even though I had been told of it, I would not believe it. This is that these birds have a king and chief among them, a bird of their own size but [while they are black, he is] white; they obey and respect him; and if there is [a] dead animal to be devoured, although these birds are so greedy, they will not start eating till the white buzzard their king has arrived. He begins first and eats the animal's eyes, [and] the others do not make a move till he gives the signal, and when he rises from the feast they all keep him company. I should never have dared to write this, even though they told me about it, had I not seen it with my own eyes.

**1126.** There is another species of the general appearance of this bird but much larger than our vulture; its head is bare of feathers [and fleshy], almost like a turkey's, [and such is the buzzard's also], and it is very ugly. It is called condor, and many of them have

wattles above and below like cocks. There are black, grayish black, and white varieties. They are very large and savage. The eggs they lay are about as large as ostrich eggs. Their wingspread is about 4 varas; the large wing feathers are thick as one's finger and each feather over a vara long. They are very savage and bloodthirsty: like the buzzards they live and maintain their lives by feeding on dead animals, and their habit is to mount into the region of the air for a view, and they stay up there long periods of time balancing themselves by soaring, it must be for the purpose of descrying from up there any dead animals to devour [for that is their sole interest]. When they are feeding on some dead animal and there are carrion buzzards about, these latter look like chickens around the mother hen; and when they are chuck full it is possible to chase them with a stick, as was once my experience in the wilderness, for they cannot fly off till they find a rock or high spot from which to take wing. And when they can find nothing to eat, they make for the plains where there are cows which have just dropped their calves and before the little creatures can suckle their mothers, up come two of these condors; one takes his stand in front of the calf and the other behind; this latter gives him a very hard peck and as he opens his mouth to bellow with the pain, the condor in front seizes him by the tongue so that he cannot bellow and summon his mother, and so they kill and eat him, and that happens frequently; and so there are many cows that will not separate themselves from their offspring and live with the greatest vigilance, for the knowledge they have acquired and the dread they have, of these savage birds. Let this suffice, and let us take up the discussion of the Corregimiento of Cuenca.

## Chapter XIV

Of the City of Cuenca and Its Provinces, and the Rivers of Its District.

1127. The foundation of the city of Cuenca was ordered by the Marqués de Cañete when he was Viceroy of Peru; he commissioned Gil Ramírez de Ávalos to place it between the Province of Paute and Los Cañares, near the Province of Los Cañares, 55 leagues from Quito on the King's Highway to Lima, in the year 1557. The city lies in a level valley over 10 leagues long, between two rivers which run near it, and all those sierras, many of them belonging to Los Cañares; they contain very rich mines of silver, gold, quicksilver, and other metals. The city has more than 500 Spanish residents; it has a springlike climate with bright skies and good soil; the country

is very pleasant and attractive, with abundance of cheap and excellent supplies, just like the city of Quito, there being quantities of cattle in its neighborhood. They raise much wheat and corn and make [much] flour which they export to the city of Guayaquil by the port of Vola, and excellent cheese and ham made in the district and exported to the mines of San Antonio de Zaruma, which are 22 leagues from the Corregimiento of Loja. There is a Corregidor in this city appointed by [the Council] His Majesty; he governs it and all its provinces, which are: Paute, Los Cañares, Girón, and Alausí, which is the farthest to the N., bordering on the Corregimiento of Riobamba. There are very sumptuous buildings in the district like that at Tomebamba and others, of the time of the Inca kings. The city has a fine parish church, Dominican, Franciscan, Augustinian, and Mercedarian convents, and a nunnery, La Concepción, all excellent and devout; there is a hospital for the sick, and other churches and shrines, and over 50 clerics, sons of residents of the city; in fact, since it has so many they call it Cuenca de Los Clérigos. This city and its adjoining provinces suffer dire need since they go long periods without episcopal visits or confirmations, and they petition that they be granted a Bishop, since they are in the center of the remotest part of the Diocese of Quito; that he be given for jurisdiction the Corregimientos of Guayaquil, Loja, their own, and that Zaguarzongo; thus it will more easily be possible to have episcopal visits and confirmations and other existing evils will be obviated, and both churches will have sufficient revenues [and they will be very rich], since living is cheap and abundant there.

1128. Running E. and W. to the N. of the city is a small stream of crystal-clear water, on whose banks are many gristmills and fruit orchards, both of native and Spanish varieties, [like] pears, peaches, apples, quinces, etc. In the district there are many plantations of sugarcane, from which they make sugar and syrup enjoyed in the city, and preserves exported to Guayaquil. The country produces quantities of wheat, corn, and other cereals, cattle, mares, and mules. An excellent horse for carriage or saddle sells here for 12 reals, more or less. They manufacture and produce excellent ramrods in this city, the best made in the whole kingdom. The city is at 2°30' S.; 12 leagues to the E. is the Province of the Jibaros, subdued by Gov. Juan de Salinas at the same time with that of Zaguarzongo; he established in it the city of Logroño de Los Caballeros, which through bad management was carried by storm by these Jibaro Indians, who massacred all the Spaniards and burnt down the churches; and for the more than 30 years succeeding, these savages

have done much damage in the territory of this Corregimiento of Cuenca, in villages in its jurisdiction which they have cut off, like Los Cuýes, and in the year 1621, the village of Condor, and they have done much other harm in this territory and the same in the Province of Macas which likewise adjoins them. The Indians of this tribe are very warlike and have carried out every enterprise they have undertaken; so they have become very haughty and exceedingly insolent through having received no chastisement. They are cannibals of horribly savage customs.

1129. The province they live in is one of the richest in gold to be found in all the country hitherto explored, so much so that the Indians took out all the wealth in gold possessed by the Incas from the slopes of the Santa Bárbara mines. This country was subdued and settled for 2 years, and in that period the 20 percent accruing to His Majesty, was collected. Since then for the reasons given there has been no security on account of these savages, and so it would be of great importance for the Royal Council to entrust the pacification and subjugation of these Indians to the Corregidor of Cuenca, both because he is close at hand and the country is cheap and abundant as regards supplies, and for the wealth and tranquillity which would accrue to the country; he should be given some honor for it; he will subdue them with ease.

# [CHAP. 15. Of the City of Loja and Its Provinces.]

(Marg. note: This chapter comes in later at point indicated.)

There are in this district many silver, quicksilver, iron, and sulfur mines, and other metals; I league from the city there is a pilgrimage shrine, and beside it excellent baths from hot springs; they do much good to the invalids who go there.

(Marg. note: Chapter on the city of Loja and the mines of Zaruma.)

1130. The city of Loja is 33 leagues S. of Cuenca and 88 from Quito, at 3°30′ S., on the King's Highway from Quito to Lima and all the Kingdom of Peru. It was founded by Capt. Antonio de Mercadillo at the instance of Gonzalo Pizarro in the year 1546 in a grand, fertile valley between two rivers with excellent water and both carrying gold sand. The climate is like spring; they raise two crops of wheat a year, and in fact, every time they plant it, thanks to its equable climate; they grow also corn, potatoes, and many kinds of fruit, both indigenous and from Spain [but the market in Cuenca is altogether more abundant and cheaper]. There is a Corregidor

in this city, appointed by the Royal Council, and Officials of the Royal Patrimony and a Royal Treasury. [The city] has an excellent parish church, Dominican, Franciscan, and Augustinian convents, a convent of nuns of La Concepción, and other churches and shrines.

**1131.** The city has over 300 Spanish residents, not counting the service contingent of Indians, Negroes, and mulattoes. Five leagues S. of the city, the Río del Catamayu runs through a grand, wide valley covered with cattle, sheep, and mule ranches. They raise quantities of wheat in this neighborhood, with corn and other cereals and vegetables, and abundance of Spanish and native fruit. Beyond the Catamayu lie the Provinces of Los Paltas and Calvas and the village of Garruchamba; these are the last to the S. in the district and Corregimiento of Loja, and its boundary with the Province of Ayabaca in the district of the Diocese of Trujillo belonging to the Corregimiento of Piura; and at the Río de Calva, which is 100 leagues from Quito, the Circuit Court districts of Lima and San Francisco de Quito, meet; Lima is 330 leagues from Quito.

[CHAP. 17. Of the Town and Mines of San Antonio de Zaruma.]

1132. The town of San Antonio de Zaruma lies 13 leagues WNW. of the city of Loja; it is the center for very rich gold mines, all in veins; they have 36 mills to grind and smelt the metal; they take out a great amount, in addition to  $16\frac{1}{2}$ - and 17-carat silver. The whole country is paved with very rich veins of gold ore, from the hill of Tomagatos for over 4 leagues round about, according to what I learned from miners in that town in the year 1614 when I was there; there is enough to keep them busy forever. Great wealth has been derived from these mines, particularly by Juan de Montesdoca and Alonso de Montedoca(!) his son; they have generously given large contributions to impecunious travelers, and built the church in that town, and supported the Franciscan convent.

1133. This town is built on an incline high up on a ridge which is all underlaid with gold; most of it is honeycombed with the tunnels following the veins. To the S. flows a small stream which carries much gold, running I or 2 carats higher than that in the mines. Many Indians go there to wash the gold sand and by washing it in their trays they take out on the average 40 or 50 pesos' worth a week, or more. The town has 200 Spanish residents, 50 of them miners; it attracts many traders with merchandise and wine, eager for the profit in buying and taking out the gold; they buy it from the Indians at 9 reals the gold peso, in quantities at 10; and they make a large profit in taking it out. The pulperos, i.e., the tavern keepers, keep bribing and cheating the Indians in order to get their pouches of gold dust; there is a lot of deceit in this, and His Majesty is defrauded of his royal 20 percent, for there is nobody who will not practice this form of cheating.

1134. The town and all this region have a hot climate, and there are no trees; the whole country is rough, full of ridges and ravines. It is well supplied with provisions and merchandise, for in their eagerness for gold, they bring in from Cuenca and other points flour, ham, cheese, etc., for all flock to where this metal occurs, so much sought after and pursued by all the human race.

1135. The Corregidor of Loja appoints an Alcalde Mayor for this mining camp, for the administration of justice and the allotment of the Indians who come for their mita (forced service) in the mines from the Province of Los Cañares and other points, giving each miner the number designated by the warrant he holds or the number falling to him by the repartimiento (assignment of Indians.) These mines are at 3°30' S. The layout of the mills is like those in the silver mines except that they differ in the grinding; these have a box with a stream of water flowing through it, in which they dump the ore, so that the ore is in water; there they macerate it with steel hammers; they have a thick, fine screen through which the clay and mud are carried out; the ore being heavier stays; then they let the water and mud and some ore run through a brick-laid channel to a tank where the gold, being heavier, sinks to the bottom and the muddy water runs off. Then when they have crushed their quota of quintals assigned to each mill, they run the water off from the tank and unite and amalgamate the metal with guicksilver, and after the union and amalgamation they squeeze it under great pressure and get the quicksilver out and smelt the residue. That is the way they handle this precious metal in these mines. In the neighborhood there are a few farms and cattle and hog ranches. It is 60 leagues from the port of Paita.

# Chapter XVIII

Continuing the Description of the Circuit Court of Quito, and the City of Zamora and the Provinces of Zaguarzongo.

1136. The city of Zamora is in the Corregimiento of Loja, from which it is 20 leagues distant, to the E., and on the other side of the Cordillera; this is the watershed, some streams running W. to the Pacific, like those which pass near Loja, and others to the Atlantic,

traversing over 1,000 leagues of country inhabited by different tribes. The city of Zamora was established by Captain Mercadillo in the year 1549; it has the same elevation and parallel as Loja, but to the E. The climate of this city is hot and somewhat unhealthy, but it is very rich in high-grade gold; in fact, they have found nuggets of virgin gold weighing 12 pounds, and many nuggets of I pound, 4 pounds, and over. But though this province and its neighborhood is so rich in this metal, it is poor and lacks sufficient population to exploit it.

1137. The city has a few Spanish residents, with a parish church and a Franciscan convent. The country is wooded and it rains most of the year. They raise corn and other cereals, root crops and fruit, and the Zamora figs so famous in all that kingdom. All the rivers and watercourses in its district carry much gold of high quality. It has excellent salt deposits, and the salt they make supplies all the country. There are other remarkable features which it is impossible to enumerate.

1138. The Province and State of Zaguarzongo, which was subdued by Gov. Juan de (blank; Salinas?) is 20 leagues from Zamora across the Cordillera, and 40 ESE. from the city of Loja. It is all hot country with much high-grade nugget gold, which is found everywhere, for it is paved with this metal.

1139. The city of Valladolid was established in these provinces and this State; it has a few Spanish residents, and is 40 leagues from Loja, at 6° S. This city of Cumbinamá is 16 leagues E. of Valladolid, and 50 leagues farther E. is the city of Santiago de Las Montañas, at which point is the boundary with the district of the city of Jaén de Bracamoros. Thus the city of Santiago de Las Montañas is 194 leagues from Quito, over very rough and difficult trails, most of the way through uninhabited country; and for this reason the people in this country, both Spaniards and Indians, have never seen a Bishop and consequently have never enjoyed the Holy Sacrament of confirmation.

1140. It is an unfortunate circumstance that for this reason they lack spiritual profit and consolation; but it can all be remedied by establishing another Bishop in the city of Cuenca or Loja; that is halfway, and from there he can more easily visit and comfort his parishioners and those provinces will grow, because the Indians bordering on them will be converted to the knowledge of our Holy Faith.

1141. In this region of Santiago de Las Montañas there are many forms of gold, all of it high grade, over 23 carats. There are very

rich mines of gold ore, or veins; as in Zaruma, the mineral is shot through with gold. Then there is virgin gold in nuggets, needing no treatment, and in gold dust, which is what they wash and get out of the rivers and watercourses, for all those in this province carry it in abundance. If there were only people to extract it, this would be one of the wealthiest and most prosperous provinces in the world. They raise corn and other fruit and root crops, and excellent tobacco.

1142. The district of this State includes 90 leagues to the E. already pacified, and borders on extensive and wealthy provinces of heathen to be converted to the Faith; but it is very hard and difficult country, with steep mountains and huge rivers. All this belongs to the district of the Circuit Court of Quito, which borders to the S. on the Circuit Court of Los Reyes, or Linua.

## CHAPTER 17 (sic)

Of the Corregimientos and Curacies in the Territory of the Diocese of Quito.

1143. In the district of the Diocese of Quito there are 10 Corregimientos and 1 State. His Majesty, in consultation with the Supreme Council of the Indies, appoints to those of Quito, Guayaquil, Loja, and Zaruma, Cuenca, the State of Los Quixos; appointments are made to the 4 following by the Viceroy of Peru: Riobamba, Chimba, Latacunga, Otavaló, and in addition, Zaguarzongo; the Governor of Popayán appoints to that of Pasto. There are also 170 curacies, 100 under priests and 70 under friars, as follows.

1144. In the Corregimiento of the City of Quito and within its 5 leagues, 20 curates, clerics of the parish church, Santa Bárbara, Santa Prisca, San Blas, San Marcos, San Sebastián, San Roque, in the Indian villages of Machangara, Machangarilla, Chillogallo, Conocoto, Sangolqui, Cumbayá, Tumbaco, Quembo y Piso, Yaruqui, Quinche, Huaillobamba, Zambeza; and in Los Yumbos, a friar of the Mercedarian Order.

1145. In the Corregimiento of Guayaquil and Puerto Viejo, 7 cleric curates, and 3 Mercedarian friars in the district of Puerto Viejo and Punâ.

In the Corregimiento of Loja, 5 cleric curates and 4 Dominican friars.

In the Corregimiento of Cuenca, 11 cleric curates and 3 Dominican and Franciscan friars.

In the State of Los Quixos, 5 cleric curates and 3 Mercedarian friars.

In the Corregimiento of the town of Villar de Don Pardo, known as Riobamba, 13 cleric curates and 9 or 10 Franciscan friars, in the villages of Chambo, San Andrés, and others in the Province of the Puruaes, and 4 Dominicans in the villages of Pelileo, Quero, Patate and others.

In the State of Zaguarzongo, 11 clerics and a few friars.

**1146.** In the Corregimiento of Latacunga, 3 cleric curates, 3 Dominicans in the villages of Pansaleo and its neighborhood, and 7 Franciscans in the villages of Latacunga, Mulaló and those of the Province of Los Sigchos.

In the Corregimiento of Otavaló, 5 clerics and 3 Franciscan friars.

In the Corregimiento of Chimbo, 6 clerics and 4 or 5 Franciscan and Dominican friars.

In the Corregimiento of Pasto, Mocoa and Mascas, 14 clerics and 4 Mercedarian friars. This is all that is comprised in this Diocese, though some of the villages could not be specified.

#### Book IV

Of the District of the Circuit Court of Lima.

[In which are described all the provinces in its jurisdiction, the silver mines, woolen and grogram mills, vineyards and the other products of the soil, both indigenous and Spanish; the dress and customs of the Indians; the founding of the cities and towns; the Corregimientos and other offices, both those in the appointment of His Majesty, in consultation with the Supreme Council, and those in the Viceroy's appointment; the description of the Río Marañón down to the Atlantic, with the expedition led by Gov. Pedro de Ursuá; the posts of prelates and church dignitaries; and other things worth noting and describing, particularly the filiation of the Incas, when their empire began, and the period of their reign.]

### CHAPTER I

[Which Contains a Description] of the Offices and Revenues Existing [in the District Governed] by the Viceroy of Peru; and of the King's Highways.

1147. In the preceding chapters I have stated that with Quito, or the boundary of the jurisdiction of its Diocese, the Kingdom of Peru begins. This is what was comprised in the Empire of the Incas and is at present governed by the Viceroy of Peru, covering the district of three Circuit Courts-Lima, Quito, and the Charcas-and to a certain extent in the Kingdom of Chile, not to speak of Panama, for that is not to the point, though it comes under his jurisdiction. He has over 1,000 leagues in his district, from 2° N. to 43° S., where the city of Castro is located, on the islands of the Archipelago of Chiloé, all N. and S., and from W. to E., from the city of San Marcos de Arica, over 550 leagues to the city of Trinidad and port of Buenos Ayres on the Río de la Plata. That is what the Viceroy has under his charge in administrative matters; he appoints to 60 (68?) Corregimientos and one State government, that of Huancavelica; 12 Paymasters and Treasurers, and 7 other offices of great importance, which are tabulated in the Index of Offices; 25 administrations of Indian communal organizations, and over 80 posts of Indian Protectors and mill inspectors, not counting his military and naval appointments, and those ad interim in case of death-all these with large salaries and perquisites. Besides this, he presides over the Indian assignments (encomiendas) in those vast and extensive kingdoms. Thus he has at his command a huge sum in the peso incomes of the beneficiaries of the encomiendas which fall vacant; after he confers the favor, it has to be approved by His Majesty and the Supreme Council. So great is this amount that merely in the district of the Circuit Courts of the Charcas, Lima and part of that of Quito, during the incumbency of Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo, there was assigned in 614 encomiendas and repartimientos, an income of 1,384,228 assay pesos, although there has been a great falling off, there being no set figure, and the Indians having died off and petered out.

[CHAP. 2. In Which Are Described the King's Highways of the Incas in the Kingdom of Peru.]

**1148.** In this great segment of the New World, two Cordilleras run side by side from the Province of Santa Marta to the Strait of Magellan, over 1,500 leagues. Between these Cordilleras runs the King's Highway, named after the Incas, from Pasto to Chile, which is over 1,000 leagues. The paved road is over 20 feet wide and climbs over passes which look impossible; and along the whole way every 3 leagues there are Royal Apartments, where the Inca king's lodged, and about them many others for the servants and impedimenta, and for storehouses and granaries to contain the corn, potatoes, and other food for their people, both in time of peace and war. These apartments were built of excellent cut stone; the stone or rock is laid and fitted one piece above another with such elegant and refined skill that you could never guess they had put any mortar or other substance in between to hold them together.

1149. Most of these Royal Apartments serve at present as inns for travelers; they are like roadhouses or taverns, at which travelers stop. As for those not in use, their ruins indicate the grandeur and majesty which prevailed in those days. Furthermore, to show the good administration they had: in order to receive from any quarter brief accounts of what was being done or was going on in any part of the kingdom, they had for the entire length of the King's Highways at intervals of a league, cabins with ordinarily one or two Indians who acted as couriers or postmen; in that kingdom they call them chasques; every village along the route was under obligation to keep them there for the governor of that province, and when the Inca needed to send word at top speed, the Indian ran that league at his fastest, and before he reached the next chasque, to warn them to get ready as quickly as possible, he blew his little horn or shell, and gave the other, thus warned, the message or document, and he ran with it the same way. Thus this was all so well organized and so faithfully carried out that if it was necessary, they would run 470 leagues, or more than the distance between Quito and Cuzco, in less than 8 days; and in this way the Inca kings got news from all over their Kingdom, widespread and extensive though it was, in quick time, so that they could attend to what was asked of them.

1150. The other King's Highway ran along the plains parallel with the coast within sight of the sea. This was over 24 feet wide and was like a very straight avenue, built between two adobe walls, strongly and carefully made, so that even today a considerable part of them remains standing, and I have seen them on most of the plains of that kingdom.

1151. This road runs from Tumbes and passes where the city of San Miguel de Piura stands and along all the valleys of that kingdom to the Kingdom of Chile, where the Plains Road and the Sierra Road come together. In all the plains valleys it had royal houses and apartments built with great pains; a large part of them remain standing and their ruins show what extensive and haughty buildings they were; but all has decayed with time. This King's Highway for the plains was walled in where the rivers run down to the sea; but for long remote stretches and on the uninhabited sand dunes, where they could not succeed in road construction, they laid out and marked off the road with rocks and stakes driven into the dunes; and as it does not rain in those regions, traces of them can be seen and remain standing in many localities.

1152. In this kingdom there are three features so different and yet in combination that it would seem impossible to one who had not seen it; yet one should not be surprised, for the Glorious Doctor St. Augustine and other saints were of the opinion that the Torrid Zone is not habitable, and the contrary is true, for this is one of the most populous and fertile countries in the world. The plains are 6 or 8 leagues wide, sometimes more, along the coast; they run from Tumbes, which is not  $2^{\circ}$  S., to Coquimbo, which is  $32^{\circ}$  S. The sierra will average 20 leagues in width, sometimes more, with many hills, ravines and some valleys. This is cool country. The Andes are 10 or 12 leagues across, heavily wooded and forested. The country is very hot and damp; many varieties of all sorts of animals live there, birds, poisonous snakes and other vermin; many kinds of delicious fruit grow there, and the valuable and highly prized coca.

1153. These three topographical features occur within a distance of 50 leagues E. and W., and they run N. and S. side by side for over 500 leagues. The plains are hot, dry country; it never rains there; the sierra in the middle is cool country; it rains in the proper season, and there is usually much snow; in the Andes it rains all the time and it is very hot. Thus the sierra in the center has its seasons when it rains; of the two collateral features, one is hot and dry, the other very hot and damp. Since this country is all under the same sky, that there should be such diversity shows that Divine Providence gives human intellects much to ponder over, and however much they argue, they can never succeed in ferreting out the goal of truth.

### CHAPTER II

Of the City of Trujillo and Its Provinces, and Special Features of Its Diocese [Which Is Suffragan to Lima.]

1154. Traveling S. from Quito, one comes at 230 leagues to the city of Trujillo, founded in the year 1533 by Don Diego de Almagro and Don Diego de Mora under orders and with commission from Don Francisco Pizarro. It lies in its fertile valley a quarter league from the ancient settlement of Chimocapac, at 8° S., 2 leagues from the sea. The city was one of the noblest of that realm, [and so it is at present; it has a hot climate.] It has over 400 Spanish residents, (Marg.: Many of them encomenderos; among the most important is Don Juan de Avendaño Gamboa. He served valiantly in Flanders, Naples, and [later] against the Moors in the Granada rebellion, being attached to the person of Don Juan of Austria, and in one of the battles it happened that he was wounded and lost his right arm. He came over as Governor of Arequipa and later of the Provinces of Parinacochas and Conchucos, and held other offices in which he gave a good account of himself. He was General of the Pacific, and the person consulted by the Viceroy Don Luís de Velasco in all matters of importance; later he gave him the encomienda of the Provinces of Huamachuco and Otuzco, which he enjoys at Trujillo; and H.M. King Philip II graciously granted him the patronage of Nuestra Señora de Irruibalcaya of the town of Re (sic); this patronage has been left by this Don Juan to Don Martín de Avendaño his nephew as his presumptive (afocoso) heir, since he has no sons. (End of Marg. note.)) The city has also a large service contingent of Indians, Negroes, and mulattoes. It is the capital of a Diocese [with very wide jurisdiction] which was carved out from the Archdiocese of Lima [which is 200 leagues S.] and that of Ouito, and lies between them. It has a very fine Cathedral, Dominican, Franciscan, Augustinian, and Mercedarian convents, and a fine nunnery, Santa Clara, with other churches and pilgrimage shrines. Its jurisdiction is so extensive that another Bishop could [and should] be appointed for Chachapoyas, for the good of its administration.

1155. The city is built on the plains where there is no rain, in a pleasant and fertile valley where they raise much irrigated wheat and corn, kidney beans, pallares, peanuts, chickpeas, and other cereals and vegetables, both indigenous and Spanish. They have some olive groves, but only a few; they get excellent olives and [already] some oil. There are [some] vinevards, and [much] native fruit like bananas, aguacates, cucumbers, guavas, pineapples, and others; of Spanish varieties, large and small peaches, pears, apples, pippins, figs, and others; and many sugar plantations [especially in the Chicama valley, which is 5 leagues N. of the city; this is a very wide and fertile valley, where they raise much corn, wheat, and other cereals; there are many apricots and sugar plantations with large mills where they make [large] quantities of sugar; there are excellent]. There are cattle and sheep and mule ranches, and through the whole Chicama valley many guacas, which are the sumptuous tombs which the Indians had for their burials; they put in them also all the wealth of silver and gold they possessed, and the other valuables [they had], both elaborate clothing and whatever else was necessary for their service [and their food and wine] for the journey to the other life of their perdition. In this valley there are also some vinevards; its river produces excellent fish and large crayfish, as is true of all the rivers in this kingdom.

1156. This Diocese was created and carved out of the Dioceses of Lima and Peru because of the great extent and wealth of its jurisdiction, at the time when the Marqués de Montesclaros was Viceroy of Peru. The first Bishop was Dr. Don Jerónimo de Cárcamo, and disembarking on the Pacific within sight of his Diocese, he lost his life in the sea. [At once] Fray Don Francisco de Cabrera, Bishop of Puerto Rico, followed him, being the first to take possession; he governed from the year 1615 till 1619, when he died; at the present time the Bishop is Dr. Carlos Marcelo [and he still is today].

1157. And when I was in the city of Lima de Los Reyes in that year 1619, a Thursday, first day of Lent after Ash Wednesday, at about 11 a.m., there came such a great earthquake that it laid low almost all the city (of Trujillo.C.U.C.) dashing all the houses to the ground, and its temples, which were very fine and all the construction very well done; more than 400 persons were killed—a

catastrophe and chastisement which God sent upon that city for His just judgments. [Immediately] After the shock of the earthquake which caused this damage at Trujillo had passed, within a quarter of an hour it reached Lima, but without any further force that I could discover; but within 5 days a message [from Trujillo] reached Lima with the news of the earthquake and disaster, and the hour when it happened, asking them to send some aid to the city for the destitute survivors.

**1158.** The Guaca of the Sun which used to stand in this valley, was in the days of the Indians' heathendom one of the greatest sanctuaries in that realm; from many quarters within it, [many] Indians came on pilgrimage to carry out vows and promises [they had made], and mutilate themselves [which was their gratitude for favors received] and offer gifts [at their mutilation]. And so in this Trujillo Valley and in that of the settlement of Chimocapac, where there are [many very] sumptuous guacas, they have found great treasures, and [very great] treasures remain to be found today; among the [many very] rich ones already found and discovered was one guaca out of which they took so much wealth that merely His Majesty's 20 percent amounted to over 80,000 pesos.

1159. The guacas are the burial places where the heathen were buried with all the wealth in silver and gold and valuables [and prized possessions] which were theirs, as was the custom in the days of David and Solomon. These guaca burial places are like castles, [all] built of [many] adobes which are sun-baked bricks, and with [many] merlon battlements. Every guaca is very elaborate; there are [great] quantities of them in this settlement which belonged to King Chimocapoc. Whether by the sea or in the Trujillo Valley or in all the other Peruvian valleys, in [all of] which it never rains, they are of one same type; in the circuit of the guacas, among the battlements and walls [of them], there are innumerable skulls of those heathen, which look as if they had been put there only a short time ago; and the construction of each guaca is so massive that even if it is certain that there is great wealth and treasure in them, many have been ruined in their search for them, if they were not perfectly sure where to find the opening of the entrance or gateway to the guaca.

### CHAPTER III

Of the Corregimientos and Curacies of the District of the Diocese of Trujillo.

**1160.** In the district of the Diocese of Trujillo there are 12 Corregimientos, and in them 109 dotrinas or curacies, 44 administered

by clerics and 55 by friars, as will be detailed. In the city and Corregimiento of Trujillo, 4 cleric curates, 3 for Spaniards and 1 for Yanaconas.

In the Corregimiento of Chiclayo, 22 curates: 2 clerics, 1 in Reque, the other in Callanca; and 20 friars, thus distributed: 4 Mercedarians, in Guañape, Moche, Payján, and the other at the Licapa mill; 4 Franciscans, in Chiclayo, Etén, Huanchaco, Mansiche; 7 Augustinians, in Simball, San Pedro de Lloco, Jequetepeque, Cherrepe, Mocupe, Guadelupe, Chepén; 5 Dominicans, at the Chicama mill, at that of Forcalla, Chocope, La Magdalena de Cao, Santiago de Chicama.

1161. In the Corregimiento of the town of Saña there are 13 curacies, 12 of clerics: 2 in the town of Saña for Spaniards, the other for Yanaconas; 4 clerics in the village of Lambayeque, and the rest at the Zaa sugar mill, Illimo, Ferreñafe, Túcume, Mochumí—all clerics; and in the village of San Miguel, one Franciscan friar.

In the Corregimiento of Cajamarca, 24 curacies : I cleric in Cajamarca for the Spaniards, another in Condebamba; 13 Franciscan friars in San Marcos, Jesús, Celendín, La Ascención, Cajamarca, Contumazá, Cascas, Cuzmango, La Trinidad, Chota, San Pablo, San Miguel, Niepos; and 7 Augustinians, in Huamachuco, Otuzco, the Carabamba mill, Usquil, Chusgón, Cajabamba, the Sincicap mill; and 3 Mercedarians, in the Province of Huambos, in Llama, Quetacoto, and another in Socota.

In the Corregimiento of the cities of Chachapoyas and Moyobamba, 2 curates for Spaniards, each city with its own.

1162. In the Corregimiento of Luya and Chillaos, 9 curates, 7 of them clerics: in Luya, Zacatayamón, and Quistancho, Hondaycoca, Corobamba, Teata, Pomacocha, Andasbamba; and 2 Mercedarians, in La Jalca and in Tomorbamba.

In the Corregimiento of Paclas, 6 curates, all Mercedarians, in Zoritor, Chixinos, Vagazán, Taulia, Olleros, Chelequín.

In the Corregimiento of Cajamarquilla, 6 curates, all clerics, in Leimebamba, Santo Thomás, and San Ildefonso, Cajamarquilla, Condormarca, Buldibuyo, Tayabamba, Collay.

In the Corregimiento of Jaén de Bracamoros there are 7 cleric curates : in the city of Jaén, Loma, and Copallín, Guallipe, Guaratopa, Atonipa, and Tabaconas, Cherinos, Los Huambos, Tulloca.

In the Corregimiento of the city of San Miguel de Piura there are 13 curates: 11 clerics, in Piura, Catacaos, Olmos, Jayanca, Pacora, Motupe, Salas, and Penachi, Huancabamba, Sechura, Paita, and Colán, Ayabaca; and 2 Mercedarians, in Tumbes, and Frías. This is what is comprised in this Diocese of Trujillo.

#### CHAPTER IV

Continuing the Description of Trujillo and Its District.

**1163.** At a quarter league from the city is the village of Mansiche, with delicious fruit and vegetables. Its Peruvian cucumbers are the best in the kingdom. The plant on which they grow is like a pepper plant; the leaves resemble tomato leaves. The cucumbers come in many varieties and colors—small, large, round, the size and shape of pears; some are long, also; they are purple, yellow, white, striped, and in other colors; [they are] smooth and very thin-skinned; they taste very good, are juicy and refreshing, and are good for the kidneys and the digestion. They eat them ripe, not as we do, and they are only to be found in the Kingdoms of Peru.

**1164.** Near the city lie other villages, like that of La Magdalena, Guañape, and that of Las Granadas, up the valley on the way to Otuzco. It has jurisdiction for 16 leagues S. along the coast, up to the Río de Santa, which separates this Diocese from the Archdiocese of Lima; and for 100 leagues along the coast and plains to the N., up to the port of Paita and the village of Colán; in this stretch there are grand valleys with large Indian settlements. Along the sierra it has extensive provinces rich in silver mines, with cattle, sheep, hog, and mule ranches; there are mills which manufacture cloth, blankets, and grogram.

**1165.** Two leagues from the city is the port of Mal Abrigo, dangerous because it is a rough coast; but that is where they ship their products, viz, flour, sugar, and quantities of biscuit and preserves which are put up for Lima, Panama, and other points. The country is hot but healthy, with bright skies and salubrious breezes, and although it never rains, it seems like a garden of Paradise because of the irrigated gardens which surround all the houses and the city itself; in them they have all varieties of native and Spanish fruit, so that the city is one of the pleasantest in the Indies.

**1166.** The town of Saña or Miraflores is 28 leagues N. of Trujillo, and 5 from the sea. It is situated in a fertile valley abounding in wheat, corn, vineyards, fruit, and all else necessary for human life. It has a parish church, Dominican, Franciscan, and Augustinian convents, and a hospital with other churches and shrines. The town does a lively trade in sugar and cordovan leather.

### CHAPTER IV

Other Features of the District of Trujillo [etc.] and Its Provinces. **1167.** [The Indian village of Mansiche is a quarter league from the city, with delicious vegetables and fruit, particularly Peruvian cucumbers; these are of many kinds and] varieties; those from this village [have the reputation all over the kingdom of] being the best in Peru, [since they are among the best and most delicious]. The plant resembles a pepper plant, but the leaf is smaller and more elaborate, [in its color and the [ ] of its shape] is like a tomato leaf. [The cucumber] is [there are] of many sorts—purple, [likewise there are] yellow and white (Marg.: and of other colors), and they are very smooth. They must be ripe when eaten, for when green [they are worth nothing] they are no good; they come long, round, and in [many] other shapes, small and large. They taste very good when fully ripe; they are very juicy and refreshing, and are good for the kidneys and digestion; you peel off the skin, which is very soft and thin, and then eat it all. This fruit [I never saw in all of New Spain and Honduras, or in the islands; it] only grows in Peru.

Near the city are other villages, like La Magdalena, Las Granadas up the valley, and other [villages which I omit mentioning.]

1168. [It has jurisdiction over the plains [where it never rains] for 18 leagues S. along the coast to the town of Santa, which belongs to the Archdiocese of Lima; and 100 leagues N. along the coast to the port of Paita and the village of Colán, and in the district are [many] fine fertile valleys, and [in them] with large [and very attractive] Indian settlements. Along the sierra there are extensive provinces [very] rich [where there are many] in silver mines and with cattle and sheep ranches, and mills where they manufacture cloth, grogram, etc., [and in the district five cities of Spaniards and one town, which will be described in their proper place.]] (Marg. note: As was described in the preceding chapter.)

1169. In the district and jurisdiction of this Diocese there are II Corregimientos, to 5 of which appointments are made by the Council: Paita, and Paira, Trujillo, Saña, and Jaén de Bracamoros; and 6 whose incumbents are named by the Viceroy of Peru: Chicama, although usually this is administered by the Corregidor of Trujillo; Cajamarca, although since the Viceroy provided that this be given to the [Ambassador, it is H.M. who makes the appointment; Chachapoyas, Cajamarquilla, and Collay, Los Chillaos.] The city has Officials of the Royal Patrimony and a Royal Treasury. [And in this city] they make [large] quantities of biscuit [and in its valleys] flour and preserves which are exported to Panama and other points. [And the Corregimiento of Trujillo administers that of Chicama, which belongs to the city for 5 leagues up its valley, where it gets all the rest of its supplies as described, though the city has] its treacherous harbor, the coast being rough, [which is named Mal Abrigo, where they go to load the ships.]

The country has a hot but healthy climate, with bright skies and health-giving breezes, and although it never rains, it looks like a garden of Paradise, on account of the gardens within the city and around it, with many oranges, limes, citrons, and grapefruit, and a thousand other kinds of trees and fruit.

### [CHAP. Of the Town of Saña.]

1170. [Twenty-eight leagues N. of Trujillo, and five from the sea, lies the town of Saña, otherwise known as Miraflores, in a fertile and prolific valley, [and with much water and many amenities]. Here there is a parish church, Dominican, Franciscan, and Augustinian convents, a hospital, and other churches and shrines. The town is very [well supplied with excellent provisions, and is very]] (Note: This whole chapter is deleted to this point in the MS.) active in the commerce of sugar and cordovan leather, which are prepared here [in quantities] and exported to Lima and other points; they make [large amounts of] preserves, and in the valley they get [large] quantities of wine, wheat, corn, and other Spanish and native cereals. It has its port at Cherrepe, 5 leagues from the town; it is not good for the coast is rough, but still they load the local products on the ships there.

It has a Corregidor appointed by the Council; he administers also the valley of Guadalupe, where there is a very holy image of Our Lady with this title, much venerated and resorted to in these kingdoms. Five leagues away is the valley of San Pedro de Lloco; all this country is fertile and prolific, and to the S. of Saña.

1171. Seven leagues to the N. it has the famous valley in which lies the rich and delightful village of Lambayeque, [which is] the largest [village] in all the plains of Peru. There are four curates in the church for the instruction of the inhabitants and to administer the Holy Sacraments. The place is abundantly supplied with fruit and fresh fish, since they are not far from the sea; the Indians bring it up on the double-quick. They have vineyards and olive groves at this place, and very large, fine melons ripen the whole year through; they usually sell them six for a real, and they assured me when I was there that all the Indians had to do was to throw the seeds on the sand and they would germinate in the luxuriant coolness. In all these valleys they raise great quantities of cotton, and especially in this; they work up a great deal here, turning out [great] quantities of blankets and candlewicks; the Spanish traders come in and buy them for sale elsewhere. In this town and valley they make large amounts of soap, which is exported to Lima and other points, and very elaborate reed mats and palm-leaf hats, from all of which they make a great deal of money. In this valley and that of Saña there is much cattle, particularly goats, which feed on guaranga, which is the leaf and fruit of the tree so called; the Spaniards call it algarrobo (carob). The seed is white, and of the shape and almost the taste of the Spanish carob beans. Half a league from Lambayeque there is another very fertile valley with the village of Chiclayo [in it]; it has an elaborate and architecturally [very] interesting Franciscan convent. There is a Corregidor there, appointed by the Viceroy; the town has the same interests and products as those just mentioned.

1172. There are many other very fertile valleys, like those of Reque, Jayanca, Motupe, and others of great fertility and lively commerce. [As for the great productiveness of these valleys, they lie along the river banks, and it must be borne in mind that] All this country is irrigated. The villages are built in the valleys on the river banks, with many trees about them; everything else is barren sand dunes and uninhabitable territory, for it does not [ever] rain there.

1173. The village of the Olmos Indians is built in the midst of a barren sandy waste, where it never rains. They get their water from jagüeyes, which are wells or pools, out of which they draw it. This is a rich village for all the Olmos Indians are muleteers and keep mules; and when the ships arrive from the Spanish Main, they go down with their mules and load them, charging 30 or 40 pesos each, or what they can get, for the trip to Lima, which is 180 leagues; and they are so careful, skillful, and conscientious in their task that those whose goods are being freighted, never worry about anything. As all that country is sandy desert, they start traveling toward evening and march all night, till they reach the jagüey or place or valley where they plan to stop, and they start traveling again; one travels with more pleasure and comfort with them than with muleteers in Spain.

### Chapter V

Of the City of Piura[llo] and Its District.

1174. The city of San Miguel de Piura, first named San Francisco de Buena Esperanza, was the first founded by Marqués Don Francisco Pizarro, in the year 1531, in which he first entered that realm; and it was here that he dedicated and consecrated to God the

first temple in that kingdom. Consequently, God has honored it; for though it has not grown like others in those kingdoms, it has taken the first fruits from them, for the whole Kingdom of Peru has taken its name and title from Piura.

1175. The city will have a little over 100 Spanish residents, not counting the service contingent. It has a parish church, a Mercedarian convent and a hospital for the sick. There is a Corregidor, appointed by the Council, with Officials of the Royal Patrimony. The city was founded at Tangarará, but that was an unhealthy spot so they dismantled it and moved it to where it is today, between two valleys, in what is naturally a sandy desert. To the S., Trujillo is 90 leagues away; to the N., Quito is 140 leagues and Loja and Zaruma, 60 in the same direction. One league from the city is the very attractive village of Catacaos, where they grow excellent melons, with other kinds of fruit and vegetables. All the Indians in this village are muleteers, like the Olmos [and very good Indians]. Twelve leagues WNW. of the city is the famous port of Paita, [where the Corregidor appoints a representative], which is at 5° S. This harbor is [very] good and deep, and the goal of all the ships coming from Panama, Nicaragua, and New Spain, and point of departure of those going from Peru to the Spanish Main. [This port is good, commodious, and safe]. The Indians are great fishermen, and so there is usually plenty of fresh fish here, [many] jars of tunny made of swordfish, as good and delicate as what we have in Spain, and of lisas (loaches?) and other fish and many tollos (spotted dogfish), with which they furnish fish to all the interior. It is a remarkable fact that there is no fresh water at this port, for there is no river or valley there, and it never rains; so they go to Colán, a village a league NW. of the harbor and on the Río de Colán, and bring the water back on floats [in quantities of jugs] [for the village of] Paita. A few Spaniards live with the Indians here; the village is built on a sandbank, the houses are only a few bamboo poles stuck in the sand and at the best plastered with a little mud on the outside-what they call bajareques-and for roof some matting or a little dried dung. So the Spaniards who come from Spain and have pictured in their imagination the riches of that realm, where their fancy has paved the streets with bars of silver and with silver reals, and they are eager to get to Peru and see it, for with their burning desire to enrich themselves, they have no other idea in their minds but wealth-when they reach this harbor and see the tumble-down houses, their disappointment is immense, and grows as they note the barren sandbanks and dunes; to all appearance their anticipations are altogether unfounded. A thoughtful

guide who had been considering this and had come to meet a friend arriving from Spain, on noting his discomfiture said to him: "Don't be cast down; you're in the best country God has created on earth; you see these poles and bamboos stuck in the sand; they look as if they were worth nothing, but they're all made of gold and silver; go and look at them and you'll see I'm not fooling you"—thus cheering him up by making him understand he should not be troubled by what was the custom of the country, which required nothing more; that the country was the best and richest in the world. Everybody who can disembarks at this port, so as not to endure the tedium of the ships beating to windward with the bowlines hauled, one tack to sea and one to landward; and with Olmos or Catacaos Indians they continue over the plains and their valleys to Lima.

1176. There are alligators in the Río de Colán, but those are the last, for there are none in all the rivers and valleys of Peru, even though it is hot country; I understand that the reason is that they need not merely a hot but a damp climate, as is the case at Guayaquil, and in all the rivers under the Equator, and in the New Kingdom of Granada, Honduras, and a large part of New Spain.

The clothing of the Indians of the plains has become entirely Spanish, and the Indian women wear a big black cotton Mother Hubbard (saco grande); the well-to-do or the chieftainesses drag a train a yard long after them, like canons in Seville or Toledo, the wealthier, the longer, for that is their index of authority; in general they are very dirty, though all of them are good people and have taken firm hold on the tenets of our Holy Faith.

1177. The Corregidor of Piura appoints two representatives in the sierra, one in Ayabaca, which is on the border of the Province of Los Calvas in the jurisdiction of the Circuit Court and Diocese of Quito; he governs all that province, and that of Frias. He puts the other in Huancabamba, which borders on the Province of Los Huambos in the Corregimiento of Cajamarca.

In the Piura valleys there are excellent ranches and herds of merino sheep, which live on guaranga or algarroba; they are the fattest and best-flavored mutton in the world, and a sheep sells there for 8 reals. In the sierra there are cattle and mule ranches; in the Piura district they raise wheat, corn, and other cereals and fruit. This whole country is very attractive.

1178. The Diocese of Trujillo extends along the sierra as far as the farthest bound of the Province of Huamachuco, where it borders on La Pallasca in the Province of Los Conchucos of the Archdiocese of Lima; to the S. it extends to Ayabaca; and it runs N. on the same N.-S. line over 120 leagues in this sierra. Thirty-five leagues E. of Trujillo is the town of Cajamarca, capital of all the provinces under the jurisdiction of the Corregidor appointed by the Viceroy; he is however appointed by the Council at present.

1179. Sixteen leagues to the N. is the Province of Los Huambos [which is] curacies of Mercedarian friars; there are large horse ranches there; [horses are cheap]. The Provinces of Niepos, San Pablo, San Francisco de Contumazá, Cascas, Simball, Cuzmango, de Jesús (Marg.: This is where Don Juan de Avendaño has his encomienda.) and others are [all] catechized by Franciscan friars.

**1180.** The Province of Huamachuco, 18 leagues S. of Cajamarca, is an Augustinian priorate, with the curacies of Cajabamba, Santiago de Chuco, El Obraje, and others; in the district there are large cattle and sheep ranches [in abundance] and [much] native cattle (llamas). This is all cold country, with some snow-topped sierras. After crossing to the W. a stretch of puna (high tableland), [all inhabited country, and mountainous], one comes to the springs forming the river which runs down the Trujillo valley.

**1181.** Next comes the Province of Otuzco, thickly settled and rich in cattle and sheep and with mule ranches. There are some silver mines in this jurisdiction; the whole country abounds in wheat [and corn and many luxuries] and potatoes.

[CHAP. 6. Of the Town of Cajamarca and Its District.]

### Chapter VI

Of Cajamarca, etc.

1182. The town of Cajamarca la Grande is [36 leagues E. of Trujillo] in the midst of the Cordillera, built on the W. side of a valley which will be over 4 leagues long and in places over 2 broad, running practically E. and W. This is cold country for it is in the sierra in the midst of the Cordillera. It abounds in wheat, corn, and potatoes, though the crops are occasionally nipped by the frost. A small stream runs through the valley, and I league from the town are the Inca's Baths, so famous in that kingdom, where King Atabalipa was with all the nobles and chieftains of his court when Don Francisco Pizarro, in December 1531, arrived at Cajamarca and captured him, as is related by the historians of the Indies.

**1183.** At these baths there are excellent bathhouses and pools constructed by the Incas, all roofed over with the water in runnels, both the hot as it comes naturally and the cold which they put in to cool

it, for it runs very hot, and that without there being any active volcanoes in all this region. A harquebus-shot away is a lake of hot water from these baths, and there is a tradition [and it is held to be quite certain] that when the Indians saw what had happened, and the Spaniards' greed for gold and silver, [it is affirmed] they threw into it great wealth of silver and gold vases and gold leaf; and some inquisitive persons, or avaricious would be a better word, have tried to drain it into the river in order to search for that wealth and get it out, but they were not successful for they lacked the means and possibilities of doing it. These baths are very healthful and beneficial to invalids; I myself happening to be in poor health in the year 1615 took the cure here and God graciously restored my health; I was on my way to the settlement of the Motilones and Tabalosos to preach them our Holy Faith. From the baths to Cajamarca there is a straight road, like a street or avenue, a league long, planted by their orders with many poplars and other shade trees at very great expense, because in the valley on account of the cold there are no woods but it is all bare. The town of Cajamarca is very large and extensive; the settlement has straight streets well constructed; in my opinion it is the best Indian village to be found in the whole Kingdom of Peru. There is a fine large convent here of Franciscans, who give them religious instruction and administer the Holy Sacraments. The Corregidor here was always appointed by the Viceroy; they gave the post to the persons who brought the formal notification of the departure of the new Viceroy to succeed his predecessor; at present it is in the gift of His Majesty and the Council.

# [CHAP. 7. Continuing the Description of Cajamarca.]

1184. There are many woolen mills here, where they turn out [much] cloth and grogram; they belong to the encomenderos, [and the Indians do all the work.] Over 100 Spaniards live in this town; there are many mercantile and trading establishments, for the place is large and has an active commerce; [and] it is on the King's Highway through the sierra for all those coming from the New Kingdom of Granada and from Quito with merchandise for Cuzco, Potosi, and all the upland country. So the Indian community and Council of this town maintains a very large, capacious, and well-built hostelry in which to lodge all the muleteers and traders, with ample service of Indians, innkeeper, and constables (Alguaciles) for the service of the Spaniards who put up there. This is in the plaza, which is very large; and on the other side is the Guairona, a group of fine large

buildings for more important travelers, where the Alcaldes and Alguaciles take prompt care to provide them with everything needful for their money; it is very well run. Next it is the [fine] residence of the Corregidor, where he has many Indians who prepare and make cloth for him which is called cumbe, very elaborate, with painted figures, hunting scenes and other elaborate representations which are highly prized and valued; they are made of wool, some of vicuña and others of llama wool, with very elaborate fancywork in various colors; Indian small boys do this work, and the instruments with which they do this tightly woven and perfect embroidery of the cumbi (!) are made of chicken and sheep bones well ground and sharpened, and it certainly is most surprising to see them turn out these cumbes and the other things they do.

**1185.** In this town there are many artisans of all sorts of professions; excellent scribes: singers and a choirmaster who instructs them; they repair every day like canons to the church to recite their prayers, the lesser service of Our Lady; they assist at the Mass; they have flageolets and [many] other musical instruments for the celebration of divine service—a custom very general over all the Indies; usually those who officiate thus are always the sons of the leading men and chieftains; they greatly appreciate this and consider it a very high honor.

[Marg.: CHAP. 7. Continuing the Description of Cajamarca.]

**1186.** The house of the Cacique comes next to the Corregidor's and near the convent; there is only one street in between, and on it is the room which King Atabalipa designated to be filled with gold for his ransom, with the line drawn as a limit; the Cacique showed it to me and in the apartment where that king was captured, the room was roofless and the whole wall was built of stone slabs very well cut; [the room] it might be 40 feet long, and the line drawn on the wall, up to which he had promised to fill the room with gold, was approximately a stade and a half from the floor, or as high as a man of good stature could draw it with a poniard or a dagger. [And] as Cacique Don Felipe remarked to me, that room remains and will remain untouched, as a memorial of the imprisonment and death of Atabalipa; it happened right after the entry of the Spaniards, in December 1531, and his death took place in March of the following year, 1532. The Bishop had the intention of appointing a curate for the Spaniards here.

**1187.** In the district to the S. near the village of San Marcos a powerful river has to be crossed, on its way to join the Río de Los Balsas, which is the one running through the Cajamarca valley, and

other streams which have emptied into it; they have built a rope bridge over it, using reeds like withes; weaving quantities of them together, they make two stout cables of the thickness of a man's thigh and a little longer than the width of the river. At a suitable and proper spot along the river they tie them fast on the one side to large trees or rocks, and then they adjust and fasten them on the other side until the cables [of reeds or withes] are taut. On these they build the bridge of many poles and reeds tied tight together like hurdles or wattlework; they put two other cables a vara higher than the first, which serve as railing; and they take many poles and plait them together between the upper and lower cables, acting as sides of a corridor, so that persons crossing will be safe. That is the nature of the rope bridges; when people pass over them they shake a lot, but they are very secure. The Indians have many other kinds of bridges [and methods] for crossing streams, which will be described in their proper places; bridges like ours, with arches and cement, they never achieved, nor did they have them. Let this account suffice for the Corregimiento of Cajamarca, adding that the Incas had many storehouses on the highest points of most of those ridges which overlook the valley around the town; today they remain there unchanged; they used to store in them corn, potatoes, and other food for their armies and the relief of the poor. There are some silver mines in this district, like those of San Cristóbal and others, and cattle and hog ranches. All the deer and llamas have bezoar stones in their stomachs.

1188. The eastern boundary of the Corregimiento of Cajamarca reaches the mighty Río de Las Balsas; it runs for almost 20 leagues between very lofty sierras, deep down below them; even when it is cold up on the uplands, it is very hot down there. They cross this river on rafts made of several logs, usually made of the tree called papaya (papaw), which is abundant on the banks of this rushing river. To cross it, the Indian men and women carry under their arms or on their shoulders one of these light raft logs; they put it in the water and either hang on to it or bestride it, and in this way they get across the river very safely. When I saw tiny Indian girls doing this I was astounded, and I was glad I had seen it, being now instructed for any similar need, and profiting by it on other occasions, when I had to cross rivers. The above is a very ample jurisdiction for the Diocese of Trujillo, and as for the rest, there might well be another created, as has been requested for many years by the city of Chachapoyas for itself and its provinces for their spiritual needs; they suffer through being so remote that no Bishop comes for visits

or confirmations; and if there were a Bishop in Chachapoyas, he would bring the Province of Los Tabalosos over to the Faith; it has over 18,000 Indians and they beg for priests; and there are many other adjoining provinces which could easily be converted.

(Marg. note: Chapter 7 should be inserted here from the following page.)

1189. The jurisdiction of the Provinces of the city of Chachapoyas begins at the Río de Los Balsas, which is 32 leagues inland, over rough but very fertile country with many rivers. From the village of Las Balsas which is on the banks of this river, there is a 6-league climb to the village of Cochabamba, which in times past was very extensive and had very sumptuous buildings made of well-trimmed cut stone; these were built at the command of the Inca kings. It has a cool climate and is very fertile. Proceeding on this route one comes to Leimebamba and a number of other villages, which however are small; near Leimebamba on the way to Chachapoyas is the Province of Cajamarquilla del Collay, for whose administration the Vicerov of Peru appoints a Corregidor; the country is very fertile and prolific, and they get out much gold over all its jurisdiction. They raise much corn, wheat, and potatoes here, and many other products, although the country contains few Indians at present, many having died off and others gone over to the hostile region which they call Los Aucaes. The whole province is heavily wooded and very cool; there are a few cattle and llama ranches.

# Chapter VII

Of the City of Chachapoyas, and Features of Its District.

1190. The city of Chachapoyas is over 90 leagues inland from Trujillo, to the E., and 32 from the Río de Las Balsas. It was founded by Marshal Alonso de Alvarado at the command of Marqués Don Francisco Pizarro in the year 1536, where the village of Levanto stands today, on a high and sightly spot. Later it was moved to where it is today, in the Province of Los Huancas, after Alonso de Alvarado had subdued those provinces, in which enterprise he was greatly aided by Capt. Juan Pérez de Guevara. The city has an excellent site and is attractive, with healthful and peaceful skies; it has a springlike climate and is plentifully supplied with cheap and excellent provisions. In its district they raise much corn, wheat, potatoes, and other Spanish and native cereals; and since the climate is favorable, they have not merely indigenous fruit in abundance but also all the Spanish varieties, like almonds, figs, large and small peaches, apples, and pippins; it has also very good water. The Indian men and women of this region are the best disposed and the whitest in the whole Kingdom of Peru. In its district it has many provinces and settlements, like Camino de Las Balsas, La Magdalena, La Jalca, Santo Tomás, and others ; there are very rich gold mines, particularly those of Juan Pérez de Guevara, near Camino de Las Balsas, from which great wealth of gold has been taken, but for lack of labor these are not working, as is the case with many others all over the district. There are some sugar plantations and [large] cattle and mule ranches; the mules are exported to all the region of Lima and the upland country. Toward the E. it has many settlements, like Querco and others in its neighborhood, and at 36 leagues, the city of La Frontera de Moyobamba, built in a [fine] valley with a marvelous climate, with about 60 Spanish residents. This is a country rich in gold; everywhere they raise much corn and other food crops; it has cattle ranches; they grow [very] good tobacco; in the woods the bees produce much wild honey and wax; the rivers have abundance of excellent fish.

1191. Near this city are the Provinces of the Motilones and Tabalosos. Gov. Alvaro Enrríquez del Castillo undertook their conversion; he got together a large force for the conversion of these tribes; I went along as Chaplain Major of the army which was mustered at Chachapoyas by order of the Viceroy, the Marqués de Montesclaros, in the year 1615. But it all came to nothing, because of the opposition of envious and cantankerous persons, such as the Devil usually chooses as tools on such occasions, to prevent the execution or success of such enterprises in which God Our Lord might be well served and many souls won over to His knowledge and service. The Devil is very [evil], astute and invidious; he fires the stone and hides his hand, rousing passions and creating apprehensions, as happened on this occasion, and on that of the year 1559, when Gen. Pedro de Ursuá set out on his expedition down the Río Marañón, to explore it and the provinces along it, at the instance of the Marqués de Cañete; the Father of Discord, possessing with such unjust title [and unjustifiably] all those blind tribes, is afraid he will be deprived of them, and as possessor, tries to create delay. That is what happened to us; we spent many ducats, being over 200 men setting out with holy zeal in the service of God and His Majesty and for the cure of those souls; in fact, I alone spent for my part in church vestments and supplies and in supporting two soldiers at my expense and in military stores, over 4,000 pesos, and we all came out of it impoverished and disconsolate to see our holy

intentions nullified by these oppositions. It is what happened to Gen. Ursuá also [as I shall tell in the accurate account of all that happened to him, which was given me one day by a resident of Chachapoyas named Altamirano who was with them, when I finish the description of the district of Chachapoyas and the Corregimiento of Luya and Chillaos and Jaén de Bracamoros, which is what at present is comprised in the Diocese of Trujillo; and Chachapoyas asks that a prelate be located there in view of the need of one there and in its provinces; with his coming many evils would cease and other crying needs would be satisfied, and his presence would lead to the pacification of many provinces and their conversion to the Faith.]

# Chapter VIII

Of the Description of the City of Chachapoyas, etc. [and Other Cities.]

1192. The city of Chachapoyas has over 200 Spanish residents of aristocratic origin; [the houses are tile-roofed and it looks very much like a city in Spain.] It covers a very extensive area, for all the houses, which are [very] well built, have gardens within; and around the city there are good outer wards where civilized Indians live, many of them artisans; and near the city there are gristmills where they grind wheat. There are Indian villages within sight and near the city. It has an excellent parish church with two curates, two excellent convents, a Franciscan and a Mercedarian; a [very good] hospital named Santa Ana, where they care for the sick; and other churches and shrines. All the people in this city are very fine; and since it is so far inland in Peru, it is the court city for everyone who travels or lives in those provinces. In this city they make much point lace of henequen fiber, and [much] embroidery [because the Spanish and Indian women in this city are among the best in Peru, and avoid idleness.] In this neighborhood great pains have been taken with the bridges; besides being well built and perfectly adapted for crossing the numerous rivers, they are all covered, so that one hardly sees the streams, and one could stop off and sleep in them in case of need, so well built and located are they. On the route from Leimebamba to Chachapoyas there is a river which sinks underground a number of times and comes out again three or four times, like the Río Guadiana in Spain.

**1193.** This Corregimiento of Chachapoyas is in the appointment of the Viceroy [and he puts a representative in Moyobamba.] The whole country is very fertile and heavily wooded, with [many] sorts

of animals and birds and fruit [both of the varieties mentioned and another which has not been discussed and which grows nowhere else nor is it known except in the district of this city; it is the queen of all fruit in delicious flavor and sweetness] and the Chachapoyas almonds, so famous and highly esteemed in all the Kingdom of Peru. These almonds are larger and with bigger kernels than our Spanish ones; they are very tender to eat, very meaty, juicy, and sweet. The trees which produce them are very tall, well-shaped, and with thick foliage; and Nature makes this sweet and delicious nut all the more appreciated by enclosing it in a burr larger and with sharper spines than chestnut burrs; when it is ripe the burr opens and the almond falls; it has other protection inside. There are other remarkable [products and] things, and particularly a bird whose song sounds like an organ, with a great volume of sweet and melodious music, though it is a tiny creature. [And it has other songs, and there are other unique features which I omit mentioning, in order to write briefly what remains to be said about the other Correginientos. In all of them they gather much cotton.]

1194. Five leagues from Chachapoyas is the Indian village of Luya; it has a cold climate; all its houses are the shape of a half orange. This village is the capital of the Corregimiento of the Province of Los Chillaos, in which the Viceroy appoints a Corregidor for the administration of this region; it is very fertile and abounds in corn, potatoes, and other products and root crops; it has many cattle ranches and some of llamas, nule ranches, and the best stock ranches in the whole Kingdom of Peru, for the Luyan horses have a high reputation everywhere, notably the Castarrica horses of Juan de Pinedo, among them the finest horses in that kingdom [which have been taken to Lima for the Viceroys and other persons of eminence.]

1195. In the Province of Los Chillaos there is a rock on which are sculptured and engraved some representations of human feet, [and they are] held in great veneration by the Indians of this province, for they preserve a tradition handed down from one of their ancestors to another from time immemorial, that an Apostle passed through there preaching to them and teaching them a law which should take them to Heaven. Many friars and other ecclesiastics and Spanish laymen who have seen them, have formed and maintained the opinion that they belonged to the Glorious Apostle St. Thomas who went through there preaching to them, and as a record of the fact that what he preached to them was true, he left the soles of his sainted feet sculptured and engraved; they support this by stating that if other proofs are needed that he came through that country to preach the Gospel, they are evident from the miraculous Cross of Carabuco which was found in El Collao, with other allied traditions recounted by the Indians of those provinces; since they were illiterate, the memory of the time and the precise facts of this truth, has perished; but sufficient for its support should be the pious affection and Christian devotion which this belief is responsible for, and the fact that the Chillaos Indians and those adjoining them, wear clothes like those of that period, which are likewise glimmerings to accredit their opinion. [This must suffice; let me pass on to a brief account of the Corregimiento or State of Jaén de Bracamoros, which on the civil side belongs to the Circuit Court of Quito.]

# [CHAP. 9. Of the City of Jaén de Bracamoros and Its District.]

1196. The city of Jaén de Bracamoros is 35 leagues N. of Chachapoyas. Capt. Juan Porcel subdued it with its provinces of Chugumayu and Chachainga, and founded the city of Jaén, though later [with the tyrannical acts and rebellions of Gonzalo Pizarro, the region conquered was abandoned and dismantled. Later] Capt. Diego Palomino came in and resettled it in the year 1549 [which was the year following the defeat of Gonzalo Pizarro and the execution of justice upon him and Carvajal his Militia Captain and the others who were guiltiest; and when the country had settled down and become tranquil, each of the captains went off on the expeditions or explorations which fell to him, and that was the occasion for the founding of the city of Jaén de Bracamoros by Capt. Palomino.] This city will contain 80 Spanish residents, with a parish church and a Mercedarian convent. The State has a Governor appointed by the Council; it has had that of Zaguarzongo added to it, a State which belonged to Commander Juan de Salinas, who subdued and pacified those provinces.

**1197.** The city has a hot climate; there are many rivers carrying gold in its district, for the country is paved with gold. It is the residence of the Governor of these provinces. The whole country is wooded, for which reason wheat is not grown; there is plenty of corn and other products and root crops. In this province they raise much tobacco; it is the tallest, best, and strongest in all the Indies [and in fact has a high reputation all through them and everywhere is more highly esteemed and brings a higher price than any of other origin; so that] With this city and its provinces I conclude the jurisdiction at present exercised by the Diocese of Trujillo, 140

leagues away; and for the country's good and the strengthening of all [these provinces], it would be [very just and] suitable to have a new Bishop established in the city of Chachapoyas. His presence there will lead to the conversion of many heathen provinces to the E., which will be enumerated in the following chapter, dealing with the expedition of Gen. Pedro de Ursuá in the year 1559 via the city of Moyobamba from the district of this city, described [Marg.: by Capt. Altamirano, a resident of Chachapoyas, just as he gave it to me written in his own hand] by one of the soldiers who went in his company, as follows: [They raise much cotton here.]

# Chapter 1X

Of the Expedition Conducted by Gov. Pedro de Ursuá down the Río de Los Motilones, at the Instance of Viceroy Marqués de Cañete.

1198. It was in the year 1559 that Gen. Pedro de Ursuá left the city of Lima, capital of the Kingdoms of Peru. This officer had had wide experience in much exploration, subjugation, and settlement of regions in the New Kingdom of Granada and the Panama district of the Spanish Main; his great experience, very noble birth, high station and affability made him beloved and idolized by his soldiers. The Marqués de Cañete, who was Viceroy of Peru at that time, having full information about his great ability and high reputation, named him as General for the exploration and conquest of the Provinces of Omagua and El Dorado along the Río Marañón. This account was written by Captain Altanirano, former resident of the city of Chachapoyas; he went down the Río Marañón to the Atlantic, suffered great hardships under the tyranny of the traitor Lope de Aguirre, and got back to Peru to the city of Chachapovas where he had his home; he gave it to me, and gave me information and explanation of everything by word of mouth.

1199. Gen. Pedro de Ursuá left the city of Lima in May 1559 with 370 soldiers and a service contingent of over 500 Indians and Negroes, and carpenters and ironworkers, to build his fleet in the Provinces of the Tabalosos and Motilones over 300 leagues from Lima and 100 from Chachapoyas. It is at  $9^{\circ}$  S. that the river rises down which we proceeded to come into the Río Marañón. It took till September 14 of that same year 1559 to build our navy, consisting of 2 brigantines, 7 flatboats, 20 rafts, and some dugouts; then Gen. Pedro de Ursuá and all of us in his suite took to the river in search of food for the soldiers and camp followers and the horses we had with us.

1200. A week before Gov. Pedro de Ursuá started down the river. on Our Lady's Eve in September, Lope de Aguirre and Juan Alonso de la Bandera and Lorenzo de Salduendo and Cristóbal de Chaves asked him where they were going; that if they were going after silver and gold, no place in the world could have more than where they were then, which was in the Kingdoms of Peru and offered no difficulty, without going to search for it where they did not know whether it existed or what might happen to them. Pedro de Ursuá, realizing what was in their minds, replied with a hearty laugh : "That is fine, gentlemen; this way you will have it with greater satisfaction and in greater quantity, and will be able to be of greater service to your friends." The disaffected officers answered that what they said was certain and well known, easier and more remunerative, and that it was uncertain and doubtful where they were going. Pedro de Ursuá dissembled and wished no further argument with them. One week after we had started down the river, at 200 leagues, for the strong current had carried our fleet that distance, we came on the Río de Cocamí, and Don Juan de Vargas, Lieutenant General of our Governor, with 70 men struck up that river in search of food for the fleet and its men. It took him 25 days to go upstream [and he came down in 8] to that settlement, which was the last reached by Gov. Juan de Salinas : 40 soldiers who had been in his expedition had come along with us and told us that the Indians of this province wear elaborate cotton clothing; they have much corn and fish and game, both deer and tapirs and other animals, and many game birds. The country is uninhabitable, being very hot and subject to flood and with innumerable mosquitoes; so all the Indians wear fly-flaps or fly-fans of many-colored feathers, very neatly made, for protection against mosquitoes. We took two Indians from this settlement and carried them along for interpreters, for they understood the interpreters we had brought along, and knew the country better.

**1201.** We left this settlement and traveled down the river a week without coming on anything of importance. We caught much fish at this time, the river being smooth and very wide; we were carrying along a large amount of corn which we had brought down from the settlement of Cocamí; on the beaches of this great river we kept finding immense quantities of turtle and tortoise eggs, which we took to eat and they needed no butter or oil, for they had it in them. Then we reached a settlement of over 2,000 naked Indians who called themselves Los Paltas; this will be 100 leagues down the Marañón after leaving the Province of the Motilones, and Cocamí.

The food they lived on was corn, cassava, fruit, and fish. We did not stop at this settlement but went ahead.

# Chapter X

Continuing the Description of the Marañón Expedition.

1202. After leaving this settlement we traveled for 2 days through uninhabited country; and since there were many of us, we were hard put to it, for we were over 900 persons, and we could not fish in the river, which was now so narrow-it was 4 or 5 leagues-that the currents were very strong, and we should have been much worse off if we had not come so well supplied with provisions. Within these 2 days we reached the Province of Cararo, as our Indian interpreters told us we should within that time, and so it came about; and over 300 canoes put out to welcome us in the middle of the river; those with fewest in them had 10 and others 12 savages, all shouting loudly "Capito! Capito!" meaning Captain; and they made Gov. Pedro de Ursuá a great gift of over 50 canoes of fish, corn, yams, and peanuts, and they did the same for most of the soldiers, for they were very eager for the trade goods which the Governor and the soldiers gave them. There in front of them all the harquebussiers fired a salvo for Gov. Pedro de Ursuá, and many trumpets and drums were heard on the river. Hereupon Lope de Aguirre again remarked to Juan Alonso de la Bandera and Cristóbal de Chaves that things would certainly seem better in the plaza at Lima than where they were there.

They carried the Governor off to lodge in a very good chief's cabin, and the force lodged in the other cabins which were very good; the settlement was very extensive, of over 8,000 Indians. The chieftains came all day long to visit the Governor, certainly excellent people, of excellent disposition and very well-disposed; they were all dressed in fine, gay cotton shirts decorated with colored embroidery after the fashion of Peru; they all wore in their nostrils spirals of very fine high-grade gold, and plaques on their breasts and little gold eagles and other valuable pieces of jewelry. The soldiers begged the Governor that they might explore and subdue that country, for with such nice and intelligent and orderly people and such a rich and prosperous country, it stood to reason that all the surrounding region was very rich and prolific country, for that fine gold could not come from the Kingdoms of Peru; we were over 300 leagues down the Marañón and 500 from the Río de Los Motilones from whose province we had set out and where we had built

the brigantines and embarked on our voyage; that was impossible; it must be that the country inland was rich and prosperous and well peopled, for that was what the Indians of this settlement of Cararo gave the interpreters we brought along, to understand, and that that gold came from the country inland, where there were large settlements of people wearing clothing, very intelligent and very rich.

**1203.** Gov. Pedro de Ursuá [at the end of 4 days broke camp and] was unwilling to consent that they should explore, for he said that since the interpreters and their story had so far been truthful in everything, there was no reason to abandon the certain for the doubtful, and stop for what we knew nothing about ; but the soldiers came back and told the Governor that it was the other course that was uncertain, and not that, for they had it right under their eyes, while they did not know where the other was, and they knew where this was and they could see it well and they observed it was very rich fertile soil for they could tell it by the signs. But with all the arguing, the Governor was unwilling to explore that country, which would have been very important to do; there was food there for the camp for more than 6 months, for up and down the river banks for over 4 leagues there were fields of corn and sweet yucca and the country had an excellent climate and was never flooded. They had much delicious fruit in great abundance, like Zamora figs, aguacates, sapotes, jobos or plums, lugmas, mammees, and sweet potatoes in quantity, and peanuts, a sort of cereal which grow in Peru on a vine like chickpeas; they are like pine nuts, very sustaining and good to eat.

### Chapter XI

Continuing the Exploration of the Río Marañón.

**1204.** At the end of the 4 days during which we were delightfully entertained in this settlement, where the Indians devoted themselves to us with gusto and solicitude, Gov. Pedro de Ursuá broke camp, to the great dissatisfaction of the soldiers, and we sailed downstream for 8 days without striking any province or settlement of importance. These good Cararo Indians gave us company for 2 days and their nights, providing us with food and with what service was necessary; on the third day they left us and returned to their province. At the end of the 8 days after our departure from the Province and settlement of Cararo, we came upon another fine large settlement with more than 6,000 Indians, who came out to receive us in the river with 200 war canoes, with over 2,000 Indians in excellent war forma-

tion guarding the settlement, and they began an excellent defense of their village, in which four of our soldiers were wounded; but when the harquebussiers began firing at them, since they had never seen anything of the sort and thought it was thunder and lightning from Heaven, they abandoned the village, and those on the river fled, and so we took the village. It was built on some very high bluffs, and to get up there from the river one had to climb over 100 steps in the staircases built on the bluffs. We found a very large settlement, and off at its sides there were a number of enclosures with over 4,000 turtles in them; they catch them in summer in the river and put them in these enclosures to eat during the winter; there was a great deal of corn in their houses, which was very welcome to us. We stayed 15 days in this settlement because there was plenty for us to eat there. This tribe was naked but well organized. Their weapons were poles with estolicas, which are like lance points, and war clubs. We understood from the interpreters that within 12 suns we should come to Omagua, and they gave us to understand that they would kill us, for there were a great many people there. very intelligent and courageous; their country was rich in gold and silver, but in general they made no use of it nor did they wear it, except for their leader or king who wore as insignia a plaque of very fine gold hanging from his neck; and we soldiers were much amused to hear this from the interpreters and we all told each other that we should come on the Province of Machifaro before that of Omagua. The name of this settlement was Arimocoa. There were many savannas or prairies here, i.e., meadows, and on them great numbers of deer.

**1205.** We left this settlement at the end of this time, and sailed 2 days downstream, coming on another very large settlement where they spoke the same language; they had hidden their food and run away. We went ahead without stopping, having come well provided from Arimocoa, and although we struck other settlements of little importance, we did not stop at them. Ten days after leaving the settlement of Arimocoa, we came on the Province of Machifaro, which would be composed of more than 10,000 Indians; we disembarked here and Gen. Pedro de Ursuá pitched his camp. On the following day, after getting all the soldiers settled in camp—it was 84 (?) days since we had left the Province and Río de Los Motilones, where we embarked—he summoned Capt. Sancho Pizarro and appointed him head of an expedition of 30 soldiers to go exploring inland under commission from the Governor. And so within I hour we were got ready and started out with Sancho Pizarro; I am telling

the truth, as in all else, for I was one of the 30 soldiers chosen to go with Capt. Sancho Pizarro under the Governor's commission. Accordingly, having left the river and the place where the General had pitched camp, we came upon some very broad and excellent roads which were like those of the Incas in Peru, except for the side walls; we took the road most traveled and after having gone 4 leagues on it we struck a tambo or tavern like those of the Incas; in it we found two Indian women preparing cassava bread and other dishes, and service Indians for the travelers coming from the Machifaro provinces and others adjoining inland, to trade with those of other tribes. The road went straight ahead, entering one gate of the tambo and going out of the other; the whole neighborhood was thickly settled with Indians. We took the Indian women and went ahead, following this road over 30 leagues; every 3 leagues we found tambos of the same style as the first, and around each of these tambos were fields of corn and yucca, and other root and field crops for the meals and provisioning of the traders and travelers who came and went from the inland provinces to trade with the natives of the Machifaro provinces and others adjoining; the barter medium was pottery and fish, which was excellent in Machifaro Province, in exchange for gold leaf and spirals and other native valuables, according to what the Indian women gave us to understand. Proceeding farther inland we kept finding rivers and watercourses of very cold and excellent water, and many stones in them; and by the indications we saw and the data the Indian women gave us, we were given to understand that we were about to come upon the largest settlements that I understand Christians had ever discovered; the one of the Indian women who seemed the more intelligent took a handful of sand and gave us to understand that just as it was impossible to count the grains and the dust it contained, so it was with the great settlements there were inland, and that if we went there we could not escape from their hands since there were so many of them, and that the country was very prosperous and rich, and had much of that metal which she had. which was a piece of gold jewelry.

**1206.** Capt. Sancho Pizarro and all of us were much pleased with our discoveries and such excellent indications of finding the richest and most populous country in the world; but he did not dare go farther ahead inland, for we were only 30 soldiers and we might get into settlements such that we could not escape from them, not even one to bear the news; besides, he had no commission for so long a time, and we were not well provided with sandals; and so we turned about to return with our captain at the end of the 30 days that we had been out from the Province of Machifaro, which was where we had left our Governor, and we took along with us four of the Indian women we had found in the tambos, to have them questioned by the interpreters who had stayed at the camp, and to give information about what we had seen and discovered to our Governor, with desire and ambition to return at his request with a larger force. It was 2 days after Epiphany, in the year 1560; and when we got to the camp, which was in the Province of Machifaro, we went to the cabin where we had left our Gov. Pedro de Ursuá, to give him an account of what we had discovered; but we found him dead, and Don Juan de Vargas also, his Lieutenant General, and two other soldiers, and Don Hernando de Guzmán chosen General, who had been Gov. Pedro de Ursuá's Royal Ensign, and Lope de Aguirre Militia Captain; he was the one who managed everything despotically with his treacheries and his accusations; it was because of the Devil, who saw that he was on the verge of being deprived of his grasp on so many and such blind tribes as he held and still holds in those vast regions; he entered the heart of this rebel traitor, like another Judas, taking him as his tool for the murder of the General, so that with his death everything should be upset, as it was upset, and he should remain in unjust possession, as he had intended. Juan Alonso de la Bandera was appointed Lieutenant General, and Lorenzo de Salduendo Captain of the Guard of this Don Hernando de Guzmán; the other important camp offices were divided by the traitor Lope de Aguirre among the conspirators. They dismissed the Indian women we had brought, saying that there was no longer any idea of searching for El Dorado and Omagua.

# CHAP. 12 (sic)

Continuing the Description of the Marañón, and the Arbitrary Acts of Lope de Aguirre.

**1207.** And so on the next day the rebel ordered us to leave the Province of Machifaro, and off we went to find another place where there should be food, and timber to build brigantines; we had brought along the horses in them, for the flatboats had gone to the bottom, most of them. And so within 5 days after leaving the Province of Machifaro, where the rebel left our murdered Governor, we came upon another fine settlement of people who were orderly, wore clothing, and were very intelligent. Here the interpreters told us that in 10 days' journey we could reach El Dorado or the Province of Omagua, where there was more gold and silver than in Peru;

if that was not true, they could kill them; and so Juan Alonso de la Bandera put them in a bohío, which means house, and told them to look out and see if what they said was true, for they had kept saying it up to arriving here; and the interpreters said that if it was not true, they could kill them. But as soon as Lope de Aguirre knew that they were discussing exploration, he killed the interpreters, and arranged to suppress the expeditionary pay we drew under Gen. Pedro de Ursuá; in fact, if anyone talked about exploring, the rebel tyrant murdered him, without any additional cause.

1208. And so another route was discovered which would be shorter to the sea; immediately after 4 days of navigation, we came on a settlement which extended more than 3 leagues, with the houses touching one another. It was occasionally inundated when the river came down in flood, covering the country for 200 leagues and over; against that season they had other houses built in the trees like magpies, with everything they needed to be able to live there while the river is in flood; when it rains in Peru it drowns the country for over 200 leagues, the land being level. The people were naked; there was much food in this settlement, with abundance of cassava, corn, guamotes or sweet potatoes, yams, and other root crops in abundance, and much fruit. Since there were plenty of people and of logs in this settlement, they finished building the brigantines for the voyage to the sea; and 15 days before they were finished. Lope de Aguirre with eight Basque companions of his, plotted to murder Lorenzo de Salduendo, Don Hernando de Guzmán's Captain of the Guard, on the pretext that he was heading a movement against Don Hernando de Guzmán—an idea that had never entered his head. And so the rebel Lope de Aguirre left his cabin where he lodged, with his eight fellow conspirators, saying "Gentlemen and soldiers, let him who wants to follow me, come along, for there is a great evil brewing in the camp; they want to kill our leader." And so the soldiers went along after their tyrannical Militia Captain, and as soon as they were near the lodgings of Don Hernando de Guzmán and his captains, the Sergeant Major stepped forward, a Basque by the name of Martin Pérez de Arraudi, and said "Long live Don Fernando de Guzmán, and death to traitors." And at the noise Don Fernando de Guzmán came out of his cabin with his captains to see the Militia Captain and find out what he wanted or what the uproar was about; and Lorenzo de Salduendo came out with him, as his Captain of the Guard; and at 8 paces' distance from this Lope de Aguirre and Don Fernando de Guzmán and Lorenzo de Salduendo, Captain of the Guard, the Sergeant Major threw the dagger he was holding in his

hand at the Captain of the Guard and although he was wearing a coat of mail, it penetrated, and immediately Lope de Aguirre came up and with a cruel sword thrust cut off his arm. And when Don Fernando de Guzmán saw his Captain of the Guard dead, he said: "Militia Captain, why have you killed my Captain of the Guard without having given me any reason why you did it?" Lope de Aguirre answered him: "Lord and master, since I have killed Lorenzo de Salduendo, who was my own blood relation and son and what I loved best in this life, Your Excellency should understand that it was suitable that he should die and that all shall die who harbor a similar ambition, of killing Your Excellency." Don Fernando de Guzmán replied to him that that was no reason; that it would have been proper that as Militia Captain he should have given him, his General, information of the crime that his Captain of the Guard proposed to commit, and that he would give him over to him as Militia Captain if he deserved punishment for it, so that the soldiers should understand that this captain deserved to die and not come the way he did, agitating the army; that might lead to a barbarous death for everyone. Lope de Aguirre replied that it was clear that His Excellency had had little experience in such matters, and that since he had killed Lorenzo de Salduendo, who was like his own son, His Excellency should understand that he deserved the death he had given him, for this Lorenzo de Salduendo had told Doña Inés de Atiensa about it when he was in bed with her. And so at the time this poor Dona Inés came to see Don Fernando de Guzmán, this rebel Lope de Aguirre summoned a certain depraved and infamous Antonio Llamoso, for him to go at once and murder this Doña Inés, which the criminal soldier did, giving this poor blameless lady several dagger thrusts, to cover up his arbitrary crimes and treacheries.

**1209.** Don Fernando de Guzmán wanted to kill Lope de Aguirre, for he knew of his treacheries and cruelties, against which nobody was secure; but he did not dare to and could not bring himself to order it done; and a few days later, when they were on the brigantines, which Lope de Aguirre had charge of, Lope de Aguirre began scheming again, making friends and forming a bodyguard of 20 harquebussiers; and when Don Fernando de Guzmán learned of it, he sent to have him called, and said to him: "Militia Captain, they tell me that you have made yourself a bodyguard of harquebussiers." The traitor answered him "They have told Your Excellency the truth, for if I do not guard myself in order to guard Your Excellency, who will guard him, since Lorenzo de Salduendo wanted to kill both Your Excellency and me?" And with this reply he left him and re-

turned to the brigantines and collected all the munitions there were, almost 100 bars of lead each weighing 2 arrobas, 80 jars of refined saltpeter and the same of sulfur; and this inhuman traitor secretly conspired with his confederates to murder Don Fernando de Guzmán and his captains; and so he did, and carried it out 5 days after the above conversation. The brigantines were ready to sail, a day before our scheduled departure from this settlement, and also because we could no longer stay there, the river having flooded it, as it was level and low, and the river in flood for 200 leagues. So the despotic traitor decided that that very night, at a quarter before the first watch, to go where Capt. Diego de Montoya and Admiral Miguel Bovedo and two other ensigns and other soldiers were quartered, on the bank of an inlet, from and to which there was no access to the Militia Captain's quarters except by canoe; Gen. Don Fernando de Guzmán with the other captains and soldiers were quartered on the bank of another inlet. The tyrant posted four harquebussiers at each of these inlets, to guard the passage and if any soldiers wanted to cross from one bank to the other, to seize them secretly and take them to the brigantines.

#### CHAPTER XIII

Continuing the Preceding Recital; and the Death of Don Fernando de Guzmán.

1210. Of this enterprise of undertaking to murder Don Hernando de Guzmán, he breathed no word to anyone, nor did he confide in anybody except his confederates and himself; but he gave the rest to understand that Capt. Miguel Serrano de Cáceres and Capt. Diego de Montoya and Admiral Miguel Bovedo and Gonzalo de Ugarte and other soldiers intended to murder Gen. Don Hernando de Guzmán and the rebel Lope de Aguirre himself, and make one of themselves General, and rebel with the fleet; and with his slanders he persuaded over 50 soldiers that this was so, for the traitor was a very shrewd and scheming person. After these falsehoods, he set out at a quarter before the first watch and murdered Capt. Diego de Montoya and five other soldiers, and returned to the brigantines, without the possibility of any word getting to Gen. Hernando de Guzmán, since he had all the passage points held as has been described. And at a quarter before the dawn watch he set out with 40 harquebussiers and went to the cabin where Gen. Don Hernando de Guzmán was. instructing them to guard and respect the person of Don Hernando de Guzmán, since he was our leader and lord; but he himself went

in with five of his companions and friends in his cruel and treacherous deeds, all of them Basques; he told them that now that the captains and several others whom he had ordered murdered, were dead, including Father Alonso de Henao, the priest who was chaplain of the expedition and to whom they made confession, they should do away with Don Hernando de Guzmán, and so they did, these sacrilegious rebels. And having murdered all these persons, he went and retired to the brigantines with his confederates, now over 80 harquebussiers, and immediately had a proclamation published in which he ordered everybody to come and embark; he who would not, could stay. And he assembled all the camp and made them a speech, saying that if they had killed Don Hernando de Guzmán and the others, it was because they had intended to murder him and his friends and start a rebellion with the fleet; that Don Hernando was young and with too little experience for an enterprise of such calibre and importance, and as for another of his disposition, Don Sebastián, he saw that he was lost; and he meant never to see himself again in such a critical position as that in which he had just seen himself. So he went on board, and when they were all on the brigantines, he started navigating his route downstream; he appointed new Captains, Ensigns, Militia Captain, and Sergeant Major. He followed his course 12 days without landing day or night, although passing in sight of numerous settlements; but then we came on a large settlement, where it was necessary to land to get food and some refreshment which we needed; and there this cruel rebel again started murdering, killing all the captains he had appointed, and the Sergeant Major, stating that they were organizing and carrying out a plot against him; and he murdered also a Knight of the Order of St. John, by name Don Juan de Guevara, a native of Murcia, and three other soldiers; it would have been better if they had killed him, as many wanted to do but did not dare accomplish; for God so allowed it, in order that he might be the executioner of them all.

# Chapter XIV

Continuing the Previous Narration, with Other Cruel Deeds of the Rebel.

**1211.** We left this settlement where he had perpetrated all these murders and sailed for 10 days more without the tyrant allowing us to land; and at the end of the 10 days we came on the first Carib settlements, where the Indians killed two soldiers, because the plant with which they anointed their arrows was such deadly poison that

a wounded man did not last half an hour; and the rebel Lope de Aguirre killed three soldiers besides. After leaving this settlement we continued downstream 12 days and then came upon another settlement of these same Caribs. At this point since there were great storms on the river, which raised huge waves, and there were too many people in the brigantines, still the cruel rebel would not stop to have another built, although the pilots kept telling and advising him to do so, saying that with so many people on board, if they put out to sea they would perish, and so they should stop off and build another. But he did not like his pilots' advice, because he did not want his soldiers distributed in too many places ; so he cleared out the brigantines by putting ashore among those cruel cannibal Caribs over 170 Indian men and women of those we had brought along from Peru for our service, all of them Christians. On this occasion I cannot tell or reproduce the violent reproaches which the Indian men and women uttered and expressed; weeping each cried to his master "Is this the reward that you give me for the 5, 6, or 10 years I have served you in such and such a battle and in so many wildernesses and expanses of Peru, searching for the food for you to eat and leaving my birthplace and my home to serve you?" and other laments to break one's heart; two or three soldiers interpreted their Indians' sentiments, and the rebel Lope de Aguirre ordered them garroted immediately; so everyone pretended to be satisfied, although he felt otherwise, for it was a life and death matter.

1212. After leaving this settlement, where those poor Christian Peruvian Indians remained for the cannibal feasts of the Caribs in consequence of the rebel's inhumanity, within 6 days we recognized the ocean tide, which runs over 300 leagues up the river. In a settlement there we put the brigantines in condition to navigate at sea; for cordage and sails, we used the blankets left by the Indians, and whoever had two shirts tried to give one of them. At this settlement the inhuman butcher murdered Juan López Serrato and Monteverde and Juan de Cabañas. After leaving this settlement we felt the tide more every day; from the time we first recognized the tide till we sailed out of the river into the ocean, it took 28 days, for a number of times the tide threw us back on the full all we had gained on the ebb. This river is over 60 leagues wide; but it does not have many arms, as some assert; I stifled my resentment at such tyranny as his, and observed and noted with particular care. It has over 3,000 islands, and if the brigantines we sailed had not drawn so little water-for they needed only a little over a palm of water, and even so we touched a number of times, and we would jump out into the river and push

the boat free—certainly it was great compassion that God showed to us, those of us who came off alive from such a dreadful den, with such cruelties and tyrannies.

1213. Two days after putting out to sea we were still drinking fresh water from the river; and after 16 days we made Margarita and we went and made port 3 leagues below the port of Margarita. And as soon as the people on shore made us out, they sent word to the city, saying that we were French because as we were rowing and our sails were made out of the Peruvian Indian women's blankets, they could not imagine what we might be if not French, although we were still worse for them than if we had been French. And so we beached the brigantines on shore, for they were of no further use, for they were in a sinking condition. That would have been about 4 in the afternoon, festival of the Magdalen; and about an hour later a man arrived from Margarita to see and find out who the people were, coming in those brigantines; and he came to the brigantine of the rebel Lope de Aguirre and told him he had come commissioned by the Governor to learn and find out what nationality they were. Lope de Aguirre answered him, saying that they were soldiers, that they had left the Kingdoms of Peru with Gov. Pedro de Ursuá to explore the Río Marañón and the Provinces of El Dorado and Omagua, and that the Governor had died on that river and so it was necessary that they should go and give word and information to the Viceroy and Circuit Court of Peru how Gov. Pedro de Ursuá had died, and give an account of the country that they had explored and of what had taken place there and that they had been through great extremes of hunger and illness before arriving there, and that what they wanted from that country was food and nothing else, for they had at once to get ready to go to Nombre de Diós on their way to render their account in the Kingdoms of Peru, and that although they were poor travelers, nevertheless they possessed some gold and silver sufficient to pay for what they needed there; and so Lope de Aguirre took out a gold cup which had belonged to that poor little creature, Doña Inés de Atiensa, and a silver pitcher and a scarlet cloak with much gold trimming, and gave it to this man for himself, and so he went off at once to the city of Margarita to bring the news, saying that they were Spaniards and that they came from the Kingdoms of Peru, that they had set out with a Governor to explore the Río Marañón, and that he had died, and that they had made port there after great trials, sick and famished, and that they had no intention of staying long in that country, but wanted to rest 5 or 6 days and satisfy their hunger.

### CHAPTER XV

Of What the Traitor Did in Margarita.

1214. That night Lope de Aguirre had all the people get out on the beach, for them all to sleep there, and he issued special orders that no one was to stir, not even to make water, for if they stirred one step he would kill them, and so he and some 50 of his guard with harquebusses and daggers kept watching us; and when the dawn watch came, he took his soldiers and men back to the brigantines; and when it was 2 hours after daybreak the Governor of Margarita arrived, Don Juan de Villandrando, and the Alcaldes and Alguacil Mayor and other leading citizens to see Lope de Aguirre and his people to escort them to the city and present them with what they had. As soon as the Governor and the other citizens had arrived, he went up on the brigantines. Lope de Aguirre had all the harquebussiers below decks with their guns loaded and ready. The Governor inquired who was the commander of those gentlemen who were there; the rebel Lope de Aguirre came up to the Governor, knelt before him, and taking his hands told him that he was the commander chosen by all those gentlemen who had left Peru with Gov. Pedro de Ursuá to explore the Río Marañón and Provinces of El Dorado, and that Gov. Pedro de Ursuá had died on that river, and that he must give an account of what had been discovered and observed in that country, to the Viceroy, Marqués de Cañete, who was then Viceroy of the Kingdoms of Peru, and that all he asked of that country was food, which was what he needed most, and that in any case he had the wherewithal to pay for it. The Governor replied that his visit and that of all those gentlemen was solely to escort them to the city and put them up there and set what they had at their service, and so he took Lope de Aguirre as his guest. And Lope de Aguirre kissed his hands for this favor and at once said: "Gentlemen, take your harquebusses and fire a salvo for the Governor and these gentlemen." And so they all took out their harquebusses; they would be 200 in number, for as for their companions among the 370, the tyrant had murdered and disposed of 100 on the occasions mentioned, after having murdered the Governor at Epiphany; and this inhuman creature had also murdered and disposed of the 500 Negroes and Indians of the service contingent, cruelly killing many of them and leaving 170 at the mercy of the Caribs. And so they fired a fine salvo for the Governor and the other residents, of all the harquebusses; and as soon as they had fired the salvo, they all reloaded with powder and shot, for such were the tyrant's orders, as will be told in the following chapter.

## CHAPTER XVI

Of the Cruelties Perpetrated by the Traitor in Margarita.

**1215.** As soon as they had reloaded, the traitor Aguirre stood up in the midst of the brigantines and came up to the Governor and said: "Governor, there is no reason why I should conceal anything from you in connection with these matters, for you should have a clear conception of them. We left the Kingdoms of Peru with Gov. Pedro de Ursuá to explore the Marañón and provinces of El Dorado; but we killed him, for so it was fitting; we did not want to work for the King, who does not reward the man who serves him, but sends us out judges who oppress us; how I should have liked to catch in my jurisdiction some of these loose-robed scoundrels, to chastise them for the evils and injustices they inflict on everybody. For this and other reasons we have risen and rebelled against the service of His Majesty; perhaps he has the inheritance of our father Adam, which forces us to serve him. I shall write this to him so that after this example he will be more careful to reward those who serve him and look at the judges he sends out; and we are not sorry or regretful, nor shall we be while life is in us, that we have risen and rebelled against the service of the King; perhaps he is more than just a man like us established in that dignity, and perhaps with less title and effort than in our case." And having said this, he laid hands on the Governor, and said to him: "Governor, it is inevitable that Your Worship should be my prisoner, and these gentlemen who have come with you, until I, with my own hand and my companions, take and provide ourselves with what we need that is available in this island and city." And so they took them all prisoners and he ordered the Militia Captain at once to go with 80 harquebussiers and take the city. And so the Militia Captain went immediately and took possession of the city and the fortress, and Lope de Vega and the rest of the army at once took the Governor and the other citizens prisoners. And the rebel asked the Governor what ships he had in the harbor, and if there was someone about who would tell the truth, for if he did not, he would die. The Governor told the truth, that there were only two small boats anchored in the harbor, which were engaged in the corn and fish trade; but 9 leagues from there there was a 200-ton ship belonging to Frav Francisco Montesinos, the Dominican Provincial, who was converting by religious instruction some Indians down there in Maracapana. And when the tyrant heard this he was much pleased about the ship, for it was good for his projected expedition; and he immediately appointed Capt. Diego de Mongüía

to go with 17 harquebussiers and capture this Fray Francisco Montesinos' ship, and told him to kill the friar and cut off his head and pull off his skin to make a drum with, to see if a drum or box with a friar's skin would bring him good luck. And so with these orders Capt. Diego de Mongüía with his 17 harquebussiers set out at once in a boat belonging to a resident of Margarita by name Niebla in which he went along the coast bartering and trading, and a Negro pilot of this Niebla, who knew where this friar was. And at the close of a day and a half's navigation on the sea, God inspired him and his soldiers, as they reflected on the rebel's cruelties, evil deeds, and treacheries; and so they hoisted His Majesty's banner and went on to notify Fray Francisco Montesinos, and came to where his ship was, and could have taken it if they had kept the same evil intentions with which they had started out, for there was no resistance whatever in it; all they found was two cabin boys stretched out on the beach and two friars, companions of the Provincial. And they told them how they had been sent by the rebel Lope de Aguirre to seize that ship, and that the rebel was staying at Margarita and that he had sent them in his place, for them to murder Fray Francisco Montesinos, since he needed the ship to sail immediately for Nombre de Diós and travel from there to the Kingdoms of Peru; he was staying there with 200 harquebussiers (Marg.: plus 70 soldiers) having captured the city and taken possession of it; and so we have gone over to the service of His Majesty to bring word inland for the Father Provincial Fray Francisco Montesinos to go out and get people together and prepare to go to the mainland from there, so that they might learn of the rebel's cruelties and treacheries, and how he had captured Margarita, so that they might make preparations and take up arms to defend their country, for he was the most cruel monster that ever mother bore. They sent the Provincial word at once; he was 2 leagues inland but he came quickly and embraced them all and put on his vestments and said Mass and distributed the Consecrated Host among them all, giving them communion, and took their oath on the consecrated altar that that was the truth, what they had said and what they had done; and they said it was, for they were not accustomed to tell lies but the truth in a matter to which they attributed so much importance; and that accordingly they rendered obedience to him in the name of His Majesty and his Royal Judges and in his name, that he should give them what was necessary so that they could go to give warning to the mainland and the other settlements on the island.

1216. On learning of the rebel, the Provincial decided to go to Santo Domingo to bring word to the Circuit Court, so that a force night be sent against him; and he thought that on the way it would be opportune for him to anchor within sight of Margarita, so that some of the rebel's soldiers might join him. But the soldiers told him to do no such thing; that the soldiers with the rebel Lope de Aguirre were very stubborn and would not oppose the rebel's will, nor would they wish to do so. The Provincial held to his proposal and came in sight of Margarita and anchored in its harbor and began firing his cannon at the rebel and shooting Lombardy guns; and he came out with all his force and banners flying, and began firing at him with the harquebusses, and shooting from the fortress with Lombardy guns. And as this cruel and inhuman rebel was not sated with murdering people, he went out of the camp, leaving his Militia Captain with his force, and came to the city and had the poor Governor of Margarita garroted, and the Alcaldes and Alguacil Mayor, and six other residents of this city and island, and two of the leading women; and the friar hoisted sail and went off to Santo Domingo to give word to the Circuit Court. And the rebel Lope de Aguirre, after having vented his cruelty, wishing to get away from there before they should descend upon him, found it necessary to build a ship again in order to leave [there]. It took 28 days to build it; in that period he killed 13 more soldiers, and he put placards on many of them, saying they were servants of the King, and on others, saying they were useless and unprofitable. And after seeing that his own men had been involved in depriving him of the ship, and that the whole coast was roused, and that two ships of the fleet which he had information were coming, might sink him, he decided to leave for Borburata, 7 leagues from Nueva Valencia (Marg.: in the Province of Venezuela), and the first port on the mainland, and so he embarked with his troop in the ship he had built. I had kept myself hidden in a farmhouse in order to see myself rid of the tyrant; it was a miracle I did not get caught, for it is certain he would have showed me no more mercy than the others. The moment I saw his ship put up sail, I came out as if I had been born that very day, giving thanks to God that I was free of the tyrant and out of his clutches after all these trials; and poverty-stricken as I was, I exulted. He left the city and island of Margarita in ruins, and plundered the widows in their lamentations; it would take a long time to recount their misfortunes. He went off with his crew, stubborn though already quarreling and discontented; and he anchored in the harbor of Borburata, where they began to disintegrate, [each man starting out for

himself; with the majority he went inland, as is told in other place] chapters [of other books] of the book treating of the district of the New Kingdom of Granada, since it happened that that was the region where a force was raised against the rebel.

### CHAPTER XVII

Of the Valleys Lying between the Town of Santa up to the City of Lima, Belonging to the District of Its Archdiocese.

1217. The town of Santa, which is the farthest N. in the Archdiocese of Lima, lies 18 leagues S. of Trujillo and on the edge of the Diocese of Trujillo. The town is built in a fine large valley in 9° S. They raise quantities of corn, wheat, pallares, kidney beans, and other cereals and vegetables and fruit—grapes, melons, cucumbers, bananas; there is plenty of everything. There will be in this town 100 Spanish residents and a few Indians, for they have fallen off, as everywhere. The Viceroy appoints a Corregidor here to dispense justice and provide good administration. Many ships come to its port to load local products—wheat, corn, and other cereals—both for Lima and the Spanish Main. There is a parish church here and a Franciscan convent.

1218. The Archdiocese of Lima is divided from the Diocese of Trujillo by the large Río de Santa, part of whose sources lie in the Province of Cajatambo and in the mountain ranges near Recuay; it runs from S. to N. in the Huailas Valley, at the end of which it becomes more imposing by the addition of another river which rises in the snow-clad sierras near the Siguas mines; and running W. through the Province of Conchucos, it separates the Archdiocese from the Diocese of Trujillo through the sierra. Since this river is so huge and rapid, there is no bridge over it; it is crossed on rafts of gourds netted together, which serve as boats; the Indians swim beside them and steer the rafts with the travelers and merchandise on them. This famous valley in the days of the Indians' heathendom was thickly populated, as is proved today by the ruins of their ancient buildings standing there, and the many large guacas to be seen at present. These were their tombs, in which when they died they buried together with the dead all their wealth in gold and silver and the other valuables they possessed, and also food and chicha, which was and is the usual beverage of the Indians of that kingdom; they made and make it in many ways, as will be described in the following paragraph.

**1219.** The Indians make their beverages in many ways in the Indies, and especially in the Kingdom of Peru from corn and the molleberry, which resembles that of the mastic tree in Spain. In the Kingdom of Chile they make it from another small fruit growing on low trees; both tree and berry are like our myrtle; but this is the best beverage of them all; it can vie with grape wine in color and flavor; it is of an excellent golden color and its flavor sweet and pleasant. The Chileans make it with great care and neatness, as we do; it does not intoxicate, clears up harmful humors, cheers the heart, warms the stomach, and is excellent for the digestion.

What they make from corn, which is the grain of the Indies, is prepared in many ways. The usual sort is called jora or azúa; this causes much drunkenness among the Indians and is a cloudy liquor. To make it, they put the corn to soak and then wrap it up in some matting or other covering and leave it some days until it has all sprouted; then they mash it very fine and let boiling water percolate through the mass, and put it in their jars, jugs, or vessels until it bubbles up like wine at the end of 2 days; and as soon as it has effervesced it acquires a pungent taste and they drink it and use it for their drinking bouts; when they build or plant, they make a quantity, and give a ducking to all their relatives and friends, which is the same as inviting them to the work and the celebration, and so they carry out both operations, with a formal dance, festival, and drinking bout.

1220. For the making of another kind, the old Indian women, the boys, and as many as are available for it, chew the corn, which makes a very loathsome liquor; it is to hurry it up and make it stronger; the process is the same as with the other. Another sort is made from parched corn; this is the best tasting and clearest, made by parching the corn; it is an excellent drink, healthful and refreshing; it has almost the taste of good mead. The molle beverage is made like the other; many people make a business of it and put up branches at their doors so that the Indians will come to buy it. There is much abuse in this, through their desire for gain, and many sins follow it, as I wrote in my book "Luz y Guía del Cielo" (Light and Guide to Heaven) on the seventh commandment, which I printed in the year 1623.

1221. From the town of Santa it is 70 leagues to Lima, and in the tract between along the seacoast on the plains there are other fertile valleys, such as Huambacho, Upper and Lower Casma, Huarmey, and La Barranca. These are all fertile and prolific; they raise quantities of wheat, corn, peanuts, pallares, kidney beans, chickpeas.

and other vegetables and cereals, both of Spanish and native varieties; there are good sugar plantations, vineyards, olive groves; they grow excellent melons and native cucumbers, which is a delicious fruit, and other products, which are all shipped in boats for the Lima trade.

**1222.** Through the Barranca Valley runs another large and rapid river, equal to the Rio de Santa. This has its rise to the E. in the Provinces of Cajatambo and Canta. Beyond this valley one follows the famous Huaura Valley, in which a town of Spaniards has been established; the Viceroy appoints a Corregidor to administer justice here. This valley like the others is very productive of wheat and corn, with the other cereals and vegetables of Spanish and native varieties; there are some sugar plantations, vineyards, and some olive groves.

**1223.** To the S., 9 leagues before reaching Lima, is the fertile and beautiful Chancay Valley, in which a[nother] Spanish town has been established, with some Indians. The Viceroy appoints a Corregidor here for its good administration. It has vineyards, and some large farms and estates of Lima residents. They raise quantities of wheat, corn, peanuts, pallares, large beans, and all the other cereals and garden crops of Spanish and native varieties.

### CHAPTER XVIII

Of the Great City of Los Reyes (The Kings), Known as Lima, and the District of Its Archdiocese.

1224. The town of Santa is 18 leagues from Trujillo to the S.; that is the farthest point of the Archdiocese and city of Lima or Los Reyes. It is so called because of the date of its founding by [the Marqués] Don Francisco Pizarro, (Marg.: first with no second, Knight of the Order of Santiago, whose valor and heroic deeds have never been sufficiently praised;) he founded it in the Rimac Valley on the day of The Kings (Epiphany) in the year 1533. It is 90 leagues S. of Trujillo, in 12° S., 2 leagues from the sea. It is built on the banks and borders of its river which runs from E. to W. and passes through the northern part of the city. It is built in the valley in fertile level country, attractive and with pleasant and delightful scenery, thanks to the numerous irrigation canals which they take from up the river and which fertilize all the valley. From these canals branch off smaller ones, two for each city block, which cleanse all the city and water its farms, orchards, and gardens; most of the houses possess gardens, and they have them along all the avenues

leading out of the city, which make it a very attractive place; they are delightful, with abundance of delicious native and Spanish fruit.

1225. This famous city enjoys three springs. The first is its valley's spring, which begins in October and lasts till Easter, and for this reason it enjoys the richest Lent in fruit, vegetables, delicacies, and fish, in the world; the second is the sierra spring, at 8 or 9 leagues from the city; and the third is the spring in another intermediate region lying between the sierra and the plains, which is called in that Kingdom in the native tongue Chaupiyunga, which means country between cold and hot; so that this city is deliciously supplied the whole year through with excellent fruit, both of native and Spanish varieties; there is abundance of them all.

**1226.** The city is a thickly settled capital and metropolis of the Kingdoms of Peru, and residence of the Viceroy, Circuit Court, Archbishop, and the Inquisition, which was founded at the same time with that in Mexico, the Inquisitor General being Cardinal Don Diego de Espinosa, Bishop of Sigüenza. The city will have between 9,000 and 10,000 Spanish residents, not counting the transients who come here from all the Upper Kingdom, that of Quito and the New Kingdom of Granada, from the Spanish Main, New Spain, Nicaragua, the Kingdom of Chile, and other points; and without counting over 50,000 Negroes, mulattoes, and others of the service class, plus great numbers of Indians, both natives of that region and others from all over the Kingdom; many of them are artisans of all sorts of professions; they live in the outer wards of the city, and all over it.

**1227.** It occupies the area of a large and populous city, marvelously laid out. At present it is 25 blocks wide, from the Convent of Monserrate through the city by the Plaza and Calle de la Inquisición up to El Cercado, and every day there are additional buildings, houses, and streets. In width it covers over 14 blocks, from by San Francisco to Guadalupe. All the modern streets and blocks are rectangular and rectilinear; each street is 40 geometric feet wide, and each block 400, and 6,160 in width, and from these figures it is 176,000 feet in circuit. All the houses have generous plots and most of them have fountains and gardens; and although the city has fine buildings, since it does not rain the roofs are not tiled but flat.

**1228.** It has four plazas—the Plaza Principal, that of Santa Ana, San Francisco, and San Diego. The Plaza Principal has a fine fountain in the center; this plaza is level and square; each side is 440 feet long, and two straight streets start at each; there is one block by the river and bridge, which is expensive and solidly built of cut stone, on account of the collapse of the old building in brick, which the Marqués

Viejo de Cañete had erected in his time; it was reconstructed by authority of the Marqués de Montesclaros, Viceroy and Governor General of those Kingdoms.

1229. At the first corner of the plaza, to the E., are the Palace and the Royal Apartments, where the Viceroy lives. These are adorned with elaborate fenestration in cut brick and with splendid galleries; here are the halls of the Chancery, two for the Judges and one for the Alcaldes dealing with crime, the Tribunal Hall (Sala de Acuerdo), another for the Chief Auditor's Office (Contaduría Mayor), the Royal Treasury, the Death Record Chamber (Sala de Difuntos), and that of the Indian Tax Office (Censos de los Indios); the Paymaster's Office, Factor's Office, and Treasurer's Office, and the Consulate Hall; all these apartments are elaborately and expensively decorated.

1230. This Chancery exercises great authority; the Viceroy presides over it, and in his absence its President administers the government himself for the whole Kingdom and attends to the carrying out of individual royal warrants. This post of Viceroy is so exalted and majestic that it might be held by an Infante of Spain, were it a life position; for every year he appoints to over 70 Corregimientos, plus an infinite number of offices, the administrations of Indian communal affairs, the Royal Treasury, naval and military judges, mill inspectors, with authority equal to the King's. He has a guard of halberdiers and is accompanied by the city's nobility whenever he goes out. In church his eminent position is indicated by his brocaded seat of honor on a great rug in the center of the main chapel; at its sides are seated the members of the Chancery in high-backed chairs, the City Council on benches, the chief functionaries of the Palace, and the Chaplain Major of the Royal Chapel, who comes to hear his confession; and the Deacon comes down from the altar accompanied by the Verger and his ministers, to give him the Gospels to kiss, to incense him as one does the King, and give him the kiss of peace. And the whole Kingdom flocks to see him as they would for the King he represents, and thus the city grows in numbers and extent.

**1231.** At the other corner, opposite the Iglesia Mayor (Cathedral), which is to the N., rise the apartments of the Council with the Secretaries' offices. This building has handsome corridors and galleries. This side and the third, which is on the W., opposite the Palace, are built up with porticos with stone columns and Doric capitals and brick arches, with elaborate brickwork fenestration above

them. This plaza is a gay sight on festival days, for the square is beautiful, so full of fine window work and rich ornamentation.

# CHAPTER XIX

Continuing the Description of the Grandeur of This Remarkable City.

**1232.** The Council of this city possesses much authority, for on New Year's Day it elects two ordinary Alcaldes and one for the Hermandad, another for the water supply, an Attorney General (Procurador General) and a Superintendent (Mayordomo); it has no Corregidor such as Mexico and other cities have, and so its authority is greater. It administers the function of Inspectors of Weights and Measures (Fieles Ejecutores), two of the Aldermen (Regidores) taking the staff of office each month, and it likewise exercises the privilege of the Alferazgo Real (of the Royal Banner); each year in turn one of the aldermen is elected to take out the royal standard at Epiphany.

1233. The third side, on the W., opposite the Palace side, is built up with porticos supported by stone pillars with Doric bases and capitals and with much fenestration; they are occupied by shopkeepers, hatmakers and silkworkers.

1234. The fourth side, on the S., is that of the Cathedral, which terminates in the Archbishop's residence. This basilica is Metropolitan for the whole Kingdom of Peru. It is oriented N. and S. and has three doors on the Plaza, the Gate of Pardon and the two side entrances. Its architecture is marvelous, with Gothic vaults supported by Ionic columns; it has five naves, three of them clear, corresponding to the three doors on the Plaza; the other two with (blank) chapels of the same order and excellent architecture. It is over 360 feet long and 150 broad, with two towers at the corners on the Plaza side, that of the three doors; the clock tower has a large number of bells; the largest weighs 110 quintals, and the clock bell is very large.

**1235.** It has other doors: two above the main chapel (Capilla Mayor) and two others connecting with the cymborium, or intrachoral space. The high altar is placed as it is in the Cathedral (Iglesia Mayor) of Granada, visible along the nave, which runs back from it, and from all parts of the church. And although it is a recent foundation, not only in that the time is so short since the city was founded, but because it is only a few years since its construction was finished, under the administrations of the Marqués de Montesclaros and the Marqués de Guadalcázar, yet it has many chapels, most of

them very fine, like that of Archbishop Don Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero of happy memory; this is at the upper end, corresponding to the high altar, like that of the Kings in Seville. There is another on the Gospel side in the transept between the two choirs, sacred to His Majesty, for the burial of Viceroys, Counsellors, Chief Paymasters, Royal Officials and Ministers of the King. Others have been assigned to leading noblemen, for His Majesty has so ordained, that some should be brilliantly decorated with altarpieces and should have chaplaincies, notably the one which stands out in every respect, altarpieces, decoration, etc.; this is the chapel of Capt. Hernando de Santa Cruz y Padilla.

1236. There have been six prelates in this sainted church, from its foundation up to the time at which I write this book. The first was Bishop Santillán, who was Bishop of all Peru. He was followed by that most judicious man, Fray Jerónimo de Loaysa, who established the fine hospital for Indian natives of Santa Ana. He was succeeded by the sainted Archbishop Don Toribio Alfonso Mogrovejo, who was zealous for the honor of God and the good of souls; he was a great worker in seeking out and visiting his sheep, and for love of them he was constantly absent from his church. He celebrated a Council in the year 1583, at which were present all the Bishops and prelates of Peru, Chile, Tucumán, Paraguay, and Buenos Ayres, the Spanish Main, Quito, and Nicaragua; he presided, and they adopted many blessed statutes in that new church, for the good of souls and for their consolation. He died like a saint in the town of Saña and left to enjoy the reward of his labors, amid universal sorrow; he had directed his church in saintly fashion for 28 years. This sainted prelate was followed by that mildest of men, Don Bartolomé Lobo (Wolf) Guerrero (Warrior) by name, but an angel in appearance and character; he had an agreeable and most placid disposition, and his kindliness made his administration beloved. His successor was Don Gonzalo de Ocampo, a hard taskmaster for his ecclesiastics and not so popular; he lived only a short time.

**1237.** Today the occupant of the see is that most worthy man, Don Fernando Árias Ugarte. His virtue and fervor in the service of God and his good example of his life during early years led to his becoming Circuit Judge in the Charcas, and then at Lima; and after holding other posts, he was elected Bishop of Quito, then Archbishop of the New Kingdom of Granada—his own home, fortunate to have such a son—and then Archbishop of the Charcas; at present he is Archbishop of Lima, and may God grant him many years' incumbency for His holy service.

#### CHAPTER XX

Continuing the Description of the City of Lima and of Its Holy Metropolitan Church.

1238. This holy church has five ranks of dignitaries: eight Canons, six Prebendaries (Racioneros), six half-time Prebendaries, six Chaplains, and other ministers and functionaries, the whole with sufficient income for their support. Besides these they have many chaplaincies and sing Masses for the Confraternities and in especial for the Most Holy Sacrament and for souls in Purgatory; in regard to this, there was one year in which they said 16,000 Masses, at 8 silver reals each, the only currency they have; for the Masses are innumerable that are said in this holy church for the benefit of blessed souls.

1239. Services are held with great majesty and authority, by priests of distinction, for in their chapter they have men who are remarkable in letters, as professors and pulpit orators; in fact, His Majesty has selected many Bishops from among them, as from a nursery or plantation. Since this holy church is so large, it has four curates with benefices, who, with the minor chapter, serve the ciborium chapel, which has a remarkable altarpiece and decoration, and also the Confraternity of the Most Holy Sacrament, which is very rich; and since this is a matter of great piety, I would state that in few centers of Christendom the Most Holy Sacrament comes forth so well escorted, both by the priests (who carry crucifix wands and maces, and wear pelisses and stoles with the insignia ; they give them 2 reals each time they attend, and they serve this holy church with the 300 priests under obligation) and by people in general; the Confraternity supplies the candles and everything, and there is great attendance and devotion on everyone's part, at whatever hour of day or night they set out, with the ministrils (tipstaffs) and flageolet players (chirimías).

1240. Connected with this holy Confraternity is that of the slaves; on the first Sunday of each month they celebrate their holy day in the presence of the Viceroy, the Circuit Court, and the city's nobility, with sermons by the best preachers, music, and a procession with many candles through the naves of the church; it should serve as a stimulus to devout communities, for their devotion to the Holy Sacrament is admirable. Outside of this Cathedral, in all the convents of friars and nuns, not only is a most solemn Mass said every Thursday with many candles and much music, but on certain Sundays of each month, now in one part of the city, now in another. But the most admirable is the celebration of the Holy Sacrament and the octaves

of Corpus Christi; almost all the churches and sanctuaries stage most formal processions in competition through the streets, embellished with tapestries and curious wealth of ornament, in rivalry with the Cathedral, where the City Council displays its piety and religious sentiment on the same day and during the octave, with sacred plays most sumptuously presented outside the church on the whole stretch of the perron along the church; it is a great spectacle to see the arrangement of the seats provided for the Viceroy, Circuit Court, Councils, University, religious orders, and noblemen, to see the sacred play.

1241. Beyond all else, the magnificence displayed during those 8 days by every sanctuary rouses admiration, from the first of all, the Cathedral, to the least in the farthest outer ward, where all day long the Most Holy Sacrament is exposed under the magnificence of much white wax in 24 4-wick tapers with over 80 I-pound candles burning above them; the devout parishioners of every sanctuary, each one commissioned for one day of the festival, vie one with another in the lavish use of amber and other perfumes, silver trays, flower boys, and a thousand other gewgaws with which they dress all the altars and chief chapels, which become a starry heaven of light, or a flowery spring.

**1242.** Besides the four curates who serve in the Cathedral, they have others, substitutes, in the new Triana (suburb) which is the ward of San Lázaro, a crowded village, quite like the Triana of Seville, but which, being new, is not so well enriched with sanctuaries; and there is another for the Orphan Asylum; these remote points could not otherwise be easily reached for the administration of the Holy Sacraments.

**1243.** The parish has grown very rapidly in the number of the faithful, and consequently has other curates in San Marcelo and San Sebastián; between them the whole locality is parceled out and they all have their Angelus Chapels with their congregations; and so one must give thanks to God for the pious sacrifices offered for the souls in Purgatory. In fact, with its celebration of the Most Holy Sacrament and of the Immaculate Conception, this devoted city seems to have outdone its possibilities. Besides these parishes it has other sanctuaries with miraculous images, like that of Nuestra Señora de Copacabana in the Alameda quarter, Nuestra Señora del Prado over by El Cercado, Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza in Malambo, and Nuestra Señora de Monserrate, where two Benedictine friars are always in attendance.

#### CHAPTER XXI

Continuing the Description of Lima; and of the Remarkable Convents It Contains.

1244. This famous city has remarkable Dominican, Franciscan, Augustinian, Mercedarian, and Jesuit convents. The Dominican is sumptuous, with a building and cloisters of admirable architecture: the apartments over the cloisters each has its fountain in the center; the first contains excellent paintings with the life of the Patriarch St. Dominick from the brush of Francisco Pacheco, famous painter of Seville, and portraits of saints by that great master of painting, Mateo Pérez de Alecio, the one who painted in Seville the San Cristóbal which is by the Lonja entrance. It has a most imposing temple, all adorned above and on the walls of the three naves with gold and paintings of this Alecio; they take them down for the celebration of festivals, because the paintings in the chapels are covered with taffeta canopies against the dust.

1245. The riches of its sacristy are worth over 300,000 ducats, for its ordinary is of 15 chapels and altars, all equally adorned with rich hangings and vestments; and it is a sight worth seeing when all the priests, each from his altar, gather after the sermon and walk out together, all alike in rich chasubles of one color and one weave; and although many prelates have contributed to this wealth of adornment, the initiator was Fray Don Salvador de Ribera, former Bishop of Quito, and the one who lavished wealth upon it was Fray Don Augustin de Vega, who died when he was Bishop-elect of Paraguay, and his brother, Fray Francisco de Vega, Candidate for M.A., Provincial of that province.

1246. There is a chapel and Confraternity of the Rosary, very devout and with large membership and wealth, provided with everything; every year they marry off seven or eight orphan girls. The convent has over 250 friars; it maintains a college for students, where they really teach letters; they have professorships in arts, philosophy, and theology, as do the other religious orders, all as flourishing educationally as any leading university in the world, with public defense of theses, at which all are present in turn by invitation. They have famous preachers and scholars, both among those who have come over from Spain and among the natives of this country, where the skies seem to induce brilliancy of intellect and distinction of character. There is another very strict convent of this same Order of Preachers, the convent of Recollects of La Madalena, distinguished for their virtue and remarkable for the architecture of their church and home.

**1247.** The Order of the Seraphic Father St. Francis has its grand convent, where Heaven would seem to have deposited sanctity, particularly in the estate of the lay friars, so near perfection is their religious observance, as is the case also in the other convents, without weakening in good example, and with remarkable continuity in choir and other religious exercises. It has over 200 friars in residence. It occupies a magnificent site, with cloisters and garden. There are very great professors and preachers among them, and so extreme is the devotion of the people to them that even though their church is magnificent in its decoration, and all gilded and with frescos on its walls and a sacristy rich in ornaments, if they would be able to, for the devotion of the people goes out to them in every matter with great fervor and charity.

**1248.** There is a splendid chapel of the Immaculate Conception, to whose service and religious worship this Seraphic Order is devoted; it is impressively decorated with altarpieces, and provides many chaplaincies and Masses; the most pious Confraternity of this chapel marries off every year some 9 or 10 orphan girls; and although all the other convents have their infirmary quarters well cared for. this has a unique cloister and apartments for them, like a convent apart, with as much comfort for the poor sick friar as the wealthiest citizen could have in his home, nor could the most lavish and exacting person have such luxury and medicines, although each invalid costs a considerable sum in reals for the nursing, though the nurse will not accept as much as the people's devotion gives him.

1249. This holy order has another convent, of Barefoot Friars, across the river in Triana at the end of the Alameda, home of acknowledged sanctity and a very devout retreat, where the pious find persons on whom to expend their devotion, and the afflicted find consolation. There is another convent of this order, Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, in the other part of the city, a college dedicated to education ; its beginnings are so impressive that it promises to be one of the finest in the Indies, and able to vie with the most remarkable in Europe.

# CHAPTER XXII

Continuing the Description of the Remarkable Convents of This Important City.

**1250.** The Order of the Glorious Doctor and Patriarch St. Augustine has a splendid convent in the best part of the city. It has a magnificent temple with three naves, with reredos imposing for their

architecture and combinations, wood carving and sculpture at all the altars and in all the chapels, 17 in number, with the most sacred chapel of the image of the Holy Crucifix of Burgos. They are finishing the construction of their establishment; it has remarkable cloisters, of rich architecture. There are more than 150 resident friars here, distinguished professors and preachers among them; they seem in these later times to embody the tradition of that famous preacher Fray Pedro Ramírez Andaluz, who lived here; he seems to have inspired his brethren with the spirit and remarkable manner of his preaching and his literary talent, and it is no wonder, since they have such a training school in the college of San Ildefonso, in which, besides the regular courses, they have unique practice in literary composition, being relieved of their choir duties, which in the large convent are very exacting. They have another and recent establishment, of Recollects, out in the farthest wards of Triana, quite necessary at that point for the good of the poor and the slaves belonging to the neighboring farms and estates, and for the workers who go out into the country in that direction on the Malambo road.

1251. The Royal Mercedarian Order is finishing its sumptuous church; its main chapel is the best of all the convents, and its first cloister is excellent. They devote great care to education and have distinguished teachers and preachers, and their popularity is such that they carry the city along with them; in fact, the sacristy receipts are over 20,000 pesos annually. This convent and all the others in the city have large incomes, to which the religious instruction districts (dotrinas) contribute a great deal; the church authorities assign many friars to them. They celebrate their festivals with great devotion, particularly that of the Nativity of Our Lady. This, be it said without giving offense, may vie with any religious celebration anywhere; after seeing it, one has no desire to witness the greatest festivals in Rome or Toledo or Seville, for the magnificence of its display is such that no exaggeration can do it justice.

This sainted Order has another convent, of Recollect Friars of Our Lady of Bethlehem, who enjoy a high reputation in the city for their virtue, good example, and deep piety.

1252. The Order of the Company of Jesus maintains the college of San Pablo, the house for novitiates and approbation candidates, the residence in the Indian village of Santiago del Cercado, and the college of San Martín. In all they have more than 200 brethren, and although the good example set by this sainted Order is resplendent in all the provinces of Christendom, it shines with special brilliance in this city, preserving the original illumination of its first founders, particularly with the wisdom, sanctity, and high example of Padre Juan Sebastián, whose memory will last for many centuries in that Kingdom.

**1253.** The College of San Pablo has the lower Latin school and the regular professorial chairs of Prime and Vespers, of Philosophy, Theology, and Scripture. Its founders were Licentiate Juan Martínez de Rengifo and Diego de Porras Sugredo, its distinguished benefactor; and as the foresight of this Order is well known, they have engaged in installing farms and limekilns to give them an income for their building, and now that they have that enterprise established, they are putting up a new church, and since this is the most modern in construction, their good choice will give it the advantage over all the other churches of that city.

**1254.** As regards the exactitude, neatness, and nice attention with which they treat all details of divine service, it would appear that they are supreme and carry off the palm. Their novitiate has a marvelous church already finished; its founder was Antonio Correa, a noble and highly regarded personality in that city, where God gave him much wealth, but better still, the inspiration to carry out during his life and by his own exertions, this and other remarkable works; nor did he forget his native town of Valdemoro, where he left other grand memorials, not only for his relatives but also for the benefit of the poor.

1255. It is remarkable how much good this sainted Order accomplishes in its activities for individuals, which conduce to the universal benefit of human souls, an acknowledged benefit to all social conditions; and besides the high opinion held by everyone in regard to its pulpit and confessional, it has a congregation of priests to which repair with exemplary confidence the Ecclesiastical Chapter, another congregation of students, and another of laymen, comprising 800 men of every station in the republic; this can serve as a model to all such organizations the world over, for it contains many persons well known for their high virtues; they visit the hospitals and prisons. They have a contract covering Masses for the dead; everyone contributes 8 reals for his quota which is the alms for one Mass, and they have a fund; in fact, even before the dying member has expired, the deputy for the month, who is one of the 12 directors, each serving in turn, takes a certificate from the treasurer based on the book recording the quotas for each one of the death Masses, and certifies that he is not in arrears for Masses, for if he is they will not say the Mass; he at once signs the draft on the Prefect and Father of the Congregation, and at sight of this draft they turn over to him 300 pesos from the fund; the deputy chooses the church where he wants the Mass said, and remains in attendance to the point at which the Mass ends; each priest as he finishes saying the Mass for the deceased member receives the alms and signs a receipt; and the deputy is cleared on handing in the receipts.

**1256.** And on the first Sunday following, announcement is made to the congregation of the death of a member to be recommended to God; a statement is read that a Mass is owed him, the treasurer takes it and gives it to the deputy; the sum deposited is handed over, and each deceased member receives at least 600 Masses; and in their chapel which is admirably constructed and whose gold decoration makes it a glowing coal, they pay him solemn honors with vigils and a sung Mass with Deacon and Subdeacon officiating, and a catafalque with an ample number of 4-wick tapers and white wax candles, and many ordinary Masses which they say for him; and on the anniversary and commemoration of All Souls in the church of the Company, in the main chapel, they erect a catafalque specially prepared with so much wax and magnificence that it looks like a royal ceremony and not one of a private congregation.

1257. There is another congregation of boys in the decury; those who have charge of them, like new Elishas, accommodate themselves to the children and their spiritual condition, bringing them together for them to learn the prayers and Christian doctrine; they have doctors with their insignia of hoods and tassels; they give degrees, and have horseback parades through the city, which are a fine sight.

**1258.** There is another congregation, of Indians, and another, of Negroes; these all meet Sundays after noon in different chapels; there, after a few minutes' reading in public of spiritual lessons, they have their sermon; on some days the Father who has them in charge invites others to deliver the spiritual discourse. And since the slaves who hold the horses are many in number and stand out in the street in front of the gates of the College of San Pablo, one of the Fathers comes out and takes his position in a high spot and preaches to them, so that they may not be deprived of good doctrine and instruction. All these congregations, and particularly that of the laymen who are under the protection of Our Lady of Expectation, have their festival and communion every month; the Holy Sacrament is exposed with remarkable lavishness of elaborate decoration.

1259. Every year they celebrate their festival and invite the Viceroy and the Circuit Court; and as a matter worthy of mention, I shall speak of the most solemn Mass given by the Lay Congregation in the year 1617 on the feast of the Immaculate Conception, the

Prefect being Capt. Hernando de Santa Cruz. That was one of the first in the world on which was spent over 30,000 ducats; it was all planned, arranged, and carried out by this Prefect; and since there is a special book written about this feast, I would refer to it in closing the account of the congregations. This order maintains another remarkable college, that of San Martín, which I shall describe in its proper place.

### Chapter XXIII

Continuing the Description, with the Nunneries of Linna.

**1260.** This city has six nunneries, famous and remarkable both for their temples and for the large number of nuns, all of them subject to the monastic rule with clausure. The convent of the Encarnación has nuns who follow the canonical rule; there are over 700 persons, counting the servants, maids, and white-veiled nuns. This remarkable convent was founded by Doña Mensia de Almaraz y Sosa, who was the wife of Francisco Hernández Jirón, a man of great force and talent; although it had slight beginnings, she was seconded by some noblewomen of the first families in that city, and it now has a large income in bequests and rentals. In this convent and all the others of this city, nuns enter with a dowry of 2,000 assay pesos, which are a few maravedís more than a Castilian gold crown (escudo.)

1261. The residence is well built and the area covered is so considerable that if a servant runs away from her mistress, it takes several days to find her, for it has streets and wards like a village, and cells as perfect as a house with all its appurtenances and offices, although they all sleep in the common dormitory. They have been and are renowned for music, and it has held the first place with them; their discipline is remarkable, and their festivals most impressive; they have many during the year, especially at the Ascension of the Virgin, on which occasion they lay aside their vestments; the whole year through they prepare new and ornate regalia for this festival, which lasts 3 days; on the last they celebrate the Ascension and Coronation. They outdo themselves in adorning the church, surpassing what is done in Spain, both in fragrance and in the choice of the best preachers, music, and instruments; and in particular each nun seems beyond praise in the perfection of her adornment and the fragrance of sweet perfume.

**1262.** The next in age and size is the convent of La Concepción; they have white robes and blue mantles, with the insignia and image of Our Lady, one on the breast and the other on the mantle at the

shoulder. They observe the Franciscan rule. It was founded by Doña Inés Muñoz de Ribera, wife of Francisco Martín de Alcántara, brother of the Marqués Don Francisco Pizarro; by a second marriage, she was wife of Don Antonio de Ribera, Knight of the Order of Santiago, whose death, and that of a son, leaving her with great wealth, led her, under God's guidance, to build this convent for His betrothed. This magnificent convent contains more than 500 nuns and service personnel. Its temple is superb, with a ceiling all paneled with gold flowers of marvelous workmanship; this was finished while Doña Rafaela Celis de Padilla was Abbess.

**1263.** Among the fine altars here, that of John the Baptist is most sumptuous, the altarpiece and decoration being so rich that it can vie without reservation with any other sanctuary in the world. In music it competes on a par with the Encarnación, and in individual voices it has won the palm, and that in festivals as important and conspicuous as that of the lucarnation, which is no slight praise.

**1264.** The third place is held by the convent of the Santisima Trinidad, of the Order of St. Bernard, though it does not possess such large revenues or property as the others. Its founder was Doña Lucrecia de Sansoles, a woman of great force and discipline of character, but severe and somewhat overzealous; after her death they chose a better location, and though their means were limited, her successors in the administration have brought a splendid temple to completion. It contains over 100 nuns; some claim their music is on a par with that of the better convents.

**1265.** The convent of Santa Clara is a later foundation; they were aided by the zeal of the sainted Archbishop Don Toribio Alfonso Mogrovejo; it was he who contributed the initial impulse, the funds, and the personnel up to the death of Francisco de Saldaña, a man of excellent intentions and holy zeal, although from its foundation he had already helped the sainted Archbishop all he could. This convent contains more nuns than the Trinidad, and it would appear that their music carries off the palm, since novelty is always popular.

**1266.** Next in order comes the convent of the Barefoot Nuns of St. Joseph of La Concepción, under the same Franciscan rule. Their numbers are limited to 33 nuns, corresponding to the years of Christ's age. The founders were Doña Leonor de Ribera and Doña Beatriz de Orozco, sisters of Rodrigo de Orozco, the great soldier, Marqués de Mortara, and Doña María de Orozco, founder of the convent of La Concepción at Loja in Peru, whom I confessed when I was in that Kingdom, and about whose virtues many books could be written, as in fact she herself has written them, on the revelations and other

mysteries which Our Lord communicated to her. They were children of Licentiate Orozco, Circuit Judge of the Charcas, where these illustrious and sainted persons were born. This convent is a model of sanctity and religious observance; it seems like Heaven, and so does its temple, in the afflux of priests who usually come here to say Mass, and in the neat arrangement of its altars.

1267. The last in order of founding, but not in size, is that of Santa Catalina de Sena, of the Dominican Order and rule. Its founders were the illustrious Licentiate Juan de Robles, cleric, and Doña Lucía de la Daga and her sister, widows and distinguished women, of great virtue and worth. These ladies in the flower of their age founded this convent with the large dowries which they had, bringing after them, with their example, many women betrothed to Jesus Christ. Before inaugurating their foundation, they had a fine temple and house built; it promises great increase.

### CHAPTER XXIV

Continuing the Description of Lima, and of Other Features Which Embellish It.

**1268.** No less godly, and in fact unique in the world, is the Confraternity of La Caridad and its hospital, which embraces and comprises within itself monuments of charity. Within its enclosure it has an admirable hospital for poor sick women, and a refuge and seminary beyond compare for impecunious young ladies and girls; they wear the Carmelite habit, with dark gray gowns and white sashes, and the shield and insignia of the Virgin; they have a Directress in charge of them. Here they are educated in great virtue and in retirement; they leave this school and nursery or planting ground, to get married or become nuns; and this noble hospital gives them the dowry for that. I certify that in the presence of that nobility and beautiful display of sanctity, under the most holy habit of the Virgin Our Lady, when I was in that city it seemed to me the greatest thing in the world.

Besides the above, this most sainted Confraternity supports a large number of distressingly poor persons in their homes by distributing weekly rations and alms with the utmost charity, consoling and visiting the afflicted poor at the same time.

**1269.** This most sainted Confraternity escorts the bodies of executed prisoners and buries them; and during the octaves of All Souls they gather their bones from the highways and put them in coffins covered with black velvet cloth in the Cathedral in the chapel of Las Ánimas. The curates of all the parishes gather with their crosses, and all the religious orders and nobility of the city, notably the Confraternity of the Prisons, who unite with them on this occasion, being a sister organization and distinguished also. In solemn procession the two Confraternities carry the coffins to the church of this organization and hospital of La Caridad; and there with music and fine funeral services they give honorable burial to those who with public infamy hung on the scaffold as an example to evildoers along the highways, until charity exercised its mission.

1270. And since I am discussing the Confraternity of the Prisons and Charity, although it goes under the title of San Pedro y San Pablo (Sts. Peter and Paul), let me say that it has two public chapels and sanctuaries, extraordinarily well attended every day by the city's faithful: these have countless treasures and riches for the soul. granted by the Supreme Pontiffs to this Confraternity of Sts. Peter and Paul; they have given it the privileges enjoyed in Rome by Sts. Peter and Paul, St. John Lateran, Jerusalem, and Santiago, and countless other indulgences and concessions, with a special pontifical bull of exemption from secular and ecclesiastical judges, and the faculty of appointing their own Judge Conservator over themselves. and permission to their Prior who is their governor, and his Chapter, to name chaplains, as is done on the day of the saints their guardians; on that day they elect Prior, Superintendent (Mayordomo), Attorney (Procurador), and deputies, whose mission it is to give aid without limitation of amount to all the poor Spaniards, Indians, Negroes, and mulattoes in both prisons of this city and capital, with very ample rations; and that is not the least, for they inquire into their cases and possible release, and cure those sick in body and soul, providing them with preachers and persons to pray with them at night and teach them Christian doctrine.

They pay salaries to two lawyers and two chaplains, an attorney, a solicitor, and a doctor, surgeon, and apothecary; and in court by royal warrant the members of this Confraternity have the right of sitting as knights to defend the cases of these poor fellows; and so the nobility of this city warmly support this Confraternity.

1271. Of no less importance for the education of girls is the retreat and convent of the Carmelite Order, of the Glorious Virgin St. Teresa, glory of our Spain, with the title of St. Joseph; it was founded by Domingo Gómez de Silva and Catalina María his wife. They wear the Carmelite habit and keep the Carmelite rule, and this sacred Order is much sought after in this devout city. The daughters of leading persons are educated in this retreat in great virtue and

isolation and continual choral practice, more than if they were Barefoot Nuns. It was originally established a league out from the city on the road leading to Callao, with the shield and arms of Nuestra Señora del Carmen; then they moved into the city, where there is also another Carmelite convent next to Santa Clara and very popular with the people.

1272. The Royal Hospital of San Andrés was established by the piety of the Marqués de Cañete, old Don Hurtado de Mendoza. It can vie with the best in the world, for it receives without limit or personal favor those ill with any disease, distributing them in different wards. Its wards, emplacement, and offices seem like a town. It has an insane asylum at one side, and some act as servants, though wearing tertiary habits. It has a large number of men and women slaves for the service of the poor. Since the time of devout Marqués de Salinas, Don Luís de Velasco, it has been better conducted, for it was observed that the administrators appointed by the government did not exercise the care and devotion which the hospital required. Accordingly with the aid of the sanctity of that great man, as saintly as wise, Padre Juan Sebastián of the Company of Jesus, there was established a Confraternity of noble and wealthy persons in the city, who elect their Superintendent (Mayordomo) and eight deputies each year; two are in attendance each week in turn and experience has shown how brilliant this Confraternity's administration has been in the addition of new wards; one Superintendent after another, in pious emulation, has tried to leave a memorial in improvements of wards, offices, infirmary, and wardrobe, which latter has to provide for over 500 beds, and in comfort for the invalids, which is such that any well-to-do person can be taken care of there in no less luxury than in his own home; it is a fact that a remedy has been compounded there costing over 200 reals, and it was handed out on the doctor's prescription, although it cost more than the care of many invalids would take. On the spiritual side they have chaplains and confessors, who live in the hospital itself, and if the Superintendent wishes to reside in it, he has a very respectable apartment and quarters there.

### Chapter XXV

Continuing the Description of the Splendid Hospitals of This City; and of Its Famous University.

**1273.** The famous Hospital of Santa Ana was founded by that most devout churchman, Don Jerónimo de Loaysa, first Archbishop of Peru, for the care of the Indians. It has an income of over 30,000

pesos; its administration is conducted like that of San Andrés. At that same time the Marqués de Salinas, Don Luís de Velasco, aided by the warm-hearted charity of saintly Padre Juan Sebastián of the Company of Jesus, established a Confraternity like that of San Andrés; they serve under the same arrangement, but with a larger number of invalids, a women's ward apart, and infirmaries so remarkable that they surpass all praise; the beds are neat and clean and the wardrobe so extensive that it can furnish what is needful for 1,000 beds; and as the Indians are used to their meals of Indian corn and herbs, seasoned with ají (chilli) or pepper, they prepare them for them after their fashion; and even though there are so many of them, particularly when they come down from the sierra and adjoining villages into the hot country in the plains for the allotment of the mitas (service assignments) for labor and cultivation on the land, at the beginning of summer, the season when most are sick, they care for each one with great solicitude and attention; the deputies are present at their treatment, their dinners and suppers; they look after both the food that is provided for them and the preparation of the remedies prescribed for them.

**1274.** There is another hospital called the Espíritu Santo, in which they take care of sick sailors, with a brilliant church and fine infirmary wards. Its income is derived from the ships that enter and clear the port; the hospital receives a share of the profits and freight charges of these ships, and as there are many of them, this city's port Callao having an active commerce, the hospital benefits to the amount of many thousand ducats a year.

The hospital of San Diego belongs to the Brethren of San Juan de Diós; they take care of convalescents and the aged, providing them with the necessary sustenance. It was founded by two honorable married citizens of this city; although I cannot remember their names, they are written in the Book of Life.

**1275.** The University and Royal Schools are so distinguished that they need envy no other in the world, since they were established by the Emperor Charles V, and later by Philip II, both of glorious memory; they enlarged, ennobled and enriched them, with the same privileges as the University of Salamanca; they endowed the professorial chairs of Prime with 1,000 assay pesos, and those of Vespers with 600, per annum. The Prime chairs are in Theology, Scholastics, Scripture, Law, and Canons; the Vespers, in the Institutes, the Code, the Decretals, three in Philosophy, one in the Indian language for the training of the priests who are to be parish priests or dotrineros;

before they are commissioned, they have to be examined and certificated by the Professor of the language.

**1276.** The Professors are in major part natives of the Indies and especially of this city, where it would appear that the skies, as usually in the Indies, train outstanding and unusual intellects in subtlety and facility, so that in general they are very able and keen witted; this is obvious from the professorial positions which they occupy and the pulpits, where remarkable men distinguish themselves in their mastery of science and oratory; but they are unfortunate in living far from the eyes of His Majesty. For after all their labors, since there are so few professorial chairs and so many candidates, and there cannot be many lawyers, after having drudged and done brilliantly, and having spent in attaining the degrees of Licentiate and Doctor, 3.500 pesos, they lose heart, unless they have private means, at seeing themselves unrewarded; so the clerics take benefices and Indian curacies in order to live, and many abandon their books and studies, and never take their degrees.

1277. This University's faculty is important, for it comprises more than 80 Doctors and Masters; the members of the Circuit Court join them, for at the end of the year the fees amount to many ducats. The lecture halls in the schools are excellent, and the chapel very fine, but the most remarkable feature is the amphitheater, where they hold the public functions and commencements; it is very large and imposing; the display at the granting of whatever degrees are given, is also imposing. They invite the city's nobility as an escort, and meet at the house of the Doctor-to-be in a blare of trumpets, flageolets, and bugles, with a banner which hangs from a window of the house over a canopy on crimson velvet cushions and has the arms of the University and of the graduating Doctor; these are likewise set up in the theater erected in the Cathedral under the royal arms; they remind and notify the invited guests and doctors, who form an escort the evening before; the nobility follow the banner, then the Beadles with their silver maces, then the Masters and Doctors with their insignia, in order of age, closing with the Dean of the faculty and the graduating Doctor; and in this order they repair to the Rector's house, where the members of the Circuit Court await them; with the Rector in their center, they continue in the procession, in order of age. And in this same order the following day they parade till they arrive at the Cathedral, where the theater and the stage have been decorated and provided with seats; Mass is said for them, and at its close after leaving the Cathedral, the newest Doctor of the

faculty delivers his burlesque invective, and the Chancellor gives him his degree, just as is done at Salamanca.

# CHAPTER XXVI

Of the Famous Colleges in the City of Lima.

**1278.** Of great value and usefulness in the youthful education of the sons of this Kingdom are the three distinguished colleges in the city of Lima—the Royal College of San Marcos, that of San Martín, and that of San Toribio. Like nurseries or plantations, they turn out young men who are an ornament to the religious orders, the pulpits, and the professorial chairs, and they provide this noble University with remarkable and admirable students.

**1279.** The College of San Martín was founded by the Viceroy Don Martín Enrríquez, who gave it a large income. It has 200 students; they wear dark gray gowns and red sashes. This college and its students are under the charge of the Fathers of the Company of Jesus; ordinarily 16 of the Fathers are in attendance. with its Rector, and they train them well in letters and virtue.

The Royal College of San Marcos was founded by the Marqués de Cañete, Don García Hurtado de Mendoza, to the honor of his name; he provided an income sufficient for the sustenance and instruction of the students, who wear dark blue gowns with bright blue sashes with royal crowns embroidered on them, since it is a royal foundation for the sons of pioneers and worthy persons.

**1280.** The College of Santo Toribio was founded by the saintly Archbishop Don Toribio Alfonso Mogrovejo of glorious memory (Marg.: and is patterned after the Colegio Mayor de Oviedo in Salamanca, where he was a student). The collegians wear dark gray gowns and purple sashes (Marg.: gown and sash being those of his own college, and it has the same statutes and privileges). It is a seminary, and the income for the support of its students was determined by the Council of Lima, which the saintly Archbishop celebrated in that city in the year 1583, with the attendance of all the Bishops and Prelates of that Kingdom, the Spanish Main, Nicaragua, Chile, Tucumán, and Río de la Plata; the curates and chaplaincies contribute to this income, which serves for the services in the Cathedral, its altar and choir and other ministries appertaining, as well as for the college exercises.

**1281.** Besides these colleges just mentioned there is another, founded by the Catholic piety of His Majesty with the sanction of the gentlemen of the Supreme Council of the Indies, for Indian boys.

sons of the Caciques and native aristocrats of that Kingdom, in the village at El Cercado, called Santiago, which comes right after the last houses in the city. This is under the charge of the Fathers of the Company of Jesus; they educate them and teach them good manners, Christian doctrine, reading, writing, and music; this is a very important medium adopted to succeed in rooting out idolatry among this nation, and to give them greater knowledge of, and affection for, the tenets of our Holy Faith.

### CHAPTER XXVII

Of the Holy Tribunal of the Inquisition, and the Celebration of an Auto-da-fé.

1282. Among the most remarkable features which distinguish this city is the Holy Tribunal of the Inquisition, not only for its importance and its rectitude, but also for the wide jurisdiction which it enjoys, although after the constitution of the Tribunal of the Holy Inquisition in Cartagena, it was deprived of all the Spanish Main and the New Kingdom of Granada. But it does hold sway from the entire jurisdiction of the Diocese of Quito down to the entire Kingdom of Chile, and over the States of Tucumán, Buenos Avres, and Paraguay, an area on either side of over 1,200 leagues, over which the power of its arm extends. Within this district its jurisdiction includes 2 Archdioceses, those of Lima and the Charcas, and 13 Dioceses, those of Ouito, part of Popaván, on the Spanish Main Panama, Trujillo, Huamanga, Cuzco, Arequipa, Santiago de Chile, La Concepción, Chuquiabo or La Paz, Santa Cruz de La Sierra, Tucunián, Paraguay, and Buenos Ayres; and it is held in so high esteem in all those realms that in every city or village whatever commissioner represents it is highly regarded.

1283. It has been most important, especially for the punishment of many wicked new Christians who have penetrated into these kingdoms both via Brazil and the port of Buenos Ayres, and via New Spain, the Spanish Main, and the New Kingdom of Granada; and although all over Christendom this Holy Tribunal is esteemed and reverenced, I can state with assurance that the Kingdom of Peru leads them all; and as proof of my assertion I shall insert a description attesting the majesty, pomp, and grandeur manifested by this sainted Tribunal in celebrating an auto-da-fé, which might be taken as a model by many Kingdoms for the esteem due this Holy Tribunal, which celebrated an auto-da-fé on the day of St. Thomas the Apostle, December 2I; the procedure was in the form described in the following chapter. [CHAP. 30. Of the Manner in Which an Auto-da-fé Was Celebrated by the Holy Tribunal of the Inquisition of Lima in Peru.]

1284. On a stated day, and in particular in the city of Lima, it was announced with trumpets, kettledrums, and flageolets, and with the attendance of all the Familiars, Alguacil Mayor, Secretaries, and other functionaries of this Holy Office, in front of the gate of the Inquisition and Royal Apartments and at the point where the Lonja, or Street of the Merchants, enters the Plaza Mayor, by the voice of the town crier, for this date of December 21; and on that same day, in all this district.

1285. After the announcement, they began setting up the stands; on account of their size and the very high price of lumber in this city, they cost a large sum of money; and so, for this and other reasons, many years intervene between one public auto-da-fé and another. These stands are put up in the Plaza Mayor in front of the City Council building and at the same level as its corridors; they will be 18 feet high, and are divided into two sections, one backing up against this Council building and for the Tribunal, and the other opposite and of the same size but some 50 feet distant, with a passageway between them. Each of these stands is 100 feet across in front, and runs back 40 feet, in total circumference, with balcony railings in the center on 10 steps, which will have a frontage of over 40 feet. The seats for the Tribunal were elevated and at a distance of some 6 feet at the sides they built 10 other steps, on the right and on the left, arranged like half a hexagon and facing the Tribunal. This was all covered with rich carpets and all the façade with rich tapestries with a canopy in the center, and for insignia and shield the image of a very devout crucifix. At one side of the entrance to the passageway was the pulpit; the other stand which was built opposite for the penitents, was of the same proportions as that for the Tribunal, but with higher steps and frontage.

**1286.** Below these they built two other sections and at the sides between the ends of the two stands, they put up others, which were occupied by the city's nobility, the ministers' wives, the city administration, and the gentlemen of the city; these sections were suitably decorated for such persons and for protection against the sun they hung ships' sails from very high poles over the whole theater.

On the eve of the day appointed, all the friars of all the orders gathered in the Chapel of the Holy Office; the procession set out from there, with the Alguacil Mayor of the Holy Office at its head. He carried a standard of rich brocade, and was accompanied by the

city's nobility; they followed the street leading to the corner by the nunnery of La Concepción, and from there down the Calle Derecha (Straight Street) to the Plaza Mayor. The religious ørders follow in two choral groups, in order of age; the Familiars of the Inquisition pass to and fro in the procession, in gala attire, and with the wands of justice in their hands, both this day and the next. The procession closes with the Prior of the Dominican Order, the Vicar General at that moment; he was carrying a green cross, the insignia of the Tribunal of our Holy Faith; and he was accompanied by the Inquisitors up to the point where they leave the chapel to come out on the plaza which has been formed in front of it; the friars chant in melancholy accents the psalm which begins: "Domine, laudem mean (sic) ne tacueris, etc." (Psalm 109.)

In this order they mounted on the Tribunal stand, where, on an altar which had been prepared, the insignia of our Redemption had been set up and displayed, as if in triumph over the enemies of the Lord who died upon it-the pageant of this day and the next foreshadowing the tremendous day of the Last Judgment. All the rest of this day and the following night, Dominican monks furnished guard, sentinels, and reverence for the Most Holy Cross; and since during the night people of the lower classes who wanted to get seats and the guards slept on the stands, they said several Masses at dawn, so that, it being the day of the Apostle, there should be no break in the services ; and in order to avoid confusion the Familiars of the Inquisition who stood at the entrances to the inclined approach to the stands for the Tribunal and the penitents, were supplemented by four distinguished gentlemen of the city, who, with canes in their hands, helped to prevent the populace from entering and to hold the seats for members of the nobility who came to their places with tickets from the deputy Inquisitor.

#### CHAPTER XXVIII

Continuing the Description of the Auto-da-fé.

**1287.** The Viceroy, Marqués de Guadalcázar, was devoted and thoughtful in regard to religion and the esteem due the Holy Office; accordingly, to give more prestige to the auto and also for the better protection of the city and to avoid the disorders which are apt to occur on such days, he ordered four companies of infantry from the city garrison to come into the Plaza Mayor at 4 a.m. and form a squadron, and likewise that a company of the garrison's light cavalry and another of mounted field harquebussiers cover the flanks of the

squadron, and then police the city by squads. When these preliminaries were attended to, the Cross left the Cathedral under a black veil, escorted by the curates, and proceeded to the chapel of the Holy Office, where another infantry company had been stationed with harquebusses, their fusees lighted; and while the Cross was guided through the same streets as the procession had followed the afternoon before, the procession of penitents came out, beginning with those guilty of minor offenses; those next to the last wore the Benedictine reconciliation habits, and behind them the effigies of those who had been delivered to the criminal tribunal, the dead as well as the living; the latter wore vilifying placards indicating their crimes. Each of these penitents had two escorts beside him, citizens appointed by the Holy Office; on each side they were accompanied by four harquebussiers of the infantry company already mentioned. For such a spectacle in these streets, there was an infinite number of onlookers from all parts of the city and the neighborhood, gathered to see it from windows, terraces, and scaffoldings; but these did not suffice, and they filled the streets, interfering with the Alguacil Mayor who was riding about on horseback, and who was aided by the Familiars and soldiers in clearing the way and making room. On reaching the Plaza Mayor, penitents and sponsors went up and took their seats, the first on the lowest, and on the last at the top, the effigies and those committed to the secular arm, under vaults adorned with flames and horrible and terrifying figures.

**1288.** At the same time that the penitents' procession began along the street referred to, the Standard of the Faith proceeded from the Holy Office up the Calle Derecha to the Plaza Mayor past the corner by the Archbishop's residence. It was preceded by a company of mounted harquebussiers of the Royal Guard, and was followed by all the nobles of the city; behind them came the University faculty with its Beadles with silver maces in their arms, with all the Doctors with their insignia, hoods, and tassels, and then the Rector.

Directly behind the University came the mace bearers of the City Council with crimson robes and caps and silver maces; each member of the city administration was accompanied on his right by a Prebendary of the Cathedral, and in this order both Chapters proceeded, the Dean and Alcaldes bringing up the rear. Behind them came the Kings-at-Arms with silver maces on their shoulders, and then the Alcalde of the Holy Office with the Standard of the Faith, two gentlemen on horseback holding the tassels. Next in order were the members of the Royal Chancery, beginning with the Alguacil Mayor; then the Alcaldes del Crimen and the Circuit Court Justices; and then the Viceroy, between the two Inquisitors, who on this day outrank the Justices; the Viceroy, as representing the person of His Majesty, bulwark of the Church, accompanies them; so when the Inquisitors rode out on their mules, they had the Viceroy between them. In this order they arrived at the stands; the Viceroy took his seat in the center on a brocaded cushion, with another at his feet, the Inquisitors beside him; then in order the Justices of the Circuit Court; on the last step, at the foot of the Tribunal, the Attorney and his two escorts, holding the Standard of the Faith in their hands, and the King's Master of the Horse with bared sword, royal symbol to indicate defense of the Faith. From this row down were seated the Calificadores (Censors) and Consultores (Counsellors) and the Prelates of the religious orders. The uppermost seats on the right hand of the Tribunal were occupied by the Chapter of the Church, and the remainder by the University faculty; on the rows to the left, the members of the City Council and administration.

# [CHAP. 32. Concluding the Description of the Auto-da-fé.]

**1289.** On that same stand near the altar by the entrance to the passageway they had put a desk with a rich covering, and on it a small case handsomely decorated, containing the documents dealing with those on whom penance was enjoined; nearby were the Secretaries' seats, and in front of the Tribunal, with an aisle left in between, the seats of the gentlemen and garrison captains.

After they had taken their seats in the order described, one of the Secretaries took his place in the pulpit by the entrance to the passageway, and read aloud the Edict of the Faith to the Viceroy and nobility and all other ranks in the republic, for them to swear allegiance to the Faith and to aid the Holy Office; and all in a clear loud voice said "Yes, I swear; Amen" and made the sign of the cross.

Next they preached the sermon and at its end the auto began; the Secretary called out and designated the penitent by name, whose case was to be considered; the Warden went to the penitents' section and called him; his sponsors and he went down the passageway, at the center of which was a high stand; he stood there all the time it took to have his case detailed; the same procedure was followed with all the rest, until they came to those last in order, those of persons released to the secular arm; they draw up the ordinance immediately, giving notice of the penalty of the pyre; the guilty persons are put on packsaddles on beasts of burden, and with the town crier beside them, proclaiming their infidelity, they reach the place of punishment, escorted by the infantry company which accompanied them in the procession; the pyre and place of punishment, where the sentence is carried out, is outside of the city. While this is in process of execution, the rest of the penitents on the stand come down from their seats and pass over to those on the Tribunal side; here the wax candles which they carried unlighted in their hands in the procession, are lighted, and the oldest Inquisitor, in surplice and stole, with wands in his hands, and with the Cathedral choir intoning the Psalm Miserere mei (Have mercy upon me, O God) absolves each of them in accordance with the sentence, after each has taken the Levior Vehementi oath. Then they take the black veil off the Cross they had carried in the morning, and the procession returns to the Holy Office, with Standard and escort in the same order as it came out. On the next day those who are to be disciplined and flogged are marched through the streets publicly, escorted to their disgrace by the Alguacil Mayor, Secretaries, and Familiars; those who have to go to the galleys are consigned at once to the Royal Prison as slaves to the King, to be turned over to the galleys. And although in this statement and description something has been told, yet the majesty usually displayed in the auto-da-fé is such that it outdoes any possible account or exaggeration, however full this account may seem to have been.

### CHAPTER XXIX

Of the Port of Callao, Suburb of the City of Lima.

1290. The port of Lima, Callao, is 2 leagues distant from the city, over an arid plain, for it never rains in those regions. The harbor settlement is at the water's edge and runs N. and S., with the coast itself. The land and the beach on which it is built, is loose gravel or small pebbles, used for ballast by all ships plying the Pacific. The place is subject to destruction by earthquakes, on account of the gravel, and so in order to give the houses strength of construction they build large cement foundations. This place will contain more than 700 Spanish residents, not counting the transients who normally flock here in large numbers; there are two roads here from Lima, every day crowded with people coming and going and with troops of mules; then there are the visitors from the nearby valleys and from the ships at sea entering and clearing every day. From the valleys they bring down wheat, corn, sugar, and other local products; and the ships bring consignments of wine from the valleys of Ica, Pisco, and Nasca, with the products of New Spain, Nicaragua, the Spanish Main, Guayaquil, and all the coast valleys of this Kingdom and that of Chile.

**1291.** In addition there is a garrison of 500 Spaniards in 5 infantry companies, and a large service contingent of Negroes and mulattoes, slaves and free, and Indians, who come in and help both in the harbor activities and the service of its residents, and in the transportation of the merchandise and products referred to, charcoal, salt, lumber, chickpeas, peanuts, kidney beans, pallares, poroto peas, and many other kinds of cereals, for this port abounds in everything. It lies W. of the city of Lima.

There is an excellent parish church in this place, well served, and convents of all the orders, Dominican, Franciscan, Augustinian, Mercedarian, and Jesuit, each with 12 or 14 friars; they are all abundantly provided with everything necessary for human life. In addition there is a hospital of the Brethren of San Juan de Diós, where they care for the indigent sick with great pains and charity.

**1292.** This port contains many shops and stores with their encomenderos; here are stored all the commodities which the ships bring down from the valleys for the provisioning of the city of Lima, e.g., from the valleys of Pisco, Ica, Ingenio, Nasca, and others, great numbers of jugs of wine; from those of Cañete, Barranca, Santa, and others, wheat, pallares, peanuts, corn, chickpeas, and other cereals, both Spanish and indigenous; salt, charcoal, and great amounts of lumber are brought from Guayaquil, Panama, Nicaragua, and other quarters for construction in the city of Lima, and other purposes; pitch comes from Nicaragua, and other products from other valleys on the Peruvian coast, as, from those of Chicama, Huarmey, and others, much sugar; from the Kingdom of Chile, cordovan leather, tallow, and quantities of hemp and other sorts of cloth; cordovan leather and other commodities imported from Quito and New Spain; silk comes from China, and many other goods, which are both retailed in Lima and distributed all over the kingdom.

1293. To the N. of the harbor of Callao there is a little stream where the fleets and ships get their water; there are 2 or 3 gristmills along it for the provisioning of the port, where there are usually many traders and merchants, on account of the active commerce there, owing to all the trading ships which enter and leave [there] every day; usually there are over 40 ships in this harbor, plus those of the fleet which His Majesty stations here for its protection and that of the Pacific.

The harbor is good, deep, and safe, and is free from shipworms; there are none here, for although it is only 12° from the Equator, the sea water is so cold here that they chill beverages in it. For this reason ships last long in that sea; in fact, they exceed 30 or 40 years of use, both for the reason given and because the sea is calm; that is why they can serve and navigate such a long time. The ships stand close to shore, for the harbor is deep; furthermore, this harbor has to its W. an island more than 2 leagues long, all of it a range of hills, which shelters it from S. and SW. winds. Small boats come in between the point on the mainland and the island; large ships, from W. and NW. of the island; it is an open and very capacious harbor, and free of shoals, of which there are none, as well as of shipworms, as has been stated.

# [CHAP. 34. Continuing the Description of the Port of Callao.]

**1294.** The port of Callao is abundantly supplied with delicious fish, caught both there and all along the coast; every afternoon many fishing boats come in, manned both by Spaniards and by Indians and Negroes, loaded down with delicious varieties of fish, such as pejerreyes, anchovetas, which are sardines, besugos (sea bream), dentones (a kind of sparus), mojarras, and other species of very delicate fish. For this reason fish sells very cheap; in fact, for I real they give you a string of them weighing over 4 pounds. Accordingly both in this specialty and in everything else, this place has an abundant supply of cheap and delicious foodstuffs.

In the neighborhood are many farms and fruit orchards, raising both Spanish and native varieties; fields of alfalfa, which is like green barley, for mule and draught-horse fodder; fields of corn, wheat, and other cereals; they have excellent melon fields. Between the port of Callao and Lima there are likewise some vineyards and olive groves, oranges, lemons, and good banana plantations, all irrigated by canals from the Río de Lima, for in that country it never rains; and with the uniform climate of that region and the irrigation, it is one of the most fertile and attractive spots in the world.

**1295.** In the district between Callao and the city of Lima there are rich farms and cultivated fields with elaborate homes; I league out there is an establishment and convent of the Carmelites, with its insignia, built by Domingo Gómez de Silva, a virtuous man of exemplary life, and dedicated and consecrated to Nuestra Señora del Carmen; here he placed several girls clothed in the saintly habit of Our Lady, who observed the rule with great strictness and isolation, and repeated the Divine Office with great fervor, thus praising and serving Our Lord, and edifying the faithful with their grand example.

On the other road from Callao to Lima, a league out and opposite the Carmelite establishment to the S., there is an Indian village called La Magdalena, with many gardens or orchards of fruit trees, of both Spanish and native varieties; this is a bit of Paradise in its good location, verdure, and the bright skies it enjoys. Another league from the village of La Magdalena to the S. there is another Indian village called de Sulco; round about it are many farms and fields of wheat, corn, and other cereals and vegetables, large plantations of sugarcane with sugar mills, and some olive groves with other plantations and cattle ranches.

## CHAPTER XXX

Of the Forts and Castles at the Port of Callao for Its Defense.

1296. In the year 1615 the Prince of Esquilache came out to govern the Kingdoms of Peru. The hostile Dutch had entered that ocean that year by the Straits and had struck apprehension into that Kingdom and its ports and the ships on that sea. That was the last year of the administration of the Marqués de Montesclaros; they had been living in great negligence, and the Kingdom was thrown into great confusion because it had neither artillery nor munitions for its defense. So the Prince of Esquilache set out to remedy some of the crying needs and ordered two forts or bastions erected. One of them is by the Hospital of San Juan de Diós and near the mouth of the rivulet where the fleets take water, and is for the defense of the harbor against enemies on that side. This bastion has seven bronze pieces: two culverins, each of 110 quintals; the other five are half culverins and heavy cannon; for the casting of them he had a quantity of copper brought up from the Kingdom of Chile, from the mines of Coquimbo or La Serena; this is the best that is known in the world, both because of its high native quality and of the large amount of gold it contains.

**1297.** The other fort or bastion he ordered built in front of the Royal Apartments. This bastion contains a fortress with the major part of its foundations provided with their platforms and orillons, There are nine pieces in this fort: two culverins of II6 quintals, two other half culverins of 80 quintals, and the cannon which was in the galley; this is also 80 quintals; the other pieces are heavy cannon. This fort and that of Covadonga, the one near the rivulet, have vaults beside them with powder, balls, ladles, and all else appertaining to artillery, so that they can clear the whole harbor and keep the enemy from approaching or entering it.

The Royal Apartments have their vaults, in which are stored the supplies, munitions, and other stores for the navy, which has Admiral's and Vice Admiral's flagships. The San Pelayo has 40 pieces of bronze artillery of 40 quintals and over; the San Joseph, which is the Vice Admiral's ship, has usually 32 pieces or more; there are 2 or 3 others, small galleons, the San Bartolomé, San Felipe, and Santiago; these usually carry 18 or 20 pieces, and transport His Majesty's silver and private gentlemen to Panama, with other merchant ships without artillery or defense, in consequence of the careless security in which they have been living. Two or three other galleons are left for the defense of the port.

**1298.** Later, since much apprehension was aroused by the corsair's fleet which roamed that ocean robbing its ships and ravaging its coasts, in the year 1624 the Marqués de Guadalcázar built another fort or bastion near the point on the open sea; it is called San Felipe de Guadalcázar, with 12 pieces of artillery, among them 2 culverins of 120 quintals, and the rest half culverins and heavy cannon. In this fort there is a Warden and Lieutenant, with gunners and a garrison of soldiers. Near this fort are the lagoons, where they catch quantities of excellent lisas.

At the end of the island, he ordered another fort built, where there is excellent artillery and soldiers to guard it and assist in the defense on that quarter; and there is another of the same sort at the entrance to Callao, near the gristmills, for the defense of the harbor on that side. There is another castle at the mouth of the Río de Bocanegra, to the N. of Callao and about half a league away, there being an inlet there, at the mouths of the Río de Lima and Río de Carabullo, which they call the Bocanegra. Thus the port and the city of Lima are guarded by these forts and castles just described, and protected from enemies.

Furthermore, in consequence of the enemy pirate's incursion of the year 1624, they built 3 galliots and 13 gunboats, each with a fieldpiece or small-bored culverin in the bow, and a flatboat like a pontoon arranged on heavy timbers, with 4 cannon, to inflict damage on the enemy's ships.

1299. In Callao there is a General, whose annual salary is 3,000 assay pesos, and five Captains, whose monthly pay is 90 9-real pesos each; the Ensigns get 50, Sergeants 30, and the soldiers 20; there are two Adjutants without pay. The Sergeant Major is one of the infantry Captains, with the same pay as Captain.

Here is accurate information arriving from Lima this present year, 1629, and written in 1627: they advise me that there are 329 pieces of heavy bronze artillery, distributed as follows: in the forts of Guadalcázar, San Pablo, the Hospital, Chuquitanta and Bocanegra, 185 pieces of reenforced bronze; the smallest weigh 60 quintals and the largest 115; in the 2 galleons for the defense of the harbor, 72, 36 in each; the patache has 12; then there are 40 fieldpieces with their charges, guncarriages, and other necessary equipment, and 20 pieces of 50 quintals each, in the gunroom.

There are 4,000 jars of refined gunpowder, each containing 30 pounds, and three mills where a large amount is compounded and manufactured, of excellent quality. There are 32 municipal companies, not counting 22 appointed by the Viceroy to enroll men, and 2 of cavalry, besides 17 companies of infantry raised for a garrison by the city's residents, and 6 of lance and target cavalry. Besides these there have been formed 3 companies of farmers, mounted, with harquebusses; another company is the Viceroy's lancers; and there are 3 of mulattoes and 2 of free Negroes, persons who are necessary and important for the work; these have been attached to the 32 companies, not reckoning on the 22 companies for which the Viceroy has appointed Captains, each to raise 100 men, outsiders, from outside the city. All of this has awakened them from their neglect, and the city is well equipped for any emergency.

## CHAPTER XXXI

Statement of the Provinces, Convents, Friars, Curacies, and Revenues of the Dominican, Franciscan, Augustinian, Mercedarian, and Jesuit Orders, in Peru. 1300.

Dominicans	Prov- inces 3	Convents 48	Friars 694	Curacies 105	Revenues 75,575 Pesos of 8 reals
Franciscans	4	71	789	71	
Augustinians	3	44	546	38	75,200
Mercedarians	4	50	541	72	49,6 <b>00</b>
Jesuits	2	23	412	ıб	79,160
Totals	16	236	2,982	302	46,917 P°s 4

**1301.** Summary of the amount of the alms in wine, oil, and medicines bestowed by His Majesty in Peru on the Dominican, Franciscan,

Royal Treasuries Lima	Domini- cans 5,397 P <sup>8</sup> 4 528 988 620 305 1,049–4 250 350 200 150 622  397 	Fran- ciscans 5,230-4 522 2,010 750 459 1,825-4 250 755 200 150 832  175 100	Augus- tinians 3,518–7  1,074 228 603 1,280 250 676 200 150 612  	Merce- darians 3,446-4  1,016 718 312 1,778 250 254  400 150 669 100	Jesuit 2,049–1 228 650 246 270 1,016  250  162 100	Total from each treasury 19,642 ps. 4 1,278 5,738 2,562 1,949 6,899 1,000 2,010 600 450 2,716 150 1,403 300
CI I		220				220 
						40,917-4

Augustinian, Mercedarian and Jesuit Orders; the amount in each case, from which treasury, and the total:

So that the total amount bestowed by His Majesty in alms to the religious orders in wine, oil, and medicines comes to 46,917 pesos of 8 reals each, plus 4 reals, in the items detailed in the above statement.

## CHAPTER XXXII

Explanation of the Following Statement of the Income for the Viceroy's Guard Taken from the Annual Payments of the Indians.

**1302.** Statement of the sums charged against certain repartimientos of Indians to pay the salaries of the personal guard of Their Honors the Viceroys of [this] Kingdom of Peru, levied in accordance with a warrant of His Majesty dated December 28, 1568, in which it was ordered that this should be taken for the creation of 10 enrollments annually for assignment to the Lancers and Harquebussiers, half to one and half to the other; this amounts each year to 6,000 assay pesos of  $12\frac{1}{2}$  reals each; so the sum necessary for the pay of this guard for the 10 enrollments mentioned, should be taken and levied from the Indian tributes and repartimientos, which at present would appear to be the following:

These 6,000 assay pesos of $12\frac{1}{2}$ reals each for the 10 enroll- ments for assignment to the Lancers and Harquebussiers,		of 8	reals
amount to 9,375 current 8-real pesos The tribute of the Yanacona Indians of the imperial town of Potosí and the Provinces of the Charcas, which, one year with another, amount to 6,000 assay pesos at 12½ reals each,	9,375	ps.	
which is 9,375 8-real pesos The tribute of the Yanacona Indians of the city of La Paz and its district, which amounts, one year taken with another,		ps.	
to 2,000 8-real pesos more In the village of Calamarca, Corregimiento of Caracollo, in excess (demasías) silver and miscellaneous commodities from the Repartimiento of Capt. Juan Remón, 218 8-real pesos, which are collected for the Royal Treasury of the city of La		ps.	
Paz	218	ps.	
1303.	20,968	ps.	
In the Repartimiento of Caquiaviri of the Corregimiento of Los Pacajes, in the excess silver and miscellaneous commodi- ties of Capt. Juan Remón, collected by the Royal Officials of			
La Paz In the Repartimiento of Machaca la Chica (Machaca Ca- chica ?), which is in this Corregimiento de Los Pacajes, in silver and miscellaneous commodities to the account of the ex- cess income of Juan Ranion (!), collected by these Royal	453	ps.	
Officials In the Repartimiento of Sorata, Corregimiento of Carecaja, in the excess income of Capt. Juan Remón, collected by these	1,000	ps.	
Royal Officials In the parishes of Santiago and San Pedro outside the walls at the city of La Paz, being the excess income of Capt. Juan	163	p <sup>s</sup> 2	
Remón	546	$\mathbf{p}^{\mathbf{s}}$	
In the Repartimiento of Paucarcolla in silver and mis- cellaneous commodities, 2,500 pesos collected by these Royal Officials of La Paz	2,500	ps	
In the Repartimiento of Achamarca, which is in the district of Condesuyo and collected by the Royal Officials of Arequipa, with the profit on commodities	440	þ,	
	26,081	p <sup>s</sup> 2	- reals
Half of the Repartimiento of Los Lucanas and Andamarcas, collected by the Royal Officials of Huancavelica, and worth In the Repartimiento of Ceymebamba, which is in the Corre- imiento of Ceimmerguille, district of Chasheneuras, and cell	• 1,400	$p^s$	
gimiento of Cajamarquilla, district of Chachapoyas, and col- lected by these Royal Officials in silver and commodities	214	ps	

27,776 p\* 2 reals

So that the appointments of this Foot Guard of Their Honors the Viceroys of Peru [of this Kingdom], come to 27,776 pesos and 2 reals, 8-real pesos, according to the appointments above detailed.

1305. List and statement of the annuities (juros) imposed by provisions of His Lordship the Viceroy Conde del Villar, by virtue of His Majesty's warrant at 5 mills (el V U) to the thousand (millar), on this his Royal Treasury of the city of Lima; they are paid out by it to the repartimientos and Indian villages of the district of this Royal Circuit Court and to the Administrator General in their name; below will be mentioned all those to whom the entire current annuities have been paid up to the end of last year, 1607, and the rest is due them from January 1, 1608, up to the present day; and the amount belonging to each village annually is as follows:

WHOLE VOL. TH	e west indies—vázquez de espinosa		461
Assay	To the Indians of Lurigancho, Guachipa, and Nana; they have an income each year	Re	als
	of 360 reals To the Hananguancas Indians of the Jauja	<b>3</b> 60	reals
	Valley, 540 reals To the Huringuancas Indians of the Jauja	540	reals
	Valley, 2,160 reals	2,160	reals
	To the Indians of La Magdalena, 540 reals To the Mangas and Laraos Indians, 540	540	66
	reals The Indians of Huarca and Maranga, 720	540	66
	reals	720	44
	The Indians of Vegueta, the same	720	66
	The Indians of Lunahuana, the same	720	66
	His Majesty's Yauyos Indians, 720 reals	720	66
	The Lampas and Ocros Indians, 540 reals.	540	44
	The Chincha Indians, 360 reals	360	"
	The Indians of Huamantanga, the same	360	66 66
	The Indians of Lañasca, 540 reals	540	66
	The Indians of Andahuaylas, 360 reals	360	••
	The Indians of Machay, the same	360	
1306.			
	The Indians of Tarma, the same	360	6.6
	The Indians of Jayanca, 900 reals The Hananguancas Indians of Jauja,	900	66
	1,252 reals 3	1,2524	66
	Valley, 2,224 reals 3	<b>2,2</b> 24 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	66
15 p. 7 t°. 5 g <sup>r</sup>	The Canta Indians, 1,368 reals The Guachipa Indians receive each year	1,368	" "
-5 - 7 - 7 - 5 - 6	15 pesos 7 tomines 5 granos		
180 p <sup>s</sup> 2 t <sup>o</sup> 5 g <sup>r</sup>	The Hananguancas Indians of Jauja, 180 pesos 2 tomines 5 granos, assay, and 720		
	reals	720	4.6
14 p.	The Huringuancas Indians of that valley have an income each year of 14 assay pesos		
	720 reals	720	44
69 p. 2 t° 10 gr.	The Atunjauja Indians of that valley, 69	/20	
	pesos 2 tomines 10 granos, assay, and 360 reals	360	66
36 p.	The Mancos and Laraos Indians, 36 assay		"
72 p. 2 t° 7 gr.	pesos and 180 reals The Ica Indians belonging to Don Juan	180	
	Dabalos de Ribera, 72 pesos 2 tomines 7 granos assay		
0			-

387 p. 7 t° 2 gr.

17,625<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> reals

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1307.	*		
		R	eals
25 p. 3 t° 2 g <sup>r</sup>	His Majesty's Yauyos Indians receive an annual income of 25 pesos 3 tomines 2		
31 p. 1 t° 7 g <sup>r</sup>	granos, assay The Lanpas, Ocros, Cacahuasi, and Pucu- rucha Indians have an annual income of 31 pesos 1 tomín 7 granos, assay, and 252		
77 p. 3 t° 10	reals The Indians of Comas and Carabayllo, 77 pesos 3 tomines 10 granos, assay, and 252	252	reals
53 р. 4- б	reals The Indians belonging to Juan de Barrios,	252	**
14 p. 1-	53 pesos 4 tomines 6 granos, assay The Indians of La Barranea, 14 pesos 1 tomín, assay		
	The Indians of Lurigancho, 1,080 reals The Indians of La Magdalena, 50 current	1,080	44
	pesos The Indians of Chuquitanta and Sciullay,	450	61
	144 reals	144	66
1308.			
	The Indians of Vegueta, 252 reals The Indians of Guachaca and Maranga,	252	16
	360 reals	360	44
	The Checras Indians, $457\frac{1}{4}$ reals	$457\frac{1}{4}$	6.6
	The Indians of Lunahuana, 360 reals	360	**
	The Huamantanga Indians, 144 reals	144	44
	The Guanchoguailas Indians, 324 reals	324	64
	The Mama Indians, 540 reals	540	**
	The Indians of the Pisco Valley, 144 reals.	144	**
360 —	The Chocorvos Indians, 177 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> reals	1773	"
	The Canta Indians, 360 reals The Indians of Coayllo and Calango, 197	360	
	reals To the Indians of Andax belonging to	197	6
	Doña Lucía de Montenegro	<b>1,03</b> 6	**
		11	

589 p. 5 to. 2 gr.

24,1563 reals

according to the above, which is presented in fuller detail in the annuity (censos) book in the Royal Auditor's office (Contaduría) for the accounts of the year 1599, to which we refer, and we have signed it in Lima on May 3, 1600.

Don Juan Manuel Diego de Meneses Francisco de la Guerra de Añaya y Cespedes (witness?)

# CHAPTER XXXIII

Of the Peruvian Courier Stages.

**1309.** Table of the villages, days' journeys, and leagues, from this city to the town of Potosi and city of La Plata.

	From Lima to Santa Inés From Santa Inés to Sicicaya From Sicicaya to Chirrillos From Chirrillos to Huarochiri	5 5 5 5
	From Huarochiri to Jauja	20
leagues	From Jauja Tambo to Huancayo	7
	From Huancayo to Acos	б
	From Acos to Huancavelica	9
	From Huancavelica to Castrovirreina	14
	From Acos to Picor	7
	From Picor to Parco	8
75	From Parco to Sangaro	7
	From Sangaro to Guamanga	5
		75

So that there are in all 75 leagues, as appears, and 15 posts, with the 2 up on the puna, which are not shown here; at a real every day, each post amounts to 45 patacones 1 real per annum, and altogether 698 patacones which are expended.

## 1310.

From	Guamanga to Tambillo	5
From	Tambillo to Vilcas	6
From	Vilcas to Uramarca	6
From	Uramarca to Andahuailas	6
$\operatorname{From}$	Andahuailas to Huancarma	7
$\operatorname{From}$	Huancarma to Abancay	6
From	Abancay to Curahuasi	5
From	Curahuasi to Limatambo	8
From	Limatambo to Cuzco	- 9
		136

From Guamano (sic) to Cuzco there are 9 posts,	
which at I real per diem amount to	416 patacones

1,114 "

Patacones (silver dollars)

### 1311.

From Cuzco to Quispicanche.3From Quispicanche to Urcos.3From Urcos to Quiquijana.3From Quiquijana to Cangalla.5From Cangalla to Cacha.4From Cacha to Aziguane.3From Aziguane to Lurucachi.3From Chungara to Ayaviri.6From Ayaviri to Pucará.5From Nicacio to Juliaca.5From Juliaca to Acalaco.2From Paucarcolla to Puno.2From Puno to Chucuito.3		
So that there are in this district 16 posts, with	1,114	pat.
10 more between this apartment at Chucuito and	-)1	1
the city of San Marcos de Arica; at a real a day,		
that comes to 1,173 patacones	1,173	pat.
,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	, ,0	1
1312.		
198		
From Chucuito to Acora 2		
From Acora to Ilave 4		
From Ilave to Juli		
From Juli to Pomata		
From Pomata to Zepita		
From Huaqui to Tiahuanaco 3		
From Tiahuanaco to Laja		
From Laja to Chuquiago 3		

So that in this district there appear to be 9 posts which at a real a day come per annum to ... 406 pat.

### 1313.

From	Chuquiago to Calamarca	6
From	Calamarca to Ayo Ayo	4
From	Ayo Ayo to Sicasica	7
From	Sicasica to La Ventilla	6
From	La Ventilla to Caracollo	5
From	Caracollo to Las Sepulturas	7
From	Las Sepulturas to La Venta del Medio	6
From	La Venta del Medio to Las Peñas	8
From	Las Peñas to Las Vizcachas	7
From	Las Vizcachas to La Lagunilla	6
From	La Lagunilla to La Quebrada	4
From	La Quebrada to Alcocalla	6
From	Allocalla (sic) to Potosi	7
		310

So that there are 13 posts in the above district,	
which, at a real a day, total per annum	586 p.4

#### 1314.

To	go from La Venta del Medio to Chayanta	8
For La	From Chayanta to La Ventilla	5
Plata.	From La Ventilla to Pocoata	3
	From Pocoata to Machá	3
	From Machá to Caracara	9
	From Caracara to Moro Moro	5
	From Moro Moro to La Plata	8
		41

2,481 p. 4 rs.

\_\_\_\_\_

3,595 P.4

#### 1315. From this city to that of Arequipa:

From Lima to Pachacámac	5
From Pachacámac to Chilca	5
From Chilca to Mala	3
From Mala to the Tambo de Asia	3
From the Tambo de Asia to Cañete	6
From Cañete to Chincha	9
From Chincha to Pisco	5
From Pisco to Villacuri	5
From Villacuri to Ica	7
From Ica to La Ventilla	5
From La Ventilla to Huayuri	9
From Huayuri to La Ventilla del Ingenio	5
From La Ventilla del Ingenio to La Nasca.	5
From La Nasca to Acarí	15
From Acarí to Jaqui	5
From Jaqui to Atiquipa	5
From Atiquipa to Chala	3
From Chala to Ático	14
From Ático to Ungolpe	4
From Ungolpe to Uncono	8
From Uncono to Camaná	7
From Camaná to Quilca	7
From Quilca to Padraqui	5
From Padraqui to Vítor	5
From Vítor to Arequipa	7
	157

From Lima to Arequipa there are 157 leagues and 27 posts, with 2 to be added in the desert, which at <sup>a</sup>/<sub>4</sub> real a day amount to 34 patacones 4 reals a year for each post, and all together, 931 p. 310

10

931 p.

## 1316. Down to Quito.

From Linia to Carabayllo	3
From Carabayllo to Chancay	7
From Chancay to Huaura	IO
From Huaura to La Barranca	6
From La Barranca to Huarmey	14
From Huarmey to Casma la Alta	12
From Casma la Alta to Bonbacho (sic)	6
From Guanbacho (sic) to Santa	6

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From Santa to Guañape	II
From Guañape to Trujillo	7
From Trujillo to Paiján	- 9
From Paiján to San Pedro de Lloc	7
From San Pedro de Lloc to Pueblo Nuevo.	4
From Pueblo Nuevo to Saña	5
From Saña to Lambeyeque	8
From Lambayeque to Morroco	5
From Morroco to Sechura	- 3
From Sechura to Piura	30
From Piura to Paita	10
	163

From Paita to the city of Quito.

From Paita to Manta there are 8 posts; these are paid only on courier days; these 8 posts cost 10 patacones on the days the courier passes through, which happens 12 times a year, thus amounting to 120 patacones.....

From Guayaquil to Riobamba, which is where one joins the Quito King's Highway, there are 7 posts, and these also are paid only on courier days; each courier trip through them costs 3 patacones and the year's trips will amount to 60 p.

120 p.

60 p.

	517 p.	517 p.
So that the cost for the Chasque In-		
dians for 1 year over all this kingdom		
sums up to 5,704 patacones		5,704 p.

5,187 p. 4

660 p.4

**1318.** Statement of the guaranteed sums (fianzas) offered by Don Diego de Carvajal in the following places and localities :

	In the city of Guamanga	400	p.	
	In the city of Cuzco	2,500	p.	
	In the city of Chucuito	100	p.	
	In the city of Oruro	500	р.	
	In the city of La Paz	600	р.	
	In the city of Potosí	2,000	р.	
	In the city of La Plata	800	р.	
	In the city of Arequipa	300	p.	Patacones, which
	In this city of Lima	2,000	р.	are of 8 reals each
excess		9,200	р.	9,200 p.
49бр.				

[So that] Guarantees are given for the above 5,104 P. places and localities, of 9,200 patacones, and there is an excess of 496 over what Don Diego de 8,104 p. Carvajal is under obligation to pay each year.... 496 p.

1319. In the cities and localities where Don Diego de Carvajal offers guarantees, some have the offices farmed out, and some have administrative offices. Those with offices farmed out (arrendamiento) are:

Guamanga Cuzco Oruro Potosí La Plata

Those with administrative offices are:

Chucuito La Paz Arequipa Lima

**1320.** The places and localities where there are communal expenses (aprovechamiento) are:

In Chincha, they pay the Chasque Indian 34 p. 4	34 p. 4
In Cañete, do	34 P.4
In Ica, do	34 P·4
In La Nasca, do	34 p. 4
In Acarí, do	34 p. 4
In Huancavelica, two	90 p. 2
In Castrovirreina, one	45 p. 1
In Cochabamba, one	45 p. 1

343 P.

#### CHAPTER XXXIV

Of the 15 Corregimientos and the Curates in the District of the Archdiocese of Lima.

**1321.** The Corregimientos in the district of this Archdiocese are: El Cercado, Cañete, Ica, Yauyos, Jauja, Chancay, Canta, Santa, Huarochiri, the city of León de Huánuco, Tarma, and Chinchaycocha, Huamalíes, Huailas Conchucos, Cajatambo, noting that the Corregimiento of the town of Santa, all it possesses on the other side of the river to the N., belongs to the Diocese of Trujillo. These 15 Corregimientos of the district of the Archdiocese comprise [112] 113 curacies of clerics and 77 of friars, altogether 179 curacies, distributed as follows:

1322. In the city of Lima and the Corregimiento of El Cercado within it, 18 curacies, 12 of clerics: 4 in the Cathedral, 2 in the parish of Santa Ana, 2 in that of San Sebastián, I in San Marcelo, another in the port of Callao, another in Pachacámac, another in Lurigancho; 5 friars, and I Jesuit Father; I in Surco, another in La Magdalena, Franciscan, another in Surquillo, another in Late, another in Carabayllo, Mercedarian, and in the Indian village of Santiago in El Cercado, a Jesuit Father.

Corregimiento of Ica: 13 curates, 11 clerics: 2 in the town of Ica, the others in La Nasca, in Palpa, in El Ingenio, in Hananíca, in San Juan, Pisco, La Magdalena de Pisco, Chunchanga, and another for Spaniards in Chunchanga, a Franciscan Father in Lurinica, and a Dominican in Umay.

1323. Corregimiento of Cañete: 8 curates: 4 clerics, in the town of Cañete, Chilca, and Cala, Lunahuana, Pacarán; 4 friars, one Franciscan for the Indians of Cañete, another in Coayllo, and Calango; 2 Dominicans in Chincha for Indians and Spaniards, although in this village there is already another cleric as curate for the Spaniards.

Corregimiento of the town of Arnedo, and Chancay: 8 curates, 7 of them clerics: I in the town of Arnedo, another in Carrión de Velasco, another in Huacho, another in La Barranca, another in Pacho, another in Íguari, another in El Ancón; and a Dominican in Aucallama.

1324. Corregimiento of the town of Santa: 8 curates, clerics: 2 in the town of Santa, I in Huarmey and Guambacho, another in El Ingenio de Valdés, another in Pativilca, another in Totopón, and El Ingenio; and 2 Dominicans in Casma la Alta and la Baja, and Moro, and Quiquis.

Corregimiento of Canta: 10 curates: 4 clerics, in Canta, Pariamarca, and Obraje, San Juan de Quibi, Atabillos; and 6 Mercedarians, in Lampián, Pacaraos, Huamantanga, and San Buenaventura, Cauxo and Bombón.

**1325.** Corregimiento of the Province of Jauja Valley: 15 curates: 8 Franciscans, in La Concepción, San Jerónimo, Matahuasi, Comas, and Andamayo, Apata, Orcotuna, La Ascención, Sincos; and 7 Dominicans, in Huancayo, La Sapallanga, Cochangara, Los Chongos, Paucarbamba, Chupaca, Sicaya.

Corregimiento of the Province of Yauyos: 8 curates, Dominicans, in the villages of San Juan de Viscas, Omas, Mancos, Hatun Yauyos, Laraos, Aymaraes, Mancos, Guanequé.

Corregimiento of the city of Huánuco: 4 curates, 3 for Spaniards and 1 for Yanaconas.

1326. Corregimiento of Huarochiri: 10 curates, clerics, in the villages of Huarochiri, Chorrillos, San Lorenzo, San Damián, San Juan de Matucana, and San Jerónimo de Surco, San Mateo de Huanchay, Carampoma, Chala, San Pedro de Casta, Mama.

Corregimiento de Huamalíes: 8 curates, 4 clerics: in Pachasllacta, Pariarca, Mancha-Huarigancha; and 4 Mercedarians, in Huacrachuco, Los Baños, Jesús María, Arancay.

1327. Corregimiento of Tarma, and Chinchaycocha: 21 curates, 15 clerics: 2 in Lima, and the rest in Ninacaca, Huancabamba, Ullcumayo, San Juan de Los Condores, Michivilca, Chaupi Guarangas, Yaros, Vicoypasco, Paucartambo, Carhuamayo, San Juan de Huariaca, San Rafael and Mosca, Tapomichivilca; the 6 remaining curates are friars: 1 Dominican in Acobamba; a Mercedarian in Caina; 4 Franciscans in Chupacos, San Cristóbal, Mitimas, Queros.

Corregimiento of Cajatambo: 13 curates, 12 clerics: in Cajatambo, Huailillas, Ocros, Machaca, Ticllos and Cajamarca, Collana de Lampas, Mangas, Gorgor, Ambar, Cochamarca, Cajacay; and in Naván and Barrio, a Mercedarian friar.

1328. Corregimiento of Conchucos: 14 curates, 10 clerics: in Corongo, Tauca, Huandoval, La Payasca, Siguas, Piscobamba, Llapo, Llamellín, San Luís de Huari, Chacas and its Obraje (Mill); 2 Dominicans, in Santo Domingo de Huari, and in Huantar and Chavín; and 2 Mercedarians, in Collanapincos, and Ichopincos.

Corregimiento of the Province of Huailas: 19 curates, 11 clerics: 2 in Huaras, and the others in Recuay, Marca, Pararín, Cotaparaco, Sucha, Pampas, Pira and Cajamarca, Chaucayán, and Minas de Caras; and 8 Dominicans, in Yungay, San Pedro de Caruas, San Ildefonso de Caras, Santo Domingo de Huailas, Macate, Mitimas, Guasaticras, Santa Ana.

# CHAPTER XXXV [38, 36]

Describing the District of the Archdiocese of Lima.

**1329.** The Circuit Court [District] of Linna holds jurisdiction on the N. over the Diocese of Trujillo, its boundary against the Circuit Court and Diocese of Quito running along the Río de Calva, in 4°20' S. On the S. it comprises the Dioceses of Guamanga, Cuzco, and that of Arequipa, in whose jurisdiction it borders or touches on that of the Circuit Court of the Charcas in the Moquegua Valley in 17°30' S., over 30 leagues S. of Arequipa; the river flowing down this valley from the sierra separates the jurisdictions of the Circuit Courts of Linna and the Charcas [and the rest of the Diocese of Arequipa, viz, the port of Arica and its jurisdiction, belong to the Circuit Court of the Charcas.]

**1330.** The Archdiocese of Lima has nine suffragan Dioceses: on the N., the Diocese of Trujillo, that of Quito, that of Panama in the Spanish Main, that of Nicaragua in New Spain, district of Guatemala; to the S. it has Guamanga, Cuzco, Santiago de Chile, and that of La Concepción, which is what used to be La Imperial, and is the fortified post which His Majesty possesses in that Kingdom [of Chile].

1331. The Archdiocese has wide jurisdiction, along the seacoast on the plains where it never rains, over 140 leagues, from the Santa Valley, in 9° S., where it borders on the Diocese of Trujillo, to the La Nasca Valley in full 15° S., where it borders on the Acarî Valley, which belongs to the Diocese of Arequipa. In the center of these plains is the city of Lima, at 12° S. From Lima N. to Santa there are very fertile valleys [which have been described, where] in which they harvest great amounts of wheat, corn, chickpeas, peanuts, pallares, kidney beans, and many other cereals, both Spanish and indigenous, and many varieties of fruit, both Spanish and native, like melons, cucumbers, which are excellent, and the other kinds described; there are very good sugar plantations and mills where much sugar is made, and some vineyards and olive groves; and while there are stretches of land in these plains that are uninhabitable for the heat and lack of water, it is certain that where the rivers come down out of the sierra through the valleys and settlements [in them], this is the best bit of land that God has created on earth, for lavish fertility [and enjoyment]. The greater part of the products grown in these valleys is exported in ships and frigates to the port of Callao for the provisioning and maintenance of the city of Lima.

1332. Going S. from the city, one finds many valleys, like that of Pachacámac 5 leagues distant, where the Indians had the greatest sanctuary in those Kingdoms in the days of their heathendom; there is much cattle raising and agriculture. Then comes the village of Chilca, where they have neither running stream nor rain; but in the depressions in the sand there are excellent grapevines, and the sand is damp enough for them to plant corn in it, in the heads of sardines, which they call anchovetas here, and the heads of other fish, of which there are quantities in that sea [and along that coast, and they fish for them, and get great hauls] and in this way they have excellent crops. The Indians of this village of Chilca get their drinking water from jagüeyes, which are the same as wells. Then comes the Mala Valley which [likewise] has plenty of water; farther on is the town of Cañete, 22 leagues S. of Lima. It was founded by the Marqués de Cañete in the year 1560 in the Guarco Valley, where they raise large amounts of wheat [and] corn with other cereals and fruit; there are some vineyards, the valley being very large [and] extensive and amply supplied with water. The town lies about half a league from the ocean; opposite is the village of Lunahuana, on the bank of this imposing river; it is a pleasant excursion point, with excellent Spanish fruit; the quinces and pomegranates are very good. Beyond this to the S. there is another small valley with a few vineyards; then comes the famous Chincha Valley, so renowned in its prosperous days for the large numbers of inhabitants and its great fertility. Today there is only a [large] Indian village there and a few Spaniards, with a Dominican convent; since they bring down the quicksilver from Huancavelica here, His Majesty has stationed a Factor at this point to supervise its [shipment and] export to the port of Arica for Potosí, Oruro, and the other mines in the upland country.

1333. This Chincha Valley is 9 leagues from that of Cañete; it is 5 to the port and town of Pisco, to the S.; the town is built at the water's edge. From there it is 12 leagues to Ica, through very fertile valleys, where they produce over 800,000 jugs of wine [and when I describe the Corregimientos I shall speak of their remarkable features]. Fourteen leagues beyond Ica to the S. is the Huayuri Valley, and next to it, other valleys thinly settled, with a few cattle ranches along their streams. Eight leagues farther on is the valley of El Ingenio (Mill) de La Nasca, where they produce over 70,000 jugs of wine which is among the best produced in that Kingdom. All the vineyards are grouped in a tract stretching 3 leagues up the valley; the owners live beside them, each in his own personal establishment. This valley is 12 leagues from the sea, to which they take their wine

for export through the port of Caballos; the Caballos export is for Lima, but the greater part is freighted through the sierra on llamaback for Guamanga, Cuzco, and other points. It is called Valle del Ingenio (Mill Valley) because in the early days of the exploration of that Kingdom they built a very large sugar mill there; for the plantation work and the mill operations they had over 300 Negroes and 500 Indians; it was a very large enterprise. But when they began planting vineyards later, it fell off, and at present there is nothing left but the name of it there. Beyond this valley is that of Cajamalca, called of La Nasca, which is the last in the Archdiocese and [along the coast] borders on the Diocese of Arequipa in the Acarí Valley, which is 18 leagues from La Nasca; on the sierra side, [it touches] the Province of Los Lucanas in the Diocese of Guamanga. In this valley they produce over 30,000 jugs of the best wine in that Kingdom, although the valley is very short of water, and often when the grapes are ripening they offer prayers to God for rain in the sierra, so that their stream may have water enough to irrigate the vineyards and crops. In this valley is located a town with Spanish residents, where there is a parish church with a curate and a vicar to administer the sacraments to the Spaniards and Indians and give them instruction; it has likewise a small Augustinian convent.

1334. In the sierra it has several [very] rich and thickly settled provinces; with these and the plains there are 16 of the Corregimientos in the [district of the] Archdiocese; Ica is the only one where the Council appoints; 15 have appointments made by the Viceroy. Nine of them are: that of the town and valley of Hancay; Guara; Santa in the plains; and that of the Province of Canta, all of which lie to the N. of the city of Lima; that of Huarochiri, that of Jauja and that of the Yauyos to the E. of the city; Cañete and that of Ica to the S., and El Cercado, which is close to the city. The other six belong in the district of the city of León de Huánuco, and are: one to which the Viceroy appoints, in the city; that of Tarma, and Chinchaycocha, to the S. of the city of Huánuco; the Corregimiento of Los Huamalies, that of Cajatambo, that of the Huailas Valley, and that of Conchucos; all lie to the N. of this city of León de Huánuco.

1335. To the N. at 9 leagues from the city lies the Chancay Valley where there has been a town ever since the days of the Conde de Nieva; about 100 Spaniards live there, with [very] large farms in wheat and corn; there are a few vineyards and olive groves. The Viceroy appoints a Corregidor for the administration of this town and valley; it is admirably supplied with everything necessary. It has a parish church and Dominican convent.

In the Huaura Valley, which is rich in sugar plantations, farms, and cattle ranches, there is another Corregidor.

**1336.** The town of Santa is 70 leagues N. of Lima, and is the last coast city in the Archdiocese; here it borders on the Diocese of Trujillo. It was founded by the Marqués de Cañete in the year 1561 in its splendid valley, where they raise much corn, wheat, and other cereals. It has a reasonably good harbor, where its products are exported, both for supplying the city of Lima and for Panama. It has a Corregidor appointed by the Viceroy [to govern it and its district.]

1337. In the Province of Huarochiri, which is E. of Lima up the river, are the villages of Caramponia and many others [of this province and jurisdiction, where] There are large cattle ranches, silver mines, and some milling enterprises. The Viceroy appoints a Corregidor [in this province] for its satisfactory administration. It abounds in excellent farm products and fruit.

Adjoining the Province of Huarochiri is the Province of Canta, where there are excellent silver mines and much cattle, both of Spanish and native varieties; it is richly supplied with everything. The Viceroy appoints another Corregidor here [for its good government and the protection of the Indians].

# CHAPTER XXXVI [37, 39]

Of the Splendid Valley and Province of Jauja.

1338. The splendid Jauja Valley lies almost 40 leagues E. of Lima, in the heart of the Cordillera; it is 9 leagues long, [runs] N. and S., and at its widest point, a league across, more or less. It has a cold climate, and raises large crops of corn and wheat. A river runs through the center of the valley which rises up on the Bômbôn puna (they call the very cold country puna in this country, in Chachapoyas xalca, in Quito and New Granada páramo). Rising in these punas, it flows through all this valley and passes through the Huanta Valley close to Guamanga, running through the heart of the territory of Peru; together with others, it becomes the Marañón. In this valley there are 15 [very] fine large Indian villages, with two Dominican priorates; one is Hatunjauja, the first in the valley going N. and  $\frac{1}{8}$  league away, where the tambo is today; here the city of Lima was originally founded [but although this is such a grand valley, Marqués Don Francisco Pizarro had the better idea to leave it one side for the famous port of Callao]. This priorate has two villages under it, Huaripampa and Yauyos. At the S. end of the valley is the other

priorate, in the village of Huancayo; it has under it the villages of Sicaya and [that of the] Chongos, which is close to the sierra; both are on the other side of the river, W. of Huancayo. Near the river is the village of Sapallanga, where there is an excellent cloth and grogram mill. At the end of the valley is the village of La Mejorada, with another cloth and grogram mill which belongs to the nuns of the Lima convent of La Concepción. At the S. end of the Jauja Valley is a small stream which separates the jurisdictions of the Archdiocese of Lima and the Diocese of Guamanga; in the center of the valley there are seven more villages, under the religious instruction of the Franciscans. On the E. side of the river are the villages of Apata, Matahuasi, San Jerónimo, and La Concepción, which comes between them, and is a guardianía (seat of local superior), to which the others are subordinate, and residence of the Corregidor of this province and that of the Andes, appointed by the Viceroy. Opposite this village on the other side of the river on the W. is the village of Mito, which is a guardianía with two subordinate villages, Sincos and Orcotuna.

**1339.** This Jauja Province and Valley is very fertile and prolific, with abundance of excellent products. They make very good bacon and ham here, ranking with the best in that Kingdom. [And rich though it is, prices are very low for] A fowl costs I real, 20 eggs are sold for a real; everything is on the same scale. The Sierra King's Highway passes through the valley on its way from Lima and Quito to Cuzco, Potosí, and all the upland country. It contains many artisans of all crafts and many [Indian] silversmiths; these, with tools very different from ours, manufacture and produce articles of remarkable delicacy. They do not use hammers but their native implement, a four-cornered piece of bronze, and with it they turn out anything they desire; for bellows they use blowpipes. On all the heights on the W. side of the valley rise many of the ancient buildings erected by order of the Inca kings, some as fortresses and others for the storage of corn, potatoes, and other provisions. On the E. it has the hot country Andes, whose products are brought to this valley, and where they get coca. This is a low tree with leaves like myrtle leaves; the Indians value it highly; with it in their mouths, they do not feel hunger, thirst, or fatigue; in short, this plant is for them what tobacco is for its devotees. I consider each of them a vice and an abuse, while admitting that used temperately and in moderation, they are wholesome. Along this stretch of the Andes eastward there are great provinces to be converted to our Holy Faith, extending to the provinces of Brazil, which are on

the Atlantic along this parallel. All the villages in the Jauja Valley have [very] fine well-constructed churches, with excellent towers and bells. Many Spaniards live among the Indians in this valley. To the N. on the Tarma road near this valley there is another small one, which will be 2 leagues long and 4 league wide; it contains some ranches with cattle, swine, and many llamas and merino sheep [in abundance]; this little valley runs E. and W. Round about here there are many stray or wild llamas, the guanacos, similar to the llamas, but with a muzzle which is darker colored and more nearly black; these whinny almost like horses. There are likewise great numbers of vicuñas, which are another species of those animals; they are more slender [and agalgados], with a white belly and wool finer and softer than silk; they are of a clear gray color, approaching that of lye-dried raisins. They live up along the snow and search out the coldest places; they move in flocks of six or eight, not more, and are very timid and nimble creatures. When they see someone passing [(they are very alert)] and take notice of him, they all put their heads together and the male, who is their leader, sounds the alarm and off he goes, the rest answer him and follow his exact trail without veering to one side or the other and in file. After running a short distance, they stop and take another look; then off they rush again, and so on.

# CHAPTER XXXVII [38, 40]

Of Other Provinces and Valleys in the Archdiocese of Lima.

1340. Adjoining this great Province of Jauja on the WSW. is that of the Yauyos. This is very rough broken country, with a good climate, [very] fertile and prolific; they raise much corn, wheat, and other cereals, with excellent fruit, both of native and Spanish varieties. The Viceroy appoints a Corregidor in this province for its administration.

1341. W. of this province, on the [rainless] plains and only half a league from the seacoast, 22 leagues S. of Lima, at scant 13° S., is the town of Cañete, in the splendid Guarco Valley. It was founded in the year 1560, at the time when the Marqués de Cañete was Viceroy of Peru. The valley is wealthy and prolific; they raise quantities of wheat, corn, and other Spanish and native cereals; they have [excellent] vineyards and other plantations or orchards of native fruit trees and those we have in Europe. [It has great possibilities for] It is a large valley with excellent land and abundance of water which they take in irrigation ditches from the large river

which comes down from Yauyos Province. All their products are exported on ships and frigates to Lima.

1342. The town of Cañete has 100 Spanish residents, with a parish church, a Franciscan convent and a hospital. Most of the residents of this town are farmers. In this whole valley there are numerous ruins of ancient structures, especially along the river bank, where the buildings demonstrate what a large population there was in those days, as do the irrigation canals which they constructed to water their crops. There are some cattle ranches in this valley, for it is prolific and ample for every purpose. The Viceroy appoints a Corregidor for this town, who holds attribution also for Chincha, [which is 9 leagues S. of the town of Cañete].

1343. The splendid Chincha Valley is in 13°20' S., 31 leagues from Lima. It was formerly [in the days of its heathendom] one of the largest and most thickly settled in the whole Kingdom of Peru. Its valley is one of the loveliest in all the plains country, but it is [somewhat] short of water. The village of Chincha is built on the N. bank of the river. It will contain 500 Indians; there is a Dominican convent there, which governs them and teaches them Christian doctrine. The Spaniards number about 100, with a curate, appointed by the Archbishop when I was in that Kingdom in the year 1617, to administer the Holy Sacraments to them. There is a storehouse [in this village of Chincha or rather, in its valley] there for the quicksilver which they bring down from Huancavelica, and a Factor appointed by the Royal Council who has charge of shipping and exporting it to the port of San Marcos de Arica for the mines of Potosí, Oruro, Berenguela, Porco, Lípez, and the others in the upland country. This Chincha Valley was formerly thickly settled and contained countless Indians, as is demonstrated by the great ruins of ancient buildings still existing there, and by the accounts of the historians, for they were rivals of the Inca kings of Peru. There are [very] sumptuous guacas here, and so many buildings that it distresses one to see such greatness fallen-as it happened to Xerxes, when he went up to the summit of a lofty mountain and looked down and reflected on the huge multitude he had in his army; he burst into tears; and when one of his courtiers asked him "Why do you mourn?", he answered "Because 100 years from now not a single one of those whom you see here, will be alive." One has the same feeling in contemplating so many vast ruins, not only in this lovely valley but in them all in Peru; when I went through them, I was often deeply moved at beholding such grandeur now altogether

crumbled; and the saddest thing is that they perished without having known the true Faith, and that they were in the torments of Hell.

1344. The valley is very broad; it contains many farms or ranches of Spaniards and Indians. They grow quantities of wheat, corn, and other cereals; they raise the largest and finest mates or pumpkins to be found in all the Indies; in fact, some of them grow so large that a half pumpkin, or sapallo, as they call them here, is like a large basin or tub; some are so big that they do their washing in them; and they carve and paint them with great skill. Up the valley are vineyards; here they make the largest and best cows'-milk cheeses [made] in the whole Kingdom. [and they are esteemed all over the rest in its whole extent; from this valley the Corregidor takes the title of Cañete and Chinchas. This must suffice; I shall now describe the Corregimiento of Ica.]

1345. Five leagues S. of this Chincha Valley is the splendid [valley] of the port of La Magdalena de Pisco, at 13°30' S.; it is thirty-six leagues from the city of Lima. It is within the jurisdiction of the town of Ica, whose Corregidor appoints a deputy here. The village will contain over 150 Spaniards, and [lies] at the water's edge. It is a [very] good harbor, and [many] ships put in to load wine from its valleys and those of Ica, which are considerable. The place is one of the richest to be found in all the Kingdom; it is abundantly supplied with meat, [excellent] fish, bread, and all else necessary for human life, with great abundance of fruit, of Spanish and native varieties. It is a modern town, its settlement dating from only 30 years back; most of the residents are [very] well off. The parish church, which is named San Clemente, was founded by Licentiate Rosilló, whom I knew there; it is [very] well built and served, having two curates and many priests usually also in attendance, on account of the great charity dispensed here. All these priests have their special farms, where they go and say Mass on feast days. [Almost] All the ranches or vineyards have [very sumptuous] houses, wine presses, and storerooms for the exploitation of their vines, and there are chapels in all of them for the service contingent and in particular for the Negro slaves; every ranch has a village made up of them [for them to hear Mass and so] many of these priests in attendance at Pisco get [very] good salaries for going to say Mass at the ranches on feast days. There is a convent of Barefoot Franciscan Friars, which is outstanding, and would be considered remarkable, excellent, and devout anywhere in the world. As this place was growing when I was there [11 years ago], the Jesuits and other orders were intending to build there.

**1346.** Next the Spanish village is another of Indians, [very fine]; this is called La Magdalena, and gives its name to the port. It has a curate who imparts religious instruction. It is a [very] wealthy and attractive place. This port has a hospital of the Brethren of San Juan de Diós for the care of the sick. When I was there a fund was being raised for the establishment of a convent for nuns.

**1347.** This valley was originally given to the town of Ica and its residents for their service, and for them to plant wheat in it and whatever else they needed; later, by permission of the town, some vineyards were planted along the river banks. At the present day it is far superior in fertility and wealth to the town of Ica and its establishments, although it does not enjoy the title of town or city, being under the jurisdiction of Ica. The S. wind blows at this port and in its neighborhood, as everywhere in the Kingdom; and since there is a very tall mountain range 3 leagues from the port, which forms a point out to sea, and the range is called Parâca, they call the wind parâca also [since it comes from that quarter].

### CHAPTER XXXVIII [39] (41)

Describing the Extent of the Pisco Valleys.

1348. The river flowing through this splendid Pisco Valley takes its rise at the Castrovirreina mines, for it originates on those punas; and after it has enriched that city with its crystal-clear and silvery waters, grinding its rich silver ore, in its mills, [over 20 in number], it runs down to the W. to enrich its fertile valleys with its waters.

Of the vineyard [valleys or] districts belonging to this village of Pisco, the nearest to the place is that [valley] of Cazalla, where they produce more than 12,000 jugs of the best and most highly prized wine [in the whole valley]. On the other side of the river toward the sea is another district, small but also with vineyards and a sugar plantation; they raise melons, watermelons, cucumbers, and much wheat, corn, and other cereals, which make the place rich and comfortable.

**1349.** The fertile Condor Valley starts 2 leagues from Pisco, to the ENE. on the other side of the river. Here there are very large vineyard districts; over 100,000 jugs of excellent wine are produced here alone. Among the winegrowers or vineyard owners, some raise more than 3,000 (Marg.: 30,000) jugs a year, and so many are very substantial, and on every farm they have a Negro village for the exploitation of the vineyards. [And it is to be noted] that every Negro costs at least 500 pesos, and 600 [50 more or 50 less, according]

if he is of a good tribe and well built. (Marg.: There will be in this valley 10,000 Negroes for the care of the vineyards.) Three leagues beyond this district is another, on the same side of the river, where they produce over 50,000 jugs of wine; and on the other side, not much beyond the upper Condor district, is that of Chunchanga, 5 leagues upstream from Pisco, where there is a village composed of Spaniards, Negroes, and Indians; in this district they produce over 100,000 jugs of wine [and it is to be remarked that in all this country it does not rain]; it is all irrigated. Two leagues beyond this district up the river is another, called Umay, [very] fertile and prolific; here they produce much wine on both sides [of the river], and they dry figs in such quantities that a quintal sells for only 16 reals. Four leagues beyond Umay is the fine fertile valley of La Quinga, which is in the Chaupiyunga, which means land of the best climate, between hot and cold. Here they gather more than 1,000 quintals of figs, [among] the best and most highly esteemed in that kingdom, for while a quintal of other figs sells for 16 reals, these are worth 50 the quintal. Besides all this, they raise much corn, wheat, and other cereals in abundance in this valley, which makes the [very fertile] region rich and prosperous. There is likewise a tradition that the Spaniards planned to build the city of Los Reyes in this valley near Umay, after they had abandoned Jauja, and they did establish themselves here for a few days before continuing to where Lima is at present; I have seen the site and the buildings, and some of them were still standing.

# CHAPTER XXXIX (42)

Of the Villacuri Sinks (Depressions) and Others in the District.

1350. Besides the vineyard districts above described, planted beside this large river, they take much excellent fish and crayfish from it, and have built extensive irrigation canals to water their vineyards and fields; these are most abundant and prolific in their yield, to such a degree that one of these stocks or vines produces more grapes than six of those in Spain; and the higher and stronger the vines grow, the more prolific this land of promise seems in every respect.

1351. There are other varieties of vineyards very different from these just described, 2 leagues from Pisco. Here they produce more than 5,000 jugs of wine in the sinks or depressions where there is no stream and it does not rain, nor has rained nor will rain—the wellknown peculiarity of that country; but the fact is that among those broad, parched, sandy deserts there are [some] sinks and depressions whose freshness moistens the sand in them; they have planted grapevines there and these have produced with such prolific abundance that it is the foremost grape district in the world, and the wine made from them is the best and evenest, and so brings a higher price than any other. This is the way they grow these grapes: as it never rains there, the earth produces a finger or two of alkali (salitre) on top; they remove that, and the occasional trees growing on those plains; the majority are a desert tree called guarangos; we call them algarrobos, because their beans look like carob (algarroba) beans, although they are white; they have about the same taste; besides alfalfa, which in [the whole Kingdom of Peru and especially] in the plains they grow for mules and horses, they fatten them also on algarroba or guaranga; [then] with the leaves of this tree [which they gather and make great piles of], as soon as they have removed the alkali, they guano (guancar) all the soil, which means they manure it, and so it is fertilized and yields in such great abundance that it is a blessing of God. In all these little depressions there are also many very nice fruit trees-pomegranates, quinces, figs, apples, and all other Spanish varieties; with nothing but that fertilization, the coolness of the sand, and some dampness which is communicated from distant rivulets along subterranean veins and the porosity of the sand, they yield with great abundance. It is worth noting that when the rivers are full and come down in flood, these depressions where the vines grow, are not very moist and cool; but when they dry up and lack water, these sinks are very fresh and damp and even have a little water. The reason in my opinion is [surely] that when the rivers come down in flood, the water rushes along roily, muddy, and full of sediment, and so with its speed and sediment, it does not percolate through the sand and the veins of the earth and pass on to these remote sinks. And the reason why they are damp when the rivers are low is that they flow without flood violence but gently and, as they say, al amor del agua (borne along downstream), and the water itself though scant is clear and crystalline, so that it percolates through the subterranean veins and passes on to these sinks in greater volume. There are many other reasons I might adduce to reinforce this truth, but this must suffice for the explanation of a fact so unprecedented and which seems contrary to reason.

# CHAPTER XL [41] (43)

Of the City of Ica and Its Fertile Vineyard Valleys.

1352. Five leagues from Pisco on the Ica road are the Villacuri sinks, where the rebel Francisco Hernández Jirón crushed Pablo de Meneses and His Majesty's forces, because they had killed the scouts who had gone in their pursuit, Capt. Lope Martín and three other soldiers, in the year 15 (sic). Excellent vineyards flourish in these sinks also, although it does not rain in this region and there is no way of irrigating [vineyards] them, the Río de Pisco being 5 leagues away from them, and the Río de Ica over 6; but by treating the soil in the same way as in the others, they produce more than 4,000 jugs of the best wine grown in the whole kingdom.

1353. The town of Ica is 12 leagues S. of Pisco and 48 from Lima, at  $13^{\circ}30'$  S., 9 leagues from the sea, on which it has its port of Morro Quemado, from which the bulk of its wine is exported to Lima and Arica, although some is freighted to Pisco for shipment.

The town was founded by (Marg.: N.B.: Valverde) on a sandy plain beside a small stream, whose crystal-clear waters make the place one of the best irrigated in the Kingdom and keep its valleys moist and well fertilized. It rises in the sierra, Province of Los Chocorvos in the Diocese of Guamanga, at its eastern frontier point; its waters come dashing down full of delicious fish and crayfish. The town has an attractive and pleasant location; its skies are clear and bracing, and the land ranks high for fertility among all I saw in the Indies; everything that is planted yields in great abundance the whole year long; the river water is very soft and wholesome. The town is built on its N. bank; it has over 200 Spanish residents, plus 8,000 or 10,000 Negroes whom they have for the care of the vineyards, and many Indians, both from outside (whom they call Yanaconas) and from two villages near the town, those of Lurín and Hanán, whose religious instruction is in the hands of the Franciscans. There is an excellent parish church with two curates and a vicar, and [very good] Franciscan, Augustinian, and Mercedarian convents, with other good churches and a hospital where they treat the indigent sick.

1354. They produce more than 400,000 jugs of wine in its valleys. Adjoining the town and running N. and S. is the vineyard region or valley of Garganto, where they make large amounts of wine; it has many vineyards or chacras, as they call them there. On the other side of the river to the E. is the extensive Chirana Valley with large establishments, each with a farmhouse and a winery where they prepare the wines. A league S. of the town, in the midst of large groves of guaranga trees, is the valley or vineyard district of Ica la Vieja; and 2 leagues S. there is another valley, small in comparison with the above, which is called Santa Lucía. ENE. of the town, toward the Sierra, lie the valleys of San Martín, [of Valrica] and others nearby, which I will not enumerate, to avoid being too prolix. In

these they grow this large amount of wine referred to; much is carried on llamaback through the Province of Los Chocorvos to Castrovirreina, Huancavelica, Guamanga, and other points. Between the valley of San Martín and the town there is another valley or vineyard district which is called San Juan, from an Indian village close beside it; there also they produce much wine.

1355. This town has an abundant supply of fruit, of both Spanish and native varieties, the whole year round; they are all of delicious flavor, on account of the excellent soil, climate, and water; excellent melons grow throughout the year, and are among the best produced in that kingdom; fine large watermelons; and native cucumbers, which are [much] better and more wholesome than ours. They grow much garden truck: pumpkins of Spanish origin and the big ones which they call sapallos there; eggplant, white cabbage, sugarcane, ají or pepper; in fine, not to weary the reader, this town is one of the finest tracts of land in the whole world. Up the valley toward the sierra, before the vineyard district begins, they raise [and harvest] much wheat, corn, and other cereals and vegetables; and from these uplands and thereabouts they draw off irrigation canals from the river-the large one, called the Chirana canal, which waters a number of valleys and vineyard districts, and other irrigation ditches of less volume than that mentioned. The grapes begin ripening about Christmas, and it starts raining about that same time; but it is in Lent that they are most solicitous about water, when the grapes are already ripe; at that time plenty of water comes down the river, and they irrigate the vineyards to give the grapes full [ripeness and] maturity; the vintage comes by the end of March, usually by Holy Week.

# Chapter XLI [42] (44)

Continuing the Theme of the Preceding Chapter.

1356. All these grapevines grow tall, much like those artificially trained. The vidueño is a black grape; it bears very heavily. Most of the vineyards have avenues looking like very tall forcing walls; at times they form vaults of the vines themselves, or make a sort of pyramid of them. Their way of handling the grapes to make wine is very different from what I have seen in Spain, although agreeing with it in some respects. They cut the grapes; then, having spread large mats next the house or wine press, they keep them there in the sun for 2 or 3 days, to wither the green stems. Some then throw them in the press just as they are; others, who work more carefully, have large bags of coarse linen or melinge; they fill them

with grapes, tie them up at the top, and then throw them in the press, treading the grapes in them; in this way no skins or seeds get out of the bag, nothing but the must; and so, although all the grapes are black, the wine comes out white, with an excellent delicate flavor; most of it is very fragrant and so strong that you can put 2 pints of water in a pint of wine and it does not lose its strength and authority. I might describe other brands of wine and their preparation, but this will serve as a description of their method.

1357. There is a Corregidor in this town, appointed by the Council; he puts a representative in the port of Pisco, which already has pretensions of being a city and throwing off the jurisdiction of Ica. This [is certain, that the village of Pisco] is one of the best and wealthiest in the whole Kingdom, and keeps growing every day, thanks to the extensive commerce it enjoys and the numbers of ships which put in to load wine. [The Corregidor] sets another deputy in the Nasca Valley. The town of Ica is all tile-roofed, with excellent buildings, many mercantile establishments, grocery stores, and a tambo, like Pisco. There are two fine glassworks there, one in the town and the other in Ica la Vieja, thanks to the abundance of the raw material for its manufacture and the [large] amount of wood for the furnaces.

1358. The land in this region is so good that though the river has very little water, the valley is one of the largest and best in the whole Kingdom of Peru; for besides all that has been mentioned, there are [also] many groves of fig trees, pomegranates, quinces, and other delicious fruit. It has four potteries which produce plenty of jugs for all the vineyard owners, and their proprietors are the wealthiest and the persons most in demand. Each jug treated with pitch to hold wine, sells for 3 or  $3\frac{1}{2}$  reals, and even up to 4; and in addition to these, many vineyard owners have potteries and baking ovens on their ranches for the bottling of their wines. Ships loaded with pitch come up to these valleys, clearing from the port of Realejo in Nicaragua; and ordinarily, in spite of the duties and the freight they have to pay, they make large profits, for while the pitch sells at Realejo for 20 or 24 reals [at the most] a quintal, it brings at the lowest in these valleys 14 or 15 8-real pesos, and since it is an essential commodity and large quantities are used, some have made many ducats in the trade.

1359. The land is very fertile and the climate delightful; and for this reason, as soon as one leaves the valleys and the vineyard districts, one finds extensive woods of guarangos or algarrobos, impenetrable at many points. Much cattle roams about in them, with

goats, hogs, and sheep (or llamas), as well as many savage wild animals; they live on the beans which fall from the trees, and their meat is excellent and well-flavored. On the Nasca road there are 5 leagues of these woods, so thick that the highway is the only way to get through them, and one sees nothing but woods and sky; note that where they are, it never rains nor has it ever rained. [And after leaving the guaranga woods, there are 9 leagues] and at the end there is a puquio or jagüey where they get drinking water. The 9 leagues following, up to the Huayuri Valley, are all sandy desert, and they usually start out in the evening to cross them during the night, for the great heat during the day is apt to kill many of the animals, and one has to be a very good driver or expert in following the route or take a guide, for it often happens that people get lost in these sandy wastes, as was my lot in the year 1617, when I saw myself in dire straits because my guide had given out. Some who have long experience of this stretch [are used to] carry corn and water along to give to their mules or horses at the halfway point, so that they may not get overtired and collapse, as many have.

1360. Fourteen leagues S. of the town of Ica is the Huayuri Valley; it is small and very sandy. It is not visible until you get into it, and it seems impossible that in the center of these sandy deserts there should be this valley with 2 big vineyards and others smaller in it; they get over 20,000 jugs of wine out of it, of the best [and most refined] quality produced in Peru. The watercourse passing through the valley carries water only in the winter, in floodtime; when it gives out, it is all absorbed by the sand, but never fails in the puquios or wells, either for drinking or for irrigating the vineyards. Two leagues farther on [beyond this valley] is another stream which they call the Río Grande, with another little one beside it; there is an Indian village there, and right beyond is the stream of El Ingenio already referred to, where they produce more than 70,000 jugs of wine; five leagues farther is the Río de la Nasca. Although all these rivers have no water in the winter, in summer, which is floodtime, they are very dangerous. La Nasca is 72 leagues from Lima, at 14° S. All these rivers, and the Río de Ica, empty into the sea near the port of Caballos. [This must suffice for the Corregimiento of Ica and its valleys; their extent and wealth are such that they pay large sums in tithes to the Archdiocese of Lima. Now we are to treat of the jurisdiction of the Corregimientos of the city of León de Huánuco, all of which belongs at present to the Archdiocese of Lima.]

# CHAPTER XLII (43)

Of the City of León de Huánuco el Viejo.

1361. The city [of León] of Huánuco [de Los Caballeros] (Marg.: el Viejo) is 60 leagues E. of the city of Lima. It was first founded by Gómez de Alvarado at the instance of Marqués Don Francisco Pizarro in the year 1539 on a wide and attractive plain with beautiful views, although without one tree because of the cold climate in that region; there were large buildings there of excellent stone construction, royal country palaces of the Inca kings, and a fort, all of hewn stone and 2 stades high, like a well-planned stronghold, which would hold over 4,000 men; all around were many outbuildings, beginning with two galpones or halls, each large enough to contain a racecourse, and with many doors; this must have been where the Indian chiefs and lords were lodged, when visiting the kings; at present they are used for stabling cattle. Between these two large halls one enters a square plaza, fenced in; opposite these two gates there were and still are two other gates, well built of hewn stone, with the insignia of the kings, and a slab on top over 3 varas long and well carved, serving as an arch for the gates; these gates stood opposite each other and 10 feet apart. Farther on is another enclosed plaza, very well laid out, with two other gates, one in front of the other; then another plaza like the preceding, with two other gates beyond, of the same hewn stone. From outside, all the gates could be seen, and many apartments and private rooms, all in hewn stone, and some baths; doubtless this was where the king lived; and there were other large buildings, with a wall encircling all the settlement. To see such elaborate ruins rouses pity and compassion, considering that all those who built them were lost souls, not having known God. The city was established here for some 2 years, but was abandoned on account of the wars which ensued, and the cold climate and the lack of wood. This valley has a level stretch over 8 leagues long, with large cattle and sheep ranches today; where the city was established there is at present a tambo or tavern with a few Indians to run it for the accommodation of travelers, since it is on the King's Highway; and this site keeps the name of Huánuco el Viejo.

## CHAPTER XLIII [44] (45)

Of the Founding of the City of León de Huánuco.

**1362.** Later, Capt. Pedro Barroso, acting under orders of Don Francisco Pizarro, founded the city where it is today, 15 leagues S.

of Huánuco el Viejo, at 10°30' S. On the road leading from the old to the new site, at the 7-league post, stands the tambo of Lliella, in the cold country; at 1 league, there are a number of ruined villages of the ancients; among them, and on those hills, there are many of their tombs, like low towers, with their doors facing E.; on each little tower, at top and bottom, numerous dead Indians were seated, sitting up there untouched by decay, since it is always cold in that locality and the winds are keen, and it has been that way ever since the times of their heathendom; it would seem they had been put in those tombs yesterday; I [venture to] write this, having myself seen them [in many places]. Beyond these villages and tombs is the village of San Juan, a Mercedarian curacy; then comes a river which is crossed by a bridge, and on whose banks there are two small villages, where the climate is better. All this jurisdiction belongs to the Province of Los Huamalies. Four leagues farther on is the tambo or tavern of Mito, at which another jurisdiction starts; and proceeding down a lovely valley, one comes after four leagues to the city of León de Huánuco.

1363. In the year 1542, on September 16, 2 leagues out of Guamanga on the Cuzco road, Licentiate Vaca de Castro fought the battle of Chupa which is so famous, against Don Diego de Almagro; many fell on both sides, but 'His Majesty's army won, and Don Diego was later executed. At the end of that same year, in Cuzco, as is related by the historians and in particular by the Inca Garcilaso, part 2 of his "Commentaries," book 3, folio 103 ff., and by the others, the affairs of that Kingdom having been straightened out and the Governor having sent out many officers on new expeditions (Marg.: and Licentiate Antonio de León tells of them in his Bibliotheca). he sent Capt. Pedro de Puelles to the Provinces of Huánuco to reestablish and rebuild this city. He did this early in the year 1543, building and peopling the city in a very attractive, fertile, and beautiful valley between lofty sierras [15 leagues S. of where it was originally founded], and since Gov. Vaca de Castro was a native of León, he gave it the name of León de los Caballeros. Nearby runs a large river which is one of those giving rise to the Marañón; it starts up in the Bombón punas, and is joined by the Río de Mito and others. This valley is always warm and in consequence is very fertile; the whole year through they keep planting and harvesting wheat and corn there, so that while wheat is being sowed in one field, it is springing up in another, heading up in a third, and in another it is being harvested and threshed, an astonishing fact, due to the excellent soil and climate and the abundance of water provided by their rivers for the irrigation of the crops. They have abundance of fruit in good season, both native and all sorts of Spanish varieties, and in such fashion that the trees bear fruit the whole year through and there is never any lack; and they assured me when I was there in 1616 that according as they prune the quince bushes and grapevines, they can regulate the production of the fruit, of which they have great amounts, as well as of apples, pippins, peaches, etc. For this reason they put up the finest preserves in this city in all the Indies, and the roof tiles of Huánuco, made from their gourds, are famous.

## CHAPTER XLIV [45] (46)

Continuing the Description of Huánuco.

1364. The city is very healthy, and though it is hot, God provides a noon breeze which regularly purifies the city and has never failed a single day since its founding. The city will contain 100 Spaniards, with in addition 400 mestizos and ordinary rabble. The area of this city is ample enough for a very large city; at its start they put up very fine buildings in long blocks, and villas where they have lovely gardens with many varieties of native and Spanish fruit trees and oranges and lemons. The founders of this city all belonged to the nobility and for that reason it was called León de los Caballeros; at the start they had large incomes, and today the city has them in its jurisdiction, which is considerable. The city has a Corregidor, appointed by the Viceroy. In view of the needs felt by this city and its provinces, where there are many candidates for confirmation, His Majesty has been petitioned for a long time to give them a Bishop; for lack of one the city has been going downhill and is almost abandoned; this is the reason why the encomenderos' families usually live in Lima and spend and eat up their incomes there, to the loss of this city. That would all be remedied if His Majesty would give them a prelate of their own and would order the encomenderos to reside there; his coming would facilitate and reestablish everything, and the Panataguas Indians, who are heathen and warlike and do much damage in that region, would be brought by his presence to the knowledge of our Holy Faith; and a convent of nuns could be built there, to keep the daughters of the city from leaving home; and they likewise are a serious expense to their fathers. The city has an excellent parish church and Dominican, Franciscan, Augustinian, and Mercedarian convents, all excellent and well built; a hospital for the care of the indigent sick with over 4,000 pesos income; and other churches and shrines of Our Lady of Guadelupe and of San Sebastián; and there are many mercantile establishments and grocery stores. **1365.** The city governs a large district, with many very rich provinces in it, like those of Chinchaycocha and Tarma on the S.; to the N. are Huamalies, Pincos, Cajatambos, Guares, Huailas, Conchucos, Piscobamba and others of less importance; they bring in over 40,000 pesos income in tithes, and form five Corregimientos, in the appointment of the Viceroy. So for the reasons tabulated, this city's wish should be heard and His Majesty should graciously grant them a prelate; then it would be better administered, many existing evils would be remedied and inconveniences obviated, if nothing more than that the highland Indians of these provinces should not have to go down to Lima, where they are sure to catch the valley sickness, from which very few escape; and many would abandon their idolatries. (Marg.: In the district of this city there are excellent silver mines, those of Nuevo Potosí and others; there are large cattle, sheep, mule, and hog ranches, and mills for weaving cloth, blankets, coarse cloth, and grogram.) [This must suffice for the city of Huánuco, to let us give some account of the Corregimiento of Tarma, noting that the city has in its jurisdiction excellent silver mines, large cattle and sheep ranches, and cloth, grogram, and blanket mills, the mines of Nuevo Potosí and others.]

**1366.** From the city one goes 7 leagues toward the Province of Chincha Chocha (sic) along a pleasant valley, which keeps narrowing up to the tambo of Ambo, about which are a few Indian villages with a good climate, named Caîran, Huacra, and others. Traveling south one passes some ravines and comes to the tambo of San Rafael, 7 leagues S. of the city, where there is an excellent cloth mill. A league and a half to one side of San Rafael is the village of Huariaca; it is already cold in this neighborhood, and 5 leagues farther S. is the tambo of La Quinua, where the cold is intense; 4 [leagues] beyond is the village of Ninacaca in the Province of Chinchaycocha, in the midst of the Cordillera. The province is very cold, and level; it has [in it] a lake which is more than 10 leagues in circuit, and which is the source of the river running through the Jauja Valley. The province contains the villages of Ninacaca, Pasco y Pisco, Carhuamayo, and that of Los Reyes, which is the capital and the largest, San Juan de los Condores, San Pedro de Cacas, and San Miguel, all very cold. The village of Los Reyes is 5 leagues S. of Ninacaca; 8 leagues E. is Paucartambo, down a valley with good climate; there is an excellent mill here belonging to Don Fernando Tello de Sotomayor, its encomendero, where they turn out excellent cloth, grogram, and blankets. This place has a temperate climate and they raise excellent fruit; nearby are sugar mills, and to the E., many heathen.

1367. The Province of Chinchaycocha is very cold, so much so that not a single tree grows in the whole of it, and no corn or wheat is raised; all they get is a root crop, shaped like a turnip or a loaf of bread (hogazuela), which the Indians call macas. This grows only in this province and it is so fiery that the Indians assured me that wherever it is planted, it leaves the ground exhausted for 30 years and of no use for raising crops. Although this province is so cold, it has a large population; the houses are all round like a vault; the Indians build them this way on account of the cold. They raise many llamas in this country and Spanish merino sheep; the Indians make use of their dung for their fires; they shut the doors tight and the smoke gathers up under the roof and it becomes like a sweating chamber. Although this is a dirty and wretched sort of life, this province is very rich and provides for its necessities from those adjoining.

1368. Near this province is that of Tarma, more temperate and agreeable; they raise much corn and wheat here. This whole province is under the religious instruction of the Dominicans. It contains Acopampa, near which runs a pleasant rivulet; next comes Santa Ana de Pampas, and a league farther on, the village of Tarma, which is large and very attractive; this is the residence of the Corregidor of these provinces, appointed by the Viceroy. There are two woolen mills in this village, where they weave and turn out grogram; one belongs to Don Juan de la Cueva, its encomendero, and the other to the Indian communal organization. This village is a Dominican curacy; it has a springlike climate and is rich and abundantly supplied with excellent bread, fruit, meat, and fish. [This relates to what is comprised in the Corregimiento of the Provinces of Tarma and Chinchaycocha, omitting other villages of less importance.] The Province of Jauja [already described] is 8 leagues S. of Tarma. From Tarma one returns to Huánuco, which is 30 leagues N.; and 6 leagues N. of the city, going up the valley, the Province of the Huamalies begins.

## CHAPTER XLV [46] (47)

Of the Province of Los Huamalíes, and Other Provinces.

1369. In the Province of Los Huamalies, which is one of the good, thickly settled provinces in this jurisdiction, the Viceroy appoints a Corregidor for its satisfactory administration. It is very rich and has a large population, with large cattle and sheep ranches, mills turning out cheap cloth and blankets, and a few silver mines. In its district lies the ancient settlement of Huánuco el Viejo; on

the E. it has many heathen Indians to be converted to the Faith. Almost W. of this province, across the rolling plains, lies the Province of Cajatambo, which has a large population and much cattle, with a few woolen mills where they make some grogram and blankets. The province has an abundance of excellent cheap products; it is governed by a Corregidor appointed by the Viceroy. On the N. it is bounded by the Province of Huailas.

1370. The Province of Los Conchucos contains La Payasca, the town on the boundary of the Diocese of Trujillo and Corregimiento of Cajamarca; Corongo, and other large villages. The whole province is thickly settled. There are a few woolen mills in it, producing thin and coarse cloth and grogram; they turn out excellent stuff, for the wool is very fine quality. The Viceroy appoints inspectors (administradores) for these mills, as he does for those of Quito and La Payasca. This Province of Los Conchucos is fertile and prolific, and is much cut up by mountain ranges.

**1371.** In the jurisdiction of this province are the silver mines of Siguas, with rich silver ore and mills in which it is ground and refined. A range of the high snow-capped Cordillera runs N. and S. through this region; on its western incline is the lovely valley and Province of Huailas, as will be stated in the following chapter; on the eastern slope of the Cordillera is the village of Piscobamba, which is the capital of this Corregimiento, with many others lying in this district.

1372. Beyond Piscobamba is the Province and village of Huari, which is under Dominican religious instruction, and the villages of Yaquia, Huantar, and Chavín, where in the year 1616 I gave the Indians an iron punch for cutting out the Host, with an inscription in Hebrew characters. This whole country is very fertile and belongs to the Corregidor whom the Viceroy appoints in the Province of Conchucos. Near this village of Chavín there is a large building of huge stone blocks very well wrought; it was a guaca, and one of the most famous of the heathen sanctuaries, like Rome or Jerusalem with us; the Indians used to come and make their offerings and sacrifices, for the Devil pronounced many oracles for them here, and so they repaired here from all over the kingdom. There are large subterranean halls and apartments, and even accurate information that they extend under the river which flows by the guaca or ancient sanctuary.

**1373.** They have information that in the guaca there is great wealth and treasure in gold and silver and precious stones besides, and many have tried to reach this treasure. By the just judgments

of God they have not come upon it, for the fabric of the building is enormous, a huge ruin with many gates and a great subterranean labyrinth; and yet they say that the real and genuine gate which gives access to the treasure, lies across the river to the E., with its entrance concealed by a slab or rock, and up to the present day they have not been able to locate it. The province has a good climate and produces large amounts of food crops and fruit.

1374. Two leagues S. of Huari a bridge spans a large swift river which separates the Province of Huari from that of Pincos, which is under Mercedarian religious instruction. Near the bridge there is a woolen mill belonging to the descendants of Licentiate Gaspar de Espinosa, who served His Majesty in the early days of the exploration of the Indies, having been President of the Circuit Court of Santo Domingo in Hispaniola; afterwards he subdued many provinces and established some villages in the district of Panama and was of great assistance in Peru; his great authority and tact led to his acting as arbiter at Cuzco of the controversy between the Marqués Don Francisco Pizarro and Commander Don Diego de Almagro, which might have been composed had he not died just then; the death of so wise and courageous a man was a great loss to His Majesty and all the pioneers.

1375. From the woolen mill one climbs a long grade to the tambo of Pincos, passing to the right on the W. the riverside village of San Marcos, a Mercedarian curacy. From Pincos one travels 7 leagues over very rough, cold country to the tambo of Taparaco, which belongs to the Province of Los Huamalies; from there, 4 leagues of bad road over the slopes of a sierra, keeping on one's left a deep river which comes down from the snowfields. At the end of these grades one crosses another river by a bridge and comes to a wide plain covered with cattle and llamas; at the end of it there are large buildings, with the tambo of Huánuco el Viejo, from which we return over the same road to describe the Province of Huailas. All these provinces are between 9° and 11° S.

## CHAPTER XLVI [48] (47)

Of the Province and Valley of Huailas and What It Comprises.

1376. The Province of the Huailas Valley runs N. and S. from Hatunhuailas, its northern boundary point with Conchucos Province, to Recuay, its southernmost village on the border of the Province of Cajatambo; on the E. it is bounded by the Provinces of Huari and Piscobamba, with high snow-capped sierras in between; to the W. it borders on the plains and Casma. This province is over 20 leagues long; at its narrowest point the valley is a league across, and at its widest, 2 or 3 leagues. A large river with a powerful current runs through it, passing out of it on the W. at the town and valley of Santa.

1377. The valley contains seven fine Indian villages, besides others built on heights of side valleys. All those on the N. slope have a delightful springlike climate; Hatunhuailas, which means Big Huailas, is the first; its climate is temperate to cold; then comes a small village; 2 leagues farther on, Caras; then Yungay, and 2 leagues beyond, Caruas. Dominicans have these in charge; Yungay is a priorate, and the Prior's residence; it is at the foot of a high snow-clad sierra which has rich mines of low-grade gold ore containing silver. This village is the residence of the Corregidor appointed by the Viceroy for the proper administration of this province. These are one and all of marvelous climate and great abundance of fruit, poultry, fish, and everything necessary for human existence.

1378. In the village of Caruas there are silver mines from which great wealth has been derived, and still is. The village of Caruas itself is 4 leagues up the valley and is the largest in it; it has an excellent situation and good streets, and is an encomienda of the Conde de Lemos; he has a good woolen mill there in which they work up blankets, cloth, grogram, and other textiles. Besides this there is another of the same sort belonging to Don Luís de Castilla, and other mills in the other villages in the province. This village has a cold climate; there are two priests here to instruct the Indians and administer the Holy Sacraments to them and to the Spaniards, of whom there are many living among the Indians in all the valley villages.

**1379.** Four leagues S. is the village of Recuay; this is very cold and inclement; they cannot raise fruit, corn, or wheat as is possible in all the rest of the province, but only potatoes and quinua. They possess large sheep and llama ranches and rich silver mines, all the region being paved with this metal. When I was there there were two establishments; the ore averaged 4 marks to the quintal, which means great wealth. Outside the villages the whole province is covered with ranches and farms. This province falls within the district of León de Huánuco, which is petitioning for a Bishop; at present it all belongs to the Archdiocese of Lima, which extends 140 leagues N. and S. over the plains, from Santa to the Nasca Valley, where it borders on the Diocese of Arequipa at the Acarí Valley which belongs to this diocese, as will be told in the following chapter.

#### CHAPTER XLVII [48] (49)

Of the Diocese of Arequipa and Other Valleys and Hills along the Coast in Its District.

1380. Eighteen leagues S. of La Nasca are the valley and village of Acari, the first in the Diocese of Arequipa; and although for over 550 leagues along the coast there is no rain-i.e., from Tumbes down to the city of La Serena in Chile [at 32° S.]-in some districts a very fine dew falls, which they call garúa in that kingdom. Since the land is of such excellent quality, during the season when this fine garúa falls much excellent grass springs up on some stretches and the meadows are covered with flowers; at this time they drive down for fattening [on them] great numbers of cattle, mares, mules, goats, hogs, etc. Fifteen leagues along on the road running from La Nasca to the Acarí Valley, a range of hills (lomas) begins and almost reaches this Acarí Valley, which will be over three leagues. When the grass begins drying out, which period lasts 3 or 4 months, they drive the cattle back to the sierra, till the next season. Thus the residents of this valley avail themselves of these hills for their cattle. The village [in this valley] will have a little over 100 Indians and some 40 Spaniards who live there among them and have their farms and plantations there. It has the same climate as the other plains localities. The valley is wide and well supplied with water; they raise much corn, wheat, kidney beans, pallares, peanuts, chickpeas, and other cereals, and quantities of fruit: excellent melons, native cucumbers, bananas, and other fruit; they make flour, which is exported to the Nasca Valley and the Ingenio Valley; there is a large demand and an excellent sale for all their products. Ordinarily this river has plenty of water. It rises in the Provinces of the Lucanas and Parinacochas. The village is about half a league from the sea. There are some groves of trees in the valley, and many remarkable constructions of the ancients which have lasted to the present and will stand just as they are forever, for as it does not rain [ever] on these plains, they take no harm. All the houses in this village are built bajaraque style, i.e., of stakes or canes plastered with mud, as in all the villages of the plains Indians in this kingdom. As for roofs, some houses have nothing but a few mats on top to keep out the sun, or banana leaves, and others are thatched with straw. On the other side of the river rises a long high ridge of nothing but sand, sloping upward for over a league. [And near this valley there are other small ones of less importance, of which I make no special mention.]

[Снар. of the Hills of Atiquipa, the Chala and Chaparra Valleys, and Other Matters, etc.]

**1381.** Twelve leagues S. of the Acarí Valley is the [valley] of Chala, where they produce [some very good] olive oil and olives ranking among the best in the whole kingdom, and also some wine. Before one reaches it, at the very end of the valley by the sea, rise the Atiquipa lomas [which are the best and most extensive in the whole kingdom, and even though on all the seacoast of this kingdom it never rains, in a few localities, this garúa above mentioned, or very fine drizzle, falls, and they call those localities hills (lomas), and those belonging to the Chala Valley, each 3 leagues long, are] which are the best in that kingdom; the whole year through they pasture great herds of cattle, cows, mules, mares, goats, and sheep, and they breed them in great numbers; there are springs and watercourses on them all the year [which is not true of other lomas] so that the cattle have excellent facilities for watering. On these lomas there are some establishments and farms with gardens and orchards of Spanish and native fruit trees, excellent fig and olive groves; they raise much corn, wheat, and other cereals on them. Many persons have enriched themselves breeding cattle on them, since they are superior to other localities. These lomas rise right by the sea and run more than 2 leagues inland.

1382. The Chala Valley is about 3 leagues up the valley from these lomas; it is very short of water. Its river comes from the rolling uplands of the Province of the Parinacochas. There are a few vineyards in it, but what has made it famous is the olive groves which they have planted and continue planting there; they bear so plentifully that a very small number of olive groves yield large amounts of both excellent oil and olives; ships come to their port on the seacoast to load them for Linia. There are a few Indian fishermen [who have much success catching excellent fish for all the region round about and inland]; they have excellent lisas and pejerreyes, and other kinds. This valley borders on the Province of the Parinacochas, which belongs to the Diocese of Cuzco. Five leagues S. of [the valley of] Chala is the Chaparra Valley, between very lofty sierras; a river flows through it which comes down from the Province of the Aymaraes, which is likewise in the Cuzco Diocese. On the banks of this little river there are a few vineyards; there are a few Spaniards living here, as also in the Chala Valley [of the Chala and Chaparra Valleys]. The water in these two rivulets never reaches the sea, because the little there is, is used up in irrigating the vinevards, olive groves, and cultivated fields; if any is left over, it sinks

down into the earth's center, avoiding the intensity of the sun, which is very great in those parts.

1383. From these valleys it is 14 leagues along the seacoast southward to the valley and village of Atico. On the way there are a few fishermen for this coast is rich in fish, which they catch for the sierra provinces. Along this coast there are also many sea lions, which come out of the water onto the rocks, and make loud noises at night [which would scare one not in the secret; one would think they were calves or some other animal]. In the Atico Valley there is a small Indian village one-eighth of a league from the sea; they are fishermen and catch large amounts of fish which they salt and carry up into the sierras. There are a few vineyards and fig groves in this valley; when I went through there, at Christmas time, they had excellent early figs. E., on this same parallel, is the city of Cuzco, capital of these kingdoms and court city of the Inca kings.

1384. From the Atico Valley it is 15 leagues to the Camana Valley; at 5 leagues there are some lomas called Sina, with a little Indian village on them. In this district one travels right by the seashore; a short distance out there are islets or rocks covered with seals. When they have had their fill of fish they come out of the water and climb up on the rocks or islets and stretch out in the sun like herds of pigs and bellow like calves. They are remarkable creatures, for though they are shaped like fish, in their movements, muzzle, teeth, and skin they resemble wolves, and are even more savage; what would naturally be hands, feet, and tail, is fins, as with fish. They climb up on the rocks hoisting themselves with their fins in great peace and tranquillity, never quarreling or biting each other, whether large or small, and in great numbers. At night they come out on land, bellowing loudly; and as people usually travel at night in that country on account of the sun, anyone who heard such loud cries without knowing what it was, would be greatly scared and alarmed. In fact, when I passed through that stretch and heard such loud roaring, I asked the guide who was conducting me, what it was; without that, I should have been disquieted. From this village it is 4 leagues farther to the Río de Ocoña, which is rather large; there is a small Indian village on it, cut in two by the river, which is a convenience for travelers. This valley contains some vineyards and fig groves, and many buildings erected by the ancients. At its inception it [this valley] was thickly settled, but was decimated by war and pestilence. [In this valley] they plant their farms to corn, peppers, sapallos or pumpkins, and other crops, for there is abundance of water. When the river comes down in flood, they have rafts to ferry travelers across.

They are all fishermen, having the sea close by [and excellent fish]. There are very good crayfish in the river, and they made me a present of them, for I said Mass for them when I went through; these poor fellows never hear Mass, for it is impossible to have a priest there, and so when they can, they go over to Camaná.

## CHAPTER XLVIII [49] (50)

Of the Town and Valley of Camaná, and the Valley of Los Majes. 1385. From the Ocoña Valley it is 6 leagues to the town and valley of Camanâ. This [town] was originally established on a high point on the N. side of the valley, but that was found to be unsuitable, so they dismantled it and went to another site nearer the sea. But in the year 1599 such a mighty earthquake came that the sea withdrew and retreated a long distance and then returned with such a furious onslaught on the land that it penetrated far inland and ruined most of the town and laid waste the vineyards, so that they never bore again and dried up. After this calamity they went and rebuilt S. of the river, where it stands today, in a pleasant level spot among groves of trees. It has a hot climate; the houses are all of bajareque, i.e., poles or [wild] bamboos stuck in the ground and plastered with mud; they are thatched with straw. The town will contain 70 Spanish residents and a few Indians; there is a parish church and a Mercedarian convent. The Viceroy appoints a Corregidor in this town for the administration of justice. This is a very extensive valley, and they produce over 30,000 jugs of wine; they have sugar plantations and mills; the sugar is exported to Arequipa; they produce much cane syrup, and raise [much] wheat, corn, chickpeas, and other cereals of Spanish and native varieties; they grow [much] fruit and excellent melons; and in the river, which is large [and full], there is good fishing and abundance of crayfish; so the town is plentifully supplied, both from the river and the sea nearby, which provides much fish also. There are many cattle and mule ranches; [its fertility gives many possibilities]; they fertilize all their crops with guano from sea birds, as I shall explain when I come to treat of the Arica district.

**1386.** Twelve leagues up the river is the famous Los Majes Valley, one of the most prolific in the kingdom. They produce abundance of excellent wine, which they export to the Provinces of the Aymaraes, Collaguas, Condesuyos, and others adjoining; they make the largest and best raisins [in this valley] in the whole Kingdom of Peru. But in spite of the fertility of this valley, they have a terrible plague and tax in many varieties of mosquitoes; to torture people in the

daytime there are jejenes (gnats) and rodadores (rollers), which stick tight and bite so that it burns. As a defense against such a terrible and unceasing visitation, they have their house doors made of cane so skilfully laid and intertwined that the light comes through, but the mosquitoes, tiny as they are, cannot enter. At night they have the long-legged (zancudo) mosquitoes, which not only distract one with their buzzing but bite savagely; it is with such torments and troubles that they enjoy the fertility of their valley.

1387. From the town of Camana it is 24 leagues to the city of Arequipa, and 13 to the harbor of Hilay, which is the chief port of Arequipa; it is 18 leagues from the port of Hilay to Arequipa. Accordingly, on leaving Camanâ for Arequipa, one travels 5 leagues along the seashore when it is low tide, and at times on the top of a sandbank along the water's edge. In this region they get excellent catches of lisas and other fish which they salt for the sierra and the Provinces of Arequipa and of Cuzco, inland. At 5 leagues one leaves the sea and travels E. inland, ascending through some very good lomas, where large numbers of cattle are pastured in season, although all this country is deep in ashes from what fell in the eruption of the volcano in the Province of Los Ubinas, 16 leagues from Arequipa, in the year 1600; since it caught all this country close by, the volcano caused more devastation here than elsewhere. Apart from this detail I will say that when I was in that region, which was in 1617 and 1618, the inhabitants gave me information about it. These lomas produce more than 3 leagues of excellent thick grass, where large numbers of cattle are pastured, as has been described in the case of the others. Beyond these lomas come 6 leagues of uninhabitable sandy desert and ashes, in which lie great numbers of dead oxen, cows, bulls, horses, mules, sheep, and goats, dried up in the ashes and the sand; when they passed through, the sun is so intense and there is no water, so that they gave out and perished; this is an ordinary occurrence before reaching the Siguas Valley, [very fertile, and abounding in vineyards and other fruit, and crayfish]. One passes some deep caves, and one sees nothing till right on them, though it is all level country, and then there is over a league of steep downgrade till one reaches the [valley and] river. Although this is not very wide, there are many groves and orchards of fruit trees and figs, and vineyards, which come in sections, wherever the deep river has offered a suitable location for planting them; the distance between them is such that sometimes the next one is visible, sometimes it is half a league off, more or less, according to the availability of the site. On all of them there are

houses and winerics for the vintage and wine making, and some have ovens to bake the jars used for the wine. The tar for pitching them is imported from [New Spain, shipped at] the port of Realejo in the Province of Nicaragua, from Amapala and other ports [of less importance for this product. Usually] In these valleys a quintal of pitch sells for 30 reals at 8 to a peso, whereas it costs only 3 reals there. The vineyards and farms in this valley run from near the sea, where the Rio de Vitor empties into it, up to the end [of the valley], over 10 leagues up to the heights of the sierra in the Provinces of Los Collaguas and Condesuyos. On all these farms they have [their] fruit and vegetable gardens, with tracts in alfalfa [which is a plant which they have in the Kingdom of Valencia, which is almost exactly like clover, and usually grows the whole year through], which they plant all over the plains in Peru as forage for beasts of burden. In this valley they will produce more than 70,000 jugs of wine. All these vineyards are very different from those in the valleys of Ica, Pisco, Nasca, and the rest of the lowlands; there the vines are a stade high, like those artificially trained, and here they are low boles, like those in Andalusia [a little higher than those in Castile.] The vidueños are all black, as has been previously stated, but they have a few mollar (seedless?) and other varieties, although in small numbers, for it is the black type which has proved best in that kingdom. This [Siguas] valley is hemmed in on both sides by desert dunes of sand and ashes, and the wind keeps blowing them from one side to the other.

**1388.** From this valley one travels over 5 leagues of level country through these ashes and sand dunes just mentioned to the Vítor Valley. This also is deep, for the river drops into some caverns toward the earth's center. This is the river which runs past the city of Arequipa [which is 7 leagues from this point, where the river broadens out] and renders its country rich and prolific; [in this valley] they have very fertile and extensive vineyards, which widen out touching one another; they get over 100,000 jugs of wine, because at this point the valley where the vineyards are planted is very wide. They have excellent establishments and storehouses to keep their wine, [many vessels and] ovens where they bake the jars and the jugs; there are [besides] good orchards of fruit trees and figs. All these plantations and those in the Siguas Valley belong to residents of Arequipa, and when the volcano erupted they were burned up and devastated. This river joins the Río de Siguas near the sea by the harbor of Hilay, which is the port of the city of Arequipa, 18 leagues W. of it [and 13 S. of Camaná]. From the Vítor Valley

[to the city of Arequipa.] there are 7 leagues of sand hills, ashes, and a few ridges, all uninhabitable until one reaches the city in this Vítor Valley. In all that country grapes and other fruit begin to ripen by Christmas time, and as the river is in flood at that time and it is hot, there are multitudes of mosquitoes, gnats, and rodadores which are very troublesome by day; they stick to one's face and bite so savagely that in several localities I have seen people's skin completely altered. The Viceroy appoints a Corregidor for this valley.

# CHAPTER XLIX [50](51)

Describing the City of Arequipa and Part of Its District.

1389. The city of Arequipa lies 150 leagues S. of the city of Lima. It was founded by the Marqués Don Francisco Pizarro in the year 1534, 18 leagues inland from the sea on the banks of the Río Vítor, which renders it fertile, pleasant, and abundantly supplied. It lies to the S. of the river in a level [valley] and has one of the best climates in Peru and indeed in the whole world. In that country they call this climate chaupiyunga, which means between cold and hot; it is very delightful and temperate, equable the whole year through. On its E, border it has a range or volcano which rises very high, like a sugar loaf, and its slopes come down to the site of the city; it is 2 leagues from top to bottom [but this is not the one which erupted, for it contains no fire.] On its peak the heathen used to make their sacrifices in the days of their paganism. Near it on the N. is another sierra almost as high as the volcano; the Río de Vítor runs between them, from E. to W., making the whole country rich, fertile, luxurious, and delightful. When it rains the volcano and sierra are covered with snow, but in the city itself, built on their slopes to the W., it does not rain and there is no change of temperature or of season.

1390. The city will contain 300 Spaniards, not counting Negroes, Indians, and other servitors. The city covers a very wide and extensive area, for the houses are large and they all contain within their enclosures, orchards and gardens with all the native and Spanish varieties of fruit trees, so that it seems a bit of Paradise. They have excellent pears, pippins, apples, large and small peaches, and other Spanish fruit in abundance; the height of their season is Christmas time. All the year they have pinks, roses, white lilies, and all sorts of Spanish flowers. It occupies the area of a very large city; the buildings are excellently constructed, with tiled roofs. There is a Cathedral, for it is the see for the Diocese, which was separated

and carved out of the Diocese of Cuzco in the year 1610, on account of the wide jurisdiction of the latter, and for the lack of episcopal visits in the days of the Marqués de Montesclaros; and as this is new country, every day requires a new remedy, until things get settled. At present it has wide jurisdiction and it is desirable that another Bishop should be appointed for Arica. The first Bishop installed over this church was Archbishop Don Fray Cristóbal Rodríguez, who had held that office in Santo Domingo; he was on his way to this church when he died, having entered his Diocese at the town of Camaná, 24 leagues from the city. Master Perea of the Augustinian Order was immediately promoted to this post; he began his incumbency in the year 1619 and still governs his church, with his Prebendaries and dignitaries who serve it. There are Dominican, Franciscan, Augustinian, Mercedarian, and Jesuit convents, all excellent and well supported; there is an [excellent] nunnery of Santa Clara, a hospital for the care of the sick, and other churches and shrines. There are many runnels of water in the streets, drawn both from the Río Vítor and other streams flowing from the villages and valleys which lie near the city to the S., for the cleansing of the city and the irrigation of its gardens, orchards, and vegetable plots. In fine, this city is one of the most attractive in the world, and seems a bit of earthly Paradise [in its delightful lavishness]; it is full of flowers and fruit the whole year through. It has a fine attractive riverside district, with many orchards or chacras of fruit trees—pears, peaches, apples, and other Spanish and native varieties; in fact, when I was there it seemed to me the foremost and best in the world, for its excellent site and climate and the pleasant waters that it has in view of the city. Round about it there are many Indian villages, at a distance of I or 2 leagues, more or less, in lovely fertile valleys, down which flow streams of sweet and crystal-clear water. Besides the gardens and orchards which it possesses, they plant and reap much wheat, corn, chickpeas, horse beans, and other Spanish and native cereals. The chief harvest is at Christmas time. I reached the city at that time and saw a pile of wheat on a threshing-floor made up of nothing but the heads, which is all they [cut and] reap, as they have no use for straw in that country; at the hour of Vespers, I saw two groups of Indian men and women come in for the operation, singing and joking, many of them barefooted; at the best they wore ojotas, which are a sort of sandals; and by Angelus time they had the pile of wheat threshed and winnowed, and a heap [of wheat] amounting to more than 100 fanegas-a sight which roused my admiration. I saw this at the close of the year 1618. Besides this, the city has in its outer wards many houses thatched with straw for the poor. There are [many] merchants and shops here; they make large amounts of knitted woolen stockings, which sell for 4 reals a pair. Furthermore, on the other side of river to the N., and accessible by a [fine] stone bridge, the city has an [excellent] Indian village called Santa Ana, a Dominican curacy. This bridge carries the highway for Camaná, Lima, and all the lowland country. This city has a Corregidor appointed by the Council for its satisfactory administration; in the district of the Diocese there are eight Corregidores. Three of these are appointed by the Council-that of the city of Arequipa, and for Arica and Collaguas; and five by the Viceroy-Camanâ, Vítor, Condesuyos, Ubinas, and Moquegua. Near the city there are many Indian villages and provinces, such as Chiquiguanita, Ouimistaca, the Province of Los Collaguas and those of the Condesuyos and Ubinos, for the service of the city and its residents; they come in by weekly drafts, according as they are notified : the Corregidor of Arequipa makes the assignments [to the residents], for them to perform their tasks and their duties.

**1391.** Near the city to the ENE. is the Province of Los Condesuyos, with many villages and a large population; there are excellent gold mines there, and many llama ranches. The Viceroy appoints a Corregidor in this province for its satisfactory administration. These Indians come in by mitas for the service needs of the city, for they belong to its jurisdiction and are assigned to its residents.

# Chapter L [51] (52)

Continuing the Description of the District of This City, etc.

**1392.** Next this Province of Los Condesuyos lies the extensive Province of Los Collaguas, which is all thickly settled [with people and many villages]. The Council appoints a Corregidor for its satisfactory administration. His residence is in the village of Yanqui, which is the capital of this province. It contains large llama ranches, which make it very wealthy; it is well supplied with corn, potatoes, meat, and fish; it has excellent silver mines. This province belongs to the Diocese of Arequipa, and its inhabitants are apportioned to the Arequipans and are under obligations to provide personal service [to its residents] for their mitas; [and it belongs to the Diocese of Arequipa, like Los Condesuyos; in these provinces it borders on Cuzco to the E., on the Diocese of Cuzco. In the Vitor Valley and its vineyards the Viceroy appoints another Corregidor; but I certainly do not know what his function is except to extort money

more legitimately; furthermore his jurisdiction extends as far as the port of Hilay, which belongs to the city of Arequipa and is 18 leagues W. of it.]

**1393.** Near the port of Hilay there are very good lomas where they fatten mules and other stock at the proper seasons. There are many olive groves, among them the Olivar del Monte Carmelo, where I said Mass in 1618 on the day of the Presentation of Our Lady; and at the instance and pious inspiration of myself and its owner, I blessed it and we gave it this name to the honor and glory of Our Lady of Carmen.

1394. The Province of Los Ubinas is ESE. of Arequipa; and although the Viceroy used to appoint a Corregidor there for its satisfactory administration, since the eruption of its volcano [of this province] which laid it waste [and many of its villages] in the year 1600, they have been subordinate to the Corregidor of Arequipa. From the city one can see the sierra and the volcano, which are covered with snow at times [and the Cordillera, which runs N. and S. for over 1,500 leagues, from Santa Marta to the Straits]. Running W. from them are several dry and uninhabitable ranges, on which grow only a few thorny bushes which they call cardones. On leaving the city for the sea, which is to the W., one takes a road running WSW. and reaches a village 2 leagues from the city; one sets out from here toward evening to spend all night crossing a 12-league desert, over terrible uninhabitable sandy wastes between mountain ranges. Since this is so difficult and parched, with nothing but [much] sand and ashes, for there is a puquio or well only at the start, and farther on one with only a little brackish water in it; great numbers of oxen, cows, mules, horses, sheep, and goats have perished on that road; in fact, when I went through there, I saw over 8,000 head of stock dead and dried up in the ashes and sand. I paid my tribute also with a male and a female mule; I had to abandon them when they collapsed in this desert and perished, and I saw myself in great straits for the she-mule on which I was riding, started to give out. After crossing this dreadful desert, one comes to some fine large lomas, covered with thick cool grass; these will be 3 leagues from the sea, and there is much cattle grazing on them [as on those already described]. There are olive groves on them, which yield large amounts of oil and [excellent] olives; the chief one is that of Los Almontes [which is of great importance to the city]. On the coast there are extensive fisheries and they catch large amounts of fish which is salted for exportation into the sierra and all the country around Cuzco, etc.

1395. From these lomas one travels 5 leagues S. to the Río de Tambo. In this valley there were once along the banks of its river [very good] sugar mills, mule and cattle ranches, vineyards and other plantations; but when the volcano up in the Province of Los Ubinas erupted, [16 leagues from Arequipa] 12 leagues upstream from the sea-this volcano was a low ridge in the center of a sierra and in the year 1600 it ejected so much fire and ashes that it [the ashes] spread over 200 leagues in every direction and fell on ships sailing out at sea [and is to be seen today]; at present there is much [ashes] after all this lapse of time over 150 leagues, as I myself saw when traveling over those plains-accordingly, when the volcano erupted, I was assured by trustworthy residents of that region that the Río de Tambo which runs near [where] the volcano [was], was full of great red-hot pumice stone which burned up and consumed all the farms and the cattle and that it carried the pumice stone out to sea and for more than 2 leagues round about [where it empties into the seal it roasted all the fish in the sea and that great quantities of dead and roasted fish appeared on all those shores and it was a special mercy of God that they caused no pestilence, [the scavenger birds of that country] the condors and buzzards [which are important for the country's sanitation] making short and thorough work of them.

1396. And they likewise assured me that when the volcano erupted, it caused such a huge earthquake in that country that it ruined many houses and caused extensive damage [and with these earthquakes lasting 7 days and the depth of the fiery ashes raining down, they thought that the end of the world and the Day of Judgment had arrived; and it caused such a horrible darkness throughout that district that for the space of 7 days they never saw the sun and could not tell whether it was day or night; even with lights in their houses they could not see one another, remaining terrified and demoralized, with the cinders raining down constantly and many houses catching fire and falling in; and in this terrible tribulation they all confessed their sins, feeling sure that the final end had arrived, and it was such that] only at the close [of the 7 days] of the period described in the following chapters, they began to get the light of the sun and to see, as Noah did from his Ark, how God was looking with merciful eyes upon them. It left the whole country, crops and stock, burned up and devastated and some villages in the provinces were destroyed; the land remained scorched and burned, and nothing could grow for a long time, its fertility having been impaired; the adjoining provinces which came to their aid, were

unable to support themselves; and so until the land recovered, I was assured that the women sold their jewels to keep alive, since the land had been left so exhausted and sterile. But now it has come back and is as fertile and prolific as ever. All the charm of Arequipa's luxury and perfect climate is counterbalanced by its liability to tremors and earthquakes. Besides what has been mentioned, there was an earthquake in 1500 where the sea rushed inland [having first withdrawn from the coast] and ruined many farms and part of the town of Camana; and the great shock referred to when the volcano in Los Ubinas erupted. There was another in the year 1582, in which perished, to enjoy eternal life, Santa Teresa de Jesús, a nun of my Holy Order. [She was like a Spanish apostle and had the courage of a man, illumined by the light of the Holy Ghost; she founded anew the Order of the most devout Barefoot Carmelite Nuns. The earthquake in this year of 1582] This temblor did enormous damage, wrecking the city of Arequipa and other places in its neighborhood. And in 1618, there was another at the city of Arica, on which occasion I myself was present; the sea drew far back and then rushed in again, bursting its normal bounds, and on its way it carried off a whole row of houses in the city of Arica, which were near the sea.

## CHAPTER LI [52] (53)

Another Account of the Great Earthquake from the Volcano of Los Ubinas de Arequipa, and of the Length of Time the Storm Lasted.

1397. After writing the above account of the volcano of Los Ubinas, which is at the headwaters of the Río de Tambo, some 16 leagues from the city of Arequipa, I was given the following description by Pedro de Vivar, a soldier in His Majesty's Castilian Guards, who was present in the city of Arequipa; on that occasion they pulled him out of a buried house, almost suffocated by the huge amount of ashes which had fallen on it. He wrote just how everything happened; it runs as follows. [Our Lady of Atocha wrought a miracle in his case, as will be seen in her church.]

**1398.** On February 18 in the year 1600, at 9 o'clock of a Friday night, heavy shocks began which continued on each other's heels till 6 o'clock of the following Saturday afternoon. The ground shook so hard that people did not dare to go into their houses, for fear they would fall on top of them. On that same day, which seemed to them the day of awful judgment, they went to glorious Santa

Marta, the protectress against earthquakes in that city, and carried her statue in procession to the parish church, which is now the Cathedral of that diocese. On Saturday at 6 o'clock in the afternoon, as has been said, all the region of the upper air or the heavens was obscured by a very black cloud and it began raining very fine sand in enormous quantity, a thing which terrified people, who had never seen or imagined such an unprecedented phenomenon. That white sand rained down till midnight, with some dark gray; it stopped for a while, but only briefly, and then started in again raining down harder, until Sunday morning; by then the ground was covered with  $\frac{1}{2}$  vara (8 inches) of sand and ashes. That same night there were great thunderclaps and thunderbolts, continuous one after the other; the thunder was hoarse, such as never had been heard before. All night long there were loud cries and lamentations from the Indians. Spaniards, women, and children, begging God for mercy. While the tempest was raging, a hermit who was out doing penance in the desert, came back to seek refuge in the city; and in this terrible tribulation, he strode naked, with a holy Christ in one hand and a stone in the other, striking himself hard with it; he visited all the churches and begged God for mercy, that He would take pity on that city; he was followed by a great crowd, which overflowed the churches and followed his every movement; but the darkness was such that they could not see each other, though they carried lighted lanterns.

1399. On that Sunday at half past one in the afternoon it grew so dark, up to 3:30, that it was impossible to see sky or land or one another. At that moment the Jesuit Rector preached a sermon, urging them to contrition and sorrow at seeing God offended, and that those were sure indications of the Judgment. At this sermon and before the present spectacle, all the people broke out into great lamentations and mourning, begging God for mercy and for remission of their sins, whereupon he brought out a very holy Christ and encouraged the afflicted, telling them that the humble and contrite in heart might hope for His divine mercy.

**1400.** It grew brighter at 3:30 in the afternoon, and then they exposed the Holy Sacrament and took it to the plaza in a procession; the whole city escorted His Divine Majesty in procession, and many priests delivered fervent prayers on that occasion. On the Monday succeeding, it came off bright, though the ashes kept falling. On this day Father Fray Domingo Pérez, the Dominican Prior, preached on the steps of the parish church to the whole city; some were on their knees, others confessing their sins and others lamenting them, all of them covered with the falling ashes; they were so panic-

stricken that they did not expect to see the next day alive. In their procession they also carried a very holy Christ from the Dominican convent, and the most sacred image of Our Lady of Copacabana; the friars walked along reciting the litanies, and an Indian kept blowing a hoarse trumpet, and all implored God for mercy.

On the Tuesday following, the 22d of that month, the sun came out, somewhat veiled by the ashes and sand which kept falling; nobody knew what was the origin of such a phenomenon; some said it was sea sand, others that it came from some volcano, others that it was universal throughout the world, which was coming to its end. But they did not dare leave the city, afraid of perishing in the country. All the products of the soil perished, and all the vineyards, where the grapes were already ripe; the sand and ashes which fell, covered them up.

The Indians went about consulting soothsayers and wizards, and with lack of faith kept saying that the world was coming to an end, and that since they were dying, they should eat and drink up all that they possessed. The Corregidor improved matters somewhat by arresting some of the demoralizers. On the succeeding Wednesday the sky was clear and no ashes fell; on Thursday it was cloudy and the sun did not come out, which caused panic and sickness at heart among all the afflicted.

#### CHAPTER LII [53] (54)

Continuing the Account of What Happened at the Eruption of the Ubinas Volcano.

**1401.** On the following Friday, which was the 8th day of this trial, it was very cloudy and overcast, and one had to light a lamp to see; on Saturday there was no dawn, which caused great alarm and distress among the people for the darkness was overpowering, from Friday afternoon till 10 a.m. Sunday, and it rained huge quantities of ashes, and the people were panic-stricken and disheart-ened, for during all that time it had been darker than the blackest night; a great tempest raged all this time; people were overcome with fear and went about the streets with lanterns bewailing their sins.

On that day a solenn and devout procession started from the Jesuit convent, of Jesuits with 12 priests with 12 reliquaries containing valuable relics and bones of saints; the priests all went barefoot; the procession visited all the churches. Then another procession left the Dominican convent; they carried a very holy Christ of the Expiration and the image of Our Lady of the Rosary and that of glorious San Jacinto; this also was escorted by the whole city; they marched with the greatest difficulty because of the huge amount of ashes which had rained down and which kept falling and miring down; a further great affliction was that all these processions took place at the time of that deep darkness, from which there was no escape.

1402. On Sunday, February 27, another procession left the Augustinian convent; they carried a very sacred image of Our Lady of Grace, and a very holy Christ. This procession went to the Jesuit convent, and the Augustinian Prior, Fray Diego Gutiérrez de la Merced, preached a sermon. Another procession marched to the plaza; they carried the image of Our Lady of Consolation, with great solemnity and prayerfulness; all the religious orders escorted it to the parish church, where it remained, as well as glorious Santa Marta.

Monday was very dark, and it did not grow light till toward noon. They said that on that day the volcano of Omate, or Los Ubinas, erupted, which is 16 leagues from the city. On that day it grew dark at 4 p.m.; this lasted 2 hours, and then it cleared up somewhat. On Tuesday the sun was visible though shrouded by mists and ashes which kept raining down; the following days were rather light, although the sun did not appear till the following Saturday, when they took out the images of Our Lady of Consolation and glorious Santa Marta and St. Francis in procession; and seeing that it was rapidly growing dark and much ashes kept falling, they all went back and visited the stations, as on previous days. This darkness was intense; it lasted till Sunday when they were singing Mass, and Our Lord was pleased to let it clear up. Then they celebrated a Novena of sung Masses, the Mercedarian friars before the most sacred image of Our Lady of Consolation, which is most highly venerated in that city, and miracle working; they kept it in the Franciscan convent. And now they began to learn of the blessings they received through her intercession with God Our Lord.

1403. The whole city joined in this great Novena before this most holy image and glorious Santa Marta and it cleared up, although every day ashes kept pouring down; during these tempests they took the Holy Sacrament and the other images and put them in the church tower, which was very strongly built of stone and mortar, for fear that the church might fall in because of the heavy shocks.

The volcano threw out great quantities of red-hot pumice stone on the 15th day of the storm, burning up and annihilating an Indian village which was nearby; it was like night there all those 15 days, with no dawn or light to be seen. The Indians had gone off into the sierra at the beginning of the disturbance; it is said that many of them used to worship up there and sacrificed there to the Devil, offering up to him at times Indians whom they threw into the crater for him to swallow them.

1404. It is stated as a certainty that many of the Indians talked with the Devil; the padres who instructed them, weaned them (by their counsels and their chastisements) from such wickedness; but they were such great sorcerers that they said the Devil had told them that the volcano was about to erupt, and as it came to pass later, they say that five of them hanged themselves at the instigation of the Evil One; if they had not done that, there would have been great calamities and tribulations among them. In some directions the ashes traveled over 600 leagues, for some fell in Nicaragua; they burned up and laid waste the whole country, and great numbers of stock perished. A stream of fire ran down the Rio de Tambo, roasting fish in the sea for a distance of over 2 leagues from its mouth. It caused other frightful damage over all that region; the cattle which survived the tempest itself, perished later of hunger, for the ground was buried in ashes a vara deep, varying according to the localities, and so they had nothing to eat. This tempest lasted till March 15, having started on the 18th of February. May Our Lord be glorified for all His works. [Although the land was left so exhausted and sterile, it has nevertheless already recovered and is as rich and prolific as before; but all the charm of abounding fertility and delightful climate possessed by Arequipa, is counterbalanced by its liability to shocks and earthquakes; besides those already mentioned, in the year 1500 when there was a tidal wave with the earthquake, and that of the volcanic eruption of 1600, and another in 1582 which nearly leveled and ruined the whole city, and others which have occurred less important and destructive, in the year 1618 there was another earthquake, in which, at the city of Arica, the sea backed off and withdrew, and then rushed back and overflowed . . . . near the sea.] (One line illegible; cf. end of [ 1396).

#### CHAPTER LIII [54] (55)

What the Cause and Origin of Earthquakes May Be.

1405. In my opinion the reason why earthquakes are so common in the Indies is that in large part they are caused by the heated vapors which are produced in the bowels and cavities of the earth. Together with the sulfur which is also generated in those regions, they form the stuff with which the fires of the volcanoes are kindled and fed. Thus greater cavities and empty spaces are created down there; and as these vapors find no easy outlet, and that is not their center, they are restless and violent, and this restlessness and violence at times cause them to burst forth at the weakest point. Thus on account of this violence and restlessness, when there is an earthquake it is instantaneously perceived and felt by a roaring sound underground, which is the result of the agitation of these vapors. This can be clearly appreciated from the analogy of powder set underground in a mine ; when it is set off, it bursts forth and carries along with it whatever it meets; or by the analogy of an acorn or chestnut placed whole in the fire; the air between the kernel and the husk becomes heated, and seeing and feeling that it is agitated by the fire, it violently bursts the husk, and makes the familiar noise. In like manner the vapors produced in the bowels and cavities of the earth, burst forth from it in order to get out, and keep searching for the weakest point or breathing hole for exit, until they find it. Thus it was observed in the year 1586 on July 9 that an earthquake ran along the coast for 160 leagues, and over 40 inland; that was the great quake they had in Lima, although it did little damage since it came in the daytime. Then there was that of the year 1619, on the Thursday after Ash Wednesday, at 10:30 a.m.; that destroyed the city of Trujillo at that hour and traveled so easily and violently that it reached Lima before 11, a distance of nearly 100 leagues from Trujillo. At that day and hour I was in the silversmith district of Lima and felt it, and everybody rushed in flight from their houses into the street; within 4 days we learned of the great damage it had caused, and the plea for aid from the Viceroy, since the shock had so completely ruined it.

1406. Furthermore, if another cause of earthquakes is sought, it is to be found in the volcanoes, of which there are many in the Indies, and more particularly in those regions; for in the Kingdom of Peru near Quito rise Tunguragua, Pichincha and others; there is that of Arequipa; and many others of less importance scattered through the country and on the heights near Arica, Sácama [and others], and those in the Kingdom of Chile in the center of the Cordillera Nevada and [the many to be found] in Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua, as already described.

1407. These regions and provinces where they have these volcanoes are the ones most afflicted and damaged by earthquakes. Besides those mentioned, there was one in the Kingdom of Chile so violent that it blocked the large deep Río de Valdivia, which can receive 200 deep-sea galleons in its harbor; the quake was so severe that besides other great damage caused in the Kingdom, it overturned a mountain ridge and threw it across this large river. This dammed it up and for a considerable time it was unable to follow its course to the ocean; it formed an inland sea which caused great damage and flooded out many settlements in the district, while its bed down to sea dried up. Then its powerful current burst forth with great violence across country and it rushed in furious vexation down to the ocean; there were some ships sailing by the harbor, and its furious violence was such that it carried them several leagues out to sea. In the case of another earthquake which occurred at Quito, another volcano erupted, and the filthy mass of red-hot rocks and pumice stone which it cast out, dammed a large river which flowed nearby, so that its current was blocked for a period of 3 days, until the water ran over, and carrying ahead most of the mass, cleaned out and resumed its channel. In Nicaragua there were such great shocks caused by the volcanoes which they have in that province that in the year 1606 the León volcano thundered and roared violently and at the same time caused such terrible quakes that the very earth lifted itself over a stade above its former level and was left all full of cracks, openings, and caverns; it ruined and destroyed that city, and I have already remarked that the earth seemed desirous of swallowing them up. In Guatemala the proximity of its volcanoes has caused terrible quakes, which it would take too long to describe; the same is true of Mexico City and Puebla and all that region, occasioned more by the volcano and sierra of Tlaxcala than by any other.

**1408.** A possible cause of earthquakes might also be found in the fact that along the seacoasts cracks and hollows in the earth get plugged and choked by the dampness from the water and thus the hot vapors produced in the bowels and cavities of the earth, might issue forth. But that does not seem to be a sufficient reason, for it does not apply equally everywhere; that might happen in Spain, but there are no volcanoes or earthquakes there, as there commonly are in the Indies, for the reasons given, unless the following is the principal cause and reason.

In the Indies they do not have wells, as in Spain; these might easily obviate their affliction; or at least by opening up wells in all localities in the Indies, there would be more breathing holes and fewer earthquakes. This must suffice for this subject, so that we may continue with regard to the jurisdiction of the Diocese of Arequipa.

1409. From the Río de Tambo one travels 5 leagues to Los Sauces, where Don Pedro de Peralta, a resident of Arequipa, has a large mule ranch on the lomas [on the coast] by the sea; every year he brands over 200 mules. Near this establishment there are other lomas on which there are excellent olive groves with mills which produce much oil; the largest are the Jesús olive grove, and farther on, that of Amoquinto, together with many others on the lomas of all that coast, as far as the Hilo Valley, where there are many olive and fig groves and vinevards. Licentiate Perea who lives on his establishment down there almost at the water's edge, takes in every year over 6,000 pesos from oil alone. This valley has no water because it dries out, and if there is a little in some localities, it occurs in [a few] depressions and notches where they cannot utilize it; this holds up to 12 leagues inland, [where the valley] widens out into a great plain in which two small rivers unite, coming down from [their sources in] the heights of the sierra of the Province of Chucuito; [after threading different cañons], they join in this famous Moquegua Valley, whose patroness against earthquakes is the glorious martyr Santa Catalina. The town of Santa Catalina [San Francisco de Esquilache] is built here; it will contain [with its valley] 80 Spanish residents, who live in homes on their farms and vineyards. The river in this lovely valley separates the jurisdictions of the Circuit Courts of Lima and the Charcas, for all the valley and the vineyards on the N. side of the river, which flows from E. to W., belong to the Circuit Court of Lima; for this district the Viceroy appoints a Corregidor for its satisfactory administration and the dispensing of justice. In this district they produce over 30,000 jugs of wine. On the other side of the valley, to the S. of where the town is built, is the valley church, under the patronage of Santa Catalina. There are a few vineyards there; it comes under the jurisdiction of the Circuit Court of the Charcas. The Governor of Chucuito appoints a representative here, for it belongs to his jurisdiction. Besides all the above, this valley is highly productive; they raise excellent quinces here, large and small peaches, pippins, figs, and other fruit of Spanish and native varieties, and [very] good melons. There are sugar plantations and mills, and down the valley, many farms with fields of wheat, corn, chickpeas, kidney beans, pallares, and other cereals, and much aji or pepper is raised in this valley, and everything brings a good price because of the great demand for its products on llamaback for the Province of Chucuito, and all the upland country. They get excellent crayfish in this valley, and it is well supplied and rich in everything, and seems a Paradise.

## CHAPTER LIV [55] (56)

Of the Wide Jurisdiction of the Diocese, and Its Need of a Bishop. 1410. The Diocese of Arequipa has very extensive jurisdiction; in fact, merely along the seacoast plains from the Acarí Valley, 70 leagues N. of Arequipa, [its boundary against the Archdiocese of Lima], to the valley of Pica [which comes before] and Tarapaca on the S., [12 leagues], which is the last point within the jurisdiction of Arica, distant [from it] over 40 leagues to the S. and its [coast] boundary with the Atacama deserts, limit of the district of this diocese, it is 180 leagues. Along the sierra it contains the Provinces of Los Collaguas, Condesuyos, Ubinas, and others, with large settlements and rich tithes, for [all] the country is [very] wealthy. But the Bishop cannot manage to pay episcopal visits and hold confirmations, as he is under obligation to do, nor can he meet other needs. For a long time the city of San Marcos de Arica, 65 leagues S. of Arequipa, has been requesting a Bishop [to be given it] to meet the needs it experiences [in this respect] and because it is new country and every day brings up something which requires a solution. It is possible to divide it up, and it is desirable to do so, for the reasons advanced by the city [and I shall explain some of them]. If the division be made, the line [on the coast] should be along the Hilo Valley, which is 36 leagues S. of Arequipa, passing up the valley through Moquegua, which is 40 leagues S. Thus the jurisdiction of Arequipa would run to the line referred to, limit of the Circuit Court of Lima, since the river running through the valley is the boundary. Then the southern part of the valley will belong to the new Diocese which should be located at the city of Arica, and each will be manageable and have sufficient income and be better administered, and other requirements would be met which are well known and which I myself verified, having traveled, observed, and considered with special care when I was in that country, and I noted everything and looked into it, with a desire for its improvement.

1411. From the Moquegua Valley and the town of Santa Catalina [San Francisco de Esquilache] it is 13 leagues down to Locumba. From the settlement of Moquegua one passes down the valley 3 leagues among many farms in wheat, ají, and other crops and vegetables, until one leaves the valley and travels S. for 10 leagues over an uninhabitable desert of sand and ashes, arriving in the Locumba Valley. This is formed by two rivers which come down from the sierra and unite near a little Indian settlement, where the church stands and all the residents of the valley come to hear Mass on feast days. This valley is [all] full of farms with fields of wheat, corn, and pimentos; they all yield abundantly, for the land is very fertile. [And] the valley, although it contains few Spaniards, is very rich, because of the high price and great demand for the products [of this region.] There is another village higher up, toward the sierra. The curate of this valley says two Masses every feast day. The Spaniards in this valley live remote from one another, according to the location of their farms; no vineyards or olive groves grow here because their water passes over alum and sulfur deposits; were it not for this character of the water, the valley would be much richer, with vineyard establishments, for the land itself is good [but they cannot raise them with this water]. There is only one vineyard; that is excellent; it brings in over 20,000 pesos every year to its owner, on account of the high price and great demand for wine in that country. This vineyard was planted by Capt. García de Castro at a spot in this valley where there is a well [which they call puquio there] of sweet water, and they irrigate the vineyard from it, and all sorts of Spanish and native fruit trees; certainly that spot is a bit of Paradise; his heirs have the enjoyment of it today. Along the whole seacoast in this region there are excellent lomas like those already described; there are [many] olive groves and oil presses and much cattle on them, and the muleteers for the traffic from Arica to Potosi take their nules down here at the proper season. [And I would note that in these valleys and the others from Camaná on, the wheat and corn is manured (guano'd), and they usually harvest 500-fold.]

# Chapter LV [56] (57)

Of the Valleys of Sama, Tacna, Lluta, and Others, etc.

1412. From this Locumba Valley it is 5 leagues S. to that of Sama. [All these rivers and valleys of the Peruvian plains run from E. to W.] This is an extensive valley with many Spanish residents, almost all of them wealthy and important. Although there is plenty of water here, it [runs over] alum [beds], and so they have no vineyards or olive groves, but they raise large amounts of wheat and corn; and although the land itself is so rich and the conditions so favorable, when they manure the corn they have raised 1,000 fanegas from a single one. In this and the last valley they raise quantities of pimento, which they call ají here; in the two they harvest about 200,000 baskets [of ají] which are carried on llamaback to Potosí, Oruro, and all the sierra country, and bring in great wealth. In this valley there are more than 50 Spanish residents living on their farms. From here to the city of Arica it is 12 leagues.

1413. On the heights and headlands of this valley there are two [fine] Indian villages, called Tarata and Putina; they have a good climate, run [excellent] cattle ranches, and raise [much] wheat and corn. Five leagues from this valley to one side of the road is the village of San Pedro de Tacna, which is nine leagues from Arica, and through which they carry all the wine going up to Oruro and La Paz through the Province of Los Pacajes. They bring the wine from Arica up here on muleback, and shift it here to llamaback. It is a large Indian village, [very] wealthy and with much traffic. The Corregidor of Arica appoints a deputy here. But [rich as it is] it is a shame that the curates and missionary friars (dotrineros) take so little care of their church; they have not provided it with doors, and the appurtenances are wretched, so that there is hardly enough to say Mass with, and yet their curacy is worth every year over 4,000 or 5,000 pesos. This is because they need a Bishop, the present one being so remote. There is much that could be said on this subject, but this note will suffice. There are a few Spaniards living in this village, because of the lively business activity and the [great] richness of the country.

1414. This valley is short of water, and yet contains many fields of wheat, corn, aji, and other cereals, although none of the valley water ever reaches the sea or the village. Up the valley there are [very] good vineyards, where they produce over 8,000 jugs of wine. From this village [of Tacna] to the city of Arica, it is 9 leagues; I league before reaching the city, one comes to the Chacalluta Valley, right on the ocean's edge, where its river flows in [from this valley]. This is very fertile, and for more than 16 leagues up the valley they sow and reap much wheat and corn; it yields abundant and prolific crops as described, when fertilized with guano. The best part of the valley is the 7 leagues from the coast up [valley] to the tambo of Huanta, on the road to Potosi; here they have many farms operated by Spaniards with [many] Yanacona Indians and Negroes; they cultivate broad fields of wheat, corn, and other cereals. In the midst of the valley is the Indian village of Lluta, 4 leagues distant from Arica. In this valley they have no vineyards or olive groves except as mentioned, the water being full of sulfur and alum. The valley has plenty of water and groves of trees; the King's Highway from Arica to Potosí passes through it; it is 6 leagues to Huanta; then it climbs the Cuesta Blanca (White Grade) and reaches Copataya, where the climate is already chilly, in the sierra, 20 leagues from Arica. From there one goes to Cosapa and Los Berros, Titiri, and Achoroma in the Province of Los Carangas; this brief account must

suffice, and we shall pass on to the description of the city of Arica and its valley and district.

### CHAPTER LVI [57] (58)

Of the City of San Marcos de Arica, Its Situation and Other Features of the Country.

, 1415. The city of San Marcos de Arica is built on the Pacific coast by the water's edge, 210 leagues from the city of Lima at 19°20' S. It is a modern foundation; Gen. Don Ordoño de Aguirre established it in the year 1600 on a pestilential and unhealthy site. It was under the shadow and shelter of a high headland or bluff at the water's edge, and enormous numbers of sea birds keep dying there; they are innumerable on this coast, and much fish and many seals die there too; and as the climate is hot, they decay at once before the vultures eat them up, and poison the air passing along the bluff and then through the city, so that the site is unhealthy. If they had only settled a musketshot away from where it is, on the other side of the Chimba or watercourse on a broad plain, to the left of where the shrine of Santa Lucía stands, it would be one of the largest, best, and most comfortable cities of all that Kingdom; the site is extensive and level, high above the sea; boring down only a stade, one can find water and dig wells, which would enable them to maintain excellent orchards and gardens; and they would likewise be free from the earthquake shocks which usually prevail in that region. The present site of the city is not only unhealthy but leaves no room for expansion. The city will contain 100 Spanish residents, plus numbers of Negroes and Yanaconas occupied both in service in the city and on the farms which the residents own up the valley; there are also many transients arriving and departing by sea and land. It is a place with lively trade, a harbor, and a stopping place for all the upland country; many ships put in with cargoes of Spanish merchandise, Huancavelica quicksilver and wine from the valleys; and it is here that they bring and load the silver which comes from Potosi, Oruro, Porco, Berenguela, Lipas, Chichas, and all the upland country, and the Pacific fleet comes [here] to take it to Lima; and all the ships coming up from the Kingdom of Chile stop off [here] for it is a good safe harbor. There is a fort [here] at the water's edge with four small pieces of artillery and a few stone-mortars. It would be wise for His Majesty to put more artillery here for the protection of that city and port, for it is the first in the Kingdom of Peru as one comes up from the Straits, and it is of the utmost importance that this city and port be secure and adequately defended. There is a parish church, a Mercedarian convent and the shrine of Santa Lucía. The residents keep over 1,000 mules in great herds for the transportation of goods to Potosí, the Charcas, and all the upland country, and to bring back the silver to the port; they have large flocks of llamas also, and they are all needed, for the traffic is great and the way long and part of it through desert country [and the country very rich]; so people flock here from all sides.

1416. There is a Corregidor here, appointed by the Council, and Royal Officials; and since there is so much traffic and transportation, and it is so remote from Arequipa and far more so, the Provinces of Tarapaca and Pica, in which no Bishop has ever been seen since the original discovery, the city has been long petitioning for [the appointment of] a Bishop, to meet the needs felt by [it and] its provinces; in fact, as has been said, they have never seen a Bishop, and the Indians, rather than go as far as Arequipa for dispensations, never go through the marriage ceremony; there is much idolatry because of the lack of a Bishop and the indifference of the priests. I am an eyewitness of this and did something to help out by visiting in the year 1618 the Indian villages of Lluta, Socoroma, Putre, Tocrama, Lagnama (Tagnama?), Lupica, Sacsama, Timar, Codpa, Cibitaya, Isquiña, Pachica, San Francisco de Umagata, Santiago de Umagata, Chapiquiña, and Azapa; they lie in a district over 70 leagues long, some in hot valleys, some in the sierra, and at a distance from each other; most of the natives living within the jurisdiction of Arica on those uplands are intelligent; but thanks to the lack of prelates, the priests or curates who had charge of them, neglected them, and they were Christians only in name. I made wattle doors for all their churches; I baptized many advanced in years, women who had borne children and young men who were fully grown; I burned down one village by the name of Isquiliza because most people there were idolaters. There were many who had not gone to confession once in their lives, and others who had not for 10, 12, or 20 years. If there were only a prelate in Arica, the curates would be more apprehensive and conscientious. Forty leagues to the S. it contains the Tarapacá and Pica Valleys, which are rich in wheat, corn, wine, and quantities of fish. The Province of Atacama might be united with them; it runs up that same coast as far as the Moquegua Valley mentioned above. The Corregidor of Arica appoints four deputies in this district : one for the Locumba and Sama Valleys ; another in Tatacaná; another for the upland villages described above; and another for the Tarapaca and Pica Valleys. On the other side of the Chimba the city has vineyards and olive groves with a few vegetable gardens. A stream with little water in it flows through this valley, rising in the heights of Copataya and coming down from the sierra in some deep ravines which here they call guaicos. The two Umagata villages lie between very high bare sierras; they have a marvelous climate, grow [much] wheat and corn, and take marvelous crayfish, which are to be found in all these plains rivers; and although it is hot country, there are no alligators after the Río de Colán, which is near Paita.

1417. Coming down from these Umagata villages, one crosses the river many times and emerges on wide plains; if there were only water for the sowing and irrigation of its crops, it would be the finest valley in Peru. Three leagues before reaching the city, one comes to the Azapa Valley; there are [very] good vineyards here and olive groves and presses for making oil, of which they produce quantities; they make over 8,000 jugs of wine. They irrigate these in general from a few pools left by this wretched river, and there are many controversies among the residents over their exploitation; they raise much wheat, corn, ají, melons, native cucumbers, and all sorts of vegetables, which yield abundantly. Coming down the valley, I league before reaching the city one finds other pools with [very] good vineyards and olive and fig groves [all yielding abundantly]. They grow wheat and corn and get excellent crops; in this valley one fanega of wheat has produced 1,000-fold, sowed in clusters and fertilized with guano. The olives in this valley and city are [much] better than the best Spanish ones. These two valleys are a bit of Paradise, with their prolific fertility; the vintage comes at the end of Lent. Then the valley becomes dry, up to near the city; there, right at the salt water's edge, there is another pool welling up from this wretched river. This is the celebrated totoral (cattail slough) of Arica, a patch of cattails as large as a plaza, which God has provided there for their comfort; the ships depend on them for the packing of their wine, etc. [with them], all the troops of beasts of burden are fitted out with them for the arrangement of their loads for Potosí and they make panniers [out of them] for the llamas to carry wine and quicksilver in them; in fine, these cattails meet many needs.

# CHAPTER LVII [58] (59)

Of the Excellent Mines in This District.

1418. [One line illegible]. There is in this country a mine of wealth which meets every requirement; many have grown rich from

it and from the traffic in it. The fact is that in this country all the wheat and corn and other crops are guano'd, i.e., fertilized with guano, both before and after planting, in order to bear abundantly and profitably. The explanation is that 40 leagues from this city, near Tarapacá and within sight from shore, there is a small barren island to which repair many frigates to load soil from this island; it is yellowish white, smelling like shellfish, and not very heavy; they call it guano and bring it in frigates to this city and all the ports and valleys and sell it by the fanega; it usually sells for 12 or 14 reals a fanega, and all the farmers buy it for their crops and the Indians freight it on their llamas. In fact, they would rather go without eating than without buying their guano, for with its use, a fanega of grain usually yields 300, 400, or 500 fanegas, but without it, yields no more than with us. So they put guano on all their plantings and in this way a farmer gets more from 10 fanegas in those valleys than from 100 with us; it happened that a certain Gonzalo de Valencia sowed 8 almudes or celemines (pecks) of wheat in clusters, as one plants beans; he put guano on them and harvested 1,000 fanegas. And since so much has been taken from that barren island, some say that it is soil that God put there for that purpose, and others that it is the excrement of sea birds, which are so abundant along that coast that they cover the heavens; the Indians who cannot get out there, go and hunt for it among the cliffs along the shore; but it has enriched many who have made a business of it with their frigates.

1419. There is another mysterious and indispensable mine of wealth in this country, as follows; wherever you may be on these uninhabitable deserts, if you clear off four fingers of sand, or somewhat more—and this applies to all this city's jurisdiction, together with Locumba, Sama, and that whole country—you find salt mines and slabs of salt, very white and good, and enough to supply the whole world.

1420. There is another mysterious mine in this country for the relief of the poor, which is the following: in the months of February and March, huge shoals of fish, small and large, come in from sea—sardines, which they call anchovetas here, pejerreyes, tomollos, mojarras, and many other varieties of fish—and are pursued by other larger fish, like young whales (ballenatos), of which there are many along that coast, and other big fish, swordfish and seals. In their flight from these large fish, the shoals come in toward the coast, almost jumping along on top of the water, and under the water; that attracts quantities of sea birds, like gulls, tropic birds, fishing

eagles (guaraguaos), pelicans, and others which obscure the heavens; they also devour and pursue these shoals; so, seeing themselves pursued by the large fish in the sea and the birds up above, they dash up on the coast beyond the water line in such quantities that for 2 or 3 leagues the shore is covered with these fish, and boats can be loaded with them. Then the poor people come down and many of the natives and gather great numbers and dry them in the sun both to keep and to take up into the sierra. I saw this myself the year I was in that city and they assured me that it occurred regularly every year without fail. Apart from this, the city is well supplied with delicious fish, and some Spaniards have grown rich from the fish trade alone. The Indians also kill those redoubtable sea lions and skin them; they sew the skins and fasten them up tight and then blow them up with air, and with two of them they float a raft; these are their boats and with them they go 3 or 4 leagues out to sea to fish in great security and return loaded down with fish; when I saw this I was astonished and I gave thanks to Our Lord, who is to be glorified in all things.

1421. On this coast there are some very large birds, to be found also all over Peru, but those in this region are much larger, and different; they call them condors; there are black and mottled ones; they are so large that from one wing tip to the other it is over 16 feet. They are very savage and most of them have very tall crests, like those of roosters. They come up to the savage sea lions, which are sometimes larger than yearling calves; they lie stretched out in the sun, and are clumsy on land, having no feet, but supporting themselves on their fins when they come out on land; and although they have very large and fierce teeth and tusks, these savage birds lay siege to them and they make skillful passes at their eyes and gouge them out; and so in their fight with them, they kill and eat them. The eggs they lay are a little smaller than ostrich eggs.

1422. All these remarkable things are to be found in the district of this city, with many others worth regarding which I forbear mentioning in my desire to avoid prolixity. The city is well supplied with excellent meat and poultry. The bread ranks among the best to be found in that Kingdom and is very palatable; it has to be eaten fresh, for it gets a slight flavor of guano, though not enough to be unpleasant. It has many varieties of excellent Spanish and native fruit, and marvelous olives, which are gathered in the valley; at 6 leagues from the city in the valley which comes down from Codpa, to the S., they have vineyards. Six leagues farther is the Río de Camarones (crayfish), so named from the quantity they get from it.

Six leagues beyond to the S. is the valley of Matorral; it is again six [twelve] from Matorral to Tarapacá, and twelve to the Pica Valley, which is as far as the jurisdiction of Arica at present extends. This all belongs to the Diocese of Arequipa, and for the reasons given and because this port and city have so many visitors and for the better discipline and the confirmation of its residents, it is desirable that this city be granted a prelate. That would meet many requirements, as the city remarks; since it is new country, every day brings need of new remedies and discipline until everything gets settled. With the presence of a spiritual shepherd, the Indians will be better Christianized and instructed, and will embrace the principles of the Faith with greater love. I assure the gentlemen of the Council who direct the affairs of that realm with their laudable desire to be fully informed in all matters in His Majesty's service, that if they had traveled, seen, and considered these matters, they would doubtless regulate them as I indicate in this book.

# CHAPTER LVIII [59] (60)

Of the District of the Diocese of the City of Guamanga (Ayacucho) and of the Provinces It Contains.

1423. After finishing the description of the Diocese of Arequipa, which is along the seacoast as has been stated in the preceding chapters, we must return over the same plains to the Archdiocese of Lima and start on the sierra road which can be reached from the Nasca Valley, crossing the Provinces of Los Lucanas and Vilcas, as will be told in its proper place; from Lima one passes through the famous Province and valley of Jauja, over the King's Highway to the sierra.

1424. The city of San Juan de la Vitoria de Guamanga is 80 leagues SE. of Lima, on the Cuzco King's Highway. It was founded by Marqués Don Francisco Pizarro in the year 1539, on account of the great distance between Lima and Cuzco without a single town or city of Spaniards; for this reason Mango Inca, son of Huayna Capac, with a large number of Indians attacked the Spaniards traveling from Lima to Cuzco, causing great damage and killing many of them; and although Capt. Villa Diego set out with 30 Spaniards in pursuit of the Inca, the whole Spanish force was killed by the Indians in a sierra. And after the Inca had made his raids and his forays, he retired with his Indians into the Viticos or Vilcabamba Mountains; this locality was impossible to storm and was so rough that the Spaniards could not penetrate without great effort, risk, or harm; and there was no remedy for it except establishing a Spanish settlement and garrison.

1425. He founded and established the city of Guamanga at an Indian village of the same name close by the great Cordillera of the Andes; and after he had established the settlers there and apportioned among them the Indians of the provinces which he designated as its district, Don Francisco Pizarro tried by every possible means to bring the Inca to submission and put an end to these great losses and murders; but the savage would never agree to any of the proposals made to him; and so the Marqués decided to make war on him and force him to fight. He named his brother Gonzalo Pizarro for this task; and although he pressed him hard on various occasions, Mango Inca made loud professions of desiring peace, but deceitfully, to see if he could arrange for better opportunities of carrying out his attacks; he sent word to the Marqués, seeing that he was hard pressed by Gonzalo Pizarro and his men, and asked for peace under certain conditions which he formulated.

**1426.** At this news, Don Francisco Pizarro set out quickly for the Yucay Valley with the desire of repressing Inca Mango Capac Yupangui; he sent him word from there that he was waiting for him, to settle the conditions of peace and give him full satisfaction; and to put him under greater obligation he sent him a present of silk clothing, a white pony, and other valuables, with two of his own servitors whom he sent as ambassadors; and as the Inca never had any intention of being friendly with the Spaniards, for he said they had taken his country away from him and tyrannized over it, he killed the envoys and withdrew to Viticos, making a mock of Don Francisco Pizarro, who felt it keenly, and in revenge killed one of the Inca's wives whom he held captive, although she was not at fault.

Later, some of the Spaniards deserted to the Inca, where he was up in the mountains, recklessly devoting himself to gambling; one killed the Inca, as the histories relate, but the Indians killed them; but for a time in this respect the country stayed peaceful and undisturbed.

## CHAPTER LIX [60] (61)

Of the City of San Juan de la Victoria de Guamanga, of Its Situation and Marvelous Climate, and the Valleys It Contains in Its Neighborhood.

1427. After the campaigns against the Inca Mango Capac had ended, and the whole country had quieted down, the residents of the

new city of Guamanga realized that the site and location where it had been established, was not suitable, so they moved it to where it stands today. For this they chose a level spot with a brook running through it with sweet and crystal-clear waters, and they built their city on its banks, having transferred it from the other site. Toward the N. it has some low ranges or hills which might almost serve as its walls; you cannot see the city until you get near it. Its climate ranks among the best and most delightful in the Kingdom of Peru; it is always springtime, with cheerful skies and healthful breezes; it is in (blank) degrees S.; the temperature is equable, highly constant, and (continued in 1429).

1428. In the following list are tabulated all the encomiendas and tributary Indians, the old people, boys, and women in all the provinces of the districts of the cities and Archdioceses of Lima and Charcas, and the Dioceses of Trujillo, part of Quito, those of Guamanga, Cuzco, La Paz, and Arequipa; I would remark that the Indians paying tribute are those between the ages of 18 and 50; after 50, they are exempt from tribute.

(The rest of folio 76 is blank, and folio 77 is lacking.)

1429. (continuation of 1427) healthful, without annoyance from the sun or heat or cold, because there is no excess of any of them. All the buildings and houses in this city are very sumptions, among the finest in Peru; the houses all have large portals and are built of cut stone and brick, of excellent architecture. The city will contain 400 Spanish residents and mestizos, plus a large service contingent of native Indians, Yanaconas, Negroes, and mulattoes; there are two outer wards; one is administered by Dominicans and the other by priests. This city has an excellent Cathedral, residence of the Bishop of this city and its provinces, which lie between the Archdiocese of Lima, almost directly N. of it, and the Diocese of Cuzco, which is to its S. It was carved out of them and constituted in the days of the Marqués de Montesclaros in the year 1610; their jurisdiction was too extensive, and such an arrangement was desirable because these new countries needed a satisfactory administration. The first Bishop whom they had in this city was Don Fray Augustin de Carvajal, of the Augustinian Order; after his death he was succeeded by the Inquisitor Verdugo, who governs that church at present, with its priests and prebendaries to serve it.

1430. The city contains excellent Dominican, Franciscan, Augustinian, Mercedarian, and Jesuit convents, and an excellent nunnery of nuns of Santa Clara; there is a hospital for the care of the indigent sick, and in addition, other shrines and churches. This city is at the halfway point of the King's Highway of the Incas, between Lima and Cuzco. Within a 5-league circuit it has very fertile and prolific valleys with a hot climate; in them there are vineyards, pear orchards, pippins, apples, quinces, peaches, figs, and all the other Spanish and native varieties of fruit, in great abundance. These valleys are delightful resorts and much frequented, as, e.g., Yucay, I league from the city, and Viñaca, 3, with excellent vineyards and orchards of these fruit trees just mentioned; at I league from the city there is a riverside district with gristmills. There are many settlements in the neighborhood, such as Huamanguilla, 4 leagues off, and La Quinua and others, all very fertile; all over these valleys there are many people living on farms where they sow and reap much wheat, corn, and other cereals; there are many cattle and sheep and hog ranches; almost all this area described lies to the ENE. of the city.

1431. In the district of this Diocese there are seven Corregimientos; two are in the appointment of the Council: that of the city of Guamanga, and that of Castrovirreina; and five under the Viceroy: a Governor of the quicksilver mines of Huancavelica; the Corregidors of Sangaro, Huanta, Vilcas, the Province of Los Lucanas, and that of Los Chocorvos, in which lie the mines of Castrovirreina; he is usually aggregated to the Corregidor of the mines.

The Corregidor of Guamanga, appointed by the Council, has jurisdiction over the 5 leagues round about, including all the Indian villages in this district, in which there are many cattle, sheep, and hog ranches, and fields of wheat, corn, and other crops and cereals. The place is full of transients, being on the King's Highway, with an active trade and abundance of excellent supplies.

### CHAPTER LX [61] (62)

Continuing the Description of the Diocese.

1432. In this district, besides what has been mentioned, much wine is produced in the valleys and much is brought in on llamaback from the valleys of Ica, Ingenio, and Nasca, which lie to its W.; and on the cold puna in between there are many llama ranches, etc.

1433. Five leagues ENE. of the city is the famous Huanta Valley, with a marvelous springlike climate the whole year through, so that it seems a bit of Paradise on earth. E. and W. it is 7 leagues long, with a large river running straight through it; at the end of the valley it enters the Andes, and by its junction with the Río de Jauja it becomes a mighty stream, and with other affluents swells the

Marañón and empties into the Atlantic. The valley is a league and a half wide, or over.

1434. In this excellent valley there are many farmhouses with vineyards, gardens or chacras, and cattle ranches, since the region is marvelously fertile and has excellent climate and weather. The village of Huanta lies here; it has a mixed Spanish and Indian population, and is the residence of the Corregidor appointed for the Province of Sangaro by the Viceroy. This village has an active trade and is much frequented both for its fertility and good climate and because it lies on the King's Highway from Lima and other provinces to Cuzco, Potosí and all the upland country. In this valley and village one finds abundance of all the Spanish and native varieties of fruit mentioned, the whole year through, on account of its excellent climate; grapes begin ripening about New Year's. One league E. of here is another Indian village with the same climatic conditions, named Lorococha, and three leagues E., near the Andes, up in the high cold sierra country, lie the mines of Hualla; these have rich veins of silver, but all those who work them are poor; although the ore is very rich, they cannot enrich themselves because there is no one to provide them with aid and capital, and yet the ore is very rich. In the jurisdiction of this Province and Corregimiento of Sangaro there are many other Indian villages, like Julcamarca, 6 leagues WNW. of Huanta and near a mysterious hill of rock salt which God created in that region; one must give thanks to Him in His Providence for this supply for all those provinces. There are many other excellent valleys with many cattle ranches and corn, wheat, and potato farms, with other products and cereals of excellent quality. This account must suffice for the Corregimiento of Huanta or Sangaro, and we shall go on to describe that of Vilcas.

1435. Starting S. from Guamanga on the Cuzco highway, one turns W. and travels 9 leagues most of the way through cold country to the village of Putica in the Province of Vilcas, with a good climate. From here it is half a league downhill to the village of Cangallo, which has a hot climate and is plentifully supplied with meat, fish, and Spanish and native farm products. This is the residence of the Corregidor of these provinces, appointed by the Viceroy; there is a Royal Treasury here. Near this village runs a large river which flows through the whole Province of Vilcas; it rises in the Chocloccocha lakes by the Castrovirreina mines and its waters run two of the ore mills at those mines; then it traverses this province and by its union with others becomes a mighty stream and swells the great Río Marañón, emptying into the Atlantic under the Line. Opposite the village of Putica, half a league uphill, is the village of Carmenga; half a league farther down to the WSW. is the village of Huancarma, with delicious fish and fruit. At this village they cross the river on rafts made of many bundles of bamboos fastened together; they put their freight on them, the passengers have to lie down flat, and the Indians swim alongside and push till they reach the other bank of the powerful stream.

1436. Next comes another village named Chircamara; a league and a half beyond this is that of Qialla (sic), and a league farther, that of Colca, and farther on, Cayara, and half a league from there, a woolen mill for grograms called Chilmero. Half a league beyond this mill is the village of Hualla; another half league brings one to Tiara; 2 leagues farther on is the village of Canaria, on the other side of the river; this is the largest of the whole 11. These are all built within sight of the river of this Vilcas Province; there are other smaller villages which I pass over, scattered inland. The whole province is fertile in food crops; there are cattle, sheep, hog, and llama ranches here. It is 10 leagues from Hualla, the last village in Vilcas Province, along the highway to Aucará, which is in the Province of Los Andamarcas, Soras, and Lucanas. The Corregidor of these provinces resides in Aucará; in their villages there are five curates who administer the Holy Sacraments to the Indians. On the other side of the river to the S. lie the villages of the Province of Los Soras, and that of Hatunsura, capital of the province and the point where the Diocese of Guamanga borders on that of Cuzco.

1437. Four leagues from Aucará, in the midst of the cold puna, lies a little Indian village of salters, called La Sal (salt), because they make fine white salt from salt springs, boiling it in jars; that is where those provinces get their salt. It is a miracle if these poor Indians abandoned there in the desert, ever see a priest; I, though an unworthy minister of the Lord, being desirous of pleasing Him by preaching His Divine Word over those vast territories, carried with me all the appurtenances for saying Mass. I reached that village on Shrove Tuesday at night in the year 1617. At my arrival they were overjoyed; I said Mass for them with due formality, and I ministered to their spiritual needs, and they assured me that it was over a year since they had heard Mass, and many years since on that feast day they had had Mass or received ashes; and I baptized the Indian children and grown boys who should have been christened many months or years earlier.

1438. From this village it is 14 leagues of desert country traveling W. crossing the uninhabitable puna; when I went through it snowed

so hard that on that desert one of my mules and an excellent saddle horse were frozen to death. On these cold wastes there are nothing but miches, a sort of huts for the shepherds, where they look after large herds of llamas; over these punas roam countless numbers of wild llamas which they call cimarrón, the vicuñas and guanacos. I suffered many trials in these deserts in my efforts for the spiritual relief of these Indians, who live up there like brute breasts, without knowledge of the Faith, and many of them still in their idolatries.

1439. After crossing these 14 leagues of desert, one reaches the village of Hatunlucana, capital of the province. From this village to the Nasca Valley, the last in the Archdiocese of Lima and where large amounts of the best wine in the Kingdom are produced, it is 16 leagues of desert, all of it cold country until one reaches Tambo Ouemado, 4 leagues before Nasca, where the climate is already springlike. Four leagues N. of Hatunlucana is the village of Puquío, with two curates; near this is another named Santiago; these belong to the Corregimiento of Los Lucanas. The river which rises in these provinces passes into the Acarí Valley, which is in the plains country along the coast in the Diocese of Arequipa; along the sierra it borders on the province of Los Parinacochas, the westernmost of the Diocese of Cuzco; on the N. the Province of Los Lucanas adjoins that of Los Chocorvos, in which was founded the city of Castrovirreina. in the Indian language called Chocloccocha, of which I shall write in the following chapters.

# CHAPTER LXI [62] (63)

Of the City of Castrovirreina, of Its Founding, and When Its Mines Were Discovered.

1440. The Marqués de Cañete, Don García Hurtado de Mendoza, being Viceroy of Peru, was notified and informed of the silver mines discovered in the year 1590 in the ranges known as San Juan del Griego and La Trinidad. He commissioned Don Pedro de Córdoba Mexía, a Knight of the Order of Santiago, to establish a town and call it Castrovirreina and apportion 2,000 Indians from the adjoining provinces for work in the mines and for service in the city and do all else necessary for its permanence. He searched for the best location and decided on one in a plain called Coycapalca, which in the Indian tongue means union of two rivers. Having celebrated the formalities necessary for its founding he parceled out the home sites and named the Aldermen, taking possession of it in His Majesty's name on July 22, day of the Magdalen, in the year 1501. From then on it was a town up to the year 1594, when, on August 8, the said Viceroy designated it as a city of Spaniards, in conformity with a warrant of King Don Philip II of glorious memory, issued at El Pardo on November 8, 1593, confirming the name it bore, and that is why it is called Castrovirreina. It was built in the Province of Los Chocorvos in the district of the Circuit Court of Lima; on its escutcheon it bears the lakes bordering the ranges where the silver mines are. No excise duties (alcabala) are paid here, thanks to a grant issued by the said Viceroy on August 8, 1594, to run 6 years, but it is still in force. It contains 100 houses, a main street and other side streets; there is a plaza, with the church and the Royal Apartments on it; but all the buildings are made of adobe, low and strawthatched.

1441. There are two tribunals, that of the Governor and that of the Royal Officials. As officials of these courts there are an Alguacil Mayor and simple Alguaciles, and the Secretary of the Council, who is also Public Secretary and Recorder (Escrivano de Registros). The Governor is concerned with the city administration and also with the theory and practice of the mines which extract the ore and the mills in which they treat it, and in seeing that the Indians come to them from the various provinces and that they are well treated and paid, as is provided by the Viceroys' ordinances; they keep improving them as seems advisable.

The offices of the public functionaries carry no salaries; they are salable and transferable; they were instituted when the city was founded. The post of Alguacil Mayor was sold for 16,000 8-real pesos; he appoints his subordinate Alguaciles. That of Secretary went for 3,000 pesos. They elect the Royal Ensign (Alférez Real), four Aldermen, a Confraternity Alcalde, and a City Attorney on New Year's Day; they are approved by the Governor. The city keeps as its own the correduría (brokerage tax) and mojonería (demarcation fee), and they bring in a little over 180 pesos income every year; this privilege was granted by the Viceroy on July 20, 1593. It is 70 leagues from this city to Lima.

1442. In the year 1610 there were 86 residents of this city, not counting transients; 26 were married. In the number were 3 Portuguese and 20 foreigners—11 Genoese, 7 Corsicans, I Savoyard, I Levantine; 6 of them were naturalized (compuestos) by permission of the Viceroy.

The chief business of this city is its mines and smelters; but the owners are in debt for more than their value; they are sustained by hopes for the future, and the same is true of those who contract with them. There are eight businessmen dealing in Spanish and native merchandise, who live there on the plaza, not to mention others who come up frequently for business transactions.

1443. The city lies in 11°47' S. The town and quicksilver mines of Huancavelica bear N. 13 leagues; 9 leagues WNW. lies the Province of Los Huachos which is annexed to the Corregimiento de Los Chocorvos and attached to this State. Twenty-two leagues SW. is the port of Pisco in the plains country on the seacoast; and the town of Ica is 24 leagues S. To the SE. is the village of Santiago, capital of the Province and Corregimiento of Los Chocorvos; and the city of Guamanga is 24 leagues ESE.

# Chapter LXII [63] (64)

Continuing the Description of the City of Castrovirreina and Its District.

1444. The silver mines are N. of the city, which has a jurisdiction of 20 leagues round about; its boundaries are as indicated above. It is all rough, cold country; all it has is a kind of grass called icho, like esparto grass; but 4 leagues away there are some woods where there are plenty of trees growing among the rocks which are called quinua, characteristic of the puna; they bear no fruit and are only good for firewood and charcoal. Since the city lies high up and is windy, its climate is very cold, most severe from June to September; it is very healthy.

Two streams run near the city, enclosing it between them; they rise 2 leagues away and originate in the snow and the pools formed when it rains, which is the period between December and March. They are utilized by the mills for the grinding and washing of the ore; and even when they are in flood they do no harm to the city or the mills. These rivers finally empty into the Pacific by the port of Pisco.

1445. There are six lakes in this neighborhood. One is at the highest point of the La Trinidad range, 3 leagues from the city. This discharges at two opposite points, S. and N.; to the N. it runs into two other lakes in succession, one after the other; these two lakes are more than a league in circuit; they are fresh water, but contain no fish, being quite frigid. They are fed by watercourses coming from the snow as it melts; they all flow toward the river passing by the city, where the mills are built. These waters run W. to the Pacific. Others in these same mine ranges, and lake waters also, flow to the Atlantic, and there are two silver mills built on them, those of Ayala and of Francisco Conterino.

1446. They grow potatoes, which are like ground truffles; ocas; macas, which are like small turnips; and ollucos; these are all root crops. Their manner of cultivating the ground is as follows; they use a small plow, which the Indians call taclla; they carry it in their hands and drive it in with the right foot to penetrate the ground. These roots come to 20 or 25 to the fanega; they cannot grow wheat, barley, or corn, for the land is too cold, although there are some ravines nearby, at a quarter league and a league, where they do very well, downstream by the river passing by the city and others near at hand; they raise cabbage, garlic, lettuce, peaches, and frutilla de Chile, which is their strawberry, but larger and better. They get wine from the Ica and Pisco Valleys, and Umay, and the Governor regularly apportions Indians for the transport, so that the city may be provided with wine, flour, and other necessary foodstuffs. Six arrobas of flour usually sell for 6 or 7 pesos; corn the same; an arroba of beef cost 4 reals in the year 1610; at present it is worth less; a sheep sells for 8 reals; 22 ounces of bread, I real; a cuartillo (quart) of wine, i.e., half an azumbre (1/2 gallon), 3 reals, and so on for other supplies, so that the city is well provided all the year with the products and fruit coming up to it from the valleys.

In the year 1610 there were four cattle ranches, four sheep ranches, five of goats, and one of mules, and a few farms. On these ranches there were 1,600 cattle, 5,000 sheep, 12,000 goats, and 400 brood mares. At present there are many more, for they breed well and multiply rapidly. Each head of cattle was worth 10 8-real pesos; a goat, 10 reals; a sheep, 6; an unbroken mule, 45 pesos; they are all cheaper now.

### CHAPTER LXIII [64] (65)

Of the Mines and Mills in This City, and How They Manipulate the Ore.

1447. In the San Juan del Griego and La Trinidad ranges, over 50 principal veins of silver have been recorded, and on them, more than 400 mines each 60 varas long and 30 wide. Those of San Augustín and Santa Lucía are very rich and good, not to speak of many others, all silver mines; there are some garnet and lead mines, at a distance of from I to 12 leagues.

In this district there are no salt or saltpeter deposits. There are 20 Spanish superintendents employed in the mines, and 1,560 Indians, as will be observed in the table following. The ore is all treated with quicksilver in the following manner: the 13 mills are all run by

water power and none by horse power; the ore is freighted from the mines to the mills on llamaback; the mills have water enough to grind ore all the year; in a year each can grind 25,000 quintals of ore.

1448. The ore is ground in the mills, and is then passed through a coarse wire sieve, coming out like wheat flour. Then they roast it in ovens to get rid of the dross contained in the ore-sulfur, galena (alcojol), antimony, and other impurities in it. Then they are ready to have the quicksilver amalgamate with the silver. Experience has shown that these ores have to be handled differently from those at Potosí. They take it to the troughs directly from the ovens, and then add a little water and salt which has been ground and sifted, and quicksilver, and they keep adding water little by little so as to form a muddy mass; they keep kneading it like dough with their feet in these same troughs; every 3 days they repeat the process and keep adding salt and quicksilver according to the need. Then they put it in a vat and wash it with a beater run by a water mill called a labadero. After this washing the silver is amalgamated with the quicksilver; they put it in coarse sacking and squeeze it hard to get the quicksilver out, which leaves the silver like dough. Then they make cakes of it, one like a sugar loaf, and arrange two earthen jars, one above and one below; they put the silver above a perforated plate between the two and apply fire to the upper jar; that releases the silver, for the quicksilver goes through the perforations and drops into the lower jar, which has a little water in it. That leaves the silver pure and free from it, and whiter than snow. Then they carry it off to be melted into bars, the Assayer grades it, and then they take it to the Royal Officials for the deduction of the royal 20 percent impost.

1449. Taking one year with another, they get annually from 36,000 to 40,000 marks of silver from these mines. At the beginning the ore yielded 2 or 3 silver marks from each quintal, each mark being of 11 ounces; there is other ore yielding 4 marks, more or less. Now in general they get better results than at the start, for they have come to a better knowledge and understanding of the processes.

On each of these veins His Majesty has a recorded mine; these are rented out and from these leases His Majesty will receive annually on the average 1,500 assay pesos. The Alcalde Mayor, who is the Governor, has charge of these mines, with an Overseer (Veedor) and a Protector of the Indians, all appointed by the Viceroy.

1450. When the Marqués de Cañete commissioned the establishment of this city and its mines, he assigned 2,100 Indians to them, and ordered that each should receive a daily wage of  $2\frac{3}{4}$  reals, plus

I real for every 6 leagues he had to travel to come to the mines and to return home; the  $2\frac{1}{2}$  reals were to be paid to the Indian and the real for his coming and returning and the  $\frac{1}{4}$  real should be deposited in the fund for the payment of salaries which he prescribed in his decree, as follows:

### Chapter LXIV [65] (66)

Continuing the Description of the Preceding Topic.

1451. The  $\frac{1}{4}$  real which is applied to the salaries is called the grano, and so the treasury into which it is paid is called de Granos. Of the 1,560 Indians assigned (repartidos) to work in the mines, their masters take as many as are necessary for the mills and the handling of the ore, i.e., in each mill there are ordinarily engaged 40 Indians and I or 2 Spaniards.

Each year they bring in over 15,000 quintals of fine salt for the treatment of the silver ore. Each quintal costs 8 reals, and  $\frac{1}{2}$  real is paid to His Majesty for each quintal at the salt works. The Indians on forced labor (mita) earn  $2\frac{1}{2}$  reals each day; and the mingados, who hire themselves out to free-lance miners (aventureros), get 4 reals.

1452. In the Royal Treasury, besides the Royal Officials, there is an Assayer appointed by the Viceroy. This Treasury receives a  $1\frac{1}{2}$  percent impost, the derechos de cobos formerly assigned to the Crown; 10 percent instead of the royal 20 percent on the silver from the mines, this 10 percent being a grant from the Viceroy to the residents and miners in this city; and although he made them this grant in the year 1611, His Majesty has extended it. These imposts on the average come to 20,000 assay pesos a year; the mine leases bring in 1,500; the payments on the sale of the quicksilver which

His Majesty brings down for them from Huancavelica, 15,000 assay pesos; the sale of salt, 600 assay pesos; all of this in an average year will amount to 36,000 assay pesos, which is the sum received by the Treasury. Out of it are paid: to the Governor, a salary of 600 assay pesos; to each of the Royal Officials, 800 assay pesos; to the Assayer, 500 assay pesos; to the Corregidor of Guamanga, 2,000 assay pesos, paid him by virtue of his titles. Every year the occasional and extraordinary expenditures of this Treasury will amount to 100 8-real pesos, in paper, ink, books, and repairs of the Royal Treasury and in the smelting. In an average year His Majesty's net receipts will be 32,000 assay pesos, the sum turned over to the Viceroy each year.

1453. The parish church in this city is dedicated to Our Lady of the Snows, and there are two others on the ranges dedicated to San Augustín and San Juan. The church in this city counted 86 Spanish parishioners in the year 1610, plus many transients and the Indians. These churches are served by three curates, as has been remarked; there are four Confraternities: one of the Holy Sacrament, one of Our Lady, one of the True Cross, and another of Las Ánimas (souls in Purgatory). Every week, on Monday, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, there is a Mass sung by the confrères. With the 800 pesos salary paid by the Treasury of Los Granos, and the contributions (pié de altar), each curacy is worth 2,000 assay pesos. The Bishop of Guamanga nominates the curates, and the Viceroy appoints them for the royal patronage. There are three hospitals, one of them in the city; they were founded by the Marqués de Cañete, with the title of Royal Hospitals; they care for the Indians who come to work in the mines and fall sick, and for other poor invalids. Their income is derived from the 800 assay pesos assigned them in the Treasury of Los Granos, plus 450 8-real pesos in annuities levied in silver and deposited in this Treasury against Indians who have run away or are missing; since they had long failed to appear, Viceroy Don Luís de Velasco ordained that their masters should pay an annual sum for them and that the income should be credited to these hospitals.

They collect in alms for these hospitals every year about 400 pesos. Each hospital has its infirmary. The city hospital has 24 beds, and those out on the ranges, 12 each regularly, with additional ones if needed, as ordered by the administrator, viz, the City Council, which appoints the Superintendent. The income is distributed under its direction for the care and comfort of the patients and whatever else is necessary; this income has increased and keeps increasing. 1454. The allocation (repartimiento) of the Indians who come to this city and its silver mines for service periods, is as follows:

rom	the	Province	of	Los Aymaraes,	456	Indians	s	456
46	"	4.6	"	Los Andamarcas,	147	" "	• •	147
" "	66	6.6	"	Los Soras,	14	4.6		14
66	66	66	"	Parina Cocha,	254	66		254
66	66	6.6	"	Los Pomatambos,	185	4.6		185
4.6	66	66	"	Condesuyo del Cuzco,	104	"		104
4.6	"	66	66	Los Condesuyos de Arequipa,	380	* 6		380
4.6	4.6	4.4	44	Los Chocorvos,	20	4.6	•••	20
								1,560

Table showing the system followed in paying the Indians their daily wage, by days, and also by days, the amount allocated to the Treasury of Los Granos as its share of the salaries paid in there.

Dav	s Reals	Pesos	Tr	To easury	Days	Reals	Pesos	To Treasury
	57-3 qs.	7 ps.−I−I q.		s.—I q.	-		10 ps. 5 rs. 1 q.	7-3 qs.
22	60-2 qs.	7 p <b>s</b> 42 qs.	5	–2 qs.	42	115–2 qs.	I4 ps3-7 qs.	10–2 qs.
23	63–1 q.	7 ps7-1 q.	5	-3 qs.	53	14 <b>5–3</b> qs.	18 ps.–1–3 qs.	13–1 q.
24	66–	8 ps.–2	б	-	64	176-	22 ps	16-
25	68–3 qs.	8 p <b>s</b> 4-3 qs.	б	-1 q.	75	206-1 q.	25 ps6-1 q.	18 <b>–</b> 3 qs.
26	71–2 qs.	8 ps.–7–2 qs.	6	-2 qs.	86	236–2 qs.	29 ps4-2 qs.	21–2 qs.
27	74–1 q.	9 ps.–2–1 q.	6	-3 qs.	97	266–3 qs.	33 ps.–2–3 qs.	24–1 q.
28	77-	9 ps5-	7	-	100	275-	34 ps3-	25-
29	79-3 qs.	9 p <b>s</b> 7 <b>-</b> 3 qs.	7	-1 q.	108	297-	37 ps1-	27-
30	83–2 qs.	10 ps.–2–2 qs.	7	-2 qs.	129	354 <b>-</b> 3 qs.	44 ps.–2–3 qs.	32–1 q.

#### CHAPTER LXV [66] (67)

Of the Province and Corregimiento of Los Chocorvos, District of the City of Castrovirreina.

1455. In this Province of Los Chocorvos there are eight Indian villages: Santiago, San Juan de Huaitara, Sangayayco, Santiago de Quirahuara, San Francisco de Querco, La Concepción de Laramarca, San Juan de Córdoba, San Francisco de Ocobamba. These were all converted and established in the days of Don Francisco de Toledo; they speak the Lengua General del Inca (Quichua). In this Province of Los Chocorvos, which means brave people, there was in the year 1610 an encomendero on second life tenure; he had a goat and sheep ranch with 10 Indians under provision of the Viceroys, each with wages of 24 pesos a year. It was the Conde de Villar who made

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the original grant of this encomienda. There were in this province 535 tribute-paying Indians. Each pays a tribute of five 8-real pesos in ropa de abasca (Basque cloth?), hogs, sheep, corn, potatoes, and cotton cloth; the name of the encomendero is Don Juan Fernández de Córdoba.

One piece of ropa de abasca is worth 2 assay pesos and 4 tomines. Each hog, I assay peso and 4 tomines. Sheep, the same. The fanega of corn, I assay peso and I tomín. The fanega of potatoes,  $\frac{1}{2}$  assay peso. One piece of cotton cloth, I assay peso and 6 tomines.

1456. All this converted into terms of cash means that each Indian pays five 8-real pesos. There are 2 clans (parcialidades) in this province, governed by 2 principal caciques and their subordinates; one clan contains 445 tributary Indians, and the other 290. There are also foremen (mandones) who collect the taxes. There were 645 married persons; 90 unmarried; old men and women exempt, 666; widows, and unmarried women 50 years old or more, 180; children and boys up to 14, 939. It is 9 leagues from these villages to the Corregidor's residence. This province contains community property of 30,000 sheep, and the community receives a tax laid in Ica on the Villacuri sinks, i.e., vineyards, with an annual income from it of 172 9-real pesos; the whole community income will amount to from 4,000 to 5,000 8-real pesos.

1457. In this province there are two community treasuries, each clan having its own, with three keys to each; one is kept by the Corregidor or his representative, one by the principal cacique, and the other by an Indian Alcalde. The community money is deposited here, and this money is paid out in the salaries of the curates and the Corregidor, by whose hand it is distributed, and in fines for Indians who have run away or have died, and in the salaries of the caciques and in payment of the tribute and the encomenderos, and in payments to the miches, who are the shepherds of the community flocks.

1458. The jurisdiction of the caciques over the Indians consists in making them present themselves for their mita, and pay their tribute. The Indians occupy themselves in cultivating their crops, breeding cattle, and weaving cloth for their garments. The village of Santiago is the capital of the Province of Los Chocorvos; it lies in  $14^{\circ}7'$  S., and is 14 leagues from Castrovirreina. This province is all rough country but without forests, except that there are a few trees in the

ravines—alders, willows, and lugmos(?). The climate is equable the whole year, neither cold nor hot. Medicinal herbs grow there, like chilca and guamanguaca, which are used as remedies for impotence (frialdad; chills and fever?). The second village is Huaitara; a large river runs through it, which rises 12 leagues away and is fed by the ranges where the mines are, and by the snows. Its high-water period is from December to March, but it is always a considerable stream. Another river flows past the village of Santiago; this rises in a spring 8 leagues away; the Indians irrigate their chacras or fields from these streams. There are pejerreyes in these rivers, and excellent crayfish. They grow all sorts of Spanish vegetables, and native fruit like paltas (aguacates) and pacaes; Spanish figs, oranges, and other excellent fruit.

On their cattle, sheep, and hog ranches there was an annual increase of 18,000 head; there are mule and horse ranches also, and they have poultry, quail, vicuñas, guanacos, deer, and tarugas (furciferine deer); this is another species of deer, shorter and stockier, and it has the best bezoar stones.

There are two curacies for the eight villages in this province, occupied by two clerics nominated by the Bishop of Guamanga and confirmed by the Viceroy for the royal patronage; one has three villages, the other, five. One usually lives in the village of Huaitara, the other in San Juan de Córdoba. Each receives 500 assay pesos salary (de sínodo), and contributions (el pié de altar) bring in 200 assay pesos for each.

### Chapter LXVI [67] (68)

Of the Province of Los Huachos, the Villages in Its District, and Its Special Features.

1459. In this Province of Los Huachos, there are eight Indian villages: San Cristóbal de Nucayca, which is the capital; La Concepción de Arma, La Asunción de Tantarâ, San Francisco de Cocas, San Pedro de Guacara, San Juan de Huangasca, Santiago de Chavín, and San Pedro de Cacara. These were located in their settlements in the days of Don Francisco de Toledo; they speak the Lengua General del Inca (Quichua). In the year 1610 they formed an encomienda in first life tenure; the incumbent was Don Juan de Barrios. There were 572 tribute-paying Indians in this province; each paid as tribute 2 pesos and 1 tomín, and 9 assay granos, at  $12\frac{1}{2}$  reals each, in silver, plus 1 peso in cloth, llamas, corn, poultry,

and potatoes; the values of these contributions in kind were established by the Viceroys in the following price scale:

One piece of cloth of abasca, 2 assay pesos and 4 tomines. One llama, 2 assay pesos. A fanega of corn, I assay peso and I tomín. A fanega of potatoes, ½ assay peso. Hens and chickens, 9 assay granos each.

This repartimiento and province contains 12 clans, which are governed by their curacas and camachicos; these are all subordinate to one principal cacique and his second in command. Of these tributary Indians, 395 were married and 177 unmarried; of boys and young men up to 17, there were 786; and 1,651 women of all ages and conditions, plus 170 exempt old people.

1460. It is 9 leagues from the village of San Cristóbal to Castrovirreina. This province receives an income of 1,000 pesos collected as an impost (censo) on the city of Guamanga, and 90 from its encomendero. The system of the communal treasury is similar to that in the Province of Los Chocorvos; it is located in the village of Tantará, the residence of the chief cacique; the excess of the tribute is deposited in it, and from this fund are paid out the salaries of the curates and of the caciques, construction expenses of the churches and hospitals, and salary of the Corregidor; out of the imposts (censos; fines?) are paid the tributes for the dead and those who have run away, until there is a revision of the list.

The Indians' manner of life and occupations are the same as in the Province of Los Chocorvos. The country has a good climate; all of it is rough, with high ranges and deep ravines; the ranges contain silver mines. The village of San Cristóbal is at 11°53' S. A river runs near it which rises 8 leagues away up on the puna, and empties into the sea by the village of Chincha. This river swells at the same season as indicated in the preceding chapter. They irrigate their plots from it, and get pejerreyes, bagres, and excellent crayfish in it.

**1461.** There are two clerical curates for the eight villages in this curacy, each with four villages under his charge; one resides in the village of San Cristóbal, the other in that of Guacara. They receive 319 assay pesos salary, and the contributions will bring them each in 200 pesos. There are no hospitals in this province, and although each Indian pays I tomín for hospitals, the money is deposited in the communal treasury; when they fall sick, the priest or the Corregidor, together with the others who hold keys, take from the treasury

whatever is necessary for their care and comfort. This I tomin amounts each year to 7I assay pesos and 4 tomines. This account of these provinces must suffice; we must avoid prolixity.

CHAPTER LXVII [68] (69)

Of the Town of Huancavelica and Its Quicksilver Mines.

1462. Thirteen leagues ENE. of the city of Castrovirreina, on the same puna, lie the town and the quicksilver mine site of Huancavelica; the city of Guamanga is 30 leagues distant, to the ESE.

1463. To reach Huancavelica from Lima by the Sierra, one travels through the Jauja Valley, and then through a cold mountain country to the tambo of Acos, which is 7 leagues from Jauja; there are many buildings there from the time of the Incas. From this tambo there is a climb of about a league over a bad road, up to the view of the river which runs through the Province of Jauja; at this point the road passes some extensive caves, and then goes downhill for some 2 leagues; when it crosses the river by the Angoyaco bridge, which is built of stone and spans the river with one single arch, the temperature is already delightfully springlike. There is a small Indian settlement on the river bank. At this point one leaves the King's Highway, which continues to Guamanga, Cuzco and all the upland country, and takes the right-hand road leading to Huancavelica. It is a climb of over 2 leagues to the village of Huando, which belongs to the Province of Los Huancas. After this come 5 leagues of cold puna; then the road goes down over a hillside which brings a lovely valley into view, in the midst of the puna; it is here that the town of Huancavelica is situated.

1464. Near this valley in which the town is built, rise some high ranges, in which the rich quicksilver mines are located; these are thick layers of this ore, already exploited by the Indians in the days of their heathendom in order to extract the minium or vermilion, which the ancients revered as a sacred color; some Indians called it llimpi, others ychma. The Indians exploited these ranges at the command of their Inca kings, without knowing or realizing that this other metal existed there; they merely extracted the vermilion to paint themselves with it, as in other ages the Romans also made use of it for their triumphs and celebrations, as well as for painting Jupiter's face; and they held it in high esteem, as Pliny says, and imported it for that purpose from Spain; and in Ethiopia the kings and governors anointed their faces with it and their gods and idols. The Indians so used it in their festivities and to make themselves appear more dashing and gallant; and when they went to war, they painted themselves so as to appear braver and fiercer in their war paint and impress their enemies with their greater ferocity; and it was for this alone that they exploited the ore, without appreciating the wealth it contained; or if they did know about it, they made no use of the metal, either because they did not know what it was good for, or because they were afraid of its bad effects, which are usually felt by those who have much to do with it.

1465. The Spaniards also never arrived at this realization for a long time, not until the year 1567, when Licentiate Lope García de Castro had succeeded the Conde de Nieva after his death, as Governor. A Portuguese named Enrrique Garcés, who was an expert in such matters, saw this red ore, or vermilion, recognized it and knowing that it was always associated with quicksilver, went up to the mines with this idea, tested the ore and got quicksilver from his assay. That was how quicksilver was discovered here; immediately there was a rush from many quarters to exploit it for export to Mexico, where they used quicksilver in all their mining processes (for up to that time the process was not known in Peru) and many got rich from it; and at the report of such wealth, many flocked in from all sides.

1466. And so when Don Francisco de Toledo entered on his term as Governor, he ordered the town of Oropesa or Huancavelica to be built at the foot of the range in a valley between two ridges, in the year 1569. The rich deposits of this range have made it grow and keep growing; there are over 400 Spaniards living here as regular residents (here comes a blank page) and though there are very rich mines of this ore in that range, and many tunnels and caves made by the Indians of old in taking out their llimpi, ychma, or vermilion-I myself have seen many of these great tunnels or pits-the richest of all, which they call La Descubridora, was discovered by a Huanca Indian, a native of the village of Acoria belonging to the encomienda of Don Amador de Cabrera, a resident of the city of Guamanga. Since the village of Acoria is so close to the Huancavelica range, this Indian, Nauincopa, also knew the ground well [living so near it and having trodden it often since it was reputed to be so rich, among others] he found this mine, and notified his master of it. Don Amador de Cabrera filed on it and gave it the name of the Los Santos mine. This is a layer of very tough black flint; they hack away at it with picks and crowbars and get it out with very great effort [and it is of such remarkable size that it measured over 42(?) varas across and more than 80 long]. All the ore is very rich, and the vein turns down, and the deeper it gets the more it broadens out, so that in the cavity which has been hollowed out within the mine, where they are working to extract the ore, there is room for from 3,000 to 4,000 Indians, [such is its size and capacity.]

1467. Amador de Cabrera had a controversy with the Fisc over this mine, and won a writ for its exploitation; later, His Majesty bought it for 250,000 ducats; but considering he had been cheated, Cabrera again brought suit over it; in fact, all those who know and can estimate its wealth, say that it is worth over a million; it is an astonishing thing that there can be a mine worth such an amount. Much of my account is from my own observations, which I made with special particularity when I was at those mines; and part I have taken from Very Rev. Father Joseph de Acosta, who wrote a learned and minute account. At the rumor and report of this wealth of quicksilver, many Indians and Spaniards rushed in from all sides to take part in exploiting them; among them was a certain Pedro Fernández de Velasco, who, up in New Spain, had used quicksilver on their ore; he offered to treat the Potosi ore with quicksilver, and made the test when Don Francisco de Toledo was governing Peru, in the year 1571; he was successful and it was the salvation of the mines, because with this process they got [infinitely] much more silver than by smelting, and gained not only in the valuable metals but also in the excavation (desmontes), for the quicksilver gathers up all the silver, even if the ore is very low grade, and that is not the case with smelting. Accordingly, from the time that the Potosi mines were discovered in the year 1545-they were filed on under the date of April 21 of that year-the ore was treated with fire for a period of 26 years up to 1571, without any knowledge or realization of the quicksilver process before that year. Taking one year with another, they extract over 10,000 quintals of quicksilver; much is filched and sold underhand (debajo de la cuerda), as they say; they are worth to His Majesty each year more than 400,000 assay pesos, without reckoning in the profit from the quicksilver at Potosí, which is another great source of wealth. This must suffice, and we will describe some of the properties of quicksilver.

# Chapter LXVIII [69] (70)

Treating of the Preceding Theme, and the Properties of Quicksilver.

**1468.** This metal has no form and consistency like the others but is liquid; but even so, it is heavier than any of the rest except gold;

for all the others, even a piece of iron or steel, float upon it without sinking, as I have myself witnessed, like a straw on water; gold alone sinks in it. Its best and most characteristic peculiarity is its affinity for gold wherever it scents it; it assimilates it from among other metals, seizes it and unites with it, so that fire alone with its powerful force succeeds in breaking up the union and amity, and it leaves the gold transformed into vapor and smoke, as if regretting that the fire has forcibly severed it from its beloved friend the gold, for whom it so yearns. So those who reduce the ore with quicksilver and are acquainted with its characteristics, in order to escape and save themselves from the fatal results of its use, and avoid quicksilver poisoning, use gold as an antidote; they choose it as godfather so that they may take no harm. So when they have to deal with quicksilver and fire, they usually take a gold piece, say a castellano, and pulverize and swallow it; and as whatever mercury enters the system as vapor by the mouth, nose, ears, and eyes, settles in the stomach, feeling gold near, it leaves all else for the shelter and embrace of its friend, gold; and thus the individual escapes any harm it might cause him, and he evacuates it later, combined with the gold, by the ordinary channel; and then the fire again dissolves the union.

1469. Next after gold it yearns for silver and embraces it, though not with the haste it shows for gold; but it separates it from the other metals with which it has combined, and nothing but fire will force them apart, as has been described. Quicksilver shows no affinity for other metals; in fact, it rather drives them off, corroding and perforating them, for it yearns only for the good and highly esteemed and embraces it, and scorns and drives away all that is not. For this reason they ordinarily put it either in clay vessels or in dressed sheepskins or other animals' skins, for it bores through vessels of copper, bronze or other metal, and ruins them. Hence Pliny called it a poison for everything, for it eats into them and spoils them; but in itself it is so scatheless that besides its faculty of moving about, which was responsible for its ancient name of argentum vivum (quicksilver), even though it be divided up into a thousand tiny drops, they combine again and form one whole just as if they had not been separated; and while it segregates gold or silver from copper, it serves also to unite them, for they use it for the process of gilding. And besides all these characteristics mentioned, the thing which most surprises about it is that while it is one of the heaviest substances in the world, in a twinkling it becomes one of the lightest, i.e., vapor, in which form it rises when decomposed; but though it is now so light, at the loss of heat it cools off again and immediately changes into the heaviest substance in existence, its liquid form, for it coagulates and drops down again, becoming quicksilver; but if they apply fire to it, it turns again into vapor at once—an extraordinary and unique transmutation of such a light substance into such a heavy one.

CHAPTER LXIX [66] (71)

Continuing the Preceding Theme, of the Characteristics of Quicksilver.

**1470.** The ancients did not appreciate all these characteristics of quicksilver, for Pliny, in book 33, chapter 6, says that mercury yearns only for gold, and embraces it alone; but experience has demonstrated in our own day that the widest use for quicksilver and its greatest service is with silver; for such great wealth has been derived from silver at Potosi and the other mines in Peru that in the 59 years during which silver has been extracted by the quicksilver process, from the year of 1571 up to the present year of [1628] 1630, from Potosi alone the quicksilver process has yielded more than 600 millions in silver, not counting what has been treated in other Peruvian mines, and from a much earlier period from all the mines in New Spain; so that I infer that the greatest use of quicksilver has been with silver.

And so at the rumor of the rich deposits of mercury in the days of Don Francisco de Toledo, in the years 1570 and 1571, they started the construction of the town of Huancavelica de Oropesa in a pleasant valley at the foot of the range. It will contain 400 Spanish residents, as well as many temporary shops of dealers in merchandise and groceries, heads of trading houses, and transients, for the town has a lively commerce. It has a parish church with vicar and curate, a Dominican convent, and a Royal Hospital under the Brethren of San Juan de Diós for the care of the sick, especially Indians on the range; it has a chaplain with a salary of 800 assay pesos contributed by His Majesty; he is curate of the parish of San Sebastián de Indios, for the Indians who have come to work in the mines and who have settled down there. There is another parish on the other side of the town, known as Santa Ana, and administered by Dominican friars.

1471. Every 2 months His Majesty sends by the regular courier from Lima 60,000 pesos to pay for the mita of the Indians, for the crews are changed every 2 months, so that merely for the Indian mita payment [in my understanding of it] 360,000 pesos are sent

from Lima every year, not to speak of much besides, which all crosses at his risk that cold and desolate mountain country which is the puna and has nothing on it but llama ranches.

Up on the range there are 3,000 or 4,000 Indians working in the mine; it is colder up there than in the town, since it is higher. The mine where the mercury is located, is a large layer which they keep following downward. When I was in that town (which was in the year 1616) I went up on the range and down into the mine, which at that time was considerably more than [100] 130 stades deep. The ore was very rich black flint, and the excavation so extensive that it held more than 3,000 Indians working away hard with picks and hammers, breaking up that flint ore; and when they have filled their little sacks, the poor fellows, loaded down with ore, climb up those ladders or rigging, some like masts and others like cables, and so trying and distressing that a man empty-handed can hardly get up them. That is the way they work in this mine, with many lights and the loud noise of the pounding and great confusion. Nor is that the greatest evil and difficulty; that is due to thievish and undisciplined superintendents. [The fact is that] As that great vein of ore keeps going down deeper and they follow its rich trail, in order to make sure that no section of that ore shall drop on top of them, they keep leaving supports or pillars of the ore itself, even if of the richest quality, and they necessarily help to sustain and insure each section with less risk. This being so, there are men so heartless that for the sake of stealing a little rich ore, they go down out of hours and deprive the innocent Indians of this protection by hollowing into these pillars to steal the rich ore in them, and then a great section is apt to fall in and kill all the Indians, and sometimes the unscrupulous and grasping superintendents themselves, as happened when I was in that locality; and much of this is kept quiet so that it shall not come to the notice of the manager and cause the punishment of the accomplices. There is much that might be said and animadverted on this theme, but the little I have noted [to tell] will indicate how much more needs to be corrected.

**1472.** A small river runs from N. to S. along the E. side of the town, and on the opposite side [of the river] there is a mysterious fount or spring of very beneficial hot water; I bathed in it and recovered my health. All the water from this spring turns into stone when it cools off, and if they want to make molds so as to turn out the stone as they desire, they can do it easily. The whole town is built and constructed of this stone. If any animal drinks this water, he dies. The town has this rich range of mercury ore on its WSW.,

and is built at its foot. To the E., and opposite the mercury range, there is another high range with very rich silver mines, with another [range] to the E. with rich tin mines, and to the W., others with copper; these are all in an area of half a league.

# CHAPTER LXX [67] (7)

Of the Manner of Handling and Treating the Mercury Ore.

1473. This is how they extract the mercury. On the other side of the town there are structures where they grind up the mercury ore and then put it in jars with molds like sugar loaves on top of them, with many little holes, and others on top of them, flaring and plastered with mud, and a channel for it to drip into and pass into the jar or place where it is to fall. Then they roast the ore with a straw fire from the plant growing on the puna, like esparto grass, which they call ichu; that is the best sort of fire for the treatment of this ore. Under the onset of this fire it melts and the mercury goes up in vapor or exhalation until, passing through the holes in the first mold, it hits the body of the second, and there it coagulates, rests, and comes to stop where they have provided lodging for it; [but] if it does not strike any solid body while it is hot, it rises as vapor until it cools and coagulates and starts falling downward again. Those who carry out the reduction of this ore have to be very careful and test cautiously; they must wait till the jars are cold before uncovering them for otherwise they may easily get mercury poisoning and if they do, they are of no further use; their teeth fall out, and some die. After melting and extracting the mercury by fire, they put it in dressed sheepskins to keep it in His Majesty's storehouses, and from there they usually transport it on llamaback to the port of Chincha (which is 5 leagues N. of Pisco), where there is a vault and a Factor appointed by the Royal Council, and he has charge of it there; then they freight it on shipboard to the port of San Marcos de Arica, from which it is carried by herds of llamas and mules to Potosí. In the treatment of the silver they use up every year more than 6,000 quintals, plus 2,000 more derived from the ore dust, i.e., the silver and mercury which was lost and escaped from the first washing of the ore, made in vats.

The way they handle this is as follows: every year they burn over 300,000 quintals of this ore dust in ovens, which are made in Tarapaya and other places; out of it they get a large amount of very highgrade silver together with the mercury referred to; and since when I deal with the district of the Archdiocese of the Charcas, I shall tell what I know about the mines of Potosí and their processes, this statement must suffice with regard to quicksilver and the district of Huancavelica. The Viceroy appoints a Governor here for the administration of justice, to see that the complement of the mita of Indians coming to work in the mines, is full, and to supervise the smelting.

1474. From Huancavelica it is 30 leagues to Guamanga. One sets out for the King's Highway, which lies to the E., and passes between sierras and slopes to the apartments and tambos of Picoy. From there one proceeds to Parco; here are other apartments of ancient Indian times, which today serve as tambo or tavern for travelers. This is on the ridge of a high sierra. On the way there is a short desert stretch which they call the Pucará, which means stronghold or fortress. Here God in His Divine Providence created so many cliffs of alabaster and other valuable stone in so many shapes that from near at hand they resemble men in armor on horseback, and other likenesses of saints and, in short, of as many effigies as can be imagined, so many did Nature create here, with many other strange and wonderful things. In fact, when I went through that locality in the year 1616, I was astounded as I contemplated with attention the first wonder of the world (in my judgment), which God created in that spot, so that He might be glorified there by His creatures, and I gave Him infinite thanks for it. In connection with it there are many pyramids and battlemented towers formed out of those same cliffs, so that from a distance it looks like a city with fine buildings and towers; and it may rightfully be given that name and title, for in that same spot, in these very cliffs, there are very large caves and caverns, which people can live in; and in particular, near the road and beside a small watercourse there is one of such remarkable size that it might serve by itself as a fortress. It is more than 200 cubits high, and over 300 paces in circuit, and under it there are such large caves and hollows that well over 100 men and 50 horses could find place there; they regularly put up travelers there during the rainy season, and it serves as a refuge against the rains; and the muleteers also regularly stop off there with all the merchandise they are carrying, for it not to get wet; all they are transporting, they put there. This region is all cold country, about which there is much that might be said.

1475. From here one goes on to Parco, and from there to the Huanta Valley, in which lie the Sangaro apartments which serve at present as tambo for travelers. From there it is 5 leagues to the city of Guamanga. Off to one side, and a league away, is the Viñaque

Valley, where there are huge ruins of proud and very ancient buildings. The Indians have a tradition that they date from before the Incas and they said that they were built by white people with beards, and some even say that there was a slab there with many letters carved on it. Of these buildings, worthy of everlasting memory, there were many in those Kingdoms and in those of New Spain, like those which stood in the province of Yucatan where the city of Mérida was founded, and that was the reason they gave it that name : and those of Gracias a Diós in the Province of Honduras. These we are perfectly certain were not the work of Indians, although in the days of the Incas in Peru and of the Motezumas in Mexico, very sumptuous ones were erected, together with others existing in the Kingdoms of Peru. These rouse much speculation as to when they could have been built, and though in this respect it would appear that they belong to many different ages and centuries, since those who inhabited those regions had no written language, these works were consigned to oblivion, and there is nothing but the ruins to prove that those buildings were in existence. We are the more confused and puzzled in that we do not know when or how they were built, at what date or by what people; and that would all be transmitted to us with truth and certainty by the nice and discreet artifice of letters. And since this subject needs much discussion and thought as to who the people could have been who built them, and where they came from, I shall tell what I can deduce, with divine favor, on another occasion, and shall now proceed with the description and follow the route from Guamanga to Cuzco. Along this road lie the hills and the plain of Chupa [on the Cuzco-Guamanga road] where in the year 1542, on September 16, took place the bloody battle between His Majesty's forces, under the command of Vaca de Castro, and those of Don Diego de Almagro, on which occasion His Majesty's army lost over 300 Spaniards and among them Gen. Pedro Álvarez Holguin with many other gentlemen; and almost as many more died in Don Pedro's army, as is recounted by the historians.

1476. Eleven leagues this side of the city of Guamanga are the famous buildings and apartments of Vilcas, which was the center of the Incas' empire, for they say that it is exactly as far from Quito to Vilcas as it is from Vilcas to the farthest limit of the Incas' conquests in Chile, which was up to the Rio de Maule. These buildings in Vilcas are at present in a ruinous state, like the others in that Kingdom. The Inca Yupangui ordered them built in connection with the Temple of the Sun. Those who succeeded him kept adding to their size and decoration with the riches which they offered. The

temple was all built of beautifully cut and laid stone slabs, set one upon another without any mortar, so that it appeared to be one piece. There were two great portals for entrance; there were two stone stairways very well constructed, with 30 steps; and within there were apartments for the priests and the servitors who officiated there and who looked after the Mamaconas, who were very pious nuns. The statue of the Sun which they had in this temple, was very rich in gold, and much was buried, and there were many jewels of high value in its adornment. We have information about the Indians engaged in the service of this temple and castle, in which the Inca had established a Governor of his own family and with such authority that he was respected and obeyed like his own royal person; there were 40,000 Indians apportioned for this in their mitas, and merely for the gates of the temple and the palaces there were 40 doorkeepers.

# CHAPTER LXXI [68] (73)

Concluding the Brief Description of the Diocese of Guamanga.

1477. Where these buildings stood there was a plaza on the top of a mountain, which they regularly kept very clear. To the E. of it stood a shrine (adoratorio, teocalli) of the Inca lords, very nicely built of stone and surrounded by a low wall. From this shrine another terrace proceeded, like a passageway and likewise enclosed by a wall; and at the end of it there was a stone slab, very well cut, II feet long and 7 wide, which was the spot where the Incas sat when they came there to pray; they say that it was covered and adorned with many gold jewels and precious stones of great value. Here they kept buried great treasures in gold and silver and other valuables, as was their custom. The Spaniards found a great deal and carried it off, but the greater part is still buried there underground.

Back of this shrine stood the castles or royal palaces of Tupac Inca Yupangui and other [very large] buildings and a settlement containing over 1,000 houses which served as warehouses or magazines in which to keep supplies of provisions, weapons and munitions of war, and for storage of the clothing and other tribute which were offered and brought in by the adjoining provinces, subject like colonies to these palaces, for it was like a capital of the Kingdom. On the other side, along a low ridge, there was another large settlement for the same purpose. In the center there was a large plaza and in the middle of it a seat where the Inca or Governor took his place to witness the festivals, dances, and other celebrations. It certainly rouses one's compassion and regret to see such elaborate magnificence in ruins, and to think that the unfortunates who ordered it built for their aggrandizement and their good polity, and those who, in obedience to their superiors, constructed them, never attained the knowledge of our Holy Faith and are therefore in Hell. [God Our Lord in His Divine Mercy grant us grace to serve Him and escape it.]

1478. Seven leagues farther, on the Cuzco road, is the village of Uramarca; at the end of it one crosses the large Río de Vilcas by a rope bridge with very thick cables made of withes which they call bejucos (rattans), like willow withes; these are anchored and fixed very tight to some walls on the one side of the river, and to others made for the purpose on the farther side, and stretched taut; every-body crosses by it. The river at this point will be as broad as the Genil at Écija, i.e., over 150 paces. To the W. lies the Province of Los Soras, and to the E., the Andes and the Provinces of Viticos, where Mango Inca Yupangui ensconced himself and from which his followers sallied forth to raid the Spaniards. That was why they founded and settled the city of Guamanga, which is the limit of the district of the Diocese of Guamanga; here it borders on the Province of Andahuailas, which belongs to the Diocese of Cuzco.

## CHAPTER LXXII [69] (74)

Of the District of Andahuailas, and of Other Provinces in the Diocese of Cuzco.

1479. Beyond Uramarca, on the King's Highway to Cuzco and in its district, is the Province of Andahuailas, which the Indians in ancient times called Andabaylas. The natives of this province and its tribe had been very brave and warlike with all the neighboring and adjoining provinces of other tribes; they called themselves Chancas, and had as tradition an amusing extravaganza about their ancestors, who, they said, were born and had their source in the Lake of Chocloccocha which lies close to some of the mines where they founded the city of Castrovirreina when Don García de Mendoza was Viceroy; they gave it that name for his wife, Doña Teresa de Castro. Leaving aside the fiction of their origin in the lake, it is a fact that these Chancas were very valiant warriors in their day; they went and conquered many tribes, and sought out new territories to settle and colonize for the perpetuation of their name; and when they reached the extensive province of Andahuailas, which was thickly settled with members of the Quichua tribe, they conquered it; and since it had a good climate and soil and fertile fields for their crops and animals, they colonized it and made their home there;

but since they were near the imperial city of Cuzco, the headquarters and court of the Inca kings, lords at that time of that empire, they had great fights and battles with them; and they went with a large army to surround and capture Cuzco by force of arms. Their presumption so startled the Inca Yaguarhuacac that with all his Incas and fellow citizens, he abandoned the city, since they felt they were no longer secure there; and if the Chancas had speeded up their campaign, they could have captured it and become the masters of that empire. But it seems that they had about the same experience as the famous Hannibal the Carthaginian; he proceeded victorious and triumphal through Italy and blockaded Rome, and if his good fortune had held, he would have triumphed over Rome and all the Roman Empire. But fate was adverse; he raised the siege and the Senate followed him up; Scipio went over into Africa, blockaded Carthage and did not raise the siege until he had laid waste the city with fire and sword and beheaded all its citizens. The same thing happened to the valiant Chancas; not having followed up their victory with speed, they were later beaten by the Inca Viracocha; but they were treated with greater humanity by the Incas than the African Carthaginians were by the Romans, for the latter were deprived of their wretched lives, their city, and their republic with great cruelty by the Romans; the Chancas were merely conquered and made their vassals by the Incas, who visited them in their provinces, honored them and restored them to their territories, thus acting far better than the Romans. Hannibal, the famous Carthaginian general, after his misfortunes, rather than see himself ordered about and triumphed over by the Romans, went off to foreign realms.

1480. But Ancoallo, the famous general of the Chancas, after the defeat of his tribe, although restored to his territories and honored by the Incas, rather than be ordered about by them and by their governors, expatriated himself and abandoned his country, taking some of his men with him; he won great victories over the Tarmas, Chinchas, and other tribes, and went up into those wild mountains where he continued to bring under his rule all the tribes he came upon, flecing from the authority of the Incas, until in the interior of that extensive region he found fertile, rich, and suitable country, which he colonized. Many of the Indians say that this was on the banks of a large lake, on which and round about it there are large settlements, very extensive, of which Casas Blancas (White Houses) is the court city and capital; these have a large population. The country is very rich, with many traders and much commerce, and many silversmiths among them. There is a tradition that this tribe

started in by the Province of Chinchaycocha and went on down through Paucartambo and then proceeded over those rough mountains and deep rivers, and that their descendants have it all under their sway today. Besides the story of their origin in a lake, they say that their father was a savage lion, and they hold and worship the lion as a god, and they have him on their insignia, and in their solemn feasts they are accustomed to dress themselves in lions' skins to show their bravery, as one can remark any day in their festivals. Leaving them in their territories, I would say that the Province of Andahuailas comes 40 leagues before Cuzco; it is extensive, has many villages, bright skies, and a marvelous climate. The land is very fertile and produces wheat, corn, and other cereals in quantities, with abundance of native and Spanish fruit; it has rich pasturage, with large ranches of llamas, cattle, sheep, and hogs, and is prolific in everything. It was a thickly settled province, but the civil wars among the Spaniards reduced its population greatly.

1481. They were faithful servants of His Majesty on many occasions, notably when Licentiate Pedro de la Gasca led all His Majesty's forces against Gonzalo Pizarro; they toiled and suffered much at that time. The province is extensive; some of its villages are Chuquibamba, Utunsulla [1 line illegible] and others. There is a Corregidor here, appointed by the Viceroy to provide satisfactory administration and for the dispensing of justice. Chalcumarca and Suramarca were Andahuailas fortresses of Ancoallo's the famous general of those provinces [Here several lines deleted, duplicating description of Parinacocha in ¶ 1486].

1482. From Andahuailas to the Rio and valley of Amancay, or Abancay as the Spaniards call it, it is a 9 leagues' journey to Cuzco. To the E. are the Provinces of Curapampa, Cochacassa, Quinualla, Tacmar, and others near the Cuzco King's Highway; farther inland is the great Cordillera and the Andes, where there are very rough mountains and deep rivers; among them is the Province of Vilcabamba where Prince Mango Inca took refuge. The country is very uneven, hot, with very rugged mountains and forests. This province contains the very rich Vilcabamba silver mines; a town of Spaniards was established there and named San Francisco de la Victoria. It is 25 leagues ENE. of Cuzco, and the residence of a Corregidor appointed by the Viceroy for its satisfactory administration and the dispensing of justice. It abounds in corn and all else necessary for human life.

# CHAPTER LXXIII [ ] (75)

Continuing the Description of the Diocese of Cuzco.

1483. On this same parallel to the W., between Amancay and the Province of Andahuailas, are the Provinces of Los Cotabambas, Cotaneras, and others of the Quichua race; they are rich in llamas and fields of corn, potatoes, and other products and root crops, and have large settlements, with a Corregidor appointed by the Viceroy for the administration of justice. Near this province is that of Guamampalla; to go from there W. to the plains one must cross 30 leagues of cold desert puna, uninhabitable, with nothing but vicuñas and guanacos; this desert is called that of Huallaripa, where there is a very rich range of silver and gold ore. Returning to the Cuzco King's Highway, one travels 9 leagues from Andahuailas to the Rio and valley of Abancay, where there is a bridge like the others, for the river is deep. Along its banks is the Amancay Valley, which means White Lily Valley, from the numbers of them there, [quite] like our Spanish ones, but without their fragrance. This valley is hemmed in by sierras, and though a little one, is fertile and prolific, with much native and Spanish fruit, and corn, wheat, and other cereals. On this river in the year 1537, Commander Don Diego de Almagro captured Capt. Alonso de Alvarado, from whom are descended the Condes de Villamor; he was going to Cuzco to be General of the army of Marqués Don Francisco Pizarro, as is related by the historians who have recounted those civil wars.

**1484.** Eight leagues beyond Amancay is the large Río de Apurímac, which passes through depressions in the land, and in these bottoms there are little valleys with Spanish and native fruit. These dales were colonized by the Inca Yupangui; he had Indians come up from the Nasca valleys for them, since the river runs in deep cuts where it is hot, and the sierra Indians could not live and farm in such hot country, for it was at once fatal to them. That was the reason the Inca had them brought up from the plains and valleys of the Nasca region, which have the same climate. These transplanted Indians are called Mitimaes.

1485. Between the Río de Amancay and the Río de Apurímac, to the E., is the Province of Yanaguara; its first village is Piti. It is over 20 leagues long and 15 wide; there are more than 30 villages in its district. W. of this province lies that of the Aymaraes, with 15 leagues in between of cold desolate puna, uninhabitable and with nothing on it but a few cabins which they call miches; the Indian shepherds live in them, taking care of their flocks of llamas; at present there are also large flocks of Spanish merino sheep with very fine wool; there are guanacos, vicuñas, a few ostriches, and vizcachas, which are like rabbits in form and color, except that they have large tails; they move about among the rocks with much grace and agility. At the end of the desert, which is where the extensive Province of Los Aymaraes begins, there is a high ridge called Musanca, which at times has served as a fortress for the Indians.

1486. The large Province of Los Aymaraes, whose capital is the village of Guaquirca, is very broken country with high mountain ranges. Most of the villages are built on the slopes of the sierras, and when it is a day's journey from one to another, just with the descent and the climb, one can nevertheless look and hear from one village to the other. The province is thickly populated and is rich in mines of silver, gold, lead, and other metals; in the ravines there are large valleys, where they raise much wheat, corn, potatoes, and all the Spanish and native varieties of fruit and cereals; they have large ranches of all sorts of cattle and livestock. The province is more than 30 leagues long and over 15 broad; it has a Corregidor appointed by the Viceroy for its satisfactory administration and the dispensing of justice. On the W. it is bounded by the Chaparra Valley and the plains of the Diocese of Arequipa; on the S. by Los Collaguas and Condesuyos of that same Diocese; on the ESE. by the Province of Omasayos and others; on the N. by the extensive Province of Los Pariguanacochas, which the Spaniards call Parinacochas. To the N. of the Province of the Aymaraes, one crosses the Coporuna desert, where there are snow-clad ranges and at their peak a beautiful snow pyramid, whose unique beauty made it an object of worship to the heathen Indians. Then comes the extensive Province of Los Parinacochas, which means province with a lake of flamingos. This is very large, fertile, and prolific; they raise corn, wheat, potatoes, and all the other native and Spanish cereals and fruit, and have ranches of all kinds of livestock. The country is very irregular, like that of Los Aymaraes, with rich silver and gold ore bodies all over the province. Adjoining it are Allca, Taurisma, Cotahuasi, Pumatambo, and others. The Viceroy appoints a Corregidor for its satisfactory administration. On the N. it is bounded by the Provinces of Los Soras and Lucanas of the Diocese of Guamanga; on the W. by the Chala valleys, the Atiquipa lomas, and other valleys.

1487. To the ESE. of the Province of Los Aymaraes lies that of Los Omasayos, whose chief village is Chirirquí. This province

is thickly settled and rich in llama ranches, and at present they have large ranches also of our Castilian sheep. Its boundaries run with those of the Aymará province and many others. The Viceroy appoints a Corregidor for its good government. On the E. it is bounded by the desolate deserts of the sierra and the cold puna, where the only living things are the vicuñas, guanacos, and other wild animals; beyond is the Province of Yanaguara. On the S. it is bounded by Los Collaguas and Condesuyos.

1488. ESE. of this province, and between it and the Rio de Apurimac is the Province of Los Chumbivilcas. This is extensive and thickly populated, with quantities of all kinds of livestock. It is 20 leagues long and over 10 broad. On the W. it is bounded by the Provinces of Los Condesuyos and Collaguas. It is provided with everything necessary for human life. In its district they raise quantities of potatoes, quinua, corn, and much native and Spanish fruit. It has a Corregidor appointed by the Viceroy for the dispensing of justice; he resides in the village of Velille.

1489. From the Río de Apurímac one proceeds to the royal palaces of Limatambo, crossing the Vilcaconga Sierra, where Don Diego de Almagro had a battle with the Indians and scattered them before he made his entry into Cuzco. Two leagues farther on is the Sacsahuana Valley, which lies between high sierras; although small, it is prolific in wheat, corn, and other cereals and Spanish and native fruit. It was at the head of this valley that Gonzalo Pizarro and his few followers were defeated, the majority of his force having passed over to His Majesty's army which was commanded by Licentiate Pedro de la Gasca; this was on April 9 of the year 1548. It was here also that Don Francisco Pizarro ordered that Atahualpa's General, Calicuchima, should be burned. This valley once contained sumptuous buildings and many places for recreation, to which the lords and many people from Cuzco came for their diversion. At present they raise wheat and corn with other cereals and root crops; residents of Cuzco have cattle ranches here, and sugar plantations, with a few mills. It is 5 leagues from the Sacsahuana Valley to the imperial city; part of it is paved highway (calçada) and part of it is up and down slight grades before reaching the city.

#### CHAPTER LXXIV ( )

Of the Imperial City of Cuzco, Court City and Capital of the Kingdoms of Peru; of Its Splendors, and Its Founding.

1490. The imperial city of Cuzco, which was another Rome for those southern regions in the days of its heathendom, was founded

(Marg.: in the year 1030, so far as I have been able to learn the date) by the Inca Mango Capac, the first Inca King. Giving out that he was child of the Sun and that he had come down from Heaven, with the Queen his wife, they left the great lake of Collao, called Titicaca, as is related by the Inca Garcilaso, book I of his "Commentaries," folios 16 and 172. When he had reached the Cuzco Valley, which is a plain surrounded by sierras, and had realized by portents that it was the site on which he should build, he began to teach the Law of Nature and publish it abroad to all those savage tribes, showing them how to live orderly lives; and thus he brought many to allegiance to him and to his civilized manner of living, and the Queen his wife did her part to the same end. So they kept adding many people to their settlement and their system, and he built the part of the city which is known as Hanan Cuzco, which means Upper Cuzco; and the Queen built Hurin Cuzco, which is Lower Cuzco.

This city continued to be embellished by its kings with great temples, fine walls, and substantial buildings; it had four watercourses which irrigated its valley. It has a cool, temperate climate, which neither tires nor tries one; its brilliant atmosphere is always the same, trending rather toward cold and dry than toward hot and moist; for this reason meat keeps a long time without spoiling, and the city is free from all kinds of annoying creatures.

1491. In its great days the city was divided into two parts by the east-bound highway, which they call Andesuio; the northern part they called Hanan Cuzco, i.e., Upper Cuzco, and the southern, Hurin Cuzco, i.e., Lower Cuzco. The first houses built were on the slopes of the Sacsahuamán hill, which rose to the NE. of the city, and on the crest of that hill. Later, the Incas built a famous fortress there, which was [later] almost completely dismantled by the Spaniards after their capture of the city, in order to build their houses in it.

1492. Besides being divided into 2 parts, as has been described— Hanan Cuzco and Hurin Cuzco, separated by the Andes highway the city was subdivided into 12 wards. The first was named Collcampata, which means narrow path (andén); it was here that Inca Mango Capac built his royal palace, which afterward belonged to Paullu, son of Huayna Capac; there was a great shelter (galpón) there which served as assembly place for rainy days; it was there that the Indians celebrated and solemnized their festivals.

1493. The ward which came second, going E., was named Cantutpata, which means flower border (andén de flores), because of the

flowers there, like our pinks in Spain; the plant on which they grow is like the buckthorn such as they have in Andalusia. The third ward, continuing within the enclosure toward the E.,

The third ward, continuing within the enclosure toward the E., was Pumacurcu, which means lion beam, because it was in this ward that they kept the lions tied to beams, which had been brought from the Andes as presents for the Incas.

1494. Next to the foregoing is the Tococachi ward; that means salt of the nostrils (? sal de ventana); it was here that they built the Franciscan convent.

Immediately following this, as one turns S., is the fifth ward, Munaycenga, which means love the nose (? ama la nariz).

**1495.** In the sixth place, as one continues turning somewhat toward the S., is the Rimacpampa ward, which means talking plaza, for it was here that public proclamation was made of everything that belonged and pertained to good government, so that everyone should know it. The road to Collao known as Collasuyo started at this plaza.

The seventh place was occupied by the S. ward, Pumachupa, which means lion's tail, because this ward tapers to an end between two watercourses which finally unite, or else because it was the last ward in the city and there were lions there. Here the city has grown westward more than 1,000 paces and the village of Cayaucachi, which was formerly at that distance from the city, is at present within it.

**1496.** Next to the last on the W. comes the Chaquilchaca ward, the starting point of the Condesuyo highway; near it were two underground conduits of excellent water piped here from time immemorial; they called them Colquemachiguay, which means silver serpents, from the water and the twisting of the pipes. On this side the city reaches Chaquilchaca.

In the ninth place as one makes the circuit of the city from W. to N., comes the Picchu ward, [which was] outside of the city.

Next to it in circuit is the ward named Quillapata, which is likewise outside the city; that means tenth place.

1497. The large Carmenga ward follows in the same circuit to the N.; this is the starting point of what they call the Chinchaisuyu highway, to all the lowlands, Lima, Quito, and all the other provinces lying to the N. Along the crest of the Carmenga ridge there were numerous turrets arranged at intervals so as to keep track of the sun's movements and declination, a matter in which they were very solicitous and precise.

**1498.** Beyond Carmenga as one turns E., comes the ward called Huaca-Puncu, which means or signifies the gate of the sanctuary or temple. A watercourse entered the city by this ward, running from

E. to W.; then it followed a long, wide street through the main plaza of the city and after crossing the whole city in a southerly direction trending somewhat to the W., it flowed out by the ward called Pumachupa. They called the point where the stream entered, Huacapuncu, on account of the Temple of the Sun and the House of the Virgins, and its point of issue, Lion's Tail, to indicate that the city was all one sanctuary, in which such sacred ordinances were promulgated and observed, not only in the city but in all the wide and far-flung empire it kept under its sway and allegiance. This Carmenga ward adjoined that of Collampata, with which we began the description of the 12 wards comprised in the circuit of the city; they were segments of it, and in them all the caciques and potentates (curacas) of all the provinces and tribes within the empire had their residences and settlements for their visits to the court, and where they kept their children for their training in the excellent education and statecraft of the Inca kings and their courtiers.

1499. Four main highways left the city for the four parts of the empire, following the four winds. The one which issued toward the N. for Lima, Quito, and the other lowland provinces, was called Chinchaisuyu. The one which left to the W. for the Provinces of Aymaraes, Collaguas, Condesuyos, and Arequipa, they called Cuntisuio, and the Spaniards Condesuyos. The one which started S. toward Collao and all its provinces, going to La Paz, the Charcas, Potosí, and all the upland provinces and the Kingdom of Chile, they called Collasuio, and the Spaniards, the Collao Highway. The road running E. they called Antisuio, and the Spaniards, the Andes Highway.

1500. Corresponding to these four roads, the Inca kings had divided their empire into four parts for its satisfactory administration, and in conformity with this plan they kept locating the tribes which they brought under subjection. It was the first king, Mango Capac, who inaugurated this; and so for the tribes conquered to the S., they established a ward or suburb connected with the city, and similarly for the other quarters of the compass; according to the location of the provinces of the conquered peoples, they established residences for them for their visits in the court city, so that they might have their own homes and section in which to live in harmony with their ancient usages. This was carried out with such orderly system that if one contemplated the 12 wards in which dwelt so many peoples, foreign and widely separated by all the distance between Pasto and Quito, and Chile, etc., over an expanse of more than 1,000 leagues, one found that each nationality and province had its abode by itself in the place and section prescribed for it by the governors and ministers whom the Inca kings maintained in the city for that purpose; and thus the city comprised the whole empire.

# CHAPTER LXXIII [72] (75)

Continuing the Description of the Imperial City of Cuzco.

**1501.** Each nationality followed the usages of its own country and kept the customs [and ways] of its ancestors, and so they were easily recognized by the insignia and tokens they wore on their heads and by their use of their own costumes which the kings expressly allowed them to keep so that they might be recognized and not be confused. Furthermore they governed with great consideration and were obeyed, respected, and worshiped by all their vassals; and for that purpose, although each tribe and province kept its native mother tongue, the Incas so managed that they all learned their language, which is commonly called the Lengua General, because it is generally spoken in the whole Kingdom of Peru; it is current among all those tribes whom they conquered, for a distance of over 1,500 leagues, being spoken from Popayán to Chile and Tucumán, and they conducted their administration and government in it, and were beloved and obeyed by their vassals, even in countries and regions so remote.

The main city abode of the Incas of the blood royal, and the homes of their kings, stood inside of the 12 wards or suburbs of their vassals. I shall describe this as concisely and clearly as I can, and to that end I would say that the Sacsahuamán ridge rises to the N. of the city and that a watercourse flows down from it from N. to S., through to the last ward, which is called Pumachupa (Marg.: Mangó-Capac). This stream separated the city from the wards or suburbs, and the principal streets ran N. and S.

**1502.** Near this ridge the first king, Mango Capac, built his royal palaces. A street ran down from there which today is called the Calle de San Augustín; it ended at the Plaza Rimacpampa, where they proclaimed and published abroad everything that concerned good government, so that all should be cognizant of it. From there four other streets ran crosswise, E. and W.; the Incas of the blood royal lived on them, segregated according to their ayllos or ancestry; although they were all descended from the first king, Mango Capac, they had nevertheless their distinctions in their filiation by this or that king in their immediate ancestry; thus every male descendant of the blood royal was called an Inca, and each woman a Palla.

1503. On this same Calle de S. Augustín, on the upper part of it, is the nunnery of Santa Clara; farther downtown, where the

Cathedral stands, were the houses and royal palaces of the Inca Viracocha, eighth Inca king. There was also a beautiful shelter (galpón) there for the celebrations of the Indians on rainy days; this was where the Spaniards lodged and kept together when they entered that city, in readiness for what might befall. N. of the Cathedral were the palaces of Capac Yupangui, fifth Inca king; these were called Hatun Cancha, which means big ward. S. of these was another quarter which was called Pucamarca-red ward; this belonged to King Tupac Inca Yupangui, father of Huavna Capac, and was where he had his royal palaces. Adjoining them to the S. was another very large ward where many nobles lived, descendants of the Incas and lords over vassals. Near this ward in the same southerly direction was the Plaza known as Intipampa, Sun Plaza, in front of the Temple of the Sun; the Incas came here with the gifts and offerings they made him, and it was here that the priests of their heathendom accepted them; they presented them before the image of the Sun. This ward where this temple stood was named Coricancha, which means gold ward, because of the quantities of gold in this temple, with its many other riches in silver, precious stones, and many other valuable jewels. Next to this ward came that of Pumachupa, which was already suburban and the southernmost in the city.

1504. In order to continue with the clearness I postulated for my description of this city of the Incas, it is necessary to go back to the Huacapuncu ward, or the Gate of the Sanctuary, which was N. of the city's main plaza. On its S. it had the Ward of the Schools established by the Inca King Roca. This was called Yacha Huaci and was their university, where lived the learned Amautas and the Harauec, who were poets who taught the sciences. Near here, and next to the Plaza Principal, King Inca Roca built his royal palaces, which were called Coracora; that meant house where much grass was. Inca Roca was the sixth king of that empire, and his royal palaces were to the E. of the plaza.

# CHAPTER LXXIV [73] (76)

Continuing the Preceding Theme.

**1505.** W. of Coracora—the palace of Inca Roca—and with the university and schools in between, Inca Pachacutec, son of Inca Viracocha, built his royal palaces, known as Cassana, which means wonderful for its grandeur; these were beautiful structures in admirably hewn stone, and were the largest built by the Incas. Like

those built by Inca Roca, his great-grandfather, they had side doors by which they could go over to the schools to learn from the professors, and to teach also, for these two kings were great legislators, in their laws and idolatry. Close by Cassana there was a handsome shelter built at the command of Inca Pachacutec, utilized only for the celebration of their festivals on rainy days and so capacious that it held over 12,000 persons: this was where they built the Franciscan convent. In front of the Cassana palaces was the main plaza, called Huaicapata, which means festival plaza; this is the principal square of the city.

**1506.** At the S. end of the plaza, across the stream and opposite Cassana, stood the royal palaces of Huayna Capac, father of Huascar Inca and of Atahualpa, who was captured at Cajamarca by Don Francisco Pizarro and his companions. Those palaces were named Amaru Cancha, which means ward of big snakes; at the present day the Jesuit Convent stands on this site.

**1507.** In the ward running E. and W. next to the plaza and named Rimacpampa, where the nobles lived who were of the Inca blood royal, stood the royal palaces of King Sinchi Roca, second king of that empire, and immediately after them, those of his son Lloque Yupangui, the third king, and in front of them to the S., those of Mayta Capac, the fourth king and son of Lloque Yupangui.

**1508.** The royal palaces of Yaguar Huacac, seventh emperor of that empire and father of Inca Viracocha, stood likewise in the eastern quarter which runs across the city, near where the Cathedral is today and near where they had the shelters in their main plaza where they celebrated their chief festivals dedicated to the new moons of certain months; in order not to fail to hold the festival in case it rained, they had shelters for that purpose.

**1509.** When the Indians surrounded the Spaniards in this imperial city and tried to burn them out, they burned it all up except for the shelters of Cassana, Collcampata, and Amarucancha; as regards the fourth shelter, where the Spaniards were located and which served them as a fort, at the point where the Cathedral stands today, they shot countless fire arrows at it and although they landed in the straw with which the shelters were thatched and it caught fire in many places, nevertheless through God's mercy, in His divine secrets and infinite mercy, they all went out, for His Divine Majesty had already ordained that the Gospel should be preached to those blind heathen, so that they might emerge from the blindness in which the Devil had so long kept them deceived. Together with these shelters referred to, they spared the Temple of the Sun and that of Chosen Virgins

from the holocaust. Near the Virgins' Convent were the royal palaces of Inca Yupangui, father of Tupac Inca.

1510. On the W. side of the watercourse there were no royal palaces, but it was all occupied by nobles and other citizens. The plaza named Cusipata was in this quarter; that means plaza for festivals and celebrations; the Mercedarian convent is built to the S. of it, and the Franciscan convent near the Carmenga ward, toward the S. There was much other magnificence and many other splendid buildings in the imperial city of Cuzco, but I omit mention of them, for I do not possess sufficient information, and shall proceed to tell something of the glories of the Temple of the Sun, which was the Holy of Holies of those heathen; whoever desires to see and learn more details should go to Inca Garcilaso, Father Joseph de Acosta, and other historians who have described its grandeur.

# CHAPTER LXXV (74)

Of the Temple of the Sun, Its Description and Magnificence.

1511. It was Inca Mango Capac, the first king of that empire, who commenced the conquest of those savage tribes and their conversion to his false religion, giving them a civilized way of living and laving the foundations of that imperial city, queen and mistress of so many far-flung nationalities. He boasted and prided himself greatly, claiming to be child of the Sun, who had sent him to uplift them out of the blindness [illegible] and the brutish manner of life which were theirs, and to teach them a more civilized way of living, like human beings, by giving them laws for their conduct and government. Accordingly he built and consecrated a house for his father the Sun in the southern quarter of the settlement which he had begun; and the later kings, his sons and descendants, kept enriching and adorning it with unbelievable treasures, like no other sanctuary the world has ever known. The one among these rulers who most embellished it with proud and sumptuous structures was the great Inca Yupangui, father of Tupac Inca; besides erecting the edifice itself in hewn stone accurately and admirably laid, he adorned it with gold plaques and rosettes and with many precious stones of inestimable value. The temple was very high; its framework was of very valuable woods artistically carved, with occasional sheets of gold leaf which produced an excellent harmonious effect. It was thatched with icho, as is usual with the Indians in that Kingdom; this is the straw which grows out on those cold heights which they call puna, like esparto grass. At the top of the temple under the roof and running all around it

outside, there was a frieze (cenefa) of gold plate to buttress and adorn the temple; it was a good vara wide and was carved into the semblance of a crown.

**1512.** On the main façade of the temple, looking E., stood the image or statue of the Sun, made out of a huge slab of gold; his countenance was round with rays, just as he is seen in the sky. It was so gigantic that it filled the entire façade from wall to wall. On either side of this image of the Sun lay the bodies of former kings, arranged in the order of their antiquity, and their sons, so well embalmed that they looked alive; they wore their former insignia and were seated on golden thrones resting on gold slabs. Their faces were all turned toward the people below except for Huaynacapac alone; he was in the center below the figure of the Sun and faced him, as was proper for his most beloved child, and his back was turned to the people. When the Spaniards entered that imperial city, they hid them all together with uncountable treasures, and of them all, only three kings' bodies have been found, and two queens'.

**1513.** All the other walls of the temple were faced and covered with gold plaques, from the roof to the ground. The main portal of the temple was to the N., although the principal chapel was to the E. The temple had other less important doorways; they were all lined with sheets and slabs of gold. On the site of this temple stands the church and convent of the Glorious Patriarch Santo Domingo. That image and statue of the Sun fell by lot at the capture of that imperial city by the Spaniards, to a valiant pioneer by the name of Mancio Sierra de Leguisamo. They say he was a great gambler and that he gambled it away in one night, which gave rise to the saying : he gambles the sun away before it rises.

### CHAPTER LXXVI [7 ] (75)

Of the Cloister [Square] of the Moon and Other Planets, and the Garden of the Sun.

**1514.** By the Temple of the Sun there was a cloister around the upper part of which ran a gold frieze (cenefa) a vara wide, made of a sheet of gold worked into the form of a crown. Round about the interior of the cloister were arranged five large chambers; these were square and divided up and covered over in the shape of pyramids. The chamber nearest the Sun chapel was that of the Moon, his sister and wife. This and its doors were all lined with sheets of silver, like those in the Sun Temple. The Moon's countenance was like a woman's, made of one great sheet of silver; this

covered the entire façade. They came in to pay obeisance to her as to the Sun's wife and the mother of the Incas, and they offered prayers to her; they called her Mamaquilla. On either side of her were the bodies of former queens arranged in the order of their antiquity; Mama Ocllo, mother of Huayna Capac, was in the center in front of the Moon, with her face turned toward her, as was proper for the mother of such a son.

1515. The second chamber or chapel, next to that of the Moon, was dedicated to the planet Venus and the seven Pleiades and other stars. They called Venus Chasca, which means with wide curly locks; she was page for the Sun, because she always moves near him; the Pleiades and other stars were handmaids and attendants of the Moon, and for that reason they had their chapel and chamber next their mistress, whom they escort at night. This chamber was also completely lined with sheets of silver, and the ceiling covered with silver stars, in imitation of the starry heavens.

1516. Next the chamber and chapel of the planet and stars, came that of lightning, thunderbolt, and thunder, which are all included in the one word Yllapa, which means all three; they are differentiated in meaning by the accompanying verb; when one says "Did you see the yllapa?" lightning is meant; "Did you hear the yllapa?" thunder; and when one says "The yllapa fell and did such and such damage," the thunderbolt is meant. Accordingly they respected them as servants of the Sun their father, and built a chapel for them to stay in.

**1517.** The fourth apartment or chapel they dedicated to the rainbow, which they called Cuychu, for they perceived and realized that it proceeded from the Sun, and so they adopted it as their escutcheon, chevron, and coat of arms, setting great store by it, since they were children of the Sun. This whole chapel was lined with sheets of gold, on which the rainbow was painted in a most natural manner, with all its colors, and so large that it extended from one wall to the other.

**1518.** The fifth apartment or chapel served as a sacristy, where the High Priest had his headquarters, as well as the others who took part in the temple ministrations and the service of the Sun. This was likewise lined and decorated from top to bottom with slabs and sheets of gold. The High Priest was called Villacumu, which the Spaniards write Villaoma; this meant soothsayer or wizard. He interpreted to the people his consultations with the Sun and all the other nonsense and mystifications which seemed good to him, and carried it all off; they were always of the Incas' blood royal. All

their deceitful ways of sacrificing and hoodwinking the people may be seen in Inca Garcilaso, in Father Acosta, and other historians.

1519. Besides the magnificence already described, and the majesty and splendor of the temple, there were 12 doorways leading from it and the chambers or chapels of the moon and stars, etc., to the cloister. Ten of them were lined with sheets of gold; only the two of the moon and stars were silver-lined, thus being different and distinguishable from the others. For its majesty and splendor the temple had a garden with everything such a garden could have of the most remarkable abundance in the world, but all the herbs, plants, and flowers were manufactured with great accuracy out of gold and silver, like those to be found in all the royal palaces of the Incas. The trees were full of fruit, in gold counterfeit; there were animals large and small, serpents, lizards, tigers, lions, guanacos, vicuñas, and many other animals and small creatures, as well as human figures policing and cultivating the garden, so that it seemed like a forest with all this diversity of animals; there were even ostriches there; and they were all fabricated out of gold and silver. There was a very remarkable field of corn with golden ears, blocks of wood, and other curiosities of the same nature, which demonstrated the majesty and sovereignty of their god. There were many other temples patterned after this magnificent one, over the whole empire and built to worship and honor the Sun and to pay homage to their kings. These were all decorated in the same fashion with great lavishness. I saw most of them in ruins, when I was in that Kingdom; but I omit any further description, to avoid prolixity.

### Chapter LXXVII [ ] (76)

Of the Convent of the Virgins Dedicated to the Sun.

1520. In the majesty and grandeur which those kings enjoyed in their heathen days, it seemed suitable to them that their father the Sun, whose children they were proud to be, should have chosen maidens consecrated to him alone as his wives. Accordingly in the ward which they called Aclla Huaci, which means House of the Chosen Virgins, they built it near the House of the Sun, between the two streets which lead from the Plaza Mayor to the Dominican convent, which is where the Sun Temple stood; these streets run N. and S. The front of the Convent of the Chosen Virgins overlooked the Plaza Mayor, and its rear extended to the street running through from E. to W., so that the convent formed an island at this locality just described. 1521. Between this convent and the Sun Temple there was another large ward which came out on the great Sun Plaza called Intipampa. These nuns or chosen virgins had no definite number; the rule was that they had to be daughters of the Inca kings or of their legal relatives; none could be illegitimate, for the Sun could not be offered as a bride, a woman who was not a legitimate child. There was likewise a dispensation for any woman who was extremely beautiful; they brought her in from any part of the empire to be the Sun's bride, and her excellent beauty made up for any lack of high birth. They had to be virgins, and so they put them in the House of the Chosen Virgins in early girlhood.

1522. There were Mamacuna, who were the elders and ancients in that profession and cloistered existence. They were the ones who governed the house as Superiors or Mothers for them all, for the word mama in the Indian tongue means mother, and cuna is the plural form of the word meaning all; and so they gave them this name of Mamacuna, Mothers or Superiors of all; for from their long residence they knew what was professed, what was to be observed, and what instruction should be given the new arrivals. They were cloistered in perpetuity, with no parlor or other place where anyone might see them or speak to them, not even their own parents; for they said that once that the virgins were handed over to their father the Sun, no one else might see or speak to them, for that would be showing slight respect to their god.

This convent had its main entrance or canonical gate, through which the nuns-to-be entered, and the Queen or Coya; her daughters and she came in to visit them on the part of the King and herself; for although the King might go in and visit them, he would not do it, either for the good example or to prevent other Incas or lords whose daughters were there, from asking for an exception that they might visit them; they were very devoted to their false religion.

1523. In this Convent of the Chosen Virgins there was a narrow passageway which ran through the entire building; there were many rooms and cubbyholes opening on it which were used for service, cooking, and all else needful for attendance on the Chosen Virgins; women gatekeepers were at the doors of all these rooms; beyond them were the living quarters of the Chosen Virgins, consorts of the Sun. Their chief occupation, for which they were consecrated, was to go at stated hours and pray, as chosen and beloved consorts of the Sun, for the good health and long life of the Incas and the preservation and increase of their territories, for which they were solicitous; and they used the time which was available after these cares, in spinning and weaving the raiment worn by the Inca. This was all in fine vicuña and malton wool. The shirt came down to his ankles, after their custom; this was called uncu in the classical language, cusma in the corrupt. For a cape they wore a square, two-breadth blanket; some were plain and others richly embroidered in colors; they called these yacolla. He wore also a large purse, like a muleteer's wallet, passing under the arm like a sword belt, in which he carried his cuca leaves, or coca, as the Spaniards call it. They also made the llautu, which was a sort of narrow rectangular belt like a thick rope, and which he passed four or five times around his head; it had a red tassel and constituted his crown, extending from one temple to the other.

They likewise made the garments worn by the Coya, or Queen, and her daughters, and everything which was offered to the Sun as a sacrifice, and many other remarkable things woven from finest cumbi, but it is not necessary to enumerate them.

1524. At the start of this passageway referred to, where the main door stood for the service personnel of the house and the workrooms, there were 20 porters to look after it and take and carry consignments to the second door, where they were received by the serving women, damozels, or ladies in waiting to the consorts of the Sun. Among these were 500 daughters of nobles or Incas of the charter given by the first Inca, Mango, to his first collaborators in the conquest. These damozels had another system of lodgment or segregation of their own; they likewise had their Mamacuna, who governed them like a Mother Superior; they were chosen from the oldest and most experienced of those who had grown up in that same ministry. This must suffice as an account of the House of the Chosen Virgins, consorts of the Sun.

## CHAPTER LXXVIII [81] (77)

Of the Cuzco Fortress and Its Incredibly Huge Stone Blocks.

1525. Among the marvelous works which were created by the Inca kings to immortalize their names were not only those in their imperial city, with so many royal palaces of admirable architecture and the Temple of the Sun with its gardens, but other works, forts, and temples in all the provinces of their far-flung empire, as e.g., those in Quito, Latacunga, Tomebamba, Cochabamba on the Río de Las Balsas, in Huánuco, Tiahuânaco, the Pucarâ, Tampu, and many others, whose ruins and remains I saw and contemplated when I was in that Kingdom. But the greatest, proudest, and most sumptuous, in which they displayed to the full their valor and puissance, was the fortress (which they built for the safekeeping and the majestic boast of their most opulent city, queen and mistress of so many provinces and nations as were subject to her) on the Sacsahuamán ridge to the N. of the city, at whose slopes the settlement commences. At this point the ridge is very high, steep, and hard to climb, for which reason the fortress is impregnable, and the city is well protected and secure on this quarter.

**1526.** The huge size of its stone blocks is incredible, were it not that the fact is attested by the testimony of so many who have seen them and of the historians who have not exaggerated in their accounts of them; and it is the more astounding when one considers that the Indians had no iron or steel instruments with which to cut the stone, nor contrivances or mechanisms to draw them along, and that in addition most of the roads were rough and many of the great blocks in the fortress hewn and transported from quarries 15 leagues from the city, and at the least 5, crossing the Río de Yucay, which at that point is as wide as the Genil at Écija or the Jarama on the Aranjuez highway.

1527. The construction of the fortress was highly accurate, and many of the stone blocks were so large that their incredible size made the work of construction marvelous; they seemed more like pieces of a mountain than stone. Some of them were over 40 feet long, 20 wide, and 6 thick; and though they were not of the same size, they were so neatly joined and dovetailed one with another that it was hardly possible to see or make out the line of union. And while the ancients counted as the Seven Wonders of the World, the Egyptian Pyramids, the Walls of Babylon, the Colossus of Rhodes, the Mausoleum of Artemisia, the Cretan Labyrinth, etc., if the construction of this fortress had been in their day, and they had had knowledge of it, they would have given it the first place among them. In fact, it seemed more like the work of magic than of human forces and industry, for they had no mechanism, no cranes or pulleys to help them out, but everything was done by the exertions of human beings, whom the kings summoned hither from all the adjoining provinces.

1528. These boulders described above were drawn along by a huge force of men, who dragged them with thick cables over very rough roads and grades; it cost them enormous effort, and particularly in the case of the Piedra Cansada (Accursed Stone), called Saycusca by the Indians. This was a rough cube of immense size, surpassing the largest in the fortress; it has a hole at one corner passing completely through it and coming out at the other corner; they ran the cable through this to drag it; the Indians said that these openings by which they pulled it, crawling along, were eyes, and since a red blotch had been formed by the action of water and dust, they said it had wept blood. But the truth is what their historians relate, that at a time when 20,000 Indians were engaged in dragging it along and steadying it on the grades, on one of them when a large number were going ahead keeping it headed straight, and most of them holding it back from behind, either because of its great weight or of bad management of those [in the rear], it was too much for the strength of those holding it back and rolled away from them, killing over 3,000 of those in front; so for this reason they can more truthfully say that it wept blood. Nevertheless they got it to the upper plain, near the fortress; but it stayed there, either because of the death of Huaynacapac or because it had killed or exhausted so many Indians; and that is why they give it that name. At present it is almost below the ground level. It so happened that as soon as the Spaniards captured the country, since this rock or headland was so famous among the Indians, their thirst for buried treasure led the Spaniards to think that there must be some underneath it; so they dug all around it and made a great hole; and with its huge weight it dropped into it, thus bringing to naught the avaricious efforts of the Spaniards.

**1529.** [Tupac] Inca Yupangui, Huaynacapac's grandfather, began the proud construction of the Sacsahuamán fortress. Since the position was so strong on the ridge side, he built only on the side toward the city, constructing a thick wall over 200 fathoms (brazas) long, in five sections, as seemed needful to him. Although the stone blocks were of different heights, their general level came out very even, for they set them and joined them all together with such admirable accuracy that they had no need of mortar. This wall was not only very strong, but the stones in it were curiously carved.

#### CHAPTER LXXIX [82] (78)

Of the Three Walls and Three Towers of Sacsahuamán.

1530. On the other side of the ridge there is a plain, lying higher and above that of the city, for which reason the crest of the ridge is reached with greater ease and less effort on that side. So King [Tupac] Inca Yupangui ordered three walls built on that quarter, over 200 fathoms long, in the shape of a crescent; these continued till they united and joined with the wall built on the city side, so that Sacsahuamán was now entirely encircled with walls and became an extremely strong castle or impregnable fortress, which could not be entered at any point, although in itself the position was not so very strong.

The three walls were all of huge rough stone blocks, separated by intervals of some 25 or 30 feet from each other, running up the ridge and with level stretches, some artificially made and some taking advantage of the hillside, and with trenches, so that those inside could fight without being hit. The first surpassed the others in workmanship and strength, for it appears that the Inca wanted to exceed the limit and manifest his power in this, by constructing it of the largest and hugest boulders; in strength and size it far surpassed the others. They left the stones rough, just as they had been brought, and so placed and joined them one with another that it seemed as if Nature had created them for that purpose; their rough projections combined with each other to form an excellent decorative pattern. In fine, I would say of this construction that all exaggeration falls short of its true praise, for when one reflects upon the size and strength of the wall, and the formidable boulders of which it was built, even when gazing upon it, it seems impossible that human labor could have fashioned and formed it.

**1531.** Each circuit or wall contained a central gateway with a huge rock of proper size and shape on it to serve as a portcullis, opening and closing the entrance with admirable ingenuity. They called the first Tiupuncu, which means the sand-bank door, for there was a sand flat there and sand in that language is called tiu. They called the gateway in the second wall AcaHuanapuncu, for the master architect who built it was named Acaguana (sic). The third they called Viracochapuncu, for they had consecrated it to the god Viracocha, for him to protect the fortress and look after it, just as Inca Viracocha had freed the city from the furious attack of the Chancas.

1532. On the crest of the ridge, beyond the three walls, there was a long emplacement on which stood three forts or castles arranged in a triangle. They called the most important one Mollomarca, which means the round fortress, because that was its form and shape. In it there was a fountain admirably sculptured, with excellent water brought underground from afar. This was the fortress in which the kings lodged when they came up to visit it and rest there. This was all decorated with sheets of gold and silver, and on them, great variety of animals, birds, and plants very naturally fashioned out of gold and of inestimable value; this served as tapestry. There were likewise many gold and silver table services for the kings, and

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many other treasures, as in the Sun Temple and the other royal palaces.

**1533.** They called the second fortress or castle Paucarmarca, and the third Sacsamarca. They were square and full of apartments and living quarters for the soldiers who were there in garrison to guard the fortress. These were Incas of the privileged class, for other nationalities were excluded. There was a Captain General of the blood royal who was Warden of the Fortress; it had also the other usual military functionaries and subordinates, who kept the weapons and the fortress bright and clean; there was everything necessary there for the sustenance and clothing of the soldiers.

1534. Beneath these castles or towers they had created an equal establishment underground, by means of which one fort communicated with another. There were so many avenues and passageways crossing one another, so many doors and living quarters inside all the apartments, and such large and elaborate gateways, that this establishment covered a great area underground. It was laid out with such system that the Cretan Labyrinth and all its artifices were not superior to this creation. Once a short distance within it, no one who entered could be sure of getting out unless he was very familiar and experienced and for this reason besides the necessity of carrying a light, they had to fasten a cord to the main entrance of this establishment and carry the ball in their hand, letting it out so that it might guide them later for their exit without losing their way, which was inevitable without this guidance, on account of the elaborate scheme of the inner lay-out, which was designed with admirable elegance and skill. They say it was designed by Inca Hualpa Rimachi, master architect; his successor in the construction was Inca Maricanchi, the third was Inca Acaca Huaguana, and the last was named Calla Cunchuy, in whose day they brought down the Piedra Cansada. [Five lines illegible.]

**1535.** The whole lay-out of that famous fortress and its walls was designed by the great Inca Pachacutec Yupangui; it was begun by his son, Inca Yupangui. During the entire period of its construction, which took over 50 years, there were usually more than 20,000 Indians occupied; by command of the Incas they came from the provinces of their realms to work there. Furthermore there were many architects and skilled artisans engaged in the construction. Those who built the most were Tupac Inca and his son Huayna Capac who finished it and then died in the year 1523; he was succeeded by his son Huascar Inca, who was killed by the officers of Atahualpa

when Don Francisco Pizarro entered that Kingdom with his comrades in the year 1531.

## CHAPTER LXXX [83] (79)

Of the Monarchy of the Incas, Their Conquests and the Dates of Their Reigns.

1536. According to what I have been able to investigate and discover in the tales and confused accounts of the Indian quipos, which are their annals containing their governmental ordinances and the statement of their deeds, Mango Capac, first King of the Incas, left the Lake of Titicaca with his wife and sister the Queen, at the command of his father the Sun (according to the fabrication and fable which they relate) in the year 1025. He preached the Law of Nature to those savage tribes, teaching them a civilized manner of life in communities and elevating them from the savagery in which they were living like brute beasts; he showed them how to till the ground and to do all else as reasonable human beings should. He spent 5 years doing this and finally reached the valley and site which had been ordained for him by his father the Sun. He devoted a year there to uplifting the savages who lived thereabout, preaching to them and instructing them, and in the year 1031 he founded the imperial city, mother and fatherland of so many kings and emperors of those austral regions; like another Rome, ennobled by such sons, she was queen and mistress of so many nationalities whom she brought under her sway by her arms, and by her laws she kept and maintained them for a period of over 500 years in peace and good government.

1537. After founding the city, King Mango Capac, for its further ennobling, established the converts to his doctrine and teachings in over 100 villages round about: to the N. in the Xaquixaguana (Marg.: Sacsaguana) Valley (i.e., Sacsahuana) and its region, 20; to the W. toward the Condesuyos Highway, 30; to the E. along the Río de Paucartambo, 13; and to the S. along the Collao Highway, 40 villages. Beginning at the salt beds a league from the city, scene of that cruel battle where Fernando Pizarro routed Don Diego de Almagro, the villages were established along the Río de Yucay; these were Tambo, Muyna, Quéhuar, Huarac, Cavina, and many others, as far as the Urcos Valley, which is 6 leagues from the city. After he had taught them to till and seed the ground, he gave them some laws and ordinances, with great privileges, especially to the founders of the city; he made them Incas by privilege and ordered that they should have their ears pierced; they are the ancestors of the nobility and gentlemen of Cuzco, the so-called "orejones" (big ears). Many of the villages established by Mango Capac grew and increased only to be destroyed and laid waste by the tyranny of the officers of Atahualpa, and those that remained [they] were transferred to larger settlements by the Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo.

**1538.** Inca Mango Capac governed the realm and city which he had founded and converted, over 40 years, according to the best historians of those ancient days; he died in the year 1071, leaving as his legitimate and universal heir Prince Sinchi Roca, his son by the Queen Mama Oclla Guaco, his sister and wife. In addition he left over 100 sons and daughters by other wives and concubines; he charged them to observe his laws and his good administration, and to see that their vassals were well treated; and then he took leave of them, saying he was going to rest with his father the Sun, who was calling him.

**1539.** King Sinchi Roca began reigning that same year of 1071, and after inspecting his Kingdom, he subdued to the S. the Provinces of the Canas and Canchis and Puquinas, as far as Chungara, 20 leagues farther than his father's conquests. Others say however that he subdued also Omasuyo, Cangalla, Asillo and Azangaro, Huancané, Pucará, and to the E., 40 leagues ESE. from Cuzco, the Province of Caravaya. And having governed his realm and what he had conquered in peace and wise administration for 34 years, he died in the year 1105, leaving as his universal heir Prince Lloque Yupangui, his legitimate son by his sister and wife Mama Cora, not to mention over 130 other sons and daughters whom he left, both by his legitimate wife and nieces as well as by numerous other concubines whom he had; he charged him to treat his vassals well, as their father the Sun had enjoined upon them. This Sinchi Roca built the fortress of Pucará.

CHAP. About Lloque Yupangui, Third King of Cuzco.

**1540.** Lloque Yupangui, third king of the great city of Cuzco, succeeded King Sinchi Roca his father in the royal title in the year 1105, and as soon as he had paid the last rites to his father, he inspected his Kingdom, attended to the needs of his vassals, and instituted reforms in the Province of Los Canas. Having done this, he went to Collao, where he subdued the Provinces of Ayaviri, Atuncolla, Collasuyo, Chucuîto, Ilave, Juli, Pomata, and Zepita, and began the conquest of the Province of Los Pacajes. On returning to Cuzco,

he ordered the erection on the Carmenga ridge of some turrets at intervals for the observation of the sun's declination; he made great achievements in philosophy; and having executed other famous deeds and buildings in his Kingdom and having adorned the Temple of the Sun, he was succeeded after a reign of 36 years by Prince Mayta Capac, his legitimate son by his Queen Mama Cava, his sister and wife. He had also more than 100 other sons and daughters, legitimate and out of wedlock. He died in the year 1141, and was laid with his ancestors beside the Sun his father.

1541. Mayta Capac, fourth king of the Incas and of the imperial city of Cuzco, after paying the last honors to his father, inspected all his empire and disciplined the governors throughout it in order to ensure good treatment of the Indians, for his chief solicitude was to look out for the good of his vassals. After doing this he went down to Collao and subdued Tiahuanaco; he had rafts made to ferry across the outlet of the great Lake of Chucuito. He subdued a large part of the Province of Los Pacajes, a work begun by his father. He conquered Cayaviri, which defended itself bitterly against him; and he subdued Caquingora, Huarina, Mallama, and other settlements. Then he went W. to the Province of Chuna, which is built on a mountaintóp; and because they shot poisoned arrows, he inflicted cruel punishment on them, burning them alive; but those who were guiltless he settled in the Moquegua Valley, 5 leagues from that locality.

1542. After this settlement just described, he turned E. through Collao, near the Province of Omasuyo, and conquered the Provinces of Larecaja and Sangaván, which are over 50 leagues long, and brought these provinces into his empire. He had a bloody battle with the natives of the Province of Huaicho, who made a valiant defense until they were conquered. Then he went to the Chuquiabo and Caracato Valleys, which he conquered with ease as far as Caracollo and the Province of Paria, in which lies the town of Oruro with its very rich silver mines.

1543. Having conquered and subdued these provinces, he returned to the imperial city of Cuzco, where he rested from the conquests he had achieved and devoted himself to wise administration looking to the good of his vassals. He set out to conquer the western provinces, and for that purpose ordered the building of a famous bridge of wicker cables over the great Río de Apurímac; crossing over this with his army, he immediately conquered the Provinces of Los Chumbivilcas, Velille, Aclla, Taurisma, Cotahuasi, Pumatambos, and Parinacochas; he subdued the Provinces of Los Condesuyos, and in the Arequipa Valley he established the villages of Chimba, Sucahuaya, and others. In these provinces he brought under his sway an area over 100 leagues long N. and S., and over 15 leagues across from E. to W.; and having increased his empire by more than 300 leagues and having spent over 30 years in his campaigns and in the administration of his Kingdoms, he was succeeded by the great Prince Capac Yupangui, his son by his sister and legitimate wife the Queen Mama Cuca. He left many other sons and daughters, legitimate and out of wedlock, over 100 in number. He died full of the trophies of victory in the year 1171, and was set with his fathers in the House of the Sun. [And because—three words illegible]. In the following chapter we shall relate the campaigns of the great Capac Yupangui.

### CHAPTER LXXXI [84] ( )

Of the Conquests of Capac Yupangui, Inca Roca, and Yahuar Huacac, and Their Administration.

1544. After the great Capac Yupangui had fulfilled the solemn rites of his father's funeral, he made a personal inspection of his Kingdom, like his predecessors, to see to the well-being of his vassals and to relieve their necessities. Then he set out to build the Huacachaca bridge over the great Río de Apurímac, by which he crossed with his army to the Provinces of Yanaguara, Aymaraes, and Omasayos, their neighbors; he established order there, and then in the second campaign he waged, he brought under his sway the Cotabambas, Cotaneras, and Guamanpallas of the Quichua tribe; in this last province he crossed a branch of the Río de Amancay, where the fort of Chuquinga stands; it was there that Marshal Alvarado was defeated by the rebel Francisco Hernández Jirón. This is all gold country.

**1545.** In his third campaign he brought under his sway the Acari Valleys down on the seacoast, which contained over 20,000 Indians. His son Prince Inca Roca went along with the army for practice in valor; all these kings did this to set a good example for their sons, so that they should know how to conduct war and administration. They subdued the valleys of Chala, Ático, Ocoña, Camaná, and many others along the coast, and since there were some who committed the unpardonable sin, he had them burned alive and their houses sowed with salt, so that only the memory of their crime should survive.

**1546.** He made his fourth campaign to the S., to the farthest bound of Collao with its large villages in the Province of Paria, and brought them under his sway, and two caciques or kings of whom

one was named Cari and the other Chipana. These were very courageous, and their rivalry led to cruel warfare between them; they were the lords of Porco, Ata, Moromoro, Macha, and Caracara, up to the snow peaks of Tapacarí; and there were other provinces which he subdued and brought under his sway.

1547. On his fifth campaign he first built a bridge of woven straw over the Outlet by dint of industry; that was the largest that had been built up to that day, as will be told in its due place. He subdued the Provinces and settlements of the Charcas, Chayanta, Totora, Sipesipe, and Chaquí, and to the E., Chamuru, Sacasaca, where coca grows, and other provinces. He ordered irrigation trenches built to water the fields and cultivated ground, and thus did his vassals a great service.

**1548.** He had many bridges built, so that his vassals could cross the rivers without risk; and when he had established order in those provinces he returned to his court, where he was well received. And after he had rested from these campaigns and attended to administrative matters and the relief of his vassals, he set out again, to conquer Amancay and Curahuasi. From there he traversed the Cochacassa desert, which is 20 leagues across, and subdued the Provinces of Los Soras, which were large and well peopled; Aucará, Los Lucanas, and the Nasca valleys on the western plains. After the conquest of so many large provinces in the 40 years of his reign, he was succeeded by Prince Inca Roca, his son by Coya Mama Cariyllpay, his sister and wife; he had in addition over 80 other sons and daughters, legitimate and out of wedlock. He died in the year 1211, mourned by all his vassals, and was set with his fathers in the Temple of the Sun.

1549. Inca Roca, the sixth king of the Incas, after assuming the red tassel which was like crown and scepter, and after accomplishing the last rites for his father, went and inspected his Kingdoms, to see if his governors administered and upheld his vassals in justice, and to comfort them with his presence and to bestow rewards upon them, which they observed as a custom and indeed as a law and precept of their first father Mango Capac, who said that it had been enjoined upon him by his father the Sun, and he left this mandate and injunction for his descendants. He returned to his imperial city and at once ordered that a famous woven cable bridge should be thrown over the Río de Apurímac (at the point where the Lima King's Highway now crosses it), and traversed it with his army, going on to the Río de Abancay; from there he brought under his dominion the villages of Tacmar, Quinualla, Cochas, Curapampa, and others lying to the E., as far as the Province of Vilcabamba. He went on to the Chancas, a warlike people occupying the Province of Andahuailas, whom he brought under his sway together with the tribes of Hancoallu, Utunsulla, and Uramarca, with the Province of Vilcas. From there he crossed to the Province of Atunsulla and Sulla, which is where the modern Huancavelica stands; and after these so successful campaigns, he returned to his court, where he took up the administration and the just treatment of his vassals.

**1550.** Second campaign: he sent his son Prince Yahuar Huacac to the E. and subdued the Provinces of Paucartambo, Challapampa, Pillcupata, Abisca, and Tuno, which are the villages where they gather the coca so greatly prized by the Indians.

1551. After this campaign he went in person to the Provinces of the Charcas, taking the prince his son along with him, and subdued the valleys of Chunguri, Pocona, Misque, Moromoro, Sacaca, Machaca, Caracara, and on that quarter extended his empire over 50 leagues to the N., and as much E. and W. Then he returned victorious to his court, where he was received with celebrations and rejoicing; and he lived there in quiet and leisure, administering his realms. He founded the university in the imperial city and established Amautas there to teach the sciences; he promulgated many laws for the well-being of his vassals; and after reigning over 50 years, he left as his successor Prince Yahuar Huacac, his son by Queen Mama Micây. (Yahuar Huacac said that the Sun was not a god, since he is always in constant movement, and he stated other great truths; he had knowledge of the real God.) He left more than 100 sons and daughters, legitimate and out of wedlock; he died in the year 1261, was mourned by all his Kingdom, and was placed with his fathers in the Temple of the Sun.

1552. King Yahuar Huacac, seventh king, after attending to the solemnities of his father's funeral and assuming the red tassel, governed his Kingdom in perfect peace and quiet, without venturing to go out in person on new campaigns, for he had received an omen in that he had wept blood as a child, according to the story told by his people; in fact, the name Yahuar Huacac means weeps blood. However he sent his men off to war under his brother Inca Mayta as General, and from that time the latter was called Apu Mayta, this new title meaning great lord. In the first expedition he made he conquered all the plains country, from Arequipa to Atacama; in the second he set out to subdue the large Province of Los Carangas, Los Lipes, and Chichas, and to bring them under his sway. He did not attempt any more campaigns but devoted himself to governing

his vassals. Since his son Prince Viracocha was unruly and rude in character, he sent him off to the Chita pasturage, a league E. of Cuzco, where he busied himself tending the flocks of the Sun with other shepherds. There in his dreams Viracocha had a vision of the rebellion of the Chancas, coming to seize and besiege the city of Cuzco. Inca Yahuar Huacac left in flight with his Incas and fellow citizens; but Prince Viracocha the shepherd went forth in defense of his city against the Chancas, having got together a large force of Indians, and defeated the enemy. That was about the end of this reign, for after the victory the son ordered his father the King to build royal apartments in Muyna and he lived there the rest of his life dispossessed of his Kingdom; he ruled altogether more than 30 years and left many sons and daughters, like the other Incas. He died in the year 1291 or thereabouts, his son Inca Viracocha having already ruled for several years.

### CHAPTER LXXXVII [85] (81)

Of Inca Viracocha, Eighth King of Cuzco, of His Deeds, and of Other Kings Who Followed Him.

1553. Inca Viracocha, the eighth king of the Incas, after the victory over the Chancas assumed the tassel at the age of 23, while his father was still living but had retired at his command to the royal palace that he had ordered built for him in the Muyna Narrows. His father had outlawed him to Chita when he was 19, and he stayed there tending the flocks of the Sun for 3 years; in the fourth he went out with his dream and with it, like a valiant soldier, he won the great victory of Yahuarpampa, which means field of blood, on account of the quantity spilt in that hard-fought battle, which lasted 8 hours and in which over 30,000 Indians died, 22,000 on the side of the Chancas, and 8,000, of the Incas. Inca Viracocha, who was given this title by his uncle, was bidden by the vision to build a temple in the village of Cacha, 16 leagues from Cuzco on the Collao Highway, in honor of his god Viracocha, as is told at length by the Inca Garcilaso, book I, folio 121. After he had inspected his Kingdoms, he first subdued the Provinces of Los Carangas, Ullaca, Lipes, and Chichas, which his father had meant to conquer; and having set governors in them, he returned to his court. Then he set out toward the N. on his second campaign and brought under his sway the Provinces of Huaitará, Pocra or Guamanga, Sangaro, Parco, Picóy, and Acos. After subduing these provinces, he built for their benefit a great irrigation channel from Parco, 12 feet wide and more than

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120 leagues long, with which they watered the fields for their crops and their flocks. He had another built for Los Condesuyos, which crossed the whole territory of those provinces and was over 150 leagues long. These works were unique and unparalleled in the world, and there have been few kings on earth who have conferred such benefits upon their vassals as did these, or who were so tenderly and passionately loved by their vassals; but it was all justified by their works. Besides these and other heroic deeds, Viracocha erected fortresses and temples all over his empire and thus greatly ennobled it.

1554. After rest and repose from the works and campaigns he had carried out, he set out on his third for the Provinces of the Charcas, Amparaes, and Chichas; there they came to render obedience to him from the Provinces of Tucumán, and he sent delegates down there to take possession and to see that they were instructed and disciplined in his false religion. While in Los Chichas, he was informed that the great Huncoallo had gone off with over 10,000 of his men and had entered the rough mountains of Paucartambo in the Province of Chinchaycocha. Viracocha returned to his court and governed his empire in perfect peace and tranquillity, looking after the welfare of his vassals. He built the sumptuous structures of Tambo, Yucay, and many others throughout the Kingdom. He ruled over 60 years and added 11 provinces by his campaigns to the empire; and he died full of the trophies of victory at the age of 84, in the year 1351. He was succeeded as King by Prince Pachacutec Yupangui, his son by Queen Mama Ocllo, his sister and wife; he had over 100 other sons and daughter, legitimate and illegitimate. His death was mourned by his whole Kingdom and he was set and placed in the Temple of the Sun with his ancestors, and honored by his subjects as a god,

#### CHAP. About Pachacutec Yupangui.

1555. Pachacutec Yupangui, the ninth king of the Incas, observed funeral rites for King Viracocha his father, assumed the tassel and then inspected his Kingdoms; that was the first thing those kings did, to look after the welfare of their vassals and relieve their necessities. Then he left his court with a large army for the N. and subdued the great Province of Jauja, belonging to the Huanca tribe. For its preservation in untroubled peace, he cut it up into three sections; the first was named Jauja, the second Marcavilca, and the third, Sapallanga; he left governors for them and went on to the Province of Tarma and subdued it, with other settlements to the E. From there he went on to the Province of Chinchaycocha and Bombón, very cold country, which he brought under his sway with ease. The marriage ceremony in this tribe was merely a kiss which the bridegroom imprinted on the bride's forehead. On his return he conquered the Province of Los Chocorvos; they were very warlike and he had several encounters with them before he brought them to submission.

1556. This is the province in which the city of Castrovirreina was founded, the silver-mine center. He subdued the Province of Ancara, and then spent 3 years in a personal inspection of his Kingdoms, to see that the governors were comporting themselves properly and not oppressing his vassals. Then he left his court for the N. and after traveling over 150 leagues subdued the Provinces of Huamalies, Pinco, Huari, Piscobamba, Cajatambo, and Huailas, where he burned some sodomites who lived there, so that the penalty might cause reform and bring discretion. Then he went on to the great Province of Conchucos; this is rough country and the Corongos and Pallascas Indians were very warlike, so it cost him much effort to subdue them. Then he went on to the Province of Huamachuco, and the good Cacique Huamachuco came out with his Indians to receive him peacefully. Farther on, he subdued the large and warlike Province of Cajamarca and those of Cuzmango, Simball, and Niepos and Chongos, and having made all these provinces acknowledge his rule, on his return to his court he brought the Provinces of Canta and Yauyos under his sway. He was received with great joy at his court, where he passed several years absorbed in the government of his Kingdoms and his vassals; he rested from his wars and he added other grand structures to his imperial city.

1557. He made his third campaign in the valleys over toward Chinchasuio, having sent Prince Yinga Yupangui his son ahead with a great army; he subdued the Ica and Pisco Valleys; in the great Chincha Valley the natives were very warlike; their king was named Chincha; he made a valiant defense in many battles but was finally defeated by the Incas. Here he put up a sumptuous temple to the Sun; and his father King Pachacutec having sent him reinforcements, he subdued the Lunahuana valleys and the great Guarco Valley, which is where the town of Cañete stands today; and Chilca and Mala, which belonged to the powerful and warlike King Chuquimango, on those plains, so that cost many years of war; the Incas established another city there, calling it Cuzco, until they brought them to submission; and as a trophy for this victory, the Inca built by the waterside a famous fortress, and other remarkable edifices.

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**1558.** This campaign lasted 4 years; then, after governors had been appointed in the recent conquests, Gen. Capac Yupangui, brother of King Pachacutec, went over into the Pachacámac valleys, taking with him into the war Prince Inca Yupangui, his nephew.

1559. In the Pachacámac Valley there was a proud and wealthy temple dedicated to Pachacámac, that is, the Creator, although it contained other infamous idols, such as foxes, fishes, and others of the like. In the Lima Valley there was another temple with a talking idol, by whom the Devil replied to all the questions they put to him. These two important valleys, with that of Chancay Huaman, i.e., La Barranca, and two others, belonged to King Cuysmancu, a powerful lord; the Inca won them over in peaceful and brotherly fashion, on friendly terms, and Cuysmancu became their vassal under the conditions proposed. This is where the city of Lima stands at present, court city of the Kingdoms of Peru. On account of this idol referred to, who spoke often and answered all the questions they put to him, the valley was called Rimac—the speaker—and the Spaniards call it Lima.

When these campaigns were over, they returned to Cuzco, where they were welcomed with festivities and rejoicing. Then Inca Pachacutec gave his army a respite from wars and campaigns, and busied himself for the period of 6 years with the administration of his Kingdom and in the erection of many sumptuous buildings; he lined the Temple of the Sun with sheets of gold and adorned it with much other wealth; he conferred distinction on the university, promulgating many excellent laws for the wise administration of his realms.

1560. After doing all this, he appointed Prince Inca Yupangui his son General (of a large army which he ordered raised) and sent him along the sierra up to the Lima region, from which he descended to the plains on the fourth campaign of his reign, from La Barranca to where the city of Trujillo is built; near there stood the great city of Chimu; King Chimu was king and lord of all the valleys of Huarmey, Casma, Guambacho, Santa, Huañape, and the Trujillo Valley. He waged bitter war with this king and his vassals, and after a long time he brought them under his sway. In this region he subdued over 130 leagues of territory N. and S. and won more Kingdoms and provinces than any of his predecessors; he was a great legislator and ruled over 60 years. He had over 300 sons and daughters, legitimate and out of wedlock, and some state that they were more than 400 in number. He was succeeded in the Kingdom by Inca Yupangui, his son by Coya Mama Huarque, his sister and wife. He aggrandized the imperial city with sumptuous buildings; (Marg.: he left the plans for the fortress and walls of Cuzco, enjoining their construction upon his son;) and he uttered many sententious sayings, worthy of such a great king. He died in the year 1411 and was lamented by his whole Kingdom; he was embalmed and set beside his ancestors in the House and Temple of the Sun.

### CHAPTER LXXXVIII [86] (82)

Of Inca Yupangui, Tenth King of Cuzco, and His Successors.

1561. The new King Inca Yupangui, tenth king of Cuzco, after paying the last honors to his father and assuming the tassel, made a personal inspection of his realms to see and relieve the necessities of his subjects and vassals. He decided to try a difficult campaign toward the E., and had many rafts made, on which he put 10,000 warrior Indians. These embarked on the great Río Pilcomayo, and subdued the tribe of the Chunchos, who were established on its banks. Then they proceeded to the Province of Los Mojos, a country very rich in gold; there those Inca soldiers settled down and married into that tribe; later, their sons and descendants wanted to come out, in the days of Huayna Capac, grandson of that king; but when they got news of the death of their king and the entry of the Spaniards into those realms, they stayed there. Later, he set out to subdue the savage and barbarous tribe of the Chiriguanaes; but since their country was very marshy, with high mountains, he left them in degradation, for they seemed to him too bestial to be capable of the improvement he planned for them.

1562. Having returned to his court and inspected his Kingdom, he sent an expedition to Chile, in which 6 years were consumed; they subdued the valleys of Copiapó, El Huasco, Coquimbo, that of Chile, from which the Kingdom takes its name, and down to the Río de Maule, where he had serious battles with those natives; he appointed governors for them, and they sent him gold, very fine feathers, and other valuables. When he had governed his Kingdoms in perfect peace for over 30 years, he started the fortress of Cuzco on the Sacsahuamán ridge; he inspected his Kingdoms and relieved the necessities of his vassals with great attention; he charged Prince Tupac Yupangui, his son by Coya Chimpu Ocllo, his sister and wife, with the observation of his laws and the kind treatment of his vassals : he enlarged his realms some 500 leagues: on the S. from Atacama as far as the Río de Maule, almost 300 leagues; and on the N., over 150, from Ica up to the Kingdom of Chimu. He died full of achievements and trophies in the year 1441, leaving besides his heir over

250 children, legitimate and out of wedlock; he was mourned by all his Kingdoms, and set in the Temple of the Sun with his forebears; they offered sacrifices to him there as to a god, so reverently was he respected and canonized by his subjects as a saint.

### CHAP. Of Tupac Inca Yupangui, Eleventh King.

1563. Tupac Inca Yupangui, eleventh king of the Incas, succeeded his father Inca Yupangui in the reign; and when they had paid him the last honors and the whole Kingdom had lamented him for an entire year, which was their custom, he at once assumed the red tassel in token of possession, and spent 4 years in personal inspection of his realms. Then he raised a large army and went with it to Cajamarca, from which point he set out to subdue the Provinces of Huacrachuco, Chachapoyas, and those which it comprises, viz, Pias, Cunturmarca, Cajamarquilla del Collay, where they get quantities of gold, Papamarca, so named for the great amount of potatoes (papas) raised in that district, Raymi Pampa, Suta, Levanto, Luya, Chillaos, Pracamurus, Muyubamba, Cascayunca, and others. These were hard to subdue, the country being very rough and the Indians brave, defending their country with courage; they wore as insignia slings around their heads, like garlands. He conquered and subdued them after many battles which he won over them, and left them peaceful; he set governors over them to inculcate his laws and customs and govern them in perfect peace. Then he returned to Cajamarca, and went on from there to the Province of Los Chongos, which borders on Los Huancabambas and Cascayunca.

1564. The inhabitants of the great Province of Huancabamba were very bestial and obtuse; they had no form of government and ate human flesh. He subdued them, made villages for them, gave them laws, and forbade under heavy penalties the eating of human flesh. From this province he went on to those of Cajas and Aya Huacac and Los Calvas, which he conquered and brought under his sway. He left there some of his Incas to govern them and teach them their manner of life according to law and ordered government, and then returned to his court, where he was received with great festivities and rejoicing. After devoting several years to the wise administration of his Kingdoms and vassals, he put 20,000 Indians to work on the fortifications of Cuzco and its walls; leaving that in charge of his ministers, and having conferred many honors and rewards on his vassals, he got together a large army for the conquest of the Provinces of Huánuco and those adjoining. **1565.** Having left the affairs of his court in good form, and having entrusted the administration of the Kingdom to one of his brothers, he set out with his army for the Provinces of Huánuco. The Indians there were warlike and savage, but he conquered them and settled them in villages, for they had none. He built a famous temple to the Sun in that province, and a House of the Chosen Virgins, which he made the mother house for the Kingdom; he put over 30,000 Indians there to serve them and collect the tribute for the Sun and his consorts; that was one of the finest and most massive buildings erected in those Kingdoms, as is shown by the ruins of the [illegible].

## CHAPTER LXXXIX (87)

Of Other Conquests Made by Tupac Inca.

**1566.** Then he went on to the N. up to the Provinces of Aya Huacac and Calva; his wars with them and their subjugation cost him over 8,000 Incas. He subdued the Province of Los Paltas; the Paltas' ideal of beauty is to have the head flattened with a board. From this province they brought that excellent fruit (i.e., the palta, aguacate) to Cuzco, to the hot valleys, where they planted it. He subdued Garruchamba, Saraguro, and Girón, and other provinces.

1567. Then he went ahead and subdued the large Province of Los Cañaris; the great Inca Tupac himself took part and taught them his laws. Next to them was another province with a vile and degenerate tribe called Quillacu; when he saw how degraded they were, he imposed a heavy tribute of lice upon them, so that they should clean themselves up.

**1568.** In the Province of Tomebamba he built a famous Temple of the Sun and House of the Chosen Virgins, with other splendid buildings which he adorned and enriched with much gold, silver, and precious stones, emeralds, turquoises, and others of value; he made those royal apartments the capital of a Kingdom, to which they repaired with their tribute from all the adjoining provinces, which are rich in gold ore.

1569. From this province he went on with this army to the Provinces of Tiquisambe, Chanchán, Quesma, Punnallacta, Zaguarzongo, Tiucassa, Cayambe, Urcollaso, Chimbo, Puruaes, and others; he brought them under his sway and gave them teachers and governors, to inculcate his laws and govern them in peace.

1570. He went on toward Guayaquil and subdued the settlements of Pimocha, Jipijapa, Picoasá, and Huancavilcas, who sent him gifts

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and begged for someone to teach and discipline them in his laws and religion. These provinces lie where Puerto Viejo stands today. 1571. After completing these campaigns, he sent his son Prince

Huayna Capac out to subdue Los Sigchos, Mucha, Latacunga, Mulaló, after first conquering the Provinces of Los Puruaes, Chambo, Ambató, Pilileo, Patate, Quero, and many others; and after bringing them under his sway, those of Pansaleo, Quixos and all those in that region subject to King Quito. His conquests included these provinces and those of Otavaló, Carangue, Uyumbicho, Yumbos, Zangoyqui, Aloag, Aloasí, Machángara, Chillo Gallo, Zambeza, Cingondoy, Tisaleo, Alangasi, Hatunchillo, Cumbaŷá, and others subject to King Quito; here he had great encounters and battles before he subdued and defeated them after King Quito's death. To the E. he subdued the Province of Los Cofanes, and farther to the N., Los Pastos, with the Carangues, who were brutish and cruel cannibals. He had great battles with them before subduing them; he gave them and the other provinces governors and teachers to show them a manner of life under law and order. After making all these conquests of so many provinces, which had taken him over 5 years, he came to the imperial city of Cuzco, where he was received by the King his father and the court with great joy and celebrations.

1572. Tupac Inca Yupangui reigned over 40 years; he conquered many large provinces, he administered and inspected his realms and vassals, he built many temples and sumptuous edifices in all of them, and embellished his imperial city with royal palaces; he had a large part constructed of the fortress and walls of Sacsahuamán, which his father had started; he enjoined upon his son, Prince Huayna Capac, the observance of his laws and kindly treatment of his vassals; and he paid high signal honors to those who had served him well. He died in the year 1481 and was succeeded in the Kingdom by Huayna Capac, his son by Queen Mama Ocllo. He enjoined upon him also to make the Huancavilcas of Puerto Viejo pay dear for the treachery and perfidy they had committed in murdering his captains who had gone there at their request to teach them his laws and religion. He was mourned by his entire Kingdom, for he had been a good king and very considerate with his vassals. He uttered many famous sayings, and among them, this, that the Sun could not be a god, for he neither had any freedom to leave his regular course, nor did he fail to be in perpetual movement. Besides his heir, he left over 200 sons and daughters, legitimate and out of wedlock, by his wives and concubines. He was embalmed and set in the Temple of the Sun with his ancestors.

### Chapter XC [88] (84)

Of King Huayna Capac and His Conquests and Vicissitudes [of His Successors].

**1573.** Huayna Capac, twelfth most powerful monarch and emperor of the Incas, laid aside the yellow tassel which was the princes' insignia, and assumed the red tassel, in token of possession of royal power; he fulfilled all the honors and solemnities of placing his father in the Temple of the Sun, spending an entire year in those formalities, as was customary for a king's funeral rites; and then he set out on an inspection of his realms, to remedy abuses which might exist, and to promote universal justice and well-being for his vassals. While engaged in this he received word of the birth of his first son; thereupon he came at once to the court to celebrate his birth and give him a name; and for the joyous occasion he ordered a gold chain made with each link as thick as a man's wrist and 350 paces long, as was related by the Indians of those days and is stated in their writings by the historians—a jewel of incredible magnificence, and on a par with other achievements of his.

1574. Accordingly when he had celebrated the festivities for the birth of the prince his heir, he ordered an army of 40,000 men raised and with it went down to the plains to the great city of Chimu. From there he started campaigning and brought under his sway the valleys of Chicama, Pascamayu, Saña, Chiclayo, Lambayeque, Allanca, Reque, Motupe, Olmos, Catacaos, Colán, and many others, as far as Tumbes; these valleys were thickly settled with people who became devoted and obedient to him; he appointed teachers among them, to inculcate his laws and govern them and uphold justice. Then he went to Quito and spent over 2 years ennobling that Kingdom with sumptuous temples and splendid buildings; he had great irrigation canals made, drawing water from the rivers to irrigate the fields for their crops and flocks.

1575. After doing this he ordered a large army raised and went with it to the Sullana valleys down by the sea; from there he sent a summons for submission to the natives of Tumbes, who paid their allegiance to the Inca. Chunana, Chintuy, Collonche, Laquall, and other valleys were likewise brought under his sway. In Tumbes he built sumptuous temples to the Sun and to his Chosen Virgins, adorning them with great wealth of gold and silver and other precious things. After doing this he chastised the natives of the Huancavilca tribe for the treachery which they had wrought on the officers and functionaries of his father, and then subdued the Indians on the island of Puná; he brought them into the Inca Empire and left teachers with them to instruct them in his laws, and other officers and functionaries for their wise administration. But they treacherously drowned them all in the sea; when King Huayna Capac learned of this perfidy, he returned to the island with an army and dealt out exemplary punishment to the culprits, to serve as an example to others.

#### CHAPTER XCI (89)

Of Huayna Capac's Campaigns, and of the Royal Highways Which He Built.

**1576.** At this time the Provinces of Chachapoyas rebelled against this valiant King, and for the ingratitude they had shown in murdering his officers and governors, he set out to inflict cruel chastisement upon them; but this was averted by the prayers of a Chachapoyan matron, the stepmother of a wife of his father Tupac Inca, and the humility of the culprits, who repented of their crimes and professed reform. So he pardoned them and left governors with them to discipline them in observing his laws; and they were good and obedient vassals thereafter.

**1577.** After pacifying these provinces, he went on to those of Manta, Charapotó, Apichiquí, Pichunsí, Savá, Pellansimiqui, Pampahuasi, Saramisú, and Pasado, which lies under the Equator. And when he had brought them under his sway, he reflected that the country beyond was all lofty mountains and the natives savage and unable to profit by the benefits he would bring them, for they were so brutish that they had no houses nor individual wives and children; so he decided to go no farther, thinking it would be a loss of effort; and so when he had regulated these conquests, he returned [to Quito] to Cuzco, for it seemed to him that anything further would be a waste of exertion.

The Province of Carangue, whose natives were very savage cannibals, rose in rebellion in order to continue their cruel and brutish way of life. They killed the officers and functionaries of the Inca, and ate them up. When the Inca learned of the rebellion and atrocities of these savages, he was deeply moved and ordered an army raised to wage war upon them with fire and sword. He subdued them and ordered severe chastisement for all the culprits, who are said to have been over 2,000 in number, so that it should serve as a deterrent for some and an example for others; so he ordered that they should be beheaded on a lake which lies in that region, and so in memory of the chastisement they called it Yahuar Cocha, which means blood lake, for it became red with the blood of the culprits beheaded.

1578. He built the two famous highways through the sierra and through the plains, which are called the Inca's Highways. For that of the sierra he had mountains leveled and cast down and ravines filled up so that they should be even and the highway should run smoothly over the peaks and heights of the mountains. Furthermore he ordered cabins built at intervals of a league one from the other over the entire distance of the highway for the couriers, who were absolutely necessary for the speedy transmission of any news over such a vast and far-flung empire. These were normally occupied by Indians appointed by the elders for that special purpose; these were called chasques, and each ran the league that fell to him with the message or information for the Inca; thus in less than 8 days they ran with a message more than 500 leagues. Besides the above, there were royal apartments at stated intervals, where the royal family lodged when they went traveling, and round about them many buildings which served for the storage of foodstuffs and other purposes. Most of these buildings serve the Spaniards at present as tambos or taverus, for they come at the intervals of the day's journeys which they make.

Over the plains he built another similar highway, like a broad straight avenue with walls at the sides built very carefully of adobe bricks (tapia); these too had royal apartments at intervals. At the present day one can see the ruins and the construction of these buildings, and part of the highway is still standing, but much of it is wrecked and other stretches are choked with guarango groves. These were achievements worthy of such a wise and magnanimous king; it would have been very sensible to have taken more care of the roads, for their preservation, for that would have been to the advantage of the Spaniards; but as no one looks beyond his own private interest to the general good, it is all going to ruin.

**1579.** This wise and powerful King ruled over 42 years, during which he subdued many provinces and tribes and chastised some for having rebelled, as being barbarous and ungrateful. He uttered many wise sayings, and had knowledge of the true God, and that the Sun was not God. He knew of the coming of the Spaniards and enjoined upon his subjects that they should be loyal and obedient to them, for the Law which they would teach them was better than the law of the Incas. He had more than 200 sons and daughters, legitimate of their blood royal, and illegitimate. His successor was Huascar Inca; but with his consent he established another Kingdom for Atahualpa, his

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son by his wife or concubine the daughter of King Quito, of whom he had been [husband of the mother]. This partition of the King-doms was the complete ruin and destruction of that great monarchy, and the end of those kings; but Our Lord arranged it in His Divine Providence so that the preaching of His Gospel might penetrate those countries which the Incas had been instructing in the Law of Nature and so preparing them for that of Grace. Huayna Capac died at Quito in the year 1523; they opened and embalmed his body and took it to the imperial city of Cuzco, to the Temple of the Sun, where he was laid and worshiped by his subjects as a god. His heart and entrails he ordered buried in Quito, for the love he bore that Kingdom, which he had conquered. His death was mourned and deeply felt by all the Kingdoms of his vassals.

### CHAPTER XCII (Marg.: 86)

Of Huascar Inca, Thirteenth King of Cuzco, and of His Death. 1580. After paying the funeral honors and solemnities to their tassel in token of possession, and Atahualpa at Quito, in his new parasitic Kingdom-lived in peace for several years, attending to the wise administration of their Kingdoms and vassals, each in his own Kingdom. This tranquil period lasted for 5 years; at the end of that time, Huascar reflected upon the mistake he had made in consenting to the formation of the new Kingdom of Atahualpa's, in his desire to obey and please his father; that was contrary to the laws, statutes, and practice of the great Inca Mango Capac and his descendants, the Kings of Cuzco; there were tribes to subdue in that quarter, and he could not do it, because of the boundaries set for the new Kingdom; and since the new King Atahualpa had been appointed for the reasons given, it was only right that he should recognize him as his superior and the greater monarch, with some vassalage and feudal tribute. He held a meeting of his Council on this subject, and with this end in view despatched an Inca relative of his on this embassy; Atahualpa received and listened to him with much humility and pleasure, to all appearance.

This gave the incentive for the rebellion which he had been astutely and shrewdly nursing for the ruin of his brother and the destruction of his Kingdom. He replied to the ambassador that it was only right to recognize and obey the great Huascar Inca as supreme lord. Upon this reply, they despatched a courier in all haste to the King, who received the news with much satisfaction. Meanwhile the ambassador remained at King Atahualpa's court in Quito to conclude the negotiations and solve any problems which might arise in connection with them. Huascar renewed the attribution of royalty given by his father to Atahualpa, on condition that he come to Cuzco within a certain time limit to pay him allegiance and sign a compact attesting his loyalty and fidelity.

**1581.** Atahualpa, crafty one that he was, determined to carry out his wicked scheme, and imparted it to the captains of his Council; he manifested much pleasure in complying with his brother's desires in every respect, for the good will he bore him; but he again appealed to His Majesty that in order to confer greater solemnity upon the ceremony of the oath of allegiance and the commemorative honors he wished to pay to the great Huayna Capac his father, he would give him permission that his vassals might come with him from every province of his state to celebrate the rites with him, according to the usage and customs of Quito, and its provinces. Huascar generously granted everything that Atahualpa requested, whereupon both were pleased and satisfied—Huascar in his noble simplicity, and Atahualpa because he was well started on his scheme to deprive the innocent King of his Kingdom and his life, together with all the Incas of his royal blood.

Atahualpa issued orders (for the greater assurance of the ambassador) that these provisions thus formulated should be made public over all his Kingdom, notifying all the vassals in his provinces that they should go to the imperial city of Cuzco to pay allegiance to the great monarch Huascar their lord, and render the last honors to his father; and on the other hand he directed his captains to be provided with weapons, entrusting the secret commission to two Militia Captains, Challcuchima and Quisquis, whom he appointed Generals. He ordered them to proceed in scattered groups along the road the better to disguise their purpose, and to unite near Cuzco to attack Huascar and his court, catching him off guard; for otherwise Atahualpa did not have the forces necessary for open opposition to his brother.

1582. This covert and disconnected army, on its way to the imprisonment and murder of their legitimate King and his courtiers, was well and hospitably treated along the road by the King's orders, for Huascar had so enjoined upon all his provinces. But the Governors and old officers of his in them, when they saw such crowds passing, were disquieted, for they knew Atahualpa's natural inclinations and ambition; so they sent frequent warnings to the Inca for him to be on his guard, for such crowds and so much material for Atahualpa's oath of allegiance and funeral tributes to his father were neither good indications of loyalty, nor were they necessary. At all these warnings and notifications of his officers and vassals,

the innocent and unsuspecting Huascar awoke to his danger, although too late to prepare for defense against the evident menace of 30,000 veteran enemy soldiers, of long experience in warfare; for although from his teeming city and the 100 villages adjacent to it, founded by the great Mango Capac, he could get together 100,000 warriors for its defense, yet in this unexpected crisis he had for the occasion neither time, good counsel, nor warning. But since he could help himself out from the city and these villages, he ordered all the provinces of his empire warned and notified; but since they were so remote, they could not come to his aid in time. Accordingly he set out from the city without even 10,000 of those he might have gathered together inside it, when he should have repaired to the fortress, where he could have been safe until the arrival of aid from his provinces; he joined forces with 30,000 troops coming from the W., from the Provinces of Condesuyos; but through the lack of good counsel and preparation, and through the keenness of his enemies, he was defeated and captured by them, as will be detailed in the following chapter.

### CHAPTER XCIII (87) (Marg.: 90)

Of the Battle Waged against King Huascar by the Troops of the Rebel Atahualpa, of His Imprisonment and Death, and the Fate of Those of the Blood Royal.

1583. Good King Huascar Inca was afflicted and overwhelmed with grief, unprepared as he was for the unexpected treachery of Atahualpa; he could have taken refuge with his followers in the asylum of his fortress, impregnable both because of its site and its thick walls, and there in security he could have awaited the aid he had ordered to come from all the provinces of his empire to overcome and chastise the rebels and the treason of Atahualpa. But here also he lacked good counsel, and knowing that the enemy had already crossed the Apurimac bridge and were shamelessly laying waste the country and killing its inhabitants, he set out from the city to the W. along the Condesuyos Highway to join forces with some 30,000 troops who were coming to his assistance from those provinces. But these were mostly raw recruits, tired out and off their guard, after the haste in which they had marched to his aid. So Atahualpa's rebels, not to lose the favorable opportunity Fortune had laid in their hands, and thinking there was danger in delay, when the large forces Huascar was expecting should be assembled, set out with great haste and alacrity in pursuit of the poor bewildered King; and 2 leagues W. of the city they unexpectedly overtook and attacked him, just as he was joining forces with those troops of his who were arriving tired out with the haste of their march. These were the conditions under which they valiantly defended the just cause of their King. The bloody battle lasted all day, with great losses on both sides; but the rebels won and took cruel advantage of their victory on the losers; poor King Huascar was captured and put under guard by the rebels.

This battle took place at the end of the year 1528; some say that it was only I league from the city, on the Quepaypa plain. Certain it is that if King Huascar had retired with his followers to the fortress to await aid from his vassals—for it was in view of similar occasions and purposes that the kings of that empire had built it the traitors could not have carried out their evil purpose; but they were 30,000 chosen soldiers, and experienced in warfare.

1584. With the great victory they had won, and the capture of good King Huascar Inca, they were greatly puffed up and rejoiced; they sent word as quickly as possible to the rebel Atahualpa that they had the King captive and in their power, and issued orders immediately that this should be made known and published all over the empire, both for their warlike (aucana) renown and to cause the armies which might come for aid from the provinces notified, to be dissolved at the news of their victory and the imprisonment of the King. In this way they thought that they could indulge more at their ease the cruel tortures and murders they were about to perpetrate upon those of the blood royal, and the other governors and functionaries of the empire.

When the rebel Atahualpa had learned of the victory, he reflected that he could not reign in accordance with the statutes and practice of the Kings of Cuzco, for they had to be legitimate successors of the blood royal by father and mother; and since he was not, he could only achieve the kingly station by murdering and exterminating all those of the blood royal; it was likewise desirable and needful to destroy the opposing forces. So he pretended that he wished to restore the Kingdom to his brother Huascar; and in order to settle upon the terms which should ensure tranquillity and wise administration on the part of both, so that in future there should be no disturbance or disorder, he ordered that all over the empire they should summon the Incas of the blood royal, the Governors, Captains, and other officials, to come to Cuzco for this purpose; and when they came in from the nearer territories with a desire for peace and tranquillity in the empire, and he got them all together, he ordered them murdered in the most savage manner.

**1585.** The same course was followed by the instruments of his cruelty, fit disciples of such a master, imitating their leader; they murdered with savage and diverse torture as many as they could find of the blood royal, without sparing a single person; they even made martyrs of women and children, indulging the licentious excesses which war brings in its train and especially such a rebellious, cruel, and treacherous war as this. This murderous and arbitrary persecution lasted some  $2\frac{1}{2}$  years; and they kept poor King Huascar Inca prisoner, until at the behest of the savage rebel, who was likewise prisoner already at the hands of the Spaniards, he ordered his officers to kill him, having tried to use other pretexts with the Spaniards, which did not avail him.

These contentions arose for the reasons given, but not without Divine Providence, for thus that most opulent heathen monarchy of the Incas, which had begun with the first Mango Capac in the year 1031, and had lasted 500 years in its wealth and magnificence. had seen those kings subdue so many tribes and civilize the savage and untutored natives with their laws, in harmony with the Law of Nature, in order that they might the more easily receive the Evangelical Law, so similar to it. Accordingly Don Francisco Pizarro entered that most opulent and far-flung empire in the year 1531 with only 160 Spaniards; he underwent and suffered unbelievable hardships in his explorations, as the histories relate; and after traveling over wide wastes and parched sandy deserts, he climbed the sierra and came to the great valley of Cajamarca, where he had information that the powerful insurgent King Atahualpa was staying with all his court in company with all the lords and caciques of those extensive realms, and with 70,000 soldiers, conducting a cruel and very bloody war with the legitimate lord and king of that empire, Huascar, whom he was already holding imprisoned, having captured him by cunning treachery, and having cruelly put to death all those of the blood royal, executed by his order and command [4 words illegible].

### CHAPTER XCIV [87] (91)

Describing the Imprisonment of Atahualpa, and Other Matters.

**1586.** It was when Atahualpa was flushed with these victories and this magnificence and power in the year 1531, that he was met by

Don Francisco Pizarro, who had only a few companions but was more aided by Heaven's favor and Divine order than by his own strength. With his few Spaniards he attacked this proud rebellious King, accompanied by the multitude of his subjects; he killed many of them, captured him and put him in chains, and shut him up in a strong room which the savage offered to cram full of gold if they would free him-a room I saw many times when I was in that Kingdom. And together with this offer and while still a captive of the Spaniards, he decided to keep the imperial power and sent word to kill the unfortunate natural lord of that country. This they carried out by bringing him under guard into the jurisdiction of the Province of Huamachuco, some 12 leagues before reaching Cajamarca, and they drowned him in a river not far from Cajabamba, thus disposing of him without burial. This took place at the close of the year 1531, shortly after the rebel was captured; and that was the end of the legitimate empire and monarchy of the Incas, at the completion of 500 years from the beginning of their reign.

**1587.** This dynasty began with the great Mango Capac, first King of the Incas, in the year 1031. He reigned 40 years, and was succeeded by his son Sinchi Roca, who reigned 34. Lloque Yupangui, son of Sinchi Roca, reigned 36 years; he was succeeded by his son Mayta Capac, who reigned 30 years. Capac Yupangui, son of Mayta Capac, reigned 40 years; Inca Roca, son of Capac Yupangui, 50; Yahuar Huacac, son of Inca Roca, 30; Inca Viracocha, son of Yahuar Huacac, 60; Pachacutec, son of Viracocha, 60; Inca Yupangui, 40; Huayna Capac, son of Tupac Inca, 42; his son was the unfortunate Huascar, who began his reign in the year 1523, and died at the order and command of the rebel Atahualpa his brother, in the manner described, in the year 1531.

But God in His Divine Providence had so ordained it [there], in order that His Holy Gospel might be preached in those regions so far distant. He had permitted the discord between the two Kings to grow; it had been sowed by the Father of Discord, who had been so securely established over those blind peoples, and he had his scratching for his pains, for he was deprived of them and cast out at the introduction of the Holy Gospel. By natural means it would have been impossible for so few Spaniards to win so great an empire, without God's having ordained it by the means described.

1588. The rebel King Atahualpa paid the penalty immediately and without delay for the cruelties he had perpetrated on his brother and his relatives; God sent messengers of justice (alguaciles), viz, the Spaniards, who captured him in his home country, just as he had his brother. (This was not without the command of Heaven, in return for the cruel death he had ordered inflicted on those of the blood royal, and many other servants of his King, and on the people in the villages founded by the great Mango Capac in a 5-league circuit round about the imperial city of Cuzco, who were servants of the royal house). The Spaniards drew up a charge against him, and he was sentenced to death; but he was fortunate in having become a Christian and having received the water of Holy Baptism. Later he was publicly beheaded in the plaza, in March 1532. This was Divine justice, for in its execution these few Spaniards took him captive when he had with him more than 70,000 warriors and also many lords and caciques who accompanied him, and over 30,000 Indians in his service.

### CHAPTER XCV [81, 82] (90)

Of Some of Those of the Blood Royal Who Escaped the Cruel Tyranny of Atahualpa and His Ministers.

1589. Those of the blood royal who escaped the cruel murderous tyranny dealt out by the rebel ministers of the cruel Atahualpa, were three sons and two daughters of King Huayna Capac : the first and eldest was Paullu, son of Huayna Capac and of Anascolque, daughter of Guacapille Apú, chief lord of the Province of Huailas, who was lawfully married according to the heathen rite to King Huayna Capac, twelfth emperor of the Incas; Titu Inca and Mango Capac, legitimate sons of Huayna Capac. Two Nustas escaped also the word means Princess Royal; they were likewise legitimate children, and after their baptism were christened, the one Doña Beatriz Coya and the other Doña Leonor. Doña Beatriz married a Spanish gentleman by the name of Martín de Bustinza, who was a Government Paymaster (Contador) in that Kingdom; they had three sons named Bustinzas, and another named Juan Sierra de Leguizamón; they have a few descendants.

**1590.** Doña Leonor, daughter of King Huayna Capac, was twice married to Spaniards; her first husband was Juan Balsa, one of the original pioneers; they had a son by the same name, and he has descendants today. After the death of Juan Balsa, she married as her second husband another gentleman by the name of Villacastín; they likewise left several children. Prince or Infante Hualpa Tupac, legitimate brother of King Huayna Capac, also left a daughter, mother of the Inca Garcilaso, who wrote the "Royal Commentaries"

and finally, weighted down with years and leaving a reputation for virtue and sanctity, died in the city of Cordova in Andalusia in the year 161 (sic) and is buried in the Holy Church of that city.

**1591.** The three legitimate sons of King Huayna Capac, brothers of King Huascar Inca, who escaped from the cruel tyranny of Atahualpa and his minions, were Mango Capac Inca, Yupangui the Elder, Titu Inca, and Paullu Tupac Inca. Paullu Inca was united in lawful marriage with the Princess Royal Toto Usica, a descendant of King Inca Roca, who founded the heathen University of Cuzco. After the Gospel had entered that region, they were all baptized, together with their mother Anascolque, wife of King Huayna Capac; he was christened Don Cristóbal Paullu Inca, and was a very loyal and important servant of His Majesty; she took the name of Doña Catalina Toto Usica, and her mother, Doña Juana Anascolque.

1592. Paullu Tupac Inca Yupangui, after his baptism, was grateful for such a great privilege, and manifested it not only before God, being an excellent Christian, but to His Majesty, whom he served with loyal fidelity on all occasions, aiding the Spaniards in their campaigns; the first time was with Commander Don Diego de Almagro to the Kingdom of Chile in the year 1536; and although the High Priest Villahuma deserted the expedition in order to return and stir up the Indians of Peru to revolt, nevertheless good Don Cristóbal Paullu kept on in the Commander's company and was of great service in pacifying the Indians. And after his return from Chile and his brother Mango Capac, to whom Marqués Don Francisco Pizarro had given the King's red tassel, had risen in rebellion, this Commander Don Diego de Almagro, desiring that the Indians should quiet down and raise the siege, conferred the red tassel and royal insignia upon Don Cristóbal Paullu Inca in the year 1537; and since he was son of their King Huayna Capac, and natural lord of those realms, he was obeyed and he succeeded in lifting the siege of the city. He likewise won over many provinces of El Collao and Los Carangas, which had risen against the Spaniards, and many other provinces in · the Charcas, for he was always a good Christian after his baptism.

**1593.** For these and many other services, and because he was son of King Huayna Capac, Marqués Pizarro gave him the income from the Provinces of Atuncana, Auri, Mohina, Callanca, Manaríes, Guajobamba, Gualua, and many other villages, for the emperor to confirm him in them. Later he aided Gov. Vaca de Castro in the civil wars, Spanish and Indian; he established the shrine of San Cristóbal, which is at present a parish in the city of Cuzco, and brought many of the Indian nobility and of his own blood over to the Faith; he

was the first to be baptized, and countless Indians followed his example. He suffered great hardships in the service of His Majesty; he was cited when with Gen. Diego Centeno in the battle of Huarina; and he went later as far as the Jauja Valley to receive President Gasca, and he accompanied him constantly, until Gonzalo Pizarro was captured and executed in Sacsahuana. It would have been impossible without his aid to achieve peace in that Kingdom; he had great authority with the Indians and they respected him highly as their King and natural lord. His wife Doña Catalina Toto Usica and he had a lawful son, Don Carlos Inca, who inherited all his income; he married Doña María de Esquivel, a noble lady native of Trujillo; they had as legitimate son Don Melchior Carlos Inca, whose godfather was the Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo; Doña María Árias, wife of Martín de Olmos, Knight of the Order of Santiago, was his godmother. This Don Melchior Carlos Inca was a Knight of the Order of Santiago; he died in Alcalá de Henares in the year 1610, leaving as his sole heir Don Melchior Carlos Inca, who is at present living as a resident of this court city in dire poverty; he is the only remaining descendant in the direct male line, of those Inca Kings of Peru.

### CHAPTER XCVI [82, 83] (90)

Continuing the Story of Those of the Blood Royal Who Escaped, and in Particular, of Kings Huascar Inca and Mango Capac His Brother, from Whom the Marqués de Oropesa Is Descended.

**1594.** In addition, Mama Varcay, wife of Huascar Inca, rescued from this tyrannous persecution her daughter Coya Cuxi Varcay, who later married Sayre Tupac Inca, son of Mango Capac, to whom Marqués Don Francisco Pizarro had given the royal tassel, since as eldest son of Huayna Capac, he was next in line to Huascar Inca. Sayre Tupac came down out of the mountains with his wife at the instance of the Marqués de Cañete, Viceroy of Peru, and they were baptized in the year 1558. They had a daughter who later married Martín García de Loyola, and their daughter is the Marquesa de Oropesa, who is great-granddaughter of Kings Huascar Inca and Mango Capac. Titu Inca left no successors. Many others escaped from that cruel tyranny; Inca Garcilaso deals with them more in detail in his "Royal Commentaries," book I, folio 261.

**1595.** Many others of the blood royal escaped, and among them another daughter of King Huayna Capac; after she became a Christian she took the name of Doña Inés Huayllas Nusta, which means

Princess Royal. Marqués Don Francisco Pizarro had a daughter by her, who was called after his name Doña Francisca Pizarro; she married her uncle Hernando Pizarro, and they have left descendants. (Marg.: Ancestors of Don Francisco Pizarro, who married the sister of the Conde de Puño en Rostro; their son is Don Juan Pizarro, who petitions for remuneration for such great services. The noble knight Fernando Pizarro had previously married, in Medina del Campo, a noble lady of that city, who married Hernando de Orellana; their son is Don Fernando Pizarro, Knight of the Order of Calatrava, of the Council of Ordes. He is beneficiary of the succession (Mayorazgo) and all the services of Marqués Don Francisco Pizarro and his grandfather Hernando Pizarro, who was of such service in those Kingdoms in their conquests, in company with the Marqués his brother; he suffered great hardships with remarkable courage and aided [the Marqués his brother] in supporting the burden of such great cares in the administration, expansion, and preservation of such great realms as those conquered and won with such courage at the expense of his own resources and those of his friends.) They left successors; after Hernando Pizarro's death, this lady married a gentleman named Martín de Ampuero, a resident of Lima, by whom she had many children. Marqués Don Francisco Pizarro had a son whom he called after his own name, by a daughter of Atahualpa who took the name of Doña Angelina after her conversion to Christianity. They took him and a son of Gonzalo Pizarro named Don Hernando Pizarro, to Spain, but both died soon afterward.

1596. Mango Capac, besides his son Sayre Tupac, who was christened Don Diego Sayre Tupac after his conversion, and was the grandfather of the Marquesa de Oropesa, left a second son, Prince Inga Tupac Amaru. After the death of his brother, who died 3 years after his baptism, in the year 1561, he had retired to the rough mountains of Los Antis, which the Spaniards call Andes. The Viceroy, Don Francisco de Toledo, imitating the Marqués de Cañete, tried to lure him out with promises he made him, just as his brother Don Diego Sayre Tupac had come out; but Prince Tupac Amaru declined for various reasons which influenced him and the members of his council, considering what slight retribution his brother had received, and also how short a time he had lived with the Spaniards; so he decided not to come out.

1597. When the Viceroy who had so desired to lure this prince out of the mountains and bring him to Cuzco, saw that he was not accomplishing his purpose, he sent Martín García de Loyola with soldiers to make war upon him and bring him in by force. And

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he did bring him to Cuzco; but there the Viceroy, who had been a great governor in every respect, failed to show Christian mercy; he was ill advised, brought the innocent prince to trial, and unjustly sentenced him to death by decapitation; and although the innocent prince begged for mercy and appealed from the decision, asking to be sent to His Majesty in Spain, and was supported in this by all the nobility and the religious orders in that Kingdom, the Viceroy would not grant it, and so after he had been baptized, he was beheaded, to the deep regret of the Spaniards and the Indians at the Viceroy's great heartlessness. [And the noble knight Fernando Pizarro].

### CHAPTER XCVII [ ] (94)

Of the Imperial City of Cuzco, and Its Grandeur and Majesty since Its Occupation by the Spaniards.

**1598.** The imperial city of Cuzco, another Rome for those austral regions, mother and home of so many kings and monarchs, won and governed with her arms and laws all those Kingdoms and tribes which for a period of 500 years she held subject to her heathen sway. But at their end God Our Lord illumined her with the light of His Holy Gospel, bringing her sons and subjects up out of the darkness of heathendom, through the spirit and invincible courage of Marqués Don Francisco Pizarro and his brothers and friends; thus he gave God so many souls, and His Majesty so many and such opulent Kingdoms.

Cuzco lies 140 leagues SW. of the city of Lima, at scant 15°S. Its climate has been described; it is abundantly supplied with cheap and delicious food supplies—wheat, corn, potatoes, all sorts of Spanish and native cereals, abundance of fruit, cattle, sheep, hogs, and llamas, vineyards, sugar plantations with splendid mills producing large amounts of sugar and excellent and delicious preserves, with greatly appreciated "orejones" (dried rings) of peaches, the best in the world, quite different from the old-time "orejones" of Cuzco—the Incas by privilege of the kings of those heathen days, from whom are descended the "orejones" who live in Cuzco today, knightly gentlemen of acknowledged nobility.

**1599.** The city has a large population, with over 3,000 Spaniards, many knights and nobles, encomenderos, descendants of the earliest pioneers in that Kingdom, together with many other Spaniards of honorable, distinguished, and middle class, and mestizos, sons of Spaniards and Indian women, here called Montañeses, from among whom have arisen very valiant and courageous warriors, servants of His Majesty who suffer great trials at all crises—all these form a

very illustrious republic. In this imperial city there is a large Indian population, nobility and commoners, comprising over 14,000 residents, not counting many others who come in from the adjoining provinces to render service in the city, plus large numbers of Negro slaves and mulattoes whom the city residents keep for their service in the city and on their farms, for they have cattle ranches, sugar mills, vineyards, and fields of wheat, corn, and other cereals and crops, and troops of mules for traffic to Lima and other points.

**1600.** This imperial city has a very fine Cathedral, one of the best in the Kingdom, with a Bishop and Prebendaries who reside there and serve it, together with beneficiaries, curates, and other clerics for the administration of the Holy Sacraments. There are very sumptuous convents—the Dominican, where the Sun Temple was; two Franciscan, the principal one in the center of the city, and another, of Recollects, near the San Cristóbal ridge; Augustinian and Mercedarian, all with many friars and courses in Arts and Theology.

There is a handsome Jesuit establishment with large revenues, built where the royal palaces of Huayna Capac stood, known as. Amaru Cancha. Here they teach Latin and the other sciences. There are two excellent nunneries, one, Santa Clara, under the direction of the Franciscan friars, and the other, Santa Catalina, a foundation of nuns who came from Arequipa when they had that great earthquake in the year 1600.

# CHAPTER XCVIII [9] (95)

Continuing the Description of the Imperial City of Cuzco.

1601. This noble and imperial city contains besides the Cathedral, seven parishes, whose curates administer the Holy Sacrament to their parishioners. These are: the parish church of San Cristóbal, founded by King Paullu Inca when he was baptized with Queen Doña Catalina Toto Usica; that of San Sebastián; Santa Ana, San Blas, Nuestra Señora de Belén, and Santiago, which is the parish of the Indian silversmiths; and the Indian General Hospital is also a parish, and one of the finest hospitals in all the Indies. It was founded in the year 1555, at the time when Garcilaso de la Vega was Corregidor of that imperial city. This hospital has large revenues for the comfort and care of the poor sick Indians, with over 300 beds. One of the reasons for its establishment, besides the great consolation afforded the poor invalids, was that that gift represented some recompense in satisfaction of the great debt of the Spaniards to the Indians. The first day they began asking contributions for its establishment, the residents of the city gave 34,200 ducats, and within a

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few days the sum passed 100,000; so it has become very important, and is notable for the pardons and indulgences granted by the Pontiffs to those who aided by their contributions such a holy work, and to the Indians who might die there.

**1602.** When they began building this splendid hospital, Capt. Garcilaso de la Vega was the Corregidor of the imperial city; and he put under the foundation stone a doubloon with the two faces of the Catholic Monarchs, which was considered in those days a rarity in Peru, for although they have the greatest wealth in the world there, they have never minted gold coin, nor do they now. Diego Maldonado the Rich, a native of the city of Salamanca, on that same occasion put a silver bar under the foundation stone, and so it commenced. Many other residents contributed with their gifts, both in the imperial city and all over the Kingdom, and not only for the building but for the comfort and care of the invalids, so that at present that hospital is one of the finest charitable works in all the Kingdom; and it not only confers distinction on this famous city, but it is a parish church within it, administering the Holy Sacraments.

Furthermore there is another excellent hospital, where they care for poor Spaniards, in distress and sick. It has an excellent college with students in sash and gown, founded by the Bishop of that imperial city, Don Antonio de Raya, so that impecunious sons of that country might study the sciences. There are other seminaries, churches, and shrines, all heartily supported by the charity and piety of the residents of the city, Spaniards and natives.

1603. There are many shops of merchandise, both of residents and of transients, who come there in numbers because it is a place with active trade, and is the halfway point on the King's Highway between the city of Lima and all the upland cities and provinces— Potosí, Charcas, Oruro, and the city of La Paz and the Provinces of Collao; for these localities this imperial city exports much sugar, preserves, and other luxuries, by troops of mules, and from its tributary country, quantities of coca, which large troops of llamas carry out every day, besides much other merchandise.

In this imperial city there are many artisans of all crafts—some of them Spaniards but the majority Indians, very skillful and accurate in their professions: carpenters, tailors, shoemakers, etc., in large corporations, and a great number of Indian silversmiths, after their fashion, for they do not use hammers like ours, but bronze contraptions shaped like dice, six- or eight-pointed, with which they shape every piece of silver given them to work at, with great accuracy and finesse, and the same with gold. These artisans have the parish of the Glorious Apostle Santiago, patron of Spain, as he was likewise of this city which he favored with his presence, aiding the few Spaniards to capture it when it was surrounded by a multitude of heathen. This city has many fertile and prolific valleys in its neighborhood, producing many kinds of native and Spanish fruit of high quality. The Spanish residents have their farms and country places in these valleys, with vineyards, sugar plantations, fruit orchards and cattle, sheep, hog, and llama ranches, with many mules and horses for their service; in the rivers there is abundance of delicious fish, and the region supplies all else that is necessary for [human] life.

# CHAPTER XCIX [93] (96)

Continuing the Description of Other Provinces in This District.

1604. The Diocese has very wide jurisdiction over a large population in extensive provinces, thickly settled and rich in cattle, mines, and other valuable possessions. From N. to S. it runs from Uramarca and the Province of Andahuailas, where it borders on the Diocese of Guamanga, to the Province of Paucarcolla in the S., where it touches the Diocese of La Paz, and where the jurisdictions of the Circuit Courts of Lima and the Charcas meet; this is more than 130 leagues. From E. to W., from the Andes and the Vilcabamba Mountains and the eastern hot country provinces, where it borders on vast heathen regions, to the Provinces of Aymaraes and Parinacochas on the plains to the W., where it touches the Diocese of Arequipa, it covers more than 100 leagues.

1605. In the jurisdiction of this Diocese there are 18 Corregimientos; 2 of them, that of the city of Cuzco and that of the Andes of Paucartambo, are filled by appointment of His Majesty in consultation with his Royal Council of the Indies; and in 16 the Viceroy of Peru makes the appointment: Andahuailas, Abancay, Cotabambas, Vilcabamba, Parinacochas, Aymaraes, Omasayos, Chumbivilcas, Velille, Quispicanche, Yucay, Canas y Canches, Cabana y Cabanilla, Taraco, Asillo and Azangaro, and Carabaya.

## [CHAP. Of Other Provinces, etc.]

The Abancay Valley, which is very fertile and prolific, is between the Río de Apurímac and the Province of Andahuailas; the Viceroy appoints a Corregidor for its wise administration and the dispensing of justice.

1606. Seven leagues from the city of Cuzco to the E. begins the Province of Los Andes of Paucartambo, with the villages of Challa-

pampa, Pillcupata, Abisca and Tuno, where they raise and gather the best and most highly valued coca in the Andes. To reach these and other villages one goes down a 5-league grade which is terrifying to look at; the road zigzags down it like a spiral, now going one way, now the other, which is the only method possible. His Majesty appoints a Corregidor for these Andes in consultation with His Royal Council, for its wise administration and for the dispensing of justice. All this country is abundantly supplied with meat, fish, and fruit. The trees which produce coca are very handsome and well shaped, with leaves almost like myrtle leaves; they grow leaves the whole year through; in drying them they try to have the dry leaf keep a deep green color, for that is much the better and brings a higher price. They make up baskets of them, like those along the river at Seville in which they carry apples, plums, and other fruit; they load them on llamas to be freighted to Potosí, Oruro, and other points, where they sell them to the merchants and traders for the Indians, and make large profits.

1607. The Yucay Valley is 4 leagues ENE. of Cuzco-a delightful spot with sweet, fresh breezes and delicious soft water; it has a uniform climate, neither cold nor hot; there are no mosquitoes, flies, or other annoying creatures. It lies between two sierras; on the E. it has the Sierra Nevada, or Cordillera, which crosses or runs through all that Kingdom; from its melting snows and the springs on its flanks flow streams of crystal-clear water, with which they irrigate the valley's farms. They raise quantities of corn, wheat, and other cereals; they have fine large sugar plantations and mills in which they make quantities of excellent white sugar; there are many gardens and orchards with all kinds of Spanish and native fruit, and they raise very good vegetables. They have excellent vineyards, from halfway down the sierra, which has large groves and forests, and on the slopes near the valley, excellent pasturage, on which much cattle graze; there are deer (ciervos), guanacos, and other wild animals. The other sierra bounds the valley to the W.; next it runs the large Río de Yucay, with gentle current; it has abundance of fish, and there are many egrets. This valley brings health and joy to Cuzco residents; many of them have country places there, and invalids go there to recuperate and convalesce. In the days of the Incas it was their garden and Paradise; they had sumptuous buildings there, and it was their Aranjuez for their pleasures and recreation. In fine, I would say that this valley is a bit of Paradise, and any exaggeration of its praise would fall short of the reality. The

Viceroy appoints a Corregidor for it and its district, for its wise government and the administration of justice.

**1608.** The Corregimiento of Quispicanche comes next to the Yucay Valley, along the King's Highway from Cuzco to Collao and Potosí to the S. In this district lie the villages of Lluyna; Urcos, which is 6 leagues from Cuzco; and farther on, the village of Quiquijana, over a road made rugged by the mountains between which the Río de Yucay flows; this is crossed by a bridge like the others. Next come the Indians of the Cavina tribe; all these villages were founded by the great Mango Capac. The Viceroy appoints a Corregidor for the administration of justice in this district.

1609. Next to the Corregimiento of Quispicanche and along the same King's Highway, comes the Province of Los Canches. These are very reasonable Indians, unassuming and great workers; for their mita (forced labor) they go to Potosí, which is 200 leagues. They have large llama ranches, and wear native costume, like the others, made of llama wool; they have good fields for their wheat, corn, potatoes, and other cereals and root crops. Next comes the Province of Los Canas (Marg.: Canas y Canches) comprising Atun Cana, Chinquana, Oruro, Cacha, which is 16 leagues from Cuzco and in which Inca Viracocha had a temple built to the god Viracocha, called Ancocagua. In it there was a stone idol the height of a man, with clothing almost like that of the Apostles, with a beard, and a diadem on his head, and tied at his feet an animal with sharp claws; hence some maintained that it was the likeness of the Apostle St. Bartholomew, who had gone through those regions preaching. The plains of the Collao begin at this province and continue for many leagues. The Province of Los Canas contains vast level meadows which they call savannas or pampas, and they have great numbers of llama and sheep ranches on them, on account of their wide pasturage. This is very cold country and yields no crop but potatoes; they wear their native woolen costume and on their heads, a coiled black scarf. The tombs of the ancients rise in the fields; they are like turrets; they all have doors facing the sunrise, and contain the bodies of those heathen, whole and dried up, and looking as if they had just been laid there, whereas it is over 100 years since heathendom disappeared. The reason is that the country is of an even cold temperature and the air is dry and keen. This will be true of all the other Collao and upland provinces; that was the way they buried their dead in the days of their heathendom. The chief village in these provinces, and the seat of the Corregidor whom the Vicerov appoints for them, is called Tinta.

## Chapter C [94] (97)

Of the Corregimiento of Cabana and Cabanilla, and Other Remarkable Things.

1610. (Marg.: Of the district of the Circuit Court of the Charcas.) Directly adjoining the Corregimiento and Province of Los Canas on the Potosi King's Highway, is the Corregimiento of Cabana and Cabanilla, between that of Los Canas and the Province of Paucarcolla, to the S. The Corregimiento contains 23 villages: Cabana, Cabanilla, Vilgue, Mañaso, Orurillo, which is the seat of the Corregidor appointed by the Viceroy for this province; Atuncolla, Juliaca and El Pucará which is 4 leagues from Ayaviri and 45 from Cuzco. This word pucará means stronghold; there were great, proud buildings there, with many stone statues in the likeness of men and other creatures, very neatly worked. It was at this pucará that the rebel Francisco Hernández Jirón was defeated in the month of October of the year 1554; during his rebellious career, as is narrated by the histories of those times, among the victories he won, the chief were that of Chuquinga, in which he defeated Marshal Alvarado, and that in the Villacuri sinks between Ica and Pisco, over Gen. Pablo de Meneses.

1611. This good fortune of the rebel general, which so puffed up both him and his men, did not daunt the courage of the valiant loyal captains and soldiers in His Majesty's forces, or deter them from pursuing him more than 200 leagues, suffering great trials, fatigues, and hardships over those uninhabitable wastes, hot and parched with thirst in the plains, and deep in snow and short of food in the sierra; but they finally boxed him up in the Pucará-the stronghold of El Collao—where he was vanquished with his rebel officers and men, many of whom were executed; and since his defeat gave the country peace and quiet for a while, and [many] some of those who gave good service were never explicitly mentioned, the historians not having had full information about them or having made only vague reference to them, I have made this brief digression in the desire to leave their names immortalized as a reward for the valor and faithfulness of their service, and to set them down here. Among those who served well, were outstanding and distinguished themselves on all dangerous occasions, were Francisco Cajas de Espinosa and Hernando de Cifontes, who had been Royal Paymaster (Contador) of the Province of Santa Marta. He was a native of Seville, son of Pedro de Cifontes, Knight of the Order of Calatrava and General of the Fleet which sailed from Seville for Santo Domingo in or about 1532; he died in Santo Domingo and was buried there.

His son Hernando de Cifontes, after having served in Flanders until his appointment as Cavalry Captain, and later as Royal Paymaster (Contador) in Santa Marta, came down to the Kingdoms of Peru, which at the moment were in a turmoil and convulsed by the rebellion of Francisco Hernández Jirón. Here he served His Majesty valiantly, accompanying his forces against the rebel across the plains; and as there was no certain information about the projects he was entertaining, Cifontes volunteered to go with Capt. Lope Martín in company with Francisco Cajas de Espinosa and Joannes de Villareal to spy out the enemy's camp. On the road they met a troop of the rebel army and fought with them; Capt. Lope Martin and Joannes de Villareal were captured and beheaded by the rebels in their camp. Francisco Cajas de Espinosa, although his horse fell on that occasion, got away by good luck and alacrity; and Hernando de Cifontes, thinking himself lost, dashed almost through the midst of the enemy and concealed himself in the dense guarango thickets in the valley along the Río de Ica, near the village of San Juan, and so escaped from this mortal danger.

1612. Thereafter he continued with His Majesty's forces, following the rebel across El Collao, until they besieged him in the Pucarâ, where he fortified himself and defended himself valiantly for several days, during which they had lively encounters with each other, in which Capt. Hernando de Cifontes won great distinction. Finally the rebel was overpowered and forced to take flight; then also he followed him up, in company with Gen. Pablo de Meneses and other officers, until, in the village of Yauri, he personally captured and handed over some of the rebels. Three of those most deeply implicated were executed; the others were turned over to this Hernando de Cifontes, in view of the great confidence they had in him, until he delivered them in the village of Quiquijana. Then he went ahead in search and pursuit of the rebel until he was caught and executed And since it would appear that I have deviated from my chief purpose, which is, to describe the provinces, in that I have just related the deeds of these so valiant knights whose memories deserve to be immortalized, let me say that the villages of Urcosuio and Ayaviri, which belong to the Corregimiento and Province of Cabana and Cabanilla, are the last within the jurisdiction of the Circuit Court of Lima and where it touches that of the Circuit Court of the Charcas: the Dioceses of Cuzco and of La Paz meet at the Province of Paucarcolla.

# CHAPTER CI [94] (98)

Continuing the Description of the Provinces of El Collao, Belonging to the District of Cuzco; and of the Rich Gold Mines of Caravaya, Which Belong to That of the Circuit Court of La Plata.

**1613.** From the village of Ayaviri in the Province of Cabana and Cabanilla, another road starts more to the E. for Potosí and other upland provinces. This is called the Omasuyo road and runs E. of the great Lake of Titicaca; and at the village of Asillo the road branches off to the E. which goes to the Province of Caravaya, where there are very rich mines or washings of loose nugget gold of high quality; its chief villages are Sandía, Parâ, and others.

In this Province of Caravaya there are two Spanish towns established, besides other mining camps. The chief town is San Juan del Oro, which is the usual residence of the Corregidor appointed by the Viceroy for the dispensing of justice, for wise administration, and for supervision of the mines; the town of Santiago de Buenavista is 22 leagues farther E. The Viceroy appoints also in this province a Paymaster (Contador) and a Treasurer, each with a salary of 500 gold pesos, and an Alcalde Mayor for the mines with a salary of 250 gold mine pesos. This province and the mines of Caravaya are 30 leagues E. of El Collao, and over 60 from Cuzco.

1614. The way they get the gold in this province is to dig out for the washing a large amount of that earth; they make large reservoirs of water which they call cochas, and in connection with them, they have some contraptions (artificios) set on mats where the water is held back; and when they have everything ready, they open the reservoir or cocha, and the water, rushing out with great force and violence, carries away all the earth that has been dug up in front of it, and the gold, being heavier, goes to the bottom. That is the way they get the gold in this province, and it is of the highest and finest quality to be found in the Indies.

Through this province, which is all paved with gold, runs the Río de Inambari, in which they wash and take out quantities of alluvial 18-carat gold; the miners and the other people who live there, to provide themselves with supplies and all else necessary for the mines, go out to the village of Asillo, and by another road to that of Huancané, which is 15 leagues S. of Asillo; in these two villages they exchange and buy practically all the gold taken from the Caravaya mines.

**1615.** On the W. this province is bounded by that of Asillo and Azangaro, which is in the wide territory of El Collao. All the villages

in this province, such as Asillo, Azangaro, Oruro, and others, are very rich and large. In its district they raise great numbers of llamas and Castilian merino sheep and cattle. No crops are grown in this province except potatoes, for it is very cold all the time; but it is abundantly supplied with everything necessary for human life through having hot valleys close at hand, from which they bring everything up to it. The Indians wear their native woolen costume, and the Indian women likewise, except that on their heads they wear as a covering a black woolen bonnet which they call a panta; this is over half a vara high and terminates in a sort of a crescent; that is the usual headdress of all the Indian women in El Collao. In this province the Viceroy appoints a Corregidor for its satisfactory government and the administration of justice.

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To one side of this province, before reaching Paucarcolla, there is another, whose villages are Taraco, Pusi, Samán, and others; their climate is the same at that just described; they have large llama and sheep ranches. The Viceroy appoints a Corregidor here for the dispensing of justice and for its wise administration. Of the District of the Circuit Court of the Charcas, With a Description of All Its Provinces; the Products of the Soil, Native and Spanish; the Rich Mines of Potosí, etc.; the Cattle Ranches; Its Cities and Towns and Their Founding; the Governorships and Corregimientos to Which His Majesty Makes Appointments in Consultation with the Royal Council of the Indies, together with the Prelacies, Dignities, and Prebends; the Corregimientos in the Appointment of the Viceroy of Peru; and the Other Features Worthy of Mention.

## CHAPTER I

Of the Provinces of Chucuito and Paucarcolla of the District of the Diocese of La Paz.

1616. The Province of San Francisco de Paucarcolla is bounded by the villages of Ayaviri and Urcosuio of the Province of Cabana and Cabanilla, at which point the Circuit Courts of the Charcas and Lima meet. This province has nine villages: San Francisco de Paucarcolla, which is 5 leagues from Chucuito; San Francisco de Tillaca; Puno; Icho; and Coata, all of whose residents are Uros Indians; they spin llama wool from which they make such a quantity of sacks (costales) which people come and buy for freighting on llamas, that merely for this commerce in sacks, this village of Coata takes in every year over 200,000 pesos, which is great commerce and riches. The other remaining villages in this province are Capachica, Vilgue, Moho, and Huancané, all well off because of their large flocks of llamas and sheep. Between this province and that of Chucuito there are some rich silver mines which fall within the jurisdiction of this province, although the Corregidores appointed by the Vicerov for their wise government and for the dispensing of justice, have had certain controversies and lawsuits over the jurisdiction.

**1617.** The Province of Chucuito comes right next to that of Paucarcolla, which bounds it to the N. This Province of Chucuito is the leading one in El Collao. It is cold country, with abundant pasturage for cattle. It has all its villages on the banks of the great Lake Titicaca, commonly called Lake Chucuito. This is over 80 leagues long and on every side its banks harbor wide provinces; it can be called a sea with full propriety, for although this great lake is far inland, it is so deep that it measures 70 or 80 fathoms in depth, or more, and it has many islands which usually are covered with birds which go off fishing and live on the fish in the lake.

**1618.** On the principal island in this lake, which has over 2 leagues circuit, there was a famous and very wealthy Temple of the Sun, for those heathen said that this was where their first King, Mango Capac, started out to found the great city of Cuzco and win over all those tribes in such a vast territory to a civilized and reasonable way of life; for the Incas said that they were children of the Sun, and so they consecrated that spot to him and built him that sumptuous temple which was the greatest sanctuary which they had in those provinces.

Many large rivers enter this great lake, and only one issues from it; this is its outlet to the S. and forms another large lake in the Province of Paria, which is more than 30 leagues in circumference; no river or other outlet from this has ever been discovered or recognized.

1619. The chief village on the great Lake of Titicaca is Chucuito, the residence of the Governor appointed by His Majesty in consultation with the Supreme Council. From Chucuito to the village of Acora it is 2 leagues; from this to Ilave, 4; from Ilave to Juli, 5. At Juli the Jesuit Fathers have a sumptuous convent and church, and keep the Indians well catechized and instructed. From Juli to the village of Pomata, which is a Dominican priorate, it is 2 leagues; from there to Sepita, 7 leagues, and to the Outlet (Desaguadero), 2 more; that is the last village in the Province and State of Chucuito. This is thickly settled, has a cold climate, and is rich in cattle. This whole province and those adjoining consist of wide plains and pastures without a single tree in them, because of the constant cold weather there. This Province of Chucuito, besides the above, possesses in the west on the plains part of the rich Moquegua Valley, about 40 leagues away; the Governor appoints a deputy there.

1620. The large river which issues from the great Lake of Chucuito is the size of the Guadalquivir at Cordova, and is called the Desaguadero (Outlet). On its banks stands the last village in the State, called Desaguadero and peopled by Uros Indians, very savage and uncivilized. At this point there is a bridge (paga; probably for paja, i.e., straw bridge) over this same river made of many bundles of icho, reeds, oats, and cattails, which in that country they call totora; horses, mules, llamas, and everybody cross by it, and it certainly is a mysterious thing that with material as light as straw and so little foundation, since it lies upon the water, one can cross with such security. The one who originated this bridge was Capac Yupangui, fifth King of Cuzco, in the year 1160. Its groundwork consists of four cables made of rushes, cattails, and other straw; each is as thick as a man's thigh; two are fastened and secured on one bank of the river and thrown across the stream; each will be over 150 paces long, for that is the width of the river. They tie them tight on the other bank and then strew large thick bundles of these rushes, cattails, and icho, which they fasten and tie to the cables, so that they will unite and form one body. On this foundation they set the other two cables and fasten them to the thick bundles and the other cables; then they lay great quantities of small sheaves of these reeds and icho on them and interweave them one with another so that several form a mat, and in this way it is made quite safe. It is over a yard and a half thick, 12 to 14 feet wide, and some 150 paces long, which is the width of the river. Every 6 months the Indians of the region whose business it is, renew it.

### CHAPTER II

Of the Province of Omasuyo and the Holy Relics Preserved There. 1621. On the other side of the lake to the E. as one goes toward Potosí, next the Province of Asillo comes the extensive Province of Omasuyos, in which the Viceroy appoints a Corregidor for its satisfactory administration. Its chief village is Omasuyo; then come Los Ancoraynes, Huacho, and Tiahuanaco, which contained those proud and magnificent buildings. Near the village there is a ridge or artificial hill, where they began their construction; beside it stand two figures of remarkable size and elaborately carved, with broad vestments like those in the Old Testament, and with a sort of diadem on their heads; these must have been idols. Near these figures there was a massive and very ancient wall and other constructions built of stone blocks of remarkable size and carved in different ways. They say that the Inca Kings of Cuzco got their inspiration from these ancient buildings for the construction of their proud buildings, walls, and fortress in Cuzco, for in this latter there are stone blocks over 38 feet long, 18 broad, and 6 thick. The Indians have a tradition that these buildings date from many centuries before the Incas reigned. Here in Tiahuanaco there are other noteworthy memorials of those days, but I forbear writing of them in order to tell what there is today in this Province of Omasuyo.

1622. The village of Carabuco is very famous in that Kingdom for that miraculous Cross, which the Indians considered to date

from many ages past. They said that they had received a tradition from their ancestors that a man of divine origin, child of the Sun, had brought or set it on that spot. That might be, according to appearances; and the Indians of ancient days reckoned by their quipos, which is their mode of reckoning, that some one of the Holy Apostles had passed through there preaching the Holy Gospel to the natives of those regions, and had left it there for a sign as testimonial and memento; and as these tribes had no written language, nor any histories but their quipos, with the long passage of time the certainty or actual facts of the event, have been forgotten. There is much that might be written about this, did it not lead us from our purpose; let it suffice, for the greater assurance and veneration of such a sainted relic, to mention the miracles which God has wrought by its means among these new Christians to confirm them the more in our Holy Faith.

1623. The village of Copacabana also belongs in this fortunate province; here stands that mysterious and miraculous image of Our Lady of Copacaba (sic), marvelous sanctuary of that country. Chance was, as the Indians of that province relate, that in that village lived an Indian sculptor, a good and sincere Christian; among other images he had made this miraculous image of Our Lady, and took it along with others, to sell his handiwork at some fairs, which they call gatu there. But whether this image was not well made, or through Divine Providence and the just judgments of God, he found nobody to buy it-His Divine Majesty having ordained for His greater glory and that of His Most Holy Mother, that that most holy image should remain in its own place, where it was made, in order to work miracles through it for the conversion of those tender Christians, to be a comfort and recourse for them in all their afflictions and necessities, and that the sight of the mercies which He showed them by its means, should finally abolish the idolatries which still prevailed among some of them.

The good Indian, seeing that he could not sell the image, product of his handiwork, in the numerous places where he had taken it, brought it back to his village; and reflecting on certain cares which were besetting him, he resolved to place it in the church in his village, and so told Her, saying: "Mother of God, I am only a poor Indian; I cannot accomplish anything more; You are powerful, according to what the Fathers and Christians tell us, and can make Yourself very lovely and beautiful, as You are in Heaven; may God Your Son and Our Lord work in this country with us through You many miracles and mercies." And when he had finished this conversation

with the most holy image, he placed it with all due reverence in his village church, which at that time was very poor, and lighted a small lamp before it, praying that She would comfort him and his through Her intercession.

1624. God, who is admirable in his Saints, wished to demonstrate it, and did in this most holy image; though placed in humble surroundings in this church, its lamp began overflowing with oil just when there was need of it for illumination, because they had none then in that region. With that beginning, devotion to the image started to grow and spread through all the region; the Indians with lively faith had recourse to it in all their necessities; and God showed His accustomed mercies to them by the means of this holy image, working many miracles to the good of the Indians, giving them health in their illnesses, healing the halt and the maimed, giving sight to the blind and life to the dead.

In fact, so lavish were its boons that the Indians, who soon realized its charities, and that they were not given with niggard hand or grudgingly, when their llamas were sick, and it might be some of them already dead, used to bring them in before the most holy image and put them there, saying: "Lady, I have no other wealth or strength with which I might serve You, but these; give them back to me, so that I may better serve You." And God, who makes use of many means for the calling of His own, suiting them to each one's capacities, would heal and revive them through the means of His Most Holy Mother; for besides His own glory, and the calling of the heathen, He desires that His Mother be reverenced and respected on earth. Thus faith was established in those new Christians; and since many books have been written about the countless miracles which God Our Lord has wrought through the intercession of His Most Holy Mother, I shall mention only one, which happened to a Spaniard named N. Escoto; this was of the following general nature.

1625. This Escoto had a few llamas, with which he tried to make a living; and when he was crossing the Outlet, he saw almost all his stock lost and drowned. In this trial and tribulation he called upon the name of this most holy image, begging its favor in this affliction; and he promised that if it would free him from it, he would share all the profits he should make from them, with Her Most Holy [Divine] Majesty for the decoration of Her church and that that the Jesuits had started building. God Our Lord who harkens to the cries of His own in order to better demonstrate His marvels, and for the exalting of His Most Holy Name through the intercession of His Most Holy Mother, freed this devout Spaniard from his affliction, and brought his flocks from ruin to salvation. The grateful and fortunate fellow at the end of his trip, realizing the benefits he had received, at the same time acknowledged the profits he had made in such good company, and thus in his gratitude he started the manufacture of a lamp for Her costing 100 silver marks, and as things continued to go well with him, thanks to his excellent judgment and energy, he has made a lamp for Her which is the largest vet known in Christendom; it is made of over 1,500 silver marks, and since it is so large and there is nothing that can hold it up if one tries to carry it, it is set upon pillars; it is the greatest marvel of its kind in the world; it is of such great size that 16 men can easily find room within it. Its chain links are as thick as a man's wrist; round about it are as many candlesticks to hold tapers as the year has days. They assured me that it cost over 25,000 pesos; and I conclude by saying that there is no human tongue which can count the miracles which God Our Lord has wrought and works through the medium of this blessed image, nor any pen, swift though it be, that could write them out. Where this most holy image stands, is the convent of the Glorious Patriarch and Doctor of the Church St. Augustine.

The village of Huaqui is the last in this province; the Incas had royal apartments and palaces there. At this point this province and Corregimiento is bounded to the ESE. by the Chuquiago Valley, in which the city of La Paz is built; to the S., by the Corregimiento of Caracollo, and Sicasica, which is the end of the Province of El Collao.

## CHAPTER III

Of the City of Nuestra Señora de La Paz, and Other Provinces in Its District. [Six words illegible.]

1626. From the village of Tiahuanaco it is 7 leagues to that of Viacha, along the King's Highway for Potosi, leaving on the right many villages in the Province of Los Pacajes and Caracollo. From Viacha one leaves the Highway to the right and reaches the village of La Laja; from there it is a short day's journey to the Chuquiago Valley. After Licentiate Pedro de la Gasca had defeated Gonzalo Pizarro in the battle of Xaquixaguana or Sacsahuana and had dealt out justice to him and his followers, as is amply narrated in the histories, he sent out Capt. Alonso de Mendoza with commission and authority of President Gasca; and in the year 1549 in the name of the Emperor he founded in the Chuquiapo Valley the city of

Nuestra Señora de La Paz, known as Pueblo Nuevo. It is in 17° S., 100 leagues to the S. of the imperial city of Cuzco, and 100 again to the N. of the city of La Plata. The city has a marvelous springlike climate with clear skies and air, and very delicious water. Nearby is a lofty snow-clad range, in which it is stated that the Indians, at the time the Spaniards came in, hid everything that was contained in the rich Sun Temple and in their palaces in this valley; the whole country is rich in gold and in the early days they took a great deal out, the ore there being high grade.

1627. The city will contain over 200 Spanish residents, not counting the service rabble. It has a Cathedral with a Bishop and Prebendaries who reside there and serve it. This Diocese was carved out of the Archbishopric of the Charcas and the Diocese of Cuzco in the year 1610, in the days of the Marqués de Montesclaros; their jurisdiction was too large, and a Bishop was necessary in this city, for a new country has need of new remedies. It has Dominican, Franciscan, Augustinian, Mercedarian, and Jesuit convents, a hospital for the care of the indigent sick, and other churches and shrines. His Majesty, in consultation with his Royal Council, appoints a Corregidor for the city, and Officials of the Royal Patrimony. This valley grows abundance of Spanish and native products—melons, sweet potatoes, and sugarcane, from which they make sugar and excellent preserves. Near the city is the Indian village of Oyune and others.

1628. In the district of this city and Diocese there are six Corregimientos and one State; two of them, the State of Chucuito and the Corregimiento for the Spaniards of the city of La Paz, are in the appointment of His Majesty in consultation with the Royal Council of the Indies; five—Paucarcolla, Omasuyo, Larecaja, Caracollo, and Sicasica, and that of Los Pacajes—are in the appointment of the Viceroy of Peru. All these provinces are thickly populated, and have large flocks of llamas and sheep. The principal foodstuff grown in the Provinces of El Collao is potatoes, which are like ground truffles; the Indians make chuño out of them by exposing them to the frost so that they freeze and dry and then they make a kind of porridge (mazamorra) out of them, which is highly thought of in that Kingdom and is a much-prized food. In the valleys within its district they raise quantities of corn and some wheat; there are also a few vineyards.

**1629.** The Province and Corregimiento of Larecaja has the Chuquiabo Valley at its back, and on the E., the Yungas of Coroico, hot country with sugar plantations and presses, where they make quantities of sugar, syrup, and very good preserves. On that side it is bounded by Los Chunchos. This Province of Larecaja is very rough country, with many villages; the village of Ambaná is on one mountainside, and opposite on another is that of Chuma; it is 4 leagues journey from one to the other, but people's voices in one village can be heard in the other, and they can talk across; in between the two villages is a tiny valley down in the depths; this is called Copani; they have their farms and gardens there, with abundance of native and Spanish fruit; but to reach this valley from either village they have to go down a very steep slope for 2 leagues.

1630. Next comes Sangaván, with the villages of Itata and Mocomoco, and farther E., the Pelechuco Valley, where the Indians of the Province of Omasuyo have their gardens and farms with fruit and delicacies, which they take out to their province. In it they raise some wheat and plenty of corn, which is the source of supply for most of the provinces of El Collao, since it is so abundant and rich. It has many other villages, and 14 leagues to the E., the valley and village of Camata, which is its easternmost, and the boundary with the mountains and Provinces of Los Chunchos. In this Camata Valley they get an excellent crop of coca. The village and Indians are rich; they are the encomienda of Pedro Alonso Carrasco. The climate is hot. All the houses in Camata are two stories high; at night they sleep upstairs, but live downstairs in the daytime. The country is thickly wooded and forested, with tigers, lions, tapirs, and other savage animals. One enters this Province of Larecaja by the villages of Huacho or Carabuco of Omasuyo Province; it has a Corregidor appointed by the Viceroy.

1631. The Province and Corregimiento of Caracollo and Sicasica is bounded on the N. by the Province of Omasuyo. It contains the villages of Viacha, Ayo Ayo, where there were royal apartments of the Incas, and Sicasica, from which it is II leagues to Caracollo. This is built on the wide prairies and plains in which the Province of El Collao terminates. There is also the village of Calamarca, and others. This is all very cold country, like that described, and with wide pastures with flocks and herds, and on the plains, numbers of turrets, which are the tombs of the ancients, with their doors toward the sunrise. In this province there are fine, deep valleys with delightful climate, where there are vineyards and where they get quantities of wine, corn, wheat, and Spanish and native fruit. The Viceroy appoints a Corregidor here for its satisfactory government. This is bounded on the W. by the Province of Los Pacajes, on the S. by that of Paria and Oruro, and to the ESE. by the Cochabamba Valley.

1632. Adjoining the preceding is the Province of Los Pacajes, which is one of the best in Peru, with large llama ranches, among the best in that Kingdom. It has large villages, such as Huarina, where Gonzalo Pizarro gave battle to Diego Centeno, and through the skill of his Militia Captain Carvajal defeated and overthrew him; Cayaviri, Mallama, and, near the heights of Tacua and Arica, the villages of Calacoto, Caquingora, Callapa, Julioma, Curaguara, and others. At this point it is bounded on the W. by the plains and valleys of Locumba, Sama, and Tacna of the Diocese of Arequipa; on the S., by the Province of Los Carangas; to the ESE., by the Provinces of Paria, the Cochabamba Valley, and others. It is all cold country like the preceding; and besides the tame cattle, the frozen deserts are traversed by great troops of guanacos, vicuñas and ostriches, vizcachas, and other animals and birds. They get corn and other foodstuffs from the hot valleys and the plains. The province is very rich; like the others, it contains great tombs of the ancients, and since the country is usually cold and the winds keen and pure, the bodies are preserved without decay. The Viceroy appoints a Corregidor in this province for its wise government and the dispensing of justice. This is what is comprised within the district of the Diocese of La Paz; it borders on the Archbishopric of the Charcas.

#### CHAPTER IV

Of the Province of Paria in the District of the Archdiocese of the Charcas.

**1633.** The Province of Paria adjoins those just described, of Los Pacajes and Calacoto. It is flat country with a few low ridges, and contains in its district large villages, like Caponota, Toledo, Challacollo, Aullagas and others not necessary to enumerate. It contains large ranches of llamas, sheep, and swine, in such quantities that the Indian communities in the villages of this province have an Administrator appointed by the Viceroy at an excellent salary, as he does in other provinces below Lima, Conchucos, and others, and in the territory of Quito, woolen-mill inspectors; there are many such positions filled by the Viceroy.

1634. In this Province of Paria on the plains along the banks of the large river, Outlet (Desaguadero) of the great Lake of Chucuito, and on other smaller ones connected with it, there are great flocks and ranches of llamas and sheep which they water there. On what they call the Paria bank they make large quantities of sheep's-milk cheeses, which are the best in all the Kingdom; these are exported, as are also fine wool fleeces, and bring in a great deal of money; they go to Oruro, Potosí, Lima, and all over the Kingdom. This province contains the other lake, which lies below that of Chucuito, and is called the Lake of Paria or Aullagas. There is no known outlet to this lake, but it is considered certain that some springs which give rise to the rivers flowing into the valleys of Tarapacá and Pica, are derived from this lake.

1635. The houses in this province and the great majority of those in the Indian villages in the sierra and the cold country, are round and vaulted on account of the cold, as I wrote in connection with the Province of Chinchacocha. On all the plains, besides domesticated cattle there is abundance of wild animals, such as guanacos, vicuñas, ostriches, etc.; there are many turrets, which are the tombs of the ancients, as I have described elsewhere. The village of Toledo in this province is an Augustinian curacy, and that of Challacollo, which is across the Outlet River (Río del Desaguadero), 3 leagues before the town of Oruro called San Felipe de Austria. This village of Challacollo is very large and rich. The Indians here belong to the Uros tribe; they are very primitive and brutish; before the Spaniards took over that country, they roamed like savages without any settled habitation over those plains, rivers, and the Lake of Paria, living on the roots of what they call totora, a species of cattail; the Spaniards settled them in villages, but because they have so little sense and discipline, they have no individual private property. Their community is very rich; it owns large ranches of all kinds of stock, and in the Cochabamba Valley, large farms and fields of corn, wheat, and potatoes; these establishments are managed by the Prior of the Augustinian convent in that village, and the produce is all stored in the convent and they give them whatever is necessary, for if they did not treat them in this manner, I understand this tribe would perish, since they cannot govern themselves or keep or preserve a single thing; in this way they have a superfluity, and the convent likewise. They have large herds of swine which pasture along the banks of the lake on its roots and fish; they make much bacon and ham from them, and export it to Oruro and other points; and they also take out of the lake large quantities of fish which they sell in that same town.

This village has an excellent hospital belonging to the community, for the care of the sick, with a Spanish surgeon at a very good salary to look out for them. In this hospital they have many luxuries and all necessities for the sick; but they are so unintelligent that if asked if they are men, they reply: "No, Uros." This brief account must suffice for this province, which has a Corregidor appointed by the Viceroy to administer justice, etc.

### Chapter V

Of the Silver-mining Town San Felipe de Austria.

1636. In this Province of Paria, mines were discovered, and at the news of their richness, miners flocked in from many quarters to work them. On account of this wealth in the year 1607 they established the town of San Felipe de Austria, called in the language of that country Oruro. It lies on a level prairie 2 leagues from the tombs near the Pié de Gallo ridge, which has provided very rich veins of silver, and still does. Nearby are the very rich mines of the San Cristóbal range and others, from which great wealth has been derived, and still is, abundantly, in spite of their not having had mita (forced labor) Indians, but only mingados, i.e., hired ones; in fact, every Indian mine laborer (barretero) earns 12 pesos every week, and night workers get double. At the news of this bonanza so many Spanish miners and traders flocked in from every side in a short time that a very large and extensive community and settlement was constituted, with more than 1,000 Spaniards, and the Indians have built up large settlements in the suburbs of the town, which form two excellent dotrinas or curacies. These are the Indians who work in the mines; they are all well off in consequence of the high wages they get; and although in the year 1618 Prince de Esquilache gave these mines 500 Indians so that they might be exploited with better results, they were induced to leave through the objection made by Potosí, 40 leagues away, that since Potosí was more distant and remote, they would have profited more if the Indians had been given to them (?). The wealth that has been derived, and still is, from these low ranges, is enormous, for the ore is very rich and easy to handle. The town has some 20 mills to grind the ore, among the tombs which are 2 leagues away near the Potosí King's Highway; there are others at Sorasora and on the bank of the Lake of Paria; they bring the ore there on llamas, of which there are great numbers. They use the mercury process, although there are some smelting furnaces.

1637. The town is built on a plain near the Pié de Gallo ridge. It has a parish church, Dominican, Franciscan, Augustinian, Mercedarian, and Jesuit convents, and an excellent hospital for the care of the indigent sick, kept by Brethren of San Juan de Diós. It has two other parishes of Indians who settled here at the report of the

richness of the mines. It has a Corregidor and Officials of the Royal Patrimony appointed by His Majesty in consultation with the Royal Council of the Indies. Twelve leagues away within its district it has the old mines of Berenguela, from which much wealth has been derived, and those of Colquiri recently discovered, which give promise of great richness.

1638. The town has a cold climate. It is very well supplied with provisions; from Arica via Tacna they import quantities of jugs of wine, and Spanish goods come up the Potosí King's Highway as far as Choroma, where the road for this town branches off to the left from the Potosí highway and proceeds to Corquemarca, which is the chief village in the Province of Los Carangas. From there one goes to Toledo, a village in the Province of Paria, and from Toledo to Challacollo, 7 leagues, crossing the Outlet River (Desaguadero) by boat. There is abundance of meat; an excellent merino sheep sells for 12 reals; they have Paria and Cochabamba hams, the best there are. The plaza in this town is very well supplied with bread, meat, fish, and fruit; there are many merchants' shops. The houses in the town are thatched with the straw they call icho-I do not know whether to call it the custom of the country or because they lack wood, for there is not a tree in all this country, it is so cold; they have to cart all their wood in, as they do flour and corn meal, which they call vilcaparo and out of which they make the Indian beverage called chicha; this provides a large business, and so does the coca which they import from the Andes, and the pepper called uchu which they bring up from the Locumba and Sama Valleys. This brief account must suffice, to enable us to describe the Cochabamba Valley. which is 30 leagues E. of this town.

### Chapter VI

Of the Famous Cochabamba Valley and Its District.

1639. In the Cochabamba Valley, which is over 5 leagues long and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  wide, the town of Oropesa was founded in the year 1571, in the days of Don Francisco de Toledo, the same year in which they began to use the quicksilver process on the silver ore at Potosí. This town of Oropesa is called Camata in the Indian tongue, and is the capital of this valley. It will have 300 Spanish residents and many Indians, living in this town and on its farms scattered over all the valley; among the residents many are of noble descent, from pioneers or knights. It has an excellent parish church with two curates, Dominican, Franciscan, Augustinian, and Mercedarian convents, and a very

wealthy hospital run by the Brethren of San Juan de Diós. The Viceroy appoints a Corregidor for this town and valley for the administration of justice. There are other villages in the valley, with farms and gardens and their homes on them, where they have Negroes and Yanacona Indians, with yokes of oxen for the plowing and cultivation. They raise quantities of corn, wheat, and other Spanish and native cereals; it is irrigated by channels running from the river. Their chief crop is in August, the coldest period in that country, although the climate is temperate. They harvest such quantities of wheat, corn, etc., that this valley supplies the mines of Potosí and Oruro, which is 30 leagues away, all the adjoining provinces and Chuquiabo; there is such abundance that merely the wheat and corn crops bring in to this valley from the points mentioned above, over a million 8-real pesos every year.

1640. The farms in this valley under cultivation are very large, the soil being good and rich; many of them are worth 40,000, 50,000, or even 80,000 pesos. Spanish fruit does well—large and small peaches, apples, pippins, pears, quinces, figs; they have excellent strawberries and other native fruit, and all sorts of Spanish vegetables. This valley is bounded to the E. by the very rough sierras and mountain peaks of the Andes, in which live countless heathen tribes. There are in this valley three other fine villages: Santiago del Pago, Sipesipe and Tiquipaya, where there are excellent salubrious hot springs in which many invalids take the baths to recover their health.

1641. Two leagues from this valley is that of Sacaba, equally temperate and fertile, and producing large amounts of corn and wheat. Five leagues farther is the Cliza Valley, which is full of farms, wheat and corn fields, and vineyards. These both belong to the Corregimiento of Cochabamba. In that quarter it is bounded by the Pocona Valley, which is in the district of the Diocese and Corregimiento of Misque.

**1642.** W. of Cochabamba on the Oruro highway lies the village of Capinota, 10 leagues from Cochabamba, but in its district. It is a large village with many Indians, and an Augustinian curacy; it has a fine vineyard, from which they make quantities of wine. The Padre in this curacy gives the Lima Augustinian convent 4,000 pesos every year to help in the building operations of the convent and college. Leaving Capinota on the way to Oruro, one enters immediately a ravine threaded by the river with its endless windings; here stand the mills which they call Arque, where they grind all the wheat and corn of the district of Cochabamba; they call the corn meal vilcaparo. Next come the Berenguela mines, which belong in

the jurisdiction of Oruro; they are 12 leagues farther on. This canyon which starts at Cochabamba, extends nearly to Oruro, which is its eastern bound.

#### CHAPTER VII

Of the Province of Los Carangas, the Town of Porco and the Pilaya and Paspaya Valleys.

1643. The Province of Los Carangas is one of the largest and finest in Peru; it comes next to the Province of Paria. It contains large villages, like Corquemarca, which is the capital of this province and the residence of the Corregidor appointed by the Viceroy; it is on the Oruro highway; others are Huaillamarca; then 5 leagues to Curaguara, and 5 again to Totora; Andamarca and Tulco, where there are very rich silver mines, from which they have taken large amounts of pure silver, and if they had not struck water, they would have been the richest mines in the Indies. This village and the mines lie near the King's Highway running from Arica to Potosí, to the left, 2 leagues from the tambo of Titiri. This province contains many other villages, which are very rich, as well as the curacies, on account of the large llama ranches it contains; these llamas are the best and sturdiest to be found in Peru, and for that reason are worth more than those of the other provinces. The King's Highway from the port of Arica to Potosí runs through the center of it. This province provides the largest mita for Potosí, but they have all fallen off, for the villages have shrunk and the Indians are exhausted.

1644. On the N. it is bounded by the Province of Los Pacajes; on the E., by Porco and Potosi; on the S., by that of Atacama; and to the W., by the Arica and Tarapacá Valleys. It has a cold climate; the land is flat, with a few ridges; besides flocks of domesticated llamas and sheep, there are large numbers of wild and escaped stock, like guanacos and vicuñas; vizcachas, which are like rabbits; ostriches, partridges, geese, and other species and varieties of birds. It is very healthy country; the only crops are potatoes, quinua, and ocas; corn and fruit are brought up from the hot valleys; scattered over the fields and plains rise heathen tombs like those already described.

1645. The Corregimiento of the town and mines of Porco adjoins this Province of Los Carangas on the E.; Porco is 7 leagues from the imperial town of Potosí. This mining establishment is the oldest in Peru; it was worked in the days of the Incas; it has yielded great quantities of silver, and still does. This is a Spanish town, and the Viceroy appoints a Corregidor for the administration of justice in it. It has many villages and valleys in its district such as the villages of Ulaba, Chaquí, Puna, and others, and the valleys of Mataca, where they get much wheat, corn, and wine; and the Orincota Valley, its boundary against the Province of Tomina. They get over 200,000 jugs of wine in that valley, and make quantities of sugar. On the S. it is bounded by the Province of Los Lipes, and on the E., by the imperial town of Potosí.

**1646.** The Orincota Valley of the Corregimiento of the town of Porco adjoins the valleys of Pilaya and Paspaya; these contain two villages of Spaniards and extensive vineyards; the Viceroy appoints a Corregidor here for the dispensing of justice. Eight leagues up the Paspaya Valley, the Jesuit Fathers own some large establishments with vineyards and wheat and corn fields; they raise quantities of corn and get over 8,000 jugs of wine, and have large herds of cattle. At this point these valleys border on the Corregimiento of Tarija and Chichas.

#### Chapter VIII

Of the Rich and Famous Potosí Range, and When It was Discovered.

1647. The famous Potosi range, so celebrated all over the world for the great wealth which God has created unique in its bowels and veins, lies in the Province of the Charcas, 18 leagues from the city of Chuquisaca, which was later called La Plata, on account of the great richness of this range. It is in the midst of the Cordillera, and since that is high-altitude country, that region is usually colder than Germany, so much so that it was uninhabitable for the native tribes. It is scant 20° S.; on account of the cold, not a fly, mosquito, or [any] other unpleasant creature can live there; there was no living thing on that waste but guanacos, vicuñas, ostriches, and vizcachas, which are characteristic of that cold country.

1648. The Cordillera, at the point where the Potosi range stands, is bare and treeless, with occasional plains, which in that country they call pampas; but there are a few ranges in the region, [7] 5 leagues to the E. of the old Porco mines. The outline of this rich hill is like that of a pile of wheat or a sugar loaf, handsome and well proportioned, standing up and lording it over the others, as if their prince. It is almost deep red in color, and is over half a league high, the ascent covering more than a league, with a steep grade but all negotiable on horseback over the roads and paths which climb up it; at the top, it forms a round summit; its circumference along the base of the slope is over a league around. At present it is all hollowed out and shored up, on account of the great amount of ore they have taken out from the veins in its bowels and center, and the long tunnels they have bored from the sides to get the ore out with less labor, though it remains considerable, for there are veins they have followed and keep following, for over [200] 300 stades inward; it was to facilitate these operations that they have made those tunnels on many sides of the hill. It is joined to another lower ridge which they call Guayna Potosí, meaning Young Potosí.

1649. This marvelously rich range was discovered at the beginning of the year 1545, 14 years after the discovery of that Kingdom by Marqués Don Francisco Pizarro and his comrades. The first to discover it was an Indian of Chumbivilca Province, which is at one side of Cuzco, by the name of Hualpa, who was at the Porco mines. He spoke of it to another native, from the Province of Jauja, which is up above Lima; this man was a servant or Yanacona of a Porco miner named Villarroel. He told his master about it, and he went over to verify the richness of the range; when assured of it, he registered his claim on April 21, 1545, staking it on the vein which they have named Centeno; staking (estacandose) is the same as taking possession of the extension in varas permitted by the law to those who make the find, so that they can work it as their own, registering it before His Majesty's officials for the proper payment of the 20 percent impost; then they discovered the vein called Estaño (tin), very rich in ore, and late in August, the Mendieta vein. The first vein, discovered by the Chumbivilca Indian, was 300 feet long and 13 broad ; it had a great outcrop above ground the height of a lance, half silver, and in parts all virgin silver with flukes projecting out from the hill level.

1650. These four chief veins were on the E. side of the hill, running N. and S. into its depths toward the slopes. They had other branches springing from them, like those springing from the trunk of a tree. On each of these principal veins there were different mines divided up between many proprietors or miners; by law, the largest mine cannot run over 80 varas, and the smallest, 4. The rich vein had 78 mines on it; the Centeno, 24, and the others rather more. These ore veins in general run between two cliffs which stand like sentries over them, and are called Caja (strongbox). They do not always run even, but in some places rich and others poor; they break open the cliffs or cajas to get it out, although they are the hardest of flint in some cases. They call the rich ore tacana; it is almost amber colored; it comes also red, ashy, and other colors.

These ores were treated by smelting for 26 years, because the Spaniards in that Kingdom knew no other method; they used it from the discovery of the richness of that range in 1545 until the year 1571, when, in the days of Don Francisco de Toledo, they began treating the ore with mercury, the benefits of which had been discovered in the Huancavelica mines, as has been noted in its proper place.

1651. The way they smelted these ores was in little ovens which the Indians set up on the tops and slopes of the sierras and mountains; they fed them with wood or charcoal and when lighted they glowed under the draft of the wind the Indians call guayra, and so they called these ovens guayras; every night over 6,000 flamed on those ridges and mountains under the fresh wind blowing through them; it was a pleasant sight to see so many lights at night; it looked as if there were bonfires all over the hills, and gay celebrations, and so it surely was for the Spaniards, with the Indians getting out the silver for them. They even had rogations, Masses, and other pious acts for God to send them wind for their guayras, just as sailors do when there is a calm at sea for a wind to help them on their course. In this smelting they used the rich ore and dumped in soroche, which is plumbeous, so that it would melt and liquefy better. Thus the slag separated off under the flame, the lead melted, and the silver swam or ran on top of it, until the heat consumed it and the silver was left, which kept on refining and purifying itself until it became liquid and pure; they used tin also in the process. Smelting could not get all the silver except at too great effort and cost; so they did not smelt low-grade ore, the residue and the discard (desmontes) for the reason given, it being too difficult and the cost more than the profit, until the quicksilver process arrived; that gets it all (varrelo), and so all grades of ore, rich and poor, and whatever discard and residue there was, were treated, and are treated, with it, better and more easily; and yet at the present day there are many guayras on the Potosí range and its neighborhood, operated by poor miners and Indians.

### CHAPTER IX

Continuing to Describe the Magnificence of the Potosí Range; and of the Indians There under Forced Labor (Mita) in Its Operations.

**1652.** According to His Majesty's warrant, the mine owners on this massive range have a right to the mita of 13,300 Indians in the

working and exploitation of the mines, both those which have been discovered, those now discovered, and those which shall be discovered. It is the duty of the Corregidor of Potosí to have them rounded up and to see that they come in from all the provinces between Cuzco over the whole of El Collao and as far as the frontiers of Tarija and Tomina; this Potosí Corregidor has power and authority over all the Corregidors in those provinces mentioned; for if they do not fill the Indian mita allotment assigned each one of them in accordance with the capacity of their provinces as indicated to them, he can send them, and does, salaried inspectors to report upon it, and when the remissness is great or remarkable, he can suspend them, notifying the Viceroy of the fact.

These Indians are sent out every year under a captain whom they choose in each village or tribe, for him to take them and oversee them for the year each has to serve; every year they have a new election, for as some go out, others come in. This works out very badly, with great losses and gaps in the quotas of Indians, the villages being depopulated; and this gives rise to great extortions and abuses on the part of the inspectors toward the poor Indians, ruining them and thus depriving the caciques and chief Indians of their property and carrying them off in chains because they do not fill out the mita assignment, which they cannot do, for the reasons given and for others which I do not bring forward.

1653. These 13,300 are divided up every 4 months into 3 mitas, each consisting of 4,433 Indians, to work in the mines on the range and in the 120 smelters in the Potosí and Tarapaya areas; it is a good league between the two. These mita Indians earn each day, or there is paid each one for his labor, 4 reals. Besides these there are others not under obligation, who are mingados or hire themselves out voluntarily : these each get from 12 to 16 reals, and some up to 24, according to their reputation of wielding the pick and knowing how to get the ore out. These mingados will be over 4,000 in number. They and the mita Indians go up every Monday morning to the locality of Guayna Potosí which is at the foot of the range; the Corregidor arrives with all the provincial captains or chiefs who have charge of the Indians assigned them, and he there checks off and reports to each mine and smelter owner the number of Indians assigned him for his mine or smelter; that keeps him busy till I p.m., by which time the Indians are already turned over to these mine and smelter owners.

After each has eaten his ration, they climb up the hill, each to his mine, and go in, staying there from that hour until Saturday

evening without coming out of the mine; their wives bring them food, but they stay constantly underground, excavating and carrying out the ore from which they get the silver. They all have tallow candles, lighted day and night; that is the light they work with, for as they are underground, they have need of it all the time. The mere cost of these candles used in the mines on this range will amount every year to more than 300,000 pesos, even though tallow is cheap in that country, being abundant; but this is a very great expense, and it is almost incredible, how much is spent for candles in the operation of breaking down and getting out the ore.

These Indians have different functions in the handling of the silver ore; some break it up with bar or pick, and dig down in, following the vein in the mine; others bring it up; others up above keep separating the good and the poor in piles; others are occupied in taking it down from the range to the mills on herds of llamas; every day they bring up more than 8,000 of these native beasts of burden for this task. These teamsters who carry the metal do not belong to the mita, but are mingados—hired.

## CHAPTER X

How They Grind and Treat the Silver Ore.

1654. The mills to grind the ore are run by water, like water mills (aceñas) or gristmills; for that purpose they have around the range or at some distance from it 16 reservoirs; the most remote, called Tavaconuño, is 3 leagues off. In these they collect the water which falls in the rainy season; the mills are all built and arranged in order, and when the grinding is to start, they let the water into a channel passing from one to another, for as soon as it issues from one, it goes into another; the whole Potosi range is like that. Most of the mills have two heads (of water?), with great heavy stone hammers which pound the ore, the ones rising and the others falling, just as in a fulling mill, until the ore, hard as flint though some of it is, has been reduced to meal; then they sift it through sieves set up for that purpose; in 24 hours they will sift over 30 quintals.

They set great store on the water in these reservoirs; as soon as one is empty, they start on another, for although they are all divided up and apportioned, they are arranged in such a way that each distributes its water to the first mill, and from that on in order. This Potosí range is the larger; most years, when the water gets low, they have processions and prayers for rain to fill the reservoirs; and according as the year is wet or dry, they run the mills a longer or shorter time, to grind the ore. The Tarapaya range is the shorter; the mills there grind with the water of a stream on which they are built.

**1655.** After grinding and sifting the ore they dump it into containers for the furnaces and saturate it with brine, using for every 50 quintals of ore, 5 of salt, more or less, according to the quality of the ore, for it to eat and consume it, or part of it, and scour it. Then they put the mercury in, so that by this arrangement it may better embrace and combine with the silver, and shorten the process, and bring about a union of the mercury with the silver, having thrown salt in with it; they knead it twice a day with their feet, just as they do clay in the making of tile or brick, and they remix with mercury twice a day; then they put the containers on furnaces and start the fires underneath in small ovens, so that the heat may cause the mercury to amalgamate more quickly with the silver.

Although the ore all comes from one range, the mines and the ore are usually of different grade, and so different materials are necessary for their treatment; for some they put in salt and lime, and iron or copper ground up in water, for which processing they have some small mills; in others, they put lead and tin; other ore—the negrillo (stephanite)—is first roasted in ovens for its grinding in the mills. Thus in some cases they use all these materials, in some, many, and in some, fewer, according to the need and to the grade of the ore; if low, the quicksilver is hampered in its union and amalgamation with the silver. With all this preparation and solicitude, in one case it may come to 20, in others more or less; with the fire or heat they apply, and these materials mentioned, the quicksilver absorbs the silver within 8 days.

1656. At the moment which seems right to them, according to the ore and the treatment given it, the mercury having already absorbed the silver, they dump this ore into large tubs with water running into them. These have a device with paddles or wheels in continual motion inside the tubs, so that the ore dust is carried off by the running water, and the combined mercury and silver, being heavier, goes to the bottom and settles there in the tubs. The rest of the ore, which was not well washed in these tubs or other puddling operations, they finish refining, until the silver and mercury alone are left, without any dust. This lump, which is soft as dough, is put in a linen cloth and squeezed hard until they press out and separate all the mercury they can from the silver. Then they put the lumps of silver which have had the mercury squeezed out, into clay forms or pots shaped like sugar loaves, with an aperture at the

end of the narrowest point, and set them in ovens specially made for the purpose; when they start the fire, the mercury goes out through the hole as vapor or smoke, but nothing is lost, thanks to the preparation made.

After the fire has severed the mercury from his friend the silver, the cone (piña) of pure silver comes out the size and shape of a loaf of very white sugar, for silver looks very white and spongy. Each cone is usually of 40 silver marks, slightly more or less; that is the ordinary product from one container; but if the grade and richness of the ore permit, they may get two cones, as happened at the beginning when the rich range was first exploited; the same is true of certain new mines; but ordinarily it is only one. They make up a bar by melting two together. The silver refined by the mercury process is so fine and white that it is always above the 2,380 grade; and to make it fit for use by the silversmiths, they reduce the grade to the II dineros and 4 grains which is the legal sterling standard, by addition of copper or other alloy.

## Chapter XI

Of Other Processes Used to Extract the Silver from the Ore Dust, and of the Quantity of Mercury Used Every Year.

**1657.** The silver which is extracted and collected from the ore dust, is much finer than that which they get first from the ore; it is the most delicate part that runs off with the mud and ore dust in the first washings and rewashings of the ore in the tubs. Of this dust, which contains much silver that has passed through and escaped the mercury process, they treat every year more than 300,000 quintals, roasting it in more than 200 (700?) furnaces maintained for this purpose on the Potosí and Tarapaya ranges. Thus they recover a large amount of silver, which will amount each year to over 300,000 pesos; this is the finest and highest-grade silver of all that is handled. Together with it they recover more than 2,000 quintals of mercury carried off with it in the ore dust; this amount, plus over 6,000 more brought from the Huancavelica mines, is used up every year at Potosí alone in the reduction of the ore and the silver.

After this silver has been run into bars, the Assayer takes a bit from each and weighs it by itself to see what grade it is. He puts each bit of silver into a receptacle made of ashes from ground burnt bones, cast in a mold, each with its label; these are like the little molds used by the silversmiths in casting silver or gold. These jars or molds are used for the assay sample and when they take it for the assay, His Majesty collects his royal 20 percent.

They assay them in a jewelers' furnace at his direction; the indications are easily recognized. He applies a very hot flame which melts the metal contained in each mold; and if the silver contains copper, tin, or lead, the intensity of the flame makes it go up in smoke and disappear, leaving the silver purified and very fine. When it is in this state, even though liquid and molten, and the jar is turned upside down, not a drop falls out; by this and by its color, the Assayer knows when it is refined. Then he takes the jars from the flame and with a very accurate balance reweighs each sample or bit by itself; and according to the shrinkage or loss in weight, he determines the grade of each bar; if it has lost little or nothing, its sterling quality is recognized; and the others are graded according to the loss or shrinkage shown by the bit or sample. This assay and weighing is done where there is not a breath of wind or other interference that can affect the accuracy and precision of the weighing, for on that depends the determination of the grade of each bar. They always take the assay of many bars together; otherwise it would be a very hard and tiring operation. After doing this, each bar is graded and marked according to the bit taken from it, with certainty, so that by this test they know the grade, price, and value of each bar.

1658. This is the way in which its fineness and standard are known. Before becoming a bar, it passes through and suffers great torture, for in their covetousness for it, men go where it is ever since they have made acquaintance with it; they bore into the bowels and center of the earth, bursting open the strongboxes in which Nature created it, given it for its defense and preservation. To get it out, much suffering is endured; they carry it off to the mills where they grind and pound with heavy hammers the rock and ore in which it took form; then they sift it, and after sifting it they dump it into troughs or containers with lime, salt, iron-water (agua de hierro), and the other materials mentioned, to scour it; according as is required, they knead it and tread upon it many times, going over it all again, and then they set that ferret, mercury, upon it, for him to search out and appropriate the silver in all the mud in which it lies; then they put the flame to it to help the mercury; and after the amalgamation, they wash it in tubs, as has been said. Then when the mercury and silver are clean, they give it the water-cure torture (tormento de toca), separating the mercury from the silver; for this they put that dough or putty of the two amalgamated metals into a linen cloth and garrot it hard, squeezing the mercury out; and since not all of it comes out, they apply fire to it, and thus they get it completely alone, severed from the mercury and from the earth which created it. And now that it has become pure, they again torture it with fire to make it into bars; it goes through so many tortures that the Holy Ghost uses it in the comparison with the righteous: Malachi III: 3, "And he shall purify the sons of Levi, and purge them as gold and silver"; and Ecclus. II: , "Like silver purged of earth, purged sevenfold."

So huge is the wealth which has been taken out of this range since the year 1545, when it was discovered, up to the present year of 1628, which makes 83 years that they have been working and reducing its ores, that merely from the registered mines, as appears from an examination of most of the accounts in the royal records, 326,000,000 assay pesos have been taken out. At the beginning when the ore was richer and easier to get out, for then there were no mita Indians and no mercury process, in the 40 years between 1545 and 1585, they took out 111,000,000 of assay silver. From the year 1585 up to 1628, 43 years, although the mines are harder to work, for they are deeper down, with the assistance of 13,300 Indians whom His Majesty has granted to the mine owners on that range, and of other hired Indians, who come there freely and voluntarily to work at day's wages, and with the great advantage of the mercury process, in which none of the ore or the silver is wasted, and with the better knowledge of the technique which the miners now have, they have taken out 215,000,000 assay pesos. That, plus the III extracted in the 40 years previous to 1585, makes 326,000,000 assay pesos, not counting the great amount of silver secretly taken from these mines to be registered in others paying only 10 percent tithes, the silver in the 20 percent impost, the currency circulating in those Kingdoms. the silver plate and vessels of private individuals, that in the churches in the form of chalices, crosses, lamps, and other vessels for decoration and use in divine service, and that that has been taken secretly to Spain, paying no 20 percent or registry fee, and to other countries outside Spain, and to the Philippines and China, which is beyond all reckoning; but I should venture to imagine and even assert that what has been taken from the Potosí range must be as much again as what paid the 20 percent royal impost.

Over and above that, such great treasure and riches have come from the Indies in gold and silver from all the other mines in New Spain and Peru, Honduras, the New Kingdom of Granada, Chile, New Galicia, New Vizcaya, and other quarters since the discovery of the Indies, that they exceed 1,800 millions.

### CHAPTER XII

Of the Inspectors and Administration on the Range for the Exploitation of the Mines, and the Salaries They Receive.

1659. For the controversies and lawsuits which arise in the mines between their owners and proprietors; to oversee the way in which they are worked and if they are shored up according to the ordinances, for such there are; and to settle grievances of the Indians, an Alcalde Mayor, entitled de minas y serro (of the mines and the range) is appointed by His Majesty in consultation with his Royal Council of the Indies. He gets an annual salary of 1,500 assay pesos, plus the fees he receives on the discovery of new mines, for measurements and for inspections.

Besides the Alcalde de minas, there are four Supervisors (Veedores) appointed by the Viceroy of Peru; these act as assistants to the Alcalde Mayor, using his wands of office. They receive 500 assay pesos each, as aides of the Corregidor and this Alcalde Mayor, at whose orders they all are.

1660. The Corregidor of the imperial town of Potosí receives every year a salary of 3,000 assay pesos, paid him at the Royal Treasury in Potosí; he gets in addition 500 mine pesos for the inspection of the range; 500 more for the inspection of the old mines in the town of Porco, in consideration of his supervising responsibility there, and of his providing 600 mita Indians for their working and the smelting; for this he has a warrant from His Majesty, for although there is a Corregidor there, appointed by the Viceroy, entire responsibility for the Indians and everything pertaining to the mines come under the charge of the Corregidor of Potosí. In the district of the Circuit Court of the Charcas (not counting the States of Tucumán, Paraguay, and Buenos Ayres), he is a Lieutenant Captain-General for the Viceroy, and for this extra office they give him 1,000 assay pesos in Indians disposable (Indios vacos), i.e., their pay. The first one nominated by the Viceroy was Don Francisco Sarmiento. The Corregidor of the imperial town enjoys other great privileges.

## CHAPTER XIII

Of the Imperial Town of Potosi and Its Magnificence.

1661. The imperial town of Potosí was originally started in 1545, the year in which that enormously rich range was discovered. At the news, many Spaniards and Indians flocked in from every quarter to exploit its ores and enjoy its richness. It lies 340 leagues SE. of

the city of Lima, 200 S. of Cuzco, and 100 from La Paz, at 20° S.; and although it is within the Tropic and the Torrid Zone, all that country was uninhabitable for the cold; but by virtue of the richness of its range, it is the largest settlement to be found in all the Indies. It begins at the slopes of the range, chiefly at Guayna Potosí. This town is over 2 leagues in circuit, and at the least it covers more ground than Seville. With all its suburbs the town will contain more than 4,000 Spanish residents—mine and mill owners, merchants and other traders who live permanently in the town—not counting many transient traders and other Spaniards who are free lances and are called in that Kingdom soldados honrados (honored soldiers), and the truth is that many of them are lost souls; it would be better if they would work or try to make a living some other way, for they are the chief cause of the troubles that are apt to arise in that Kingdom.

1662. The Council of that town is made up of 30 Twenty-fours (veinticuatros), as they call their Aldermen. Some of these offices in recent years have sold for 18,000 assay pesos. Each year they elect from the Council two regular Alcaldes for the town, and two for the Confraternity. The Alguacil Mayor bought his wand for 112,000 ducats. The Treasury of the Royal Patrimony has three Officials on its rolls, Contador (Paymaster), Treasurer, and Factor; each one gets a salary of 2,000 assay pesos, and each of them has a functionary to assist him, with a salary of 300 assay pesos. In the city of La Plata they appoint a representative with the title of Contador, and he collects the income accruing to His Majesty in that district.

The Corregidor has authority also over the city of La Plata, where they receive him on his visit before he goes to Potosí. He used to appoint a representative at this city of La Plata, but because of controversies which arose when Don Gabriel Ortiz de Sotomayor was Corregidor, the Viceroy ordered this privilege withdrawn.

**1663.** There is a mint, where they coin large amounts of silver in pieces of 8 reals, 4, and 2, a few sencillos (1-real pieces) and some half reals, which are the smallest coin minted. All this currency coined in the Potosí Mint circulates in the entire Kingdom, in Chile, Tucumán, Paraguay, and Buenos Ayres; Nicaragua and also in the Spanish Main, where it is brought by the traders who go down there to buy merchandise coming from Spain, and much gets to Spain which is coined in that mint, for there is no other in Peru. It has all the officials necessary for its purposes, like other mints, although this is the richest of all. It has an Assayer who is a very high official, with a voice and vote in the Council; his office brings him in an income of 6,000 ducats annually, plus many perquisites. Accordingly, although this site is desert, as has been said, it is nevertheless the largest settlement in the Indies. It stretches out in suburban wards and tribes of Indians, over slopes and ravines (which they call guaycos here), and there will be over 80,000 Indians in them, not counting women and children. Some have come to live and settle down here because it is so rich, and they earn an ample living, working on the range in the mines and mills and other activities; there are likewise artisans of every craft, and their variety of merchants and traders; and others who were assigned to the mita from distant regions, from all the provinces around Cuzco, and the entire Collao, have also settled down here, for they say that here they are free from the vexations which might be inflicted on them, and when their turn comes for the mita, they are there at hand, ready to take part in it.

1664. This country is normally very cold, a consequence of its high altitude, its situation in the midst of the Cordillera and within the sphere of other snow-clad ranges, from which the tomahabe winds blow from May till the end of August. These are very cold, and you hardly can sprinkle your house before it freezes. The other months (when this tomahabe wind no longer blows) are more temperate, but always cold. Accordingly for 6 leagues around Potosi no crops or trees can grow, and there is no grass on the range, the earth of which is dark reddish in color, and in places like burnt ashes.

In the neighborhood of Potosí, once these 6 leagues are passed, there are valleys with a marvelous climate, with vineyards and all kinds of Spanish fruit and many native, sugarcane, melons, cucumbers, quantities of Spanish vegetables. In these valleys, just as in all the rest of the country, the plazas are full of every sort of supplies—bread, meat, every variety of fruit God has created in the world, the whole year through, and in great profusion, so that one cannot ask for more. The merchants' shops are full of silks, woolen and linen cloth and everything else necessary for ordinary and full dress, with nothing that is lacking or left to be desired, for silver brings it all.

1665. Their canchas, which are like taverns, serve as shops and are full of jugs of wine; every year they sell over a million and a half of this specialty alone. For pepper, which they call ucho and which comes up from the valleys near Arica; for coca, which is the plant the Indians use; and for chicha, which is the Indians' beverage or brew and is made from corn; for these three commodities, which are mainly for the use of the Indians, over 2,000,000 ducats are spent.

In this town they consume: in sheep, each selling at 12 reals there; cattle, of which great numbers are brought up from the provinces of Tucumán, Paraguay, and Buenos Ayres; swine; and many llamas, which are the commonest article of food among the Indians; for more than 800,000 ducats annually.

This makes no account of the sugar, preserves, fresh fish caught in the nearby rivers, and dried fish, some of which is brought from Arica and large amounts from Atacama, Tarapacá, and other points; there is large consumption of all these, as of everything else in this Babylon.

### CHAPTER XIV

Of the Churches, Convents, Curacies, and Hospitals in the Imperial Town of Potosí.

**1666.** The parish church of this imperial town is very rich and well served; it has three curates and one vicar, and two sacristan priests, who serve in place of another curate; these are for the Spaniards. There are also over 60 clerics here without benefices; they live on the pittance given them for saying Mass, at 2 reals, at 8 to a peso, each, which is the ordinary fee given there; and they are not equal to the demand. The church has many very rich chapels and Confraternities, a large corps of musicians, a very rich sacristy with remarkable and expensive decorations. It has many lamps, and among them one worth more than 30,000 pesos; the monstrance used for the day and octave of the Corpus is worth over 50,000; and there are many other very rich and valuable articles which enhance its magnificence, but which I pass over in order to treat other topics.

It has five splendid wealthy convents, Dominican, Franciscan, Augustinian, Mercedarian, and Jesuit, which last is a very rich and important foundation. With the parish church there are 16 parishes or curacies, thus arranged: 12 for clerics, each worth from 6,000 at the peak to 5,000 and 4,000 at the lowest; these are curates or dotrineros of Indians, and each curate in his dotrina has his assistant, and some more than one. The clerics' dotrinas are: San Martín, San Juan, San Pablo, San Sebastián, Santa Bárbara, Copacabana, Santiago, San Benito, Los Carangas (which is one of the richest), San Bernardo; they are installing another at the mill of Don Pedro de Ulloa. There are two under the care of Dominican friars—San Pedro and San Francisco; two others are catechized by Mercedarians; these are La Concepción, which is also one of the richest, and San Cristóbal. These are the curacies in the imperial town of Potosí.

1667. It contains two hospitals in which they care for the indigent sick, both Spaniards and Indians. Both are excellent and wealthy, but one is one of the best in the Indies; the richest and most important residents of the town have a Confraternity, and so they serve the hospital and the invalids as Brethren and look after its wellbeing and its progress. Each year they elect a Superintendent and other necessary officials, and they spend annually in the service, care, and comfort of the patients, more than 50,000 pesos, not counting the large donations to be added to that. Its income is over 30,000 pesos, part of which comes from the theaters (casas de las Comedias), which bring in every year more than 12,000 pesos. In addition, there are other churches and shrines, and other large donations are collected in the town and go out to many other localities; but those who support all this elaborate structure of the wealth of the range, are in a state of exhaustion and distress, both on account of the heavy expenses they incur in working the mines and reducing the ore, and in other inevitable expenditures, for all costs are high and the mines are very deep and worn out. And so to uphold this mechanism and keep it from falling at a blow, His Majesty might come to their aid and favor them, which would redound to the profit of His Majesty's Royal Patrimony, as I shall explain in the following chapter, which deals with the great losses suffered in the Potosi ore mills in the year 1626, a disaster unprecedented since the discovery of that range; with this I shall conclude the description of the magnificence of Potosí.

# CHAPTER XV

Of the Damage Caused by a Flood in the Potosi Ore Mills in 1626.

**1668.** Besides the heavy responsibilities carried by the residents, and their indebtedness for many ducats to His Majesty and private individuals in their extraction and reduction of the ore which has enriched so many Kingdoms and monarchies with its silver, they were dealt a heavy blow in the year 1626 by a flood, caused by the bursting of one of the reservoirs maintained by that town for the ore grinding; the statement which was sent from there, written by the Factor Bartolomé de Astete de Ulloa, is of the following tenor: Corregidor: Sunday March 15, 1626, at 1:30 p.m., the Caricari reservoir burst on the island side, opposite the Río Panga reservoir, and broke through 22 yards of cutwater; and the speed and violence with which the water reached town were such that the damage it caused was irreparable; it was so violent that one saw mountains

of water coming down, higher than the tops of the tallest houses, and they carried some along for a considerable distance. The damage started with the property of Diego Ximénez, which is leased by Diego de Padilla; to try and detail the losses incurred, would transcend the brevity desired for this dispatch. The number of persons drowned would appear at the present moment to reach 350; so far it has been impossible to locate all the missing, who are numerous, both Spaniards and Indians; and the exact figure is not yet known.

1669. The mills it ruined, or damaged, are as follows:

The mill of Diego Ximénez, completely.

- That of Sancho de Madriaga, completely.
  - " " Doña Mariana Maldonado, badly.
  - " " Capt. Bartolomé Ximénez Vera, badly.
  - " " Alonso Falguero, badly.
  - " " Francisco Pérez Guillén, one head down.
  - " " Don Antonio Serón, completely.
  - " " Salvador de Campo, completely.
  - " " Don Gaspar Muñoz, slightly.
  - " " Juan Guillén, completely.
  - " " Alonso Merlo, completely.
  - " " Francisco Guillén, completely.
  - " " Antonio García Vásquez, completely.
  - " " Don Antonio Ossores, completely.
  - " " Licentiate Ibarra, completely.
  - " " Jerónimo de Sierra, completely.

## 1670.

That of Hernando Carrillo remained standing, but it carried off the houses and the people living in them.

- " " Antonio de Rueda, completely.
- " " Bernardo de Ureña, completely.
- " " Domingo de Roa; one head gone, the other badly damaged.
- " " Andrés Aguado, completely.
- " " Manuel de Guevara; one head gone, the other and the houses badly damaged.
- " " Pedro Núñez de Cabrera, completely.
- " " Lorenzo de Vera, completely.
- " " Francisco de Voeda, completely.
- " " Pedro de Verásatigui, completely.
- " " Jerónimo López, completely.
- " " Bartolomé Fernández de Ángulo, completely.

That of Pedro García Rueda, badly damaged.

- " " Alonso Cabezas, badly damaged.
- " " Alonso Benítez, badly damaged.

#### 1671. Those remaining which can operate after some repairs:

That of Don Francisco Cabeza de Vaca, untouched.

- " " Jerónimo Cano, one head.
- " " Don Pedro de Andrada, one head.
- " " Simón de Peralta, one head.
- " " Pedro Ballesteros, one head.
- " " Diego de Padilla, three heads.
- " " Mateo de Torres Naranjo, two heads.
- " " Alonso Benítez, one head.
- " " Estéban de Arsidia, one head.
- " " Martín de Ormaechi, one head.
- " " Francisco Guillén, one head left.
- " " Don Juan de la Cueva, one head.
- " " Don Gaspar Muñoz, one head, slight damage.
- " " Domingo Sobrino, one head.
- " " Don Pedro Chamorro, one head.
- " " Juan de Paredes, one head.
- " " Diego de Albiz, two heads.

#### 1672.

That of Don Miguel de Roa, one head.

- " " Lic. Pedro Ballesteros, unharmed.
- " " Pablo Mexía de León, two heads.
- " " Juan Rosel, two heads.
- " " Luís Sánchez Bejarano, two heads.
- " " Cristóbal Ortiz, one head.
- " " Francisco de Ubiedo, one head.
- "\_ " Juan Sánchez Mexía, one head.
- " " Pedro Julián, one head.
- " " Pedro Rodríguez de Varas, one head.
- " " Alonso Muñoz, carried off by flood.
- " " Pedro de Herrera, one head.
- " " Don Pedro Ossores de Ulloa, two heads.
- " " Hernando de la Concha, two heads, one badly damaged.
- " " Juan de Villapalma, one head.
- " " Francisco de Navageda, one head.
- " Isidro Garabito, one badly damaged, and he was carried off by the flood and is missing.

**1673.** The other heads from the Tarapaya are unharmed. This deluge was over, or the greater part of it, by 5 p.m., although it was not possible to get across that night, until what was left in this Caricari reservoir had finally drained off. One should have seen the Indians and Spaniards carrying away the dead and mutilated bodies along the bank, and the Cofradía (Confraternity) de la Misericordia gathering them up with great sympathy and with the great commiseration of all of us who remain living, although the catastrophe and the number of the dead were so great that we could not attend to them as we should have liked to. They say there is much treasure buried under the banks, which will all be lost or ruined; we have no recourse but to pray God for succor, for this town's residents and refining superintendents (azogueros) are ruined and prostrated. The loss is reckoned at over 4 millions in ore, quicksilver, and buildings.

Copy of a letter written about the lamentable catastrophe by this same Factor to the Consignee General (Depositario General), Jerónimo López de Saavedra.

1674. "I nearly decided not to inform Your Grace of the lamentable catastrophe in this town, but on account of its magnitude and because I did not want the courier to leave without a letter for Your Grace, I will summarize the calamity (?al rebiare el caso; abreviaré?) On Sunday the 15th current, the Caricari reservoir burst; they say that at that time people heard and saw some subterranean tremblings and other presentiments. Certain it is that God wished to chastise us, it may be for the offense given Him by the multiplicity of our manifold sins; but leaving miracles aside, the reason might be that that side of the reservoir, which was considered safe, had dried out on account of the long drought, and cracked under the great pressure of the water; considering the location of the break, it might have destroyed the whole town; but Divine mercy always prevails over Divine justice.

"It rushed straight down the stream bed and destroyed and carried off all it found in its path. The damage was enormous, so much so that it surpasses 4 millions in buildings, ore, and quicksilver, not to speak of 350 fatalities, and many others who must be buried. Not all the mills suffered, and some only in part. (?Ni algunos en todo). Those completely ruined will be 20, and those badly damaged, over 15. Accordingly, with all the respect and affection which I have for Your Grace, I am so overwhelmed that I must close. I affectionately beg His Excellency to be so good as to take pity on this unfortunate town, both at this present moment and with His Majesty, inasmuch as the same reason impels to this succor; for if it is not given, His Majesty will lose a large sum due him; it is a bitter fate for them to lose their property and their lives and (God forbid!) their souls in his service; and if there were no other consideration, other things being equal, appearances alone and reasons of state would demand it. Furthermore, Your Grace holds this town in particular affection; may this so righteous cause plead for itself; I would venture to assert that in this act Your Excellency will have rendered more service to the Majesty of Heaven and earth than in all else you have done.

"In subsequent couriers (chasques) I shall continue informing Your Grace of what comes to light in respect to damages. Your Grace will pardon the brevity of these lines, which nothing but my respect for you could induce me to pen. The statement accompanying this (which is what I have set above) Your Grace will kindly show to His Excellency, for it is accurate. God guard Your Grace. Potosi, the 17th of March, 1626. Bartolomé Astete de Ulloa."

### CHAPTER XVI

How Part of the Damage May Be Repaired, not only in the Imperial Town of Potosí but in All the Monarchy.

1675. The mine owners and directors labor under great expense since the mines are so deep in the center of the earth and the ores they extract and treat are so poor. Accordingly they are, in general and in particular, involved, poverty-stricken, and burdened with debt; and with the bursting of the Caricari reservoir and the flood it occasioned, they have been completely ruined and can no longer work them and pay His Majesty and private persons what they owe them. If they are as laboring men to uphold this structure and keep on exploiting the mines under the heavy expenditure incurred in mining and in refining the ore, His Majesty might easily and graciously aid in enabling them to hold and carry the burden, etc., not only to the benefit of them all but also to that of His Royal Patrimony, and that of all his realms and vassals, by giving silver its real and deserved value in the Indies at the moment and when it is assayed and His Majesty is paid his royal 20 percent; this would be in conformity with what it costs to get out the ore and reduce it; some reward is due the miners in return for such excessive labor and to bestow upon the world this precious metal which constitutes man's nobility and wealth. This would revivify the Indies and Spain in new prosperity. One need only set the value of the silver mark (the 20 percent having been deducted) at 77 reals instead of 65, increasing

each mark 12 reals. Six of these should go to increase His Majesty's Patrimony, and every mark should pay this additional sum; and six should go to benefit the miners. Assisted and encouraged in this manner, not only will they themselves be cheered and the better able to keep on and exploit the mines, and thus free themselves and pay His Majesty the large sums due him, but many others will be inspired to work large numbers of mines existing in those Kingdoms but abandoned because of the heavy expense and absence of profit they incur in working them. Thus it may well be, since at the present moment many are abandoning mines and ceasing to exploit them, and His Majesty loses the royal 20 percent and his revenues are falling off, if His Majesty grants this, as lord of the silver harvest, that his royal revenues will increase by many millions of ducats to the benefit of his Royal Patrimony and of all the vassals in his Kingdoms, and to the loss or disadvantage of foreigners, as Capt. Thomas de Cardona, His Majesty's Chamberlain (Maestro de la Cámara), has been pointing out for many years; in fact, there are many articles and treatises on this subject, from [1602] 1603 on, which may be read and pondered; I printed a memorial upon it in the year 1623; and it is discussed and completely proved by Capt. Pedro de Castro, a man of great experience in this specialty and who has lived many years in Peru, and by others who have written on this topic. The same proposal would apply to the piñas and other forms of silver subject to the royal 20 percent impost, and would strengthen this argument. This would put an end to many losses and abuses, and would lead to universal benefit ; under the present system, those who are engaged in working the mines and disemboweling the earth to bring out metal from its center, are laboring without reward. falling deeper into debt every day and unable to pay and reimburse His Majesty and individuals the sums they owe. This brief summary of this subject, on which much might be said, must suffice; I omit further discussion, so as to remain within my project and continue with the provinces and Corregimientos in this district.

### CHAPTER XVII

Of the Province of Chayanta and Other Valleys and Provinces in Amparaes.

**1676.** Between the imperial town of Potosi and the city of La Plata, at one side in the direction of the Chuquiabo highway or the city of La Paz, lies the Province of Chayanta, 6 leagues from this city of La Plata. This is very rich and well peopled by Indians with

herds of llamas and sheep. The first village as one leaves the city is Moromoro; then comes the village of Chayanta, capital of this province; nearby are the villages of Machá, Caracara, Copoáta, and others; and to one side of Potosí lies a fertile valley, abounding in wheat, corn, and other cereals, and native and Spanish fruit; the settlement here is the village of Tinquipaya, with a large Indian population. The valley is covered with farms and ranches with all kinds of stock. This province contains also the Pitantora Valley, which is one of the best and most prolific in wheat, corn, stock, and the usual products of the other valleys. The jurisdiction of this province extends to Potosí; the Viceroy appoints a Corregidor here for its satisfactory government and the administration of justice.

1677. For the region of the city of Chuquisaca or La Plata and for all the villages and valleys round about it, which are, properly speaking, the Province of the Charcas and are called Los Amparaes, after a village in it by that name, the Viceroy appoints a Corregidor for its wise government and for the dispensing of justice. All the Indians of this province attend to the service needs of the city's residents; these Indians are assigned by this Corregidor to the residents. It contains excellent fertile valleys, full of farms with large flocks of llamas and sheep and with great numbers of cattle and swine, and ranches of mares, mules, horses, and goats. There are delicious fish in all the rivers. The Mojotoro Valley is 2 leagues from the city and the pleasure resort for its residents; there are cattle ranches there, and in this valley and others round about it, besides a large production of wheat, corn, and other cereals, there are excellent vineyards, sugar plantations, and all kinds of Spanish fruit, like pears, large and small peaches, quinces, apples, pippins, figs, and plums, together with all the native sorts; they have melons, cucumbers both Spanish and native, which latter are the better, and all kinds of Spanish vegetables. The Corregidor of this province usually resides in the city.

**1678.** This Corregimiento of Los Amparaes is bounded by the frontier Province of Tomina. To reach it, one leaves the city where the San Diego convent stands, which is occupied by Franciscan Recollects. It is 7 leagues from the city to the first village in the Tomina jurisdiction; it is named Tarabuco. At one side of this lies the village of Presto, built in a splendid valley, which was the encomienda of Martín de Almendras Holguín. This valley is thickly dotted with llama ranches, vineyards, fields of wheat, corn, and other cereals, Spanish and native fruit, and a few cattle ranches. From Tarabuco to the town of Tomina it is 12 leagues, all lined with

country places and farms belonging to Spaniards, with vineyards, fields of wheat, corn, and other cereals, and large llama and sheep ranches. Tomina is a Spanish town, and capital of the province; it is the residence of the Corregidor appointed by the Viceroy for the satisfactory government of the province and for the administration of justice.

1679. From Tomina it is 6 leagues to San Juan de Rodas, another Spanish town, and 6 again to San Juan al Villar, a Spanish village. From El Villar it is 7 to the Río del Pescado; here are fine, fertile valleys, with vineyards, sugar plantations and mills, and plenty of Spanish and native fruit. All this is frontier country with the Chiriguanaes, and not safe, for every day they make a thousand raids, murdering the Spaniards, Negroes, and Indians on the farms and carrying off their women. Twelve leagues into the mountain country of these savage Chiriguanaes, Capt. Andrés Manso had settled; and for lack of reinforcements, they were all of them massacred. In the year 1615, Capt. Ruy Díaz made a new settlement there, the land being good and fertile and the climate favorable; he lived there 3 years, but no aid was sent him; he got out alive but they killed many [of his] people. This district has very rich silver and gold mines, for the whole country is paved with them; but they are not exploited for lack of labor and for the constant insecurity caused by these cruel savages. There is abundance of excellent fruit; they pick cotton here, the climate being hot. And since one enters the Diocese of Santa Fé de la Sierra through the jurisdiction of this Archdiocese via the Ayquile Valley, 19 leagues from the Charcas and 6 from Misque, it was at this spot . . .

#### CHAPTER XVIII

Of the Diocese of Santa Fé de la Sierra, Known as La Barranca, and Its District.

**1680.** The town of Misque and Río de Pisuerga, also known as Las Salinas, is built in the fine valley from which it takes its name, 20 leagues from the city of La Plata. It was founded by Don Francisco de Alfaro on September 19, 1603, in the days of the Viceroy Don Luís de Velasco, Marqués de Salinas, in deference to whom it was given this title of Villa de Salinas; it has for an outer ward the village of San Sebastián de Misque. The parish church is named after Santa Ana; there are Dominican, Franciscan, and Augustinian convents, and a hospital of San Juan de Diós called Santa Bárbara. The parish church has two curates, each receiving 700 assay pesos salary; those in Misque and Ayquile get 500; the curate of Pocona, 800. The first Bishop was Don Antonio Calderón, who had been Bishop of Panama.

At 4 and 5 leagues from this town are the springs which give rise to two rivers called Río de Vivehama and Río Tintín; on these there are four gristmills with two millstones each. These two rivers run independently for some distance and unite near the town; they then cut through the Cordillera and empty into the great Río de la Plata.

1681. It contains over 200 Spanish residents and more than 500 Indians, not counting many other persons scattered through the valley and living on their ranches and farms. The Viceroy appoints a Corregidor for all this valley and that of Pocona, which adjoins that of Cliza in the Corregimiento of Cochabamba, for their good administration and the dispensing of justice. It contains prolific vineyards which produce over 100,000 jugs of wine; great amounts of wheat, corn, and other cereals are grown and shipped to the imperial town of Potosí. They have large cattle, sheep, and llama ranches; and since it has a marvelous and delightful climate with excellent water, fresh breezes and bright skies, this town and valley are the usual residence of the Bishop of Santa Fé de la Sierra, it being in his jurisdiction; he is suffragan to the Charcas.

1682. Nine leagues from the valley and town of Misque is the Pocona Valley, adjoining that of Cliza in the ditsrict of Cochabamba. This Pocona Valley contains in its villages and district more than 1,000 Indians, and many Spaniards. It has excellent vineyards producing much wine, and quantities of wheat, corn, ají, and other cereals, which are taken up to Potosí. They raise large amounts of excellent Spanish and native fruit in the valley and much garden truck; there are large cattle, llama, and sheep ranches, and throughout the valley many farms and ranches occupied by Spaniards. Toward Los Yungas, which is hot country where they raise and pick the Indians' precious coca, there are very rich silver and gold mines, for this whole mountain region is paved with rich veins of those metals. It was in this Pocona Valley that the first pioneers and explorers of Tucumán and Río de la Plata joined forces; their head was Nicolás de Heredia; they were returning to Peru with Lope de Mendoza, Militia Captain of Diego Centeno, when he was fleeing from the rebellious violence of Francisco de Caravajal, Militia Captain of Gonzalo Pizarro; and after the battle they fought, he caught them separately in Pocona and beheaded Lope de Mendoza and Nicolás de Heredia and sent their heads to Arequipa, as is related by the

histories of that period; he executed some and acquitted others. It is 12 leagues from this Pocona Valley to Cochabamba, all lined with farms, vineyards, cattle ranches, wheat and corn fields; this is the Cliza Valley, which divides the jurisdictions of the Corregimientos of Misque and Cochabamba, and the Archdiocese of the Charcas from the Diocese of Santa Fé de la Sierra.

1683. Nineteen leagues from the city of Chuquisaca or La Plata, and 6 leagues before reaching Misque, is the Ayquile Valley, to the E.; this is where the road branches to go to Santa Fé de la Sierra. This valley is very fertile and prolific; they raise quantities of wheat, corn, wine, and other products, which are taken to Potosi and the Charcas; it has an excellent climate and delicious water. From here it is 3 leagues to the Laibato Valley, equally temperate and fertile and with the same products, but short of Indians, for which reason the fields and vineyards are cultivated by Yanacona Indians and Negroes. Going E., one travels 4 leagues to the Omereque Valley, which is prolific and lovely, with fresh breezes, excellent water, and bright skies. They produce more than 100,000 jugs of wine and quantities of wheat, corn, and other cereals. Many Spaniards live in this valley on their farms and ranches; it is thickly settled because of its excellent climate, mild air, and soft water, and since the soil is fertile, it is a bit of Paradise.

**1684.** From here it is 7 leagues to the Chilón Valley, far more fertile and prolific than the last mentioned, and with marvelous climate and water. It contains large plantations with vineyards, sugarcane, and sugar mills [with a large output]; they make quantities of wine, and harvest abundance of wheat, corn, and other Spanish and native cereals; they likewise grow wonderful fruit, from which they put up excellent preserves; abundance of potatoes and other root crops and vegetables; and this splendid valley has large cattle, sheep, and llama ranches. All these products and those of the other valleys are shipped out to Potosí, Charcas and other adjoining provinces.

# CHAPTER XIX

Continuing the Description of the Diocese of Santa Cruz and of the Splendid Valleys Contained in Its District.

**1685.** Traveling E. from this famous valley on a straight line for the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, one covers 7 more leagues to the valley of Santa María de la Guardia, which is much larger than those just mentioned. In this valley in the year 1615, Capt. Don

Pedro de Escalante founded the town of Santa María de la Guardia at the instance and with the commission of the Marqués de Montesclaros who was then Viceroy of that Kingdom. The valley is very fertile, abounding in everything, with fine skies and soil, marvelous climate, healthful and temperate breezes, and gentle waters which flow down from gold beds. It contains many farms with vineyards and sugar plantations; they produce quantities of jugs of wine and sugar in abundance; from the excellent Spanish and native fruit grown in the valley, they put up large amounts of delicious preserves. They raise much wheat, corn, and other cereals, excellent melons, native cucumbers, sweet potatoes, and other root crops and vegetables; and in the river running through this lovely valley they catch quantities of delicious fish. It contains large cattle, sheep, and llama ranches: all the farms are worked with Negroes and Yanacona Indians, the natives having fled inland among the heathen; if there were only people to work and exploit these valleys, this would be the most fertile and attractive country in the world.

1686. The Pojo Valley is 6 leagues E. of that of Santa Maria de la Guardia; it has the same fertility and abundance of wine, sugar, wheat, corn, and other cereals, fruit, and delicious fish, as the last. There are many farms and cattle ranches here. This was likewise settled in that same year of 1615 by Capt. Don Pedro de Escalante.

1687. Seven leagues beyond the Pojo Valley, on a straight line with Santa Fé and San Lorenzo, is the Valle Grande, which is larger than those last described. It is very fertile and abounds in wild fruit: it contains much wild and cimarron cattle, the offspring of those brought into the Cordillera in the days of Don Francisco de Toledo, when they started pioneering and settling that country. This lovely valley is not cultivated, for lack of settlers. It contains countless deer, cimarron cattle, tapirs, and many other animals of various sorts, much feathered game, paujíes, turkeys, pheasants, partridges, quail, ostriches, and many other birds and animals impossible to cnumerate.

1688. The Saguaypata Valley lies 2 leagues nearer San Lorenzo, after the Valle Grande. It has a hotter climate than those just mentioned; it is very fertile and abounds in wild fruit. Here they grow and gather the Indians' precious coca. There is much large and feathered game, as in the last valley, with great numbers of jabalies (peccaries) and many other animals. The whole mountain environment of this valley is paved with very rich silver and gold ore. On the E. is the Cordillera of the Chiriguanaes Indians, who are one of the largest tribes in those vast expanses; today they persist in

their heathendom. To the W. of this valley is the Yuracarees tribe, and next them, farther inland, that of the Zimbues, otherwise called the Mojos, which is also a widespread tribe.

1689. Five leagues beyond this Saguaypata Valley to the E. is the Rio Bermejo, in uninhabited country. It is given this name (Red River) because it runs over gold ore, and the earth over which it runs is red, and so the river water gets this color. Seven leagues beyond this is the tribe of the Urucuries Indians. Here, in the days when Don Martín Enríquez governed Peru as Viceroy, in the year 1585, the Indians of this tribe sprang out from ambush and attacked (dieron una guasavara) Capt. Don Pedro de Salazar who was traveling past with Doña María de Mendoza and Doña Elvira de Chaves, daughter of Gov. Nuflo de Chaves; and of the 32 Spaniards in his party, they killed 17, including this Doña María de Mendoza, grandmother of Doña Elvira, who was herself wounded in the leg by an arrow; God freed the others miraculously from that horde of savages, thanks to their bravery and especially that of Capt. Pedro Alvarez Holguín, who was wounded on that occasion. Five leagues from this spot and tribe are the gallows (Horcas) called de Chaves. after those which this gentleman had set up for the severe chastisement he wrought on those savages, for their treacherous act and others they had perpetrated or attempted; he gave orders for many of the rebels to be hanged there, to serve as a warning and example to the rest, and teach them to live with circumspection. This country has wonderful land and skies with a good climate and pleasant breezes; it is so fertile and prolific that it seems a bit of Paradise; it is full of all kinds of livestock and of game like deer, tapirs, peccaries. rabbits, and many other animals, and of feathered game such as turkeys, paujies, pheasants, ostriches, which cover those plains, quantities of partridges as large as domestic fowl and the same shape and color as those in Spain, and other smaller ones; quail, pigeons, turtledoves, and other delicious birds. In this country there are vast plains which they call pampas, which pass out of sight in the far distance and form horizons round like those at sea; they call the clumps (montes) in them islands (islas), and use them as guideposts, so as not to get lost in such extensive plains. The pampas are covered with an infinity of hogs and other animals such as just described.

**1690.** From these Horcas just referred to, it is 5 leagues to the city of San Lorenzo. This is where they moved the city of Santa Cruz la Vieja, which was abandoned because it was unhealthy; it likewise received the settlement of San Francisco de Alfaro. This

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city has an excellent situation with a very good climate, heathful breezes, and bright skies, with good water. It lies in 20° S. The city will have some 300 Spanish residents with a few Indians. It contains the Cathedral for this Diocese, which was detached in the year 1610 from the Archdiocese of the Charcas, which had far too wide jurisdiction; but the Bishop usually lives in the town of Misque, this city being so far inland, isolated from Christian intercourse among so many savage tribes. It contains Mercedarian and Jesuit convents and other shrines, and is the residence of a Governor appointed by the Council for its satisfactory administration and the dispensing of justice. Its climate is hot, but not oppressive; within its district near the city it has large sugar plantations with 25 sugar mills, turning out a large quantity, which is taken to Potosí. They raise much native and Spanish fruit, from which they make very delicious preserves which are exported to Peru. Large quantities of excellent homespun linen are produced in the city; they harvest much corn and rice; they make excellent bread from the corn; wheat is not grown here. Large amounts of wild honey and wax are derived from trees in the woods; they are the work of a sort of very small stingless bee.

# Chapter XX

Continuing the Description of the District of Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

1691. From San Lorenzo to Santa Cruz de la Sierra la Antigua, it is 30 leagues; at 20 leagues there is a ridge all made of copper, with over one-fourth of it gold; it would be great riches if there were people to work it and get it out. And 15 leagues E. of San Lorenzo there is another ridge, where the Río Piraŷ empties into the Río Bermejo, which is all silver; but this lack of settlers leaves this wealth untouched; furthermore it lies near the Chiriguanaes, a warlike and savage tribe. From San Lorenzo toward the Cordillera where the Chiriguanaes Indians live, it is 18 leagues to the first village, which is named Yaparô; then 3 to Tendi, and 2 to Coyayaguâ; all this country is thickly populated with this tribe and many others who, poor wretches, lack knowledge of our Holy Faith.

**1692.** From this village of Coyayaguâ it is possible to go to Tarija and Los Chichas by the Cordillera which runs through Tomina, the same one which extends to the villages of Chiqueaca, Tanipâ, Condorillo, and Quevô, and the Río Grande, which is settled by Tobas Indians; they carry only one arrow, and at their necks a knife made out of teeth of the palometa fish; they hardly feel they have defeated their enemy even when they have cut off his head with this, as if it were a cutlass. From this Coyayaguâ to the Río there are more than 200 Chiriguanaes villages, covering the whole slope of the Cordillera.

1693. To the NE, the plains are covered with countless Indian tribes, like the Chaneés, the Curiaguanós, the Capayjoros, the Tamocosiés, the Ouivechicosies, and many others impossible to enumerate; and over to the E. are the Itatines, who are the typical Chiriguanaes. They border on Brazil and on many other tribes, in whose territory there are great navigable rivers. The first villages are 100 leagues from Santa Cruz la Vieja, which was founded by Gen. Nuflo de Chaves in the year 1561, during the term of Don Francisco de Toledo, Viceroy of Peru. He came 200 leagues through warlike Indians from the city of Asunción in Paraguay with a large force of soldiers and noblemen whom he had taken from there; and he pacified and settled the country. The first explorer of this country was a reprobate soldier, who had to flee for his crimes; he escaped from Peru and settled down among these Indians. When they were distressed with drought, he made a cross and went out with it in a procession, and God sent them heavy rain, which was the means of the conversion of those Indians; from that time on they held the Holy Cross in great veneration and had recourse to it for all their necessities and trials, and so they all kept crosses in their houses; that was why they named the city Santa Cruz. But for the reason given and for others brought up by Don Francisco de Alfaro, Circuit Judge of the Charcas, who came to inspect it and the country adjacent, it was dismantled, to the great distress of the poor residents, who were removed to a settlement among the Chiquitos Indians; this proved unsuitable, so they were moved again and taken to San Lorenzo, 30 leagues from the original site. They left all those plains full of cattle which today have run wild and cover the fields for a distance of over 80 leagues. up to the first Itatines village, thanks to the rapidity with which they have multiplied. The junction of those large rivers has kept them from progressing farther. These Indians profit by the cattle, keeping them close to them and the poor Spaniards who lost them, far away; in fact, these latter were forcibly taken away to settle at San Francisco de Alfaro; that was dismantled and most of the settlers perished. through the fault of the administrators; the few who were left, rather than perish, returned to the city of San Lorenzo, where they live at present.

**1694.** There is a tree in this country like a peach, producing a fruit the size of a plum which they call tarumaes; they pickle it and

serve it like olives; it tastes very good. There is another fruit called obos; the tree is like an orange tree and the fruit like limes, with a smooth sweet taste having just a touch of sour. Pineapples, mammees, bananas, and papaws grow in abundance. There is another fruit called guaparú which grows on large, tall trees, higher than plum trees; this fruit grows out of the trunk of the tree in bunches with the same taste and appearance as grapes. They have coconut and date palms, oranges and other unusual fruit impossible to enumerate. In the woods there are countless monkeys; many sorts of pheasants (pavas), with handsome and highly prized feathers in their crests; large quantities of deposits of wax and honey in the trees in honeycombs they call lichiguanas; they have quirquinchos, which are armadillos, and much else. This Diocese lies inland, as has been stated, between the Dioceses of La Paz and La Plata; on the E. it is bounded by the Diocese of Paraguay; there are however many hostile Indians in between.

### CHAPTER XXI

Of the City of La Plata and Its Founding.

1695. The city of La Plata, called Chuquisaca in the language of the Indians native to the site, was founded by Capt. Peranzules on April 16, 1540, and named Villa de la Plata, under a commission from Marqués Don Francisco Pizarro, Knight of the Order of Santiago, explorer and conqueror of those realms; this was authenticated by Antonio Picado, Administrative Secretary of those Kingdoms, under date of January 20 of that year. It kept the name of Villa de la Plata up to October 19, 1555; on that same day it began to be called the city of La Plata, as is stated in the Council records for that year, without any other evident reason or patent, but rather, it would seem, by provision of the Viceroy Marqués de Cañete, Don Hurtado de Mendoza: in the documents he sent out, he called it villa (town) until on March 10, 1557, he called it ciudad (city) and the Viceroys have kept on so calling it, and so have the royal warrants. Although at the start there were only a few Spaniards here, and humble buildings, it has grown in every respect.

**1696.** It was established in the Province of the Charcas, so called from the Indians living there; the Spaniards called it New Castile, as is shown by a writ of this Marqués Don Francisco Pizarro. In matters both civil and criminal it is under the Royal Chancery which has its seat there, having been established in the year 1561; this has a President who receives a salary of 5,000 assay pesos and five Asso-

ciate Judges (Oidores) who are likewise Alcaldes de Corte, and an Attorney (Fiscal), each with a salary of 4,000 assay pesos, paid by the Royal Treasury in Potosí.

1697. It has two Relators and two Sergeants-at-Arms (Porteros), each with a salary of 500 assay pesos paid by the Royal Treasury in Potosí and from the cash penalties set by the court; a Chaplain named by the President for the Circuit Court, with 800 assay pesos; a Solicitor (Solicitador) for the Royal Treasury and an Alcaide of the Court Prison, at 500 assay pesos; an Appraiser (Tasador), 300 pesos; an Assessor (Repartidor), 300 pesos; a Counsel for the Poor, 250 pesos; an Attorney for the Poor, 100 pesos. The office of Alguacil Mayor de Corte was auctioned off at 55,000 ducats, but they put it up to 70,000, which has given rise to a lawsuit. The offices of Chancelor and Registry, 4,000 assay pesos; that of Receiver General of Fines, 9,500 assay pesos; two Court Secretaries at 4,000 assay pesos each; the posts of Receivers, at 3,500 assay pesos; those of Attorneys (Procuradores) have gone for 4,000 assay pesos. There are usually more than 12 lawyers (abogados) at this Royal Circuit Court; everything has augmented since this description of the city in the year 1610 was so made out at the order of the then Viceroy, the Marqués of Montesclaros.

**1698.** This city is laid out in square blocks, each 560 varas square; the streets are straight. In the year 1610 there were five streets 8 blocks long, and eight cross streets each 6 blocks long; the streets are each 11 varas wide (hueco). At present there is a greater area, for the city has kept growing. The main plaza, which is at the center of this city, is a square of 648 varas, where eight streets debouch; its four sides divide them in two. It has four smaller plazas, in front of the Dominican, Franciscan, Augustinian, and Mercedarian convents. The city is so built that E. and W. run across it crosswise, from corner to corner.

**1699.** In the year 1610, this city contained 704 houses, as follows: 68 tall first-class houses, some better than others; 249 low but well built; in them there were 146 shops, 30 of merchants, [64] 74 of artisans of all crafts, and 42 pulperías in which general supplies are sold at retail. In the 2 parishes of San Lázaro, which is an outside ward to the E., 217 houses of poor Spaniards, mestizos, and Indians, and of San Sebastián, which is to the N., 196 houses of the same class of people, most thatched with straw but some tile-roofed.

**1700.** In the Royal Apartments there are two halls for the public hearings of the Royal Circuit Court, and another where the verdicts are read and where Mass is said for the President and Associate

Justices. There is also an apartment where the royal seal is kept, and the record book of the decisions and decrees of the Circuit Court, and the principal apartment, where the President lives; nearby is the Court Prison.

### Chapter XXII

Continuing the Description of This City of La Plata.

1701. This city has a handsome and sumptuous building for its Council Chamber. It has the coat of arms given it by Viceroy Marqués de Cañete, Don Hurtado de Mendoza in the year 1559-two ridges, the right-hand one high and the other low, at its foot, signifying the Potosí range, which is famous the world over for its richness, with five veins of silver ore running from top to bottom, and at its highest point, a gold cross; on the low ridge there are six guayras, as the Indians call the little furnaces in which they melt the silver ore; at each one stands an Indian dumping ore into these guayras. The other ridge, which is to the left, stands for the Porco range, so named (Pig) because of its great richness and its silver ore. These ridges and the settlements built on their slopes, belonged to the jurisdiction of this city, and the Council sent out an Alcalde from here to dispense justice, since one ridge was only 5 leagues from the other. Between the two ridges is a royal eagle with a crown, resting on two columns set on these ridges, representing the insignia of the Emperor Charles V of glorious memory, in whose time it was discovered and settled. In the other quarterings under these two ridges, stand four castles and two lions, without any indication of their meaning in the legend. In between the castles is an armed hand with a white flag and on it a red Jerusalem cross. The shield has 10 heads for a border; these are the heads of 10 rebels, who rose against the royal crown in these provinces; this city defeated them, at its own expense, and cut off their heads.

**1702.** The offices of Alguacil Mayor de Corte and de la Ciudad, of Chancelor, Registrar, Receiver General of Fines, 2 Council Secretaries, 8 Receivers, Alférez Mayor (Ensign-Major), Depositor General, both with voice and vote in the Council, 4 posts of Public Scribe (Escrivanías), 2 provincial and 2 public in the city; another for the Council, and public; another of the Juzgado Mayor de Bienes de Difuntos (Registrar of Wills); and 17 posts of Regidor (Councilman)—these are all offices acquired by purchase and transferable; they have no salary other than their rights and perquisites, except that the chapter members of the Council get a salary of 15,000

maravedís, which is paid them out of city revenues; the Alférez Mayor gets 30,000 maravedís.

**1703.** The provincial judicial administration is carried out by the Associate Circuit Justices (Oidores), who are likewise Alcaldes de Corte in turn, 2 months at a time; the one in charge of deceased persons' property holds office for a year, to suit their own convenience; there are ordinances for this. The Tribunal of the Holy Crusade consists of a Subdelegate General, one Associate Justice (the oldest), and the Attorney of the Circuit Court, with a Paymaster (Contador)—the one resident in the city—a Notary, before whom the cases are brought, and an Alguacil who carries out the decisions of this tribunal.

The Council of this city consists of 20 chapter members, Councilmen, with voice and vote in the Council, and 2 regular Alcaldes (Alcaldes Ordinarios) elected by the Council at the beginning of each year; an Alguacil Mayor of this city, and 2 Inspectors of Weights and Measures (Fieles Ejecutores), at which the chapter members take turns of 4 months each. The Alcaldes elected by the Council are confirmed in office by the President of the Circuit Court, and in his absence the oldest of the Associate Justices in residence, as well as two Alcaldes de la Santa Hermandad (Holy Confraternity),  $[2\frac{1}{2}$  lines deleted] a City Attorney General and a City Superintendent (Mayordomo); these are all persons outside the Council; from its own number it elects an Alcalde de Aguas (Water Commissioner); these are all received and admitted into the Council.

#### CHAPTER XXIII

Continuing the Description of the City of La Plata and Its Convents.

**1704.** There is a public fountain in the Plaza Mayor of the city, and 3 others in the small plazas of San Francisco and San Augustín and on a public street, not to mention other outlets distributed through the city's convents and more than 50 in private houses; this all is brought by aqueducts from a spring at the foot of a ridge called Churuquella, on whose slopes the city's buildings begin. The city contains many gardens of flowers and fruit, the latter called chacras; they are in the suburb of Guayochapa.

**1705.** This city is at scant 20° S. Its climate is excellent, being temperate with a tendency toward the hot and dry, but without unpleasant heat or cold, the atmosphere being dry; but it is subject to storms with thunder and lightning, which do much damage. The

temples in this city are the parish church, entitled La Concepción de Nuestra Señora, which is one of the wealthiest, most richly decorated, and best served of churches. It has two beneficiary curates and the dignitaries and Prebendaries named in the catalog of the Dioceses. The convents are Dominican, Franciscan (named for San Antonio), Augustinian, another of the Mercedarians, the Jesuit convent named for Santiago, and that of the Franciscan Recollects entitled Santa Ana, which is a very fine and elaborate building at the entrance to the city on the road from the town of Tomina; these all have many friars and give courses in Arts and Theology. There is a convent of nuns called Nuestra Señora de Los Remedios, of the Augustinian Order. There is a college and seminary, with blue sashes; they are collegians [four words illegible] under the protection of Santa Isabel. There is a hospital known as Santa Barbara, which is likewise a parish, and they administer the sacraments there.

**1706.** In the year 1610 there were usually in this city more than 1,100 men and 1,500 women; at present there are more, for the city has grown and this reckoning is only of those resident in the city, but many mestizos and quadroons come into the city, not to speak of travelers, those here on legal business, and the traders who come and go. In the Indian parishes there are 300 paying tribute, plus 300 others too old or too young; there will be over 1,000 Indian women; the married persons, both tribute-paying and old persons, are 400 in number. In the city there are Indian artisans of all crafts, silversmiths, tailors, shoemakers, silk weavers, chairmakers, carpenters, and potters, as well as Yanaconas and other transient men and women, over 1,500 of all ages. There are mulattoes and zambaigos (Indian and Negro half-breeds), 140 in number, some of them married; 32 are slaves; of Negro men and women, slaves and free, 1,300 persons; 300 will be married.

There are in addition 23 foreigners in this city, Italians, Corsicans, and Flemings, traders and dealers here.

The office of Alguacil Mayor in the city was sold for 26,000 assay pesos; that of Alférez Mayor, for 10,200 assay pesos; Depositor General, 10,000 assay pesos; those of Procuradores (Attorneys), for 4,000; Councilmen, at the beginning for 2,000 assay pesos, later for 4,000, 5,000, 6,000, and 7,000 assay pesos; the post of Council Secretary, 15,000 ducats; Public Secretary, 11,000 assay pesos; those of Provincial Secretaries, two for 7,000 assay pesos and the other for 12,000; that of the Juzgado Mayor de Bienes de Difuntos (Probate Court), 34,000. All have a higher value and rating at present, for the city has grown larger and more important.

# Chapter XXIV

Continuing the Description of This City, and in Particular, of the Foundation of Its Hospital and the Income It Enjoys.

**1707.** The city keeps as its own the brokerage fees (correduría) of the Exchange (Lonja), the gauging fees (mojonería) and the office of Commissioner of Weights and Measures (Fiel de Peso y Medidas); the public announcement (pregonería) of all the offices which are auctioned off (se arriendan), and the slaughterhouse (carnecería), which is leased out. It is the owner also of some shops and houses (solares) and plots of land, which are rented out. This all brings the city in each year 7,000 current pesos, 500 more or less.

The leases it has on houses and shops are because the land was given to it, for when the city was founded, they were designated as the city's own by the Council for leasing; the same is true of the land it lets out on lease; as for the brokerage fees of the Exchange, the gauging fees, the announcements, and the fees for weights and measures, they are a gracious gift of His Majesty to the city; the slaughterhouse was built with the city's own funds. The city is 320 leagues from Lima.

1708. The founding of the hospital took place in the year 1554; Bartolomé Hernández, a native of La Mancha in the Kingdom of Toledo, established it in the following manner. This Bartolomé Hernández with great charitableness used to take in poor sick Spaniards and Indians and keep and nurse them in his home. In that year of 1554, it pleased God to take this holy man into His rest; in his will he left 2,000 current pesos from his property for his executors (who were Father Pedro Calero of the Dominican Order and Father Leonardo de Valderrama, curate and vicar of the holy church of this city, which then was a town) to invest, and with the income to continue the care of the indigent sick. The executors invested it, and from this beginning and with other contributions and bequests which were made, this income kept growing, and was still more greatly increased when in the year 1573 the Viceroy, Don Francisco de Toledo, designated a mine on the Potosí range, twothirds of the profit from which was to go to the poor patients in the Potosí hospital, and the other third to those of this hospital. These mines were leased to Alonso de Torrejón for 4,866 assay pesos, and the third accruing to this hospital was leased out in 1576; and with this and other contributions and bequests, its annual income was increased by the figure of 4,250 current pesos in the year 1610, raised by an annual tax on the income of the residents of the city. plus a ninth part and a half of the tithes of this holy church earmarked to it each year; and with the daily contributions, it has come to have an income of over 16,000 pesos.

There is only one ward (enfermería) in this hospital, in the shape of the badge of San Juan de Diós (tao), and in the transept it forms there is an altar where Mass is said; and in the main ward, in the right wing of this tao, there are 14 beds for Spanish patients; in the left wing, 19 for Indians; and in the center, 16 beds for mestizos, Indians, mulattoes, and Negro slaves, for whose care their masters give contributions to this hospital; and at the end of this main section, there are 6 beds in alcoves, where they apply mercury ointment to victims of tumors (syphilis), for all kinds of poor patients are treated in this hospital.

**1709.** The hospital has a Manager (Administrador) who is likewise Superintendent (Mayordomo), who collects and distributes its income; he is nominated by the Archbishop of this city and the President confirms him in his title, by virtue of royal patronage. This Manager gets an annual salary of 400 assay pesos, his living apartment in this hospital and food for himself, one servant, and a mule.

There is a doctor [and surgeon] with a salary of 500 assay pesos, a chaplain who is the curate of this hospital, with living quarters in it and a salary of 600 assay pesos; the surgeon gets 350 assay pesos; the barber and the man-nurse, each 250 8-real pesos; it has some Yanacona Indians who care for the patients and attend to all their needs. The holy Metropolitan Church of this city has an excellent choir, with singers, seises (dancing choirboys), and players on reed and all other musical instruments. The Bishop received, in the year 1610 when this description was drawn up by Don Jerónimo Maldonado de Buendía, from his share of the tithes accruing to him, 20,000 assay pesos and 14,000 from the funeral 25 percent; the revenues have gone up greatly, for since that time many vineyards have been planted in the valleys of its district, notably in those of Pilaya and Pispaya, so that the tithes have much increased.

#### CHAPTER XXV

Continuing the Description of the Chief Features of This City's District, and of the College.

1710. The Seminary and College in this city gets an income of 3 percent on the salary of every Indian missionary chaplainship (dotrina) in the whole Archbishopric, and every post of chaplain,

and Confraternity head, and on hospital income, all of which brings in annually 5,000 current pesos. Furthermore, from the Archbishopric's tithes the half of a ninth and a half, which at present amounts to over 5,000 pesos, the tithes having greatly increased. It gets also a tax on the incomes of the residents of the city, which produces 300 pesos, so that at present, as reckoned above, its revenues come to 10,300 pesos a year. With this money the collegians and seminarians are fed and lodged from the age of 18 to 25; they study Latin in the Jesuit College, and Arts and Theology in the Dominican, Franciscan, and other convents. The seminarians wear dark gray gowns with black cloth mangas, with scarlet caps and sashes. They go by fours to the Metropolitan Church weekdays, and on feast days all together. It is imperative that a university should be established here.

The Indians living in this city speak the Quichua language, which is the lingua franca of the Incas; others speak Aymará, and others Puquina, each according to his origin; there are also other special dialects in other villages.

1711. The general occupation of the residents of this city is farming and cattle raising, and transporting supplies to the town of Potosi and bringing back from there merchandise and other commodities lacking in this city, and in the native cloth business for Indian men and women; this is in sashes (fajas) with which they swathe their waists, and which are called chumbés, and in a sort of footwear made out of colored wool, like yoke pads (rollos), with bowknots (lazadas) fastening them to rawhide soles; the Indians call this kind of footgear ojotas. They sell wool dyed in different colors, and bricks (pañecillos) of wild cochineal with which the Indians make varicolored dyes by combining it with various plants they use for that purpose. They sell also wooden vessels stippled in different colors and called queros, in which the Indians drink their chicha beverage, and many other native products, as well as Spanish merchandise, with which this city is very well supplied, and which make its residents very prosperous.

**1712.** To the E. this city has 25 leagues of settled country, up to the towns of Tomina and San Juan de Rodas; then comes the Cordillera of the Chiriguanaes Indians and other countless tribes over to the Atlantic, more than 800 leagues of mountains and mighty rivers. To the W., the Pacific is 100 leagues distant. On the S. there are 36 leagues of settled country of varying climates, and from there on, the territory of Tucumán, up to the wildernesses of the Kingdoms of Chile. To the N. it has 40 leagues of settled country, up to the

town of Oropesa, which is built in the Cochabamba Valley. From there toward the E. and the Atlantic come over 1,000 leagues of different savage tribes scattered over great forests and rivers.

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1713. This city has jurisdiction in different directions over 20 leagues, more or less. It borders on the towns of Potosí, San Felipe de Austria, Oropesa, and Salinas, Tarija, Paspaya, and Tomina, all Spanish settlements. The town of Potosí is 18 leagues to the W., and Oruro is 47 in the same direction; the town of Oropesa is 40 leagues off; that of Salinas del Río de Pisuerga, 20 to the N.; that of Tomina, 20 again, to the E., and that of Paspaya, 30, and Tarija 26 leagues to the S. Almost all the country in this district is very rugged and the major part mountainous; all that is under cultivation is very fertile.

1714. A league from this city forests begin and continue to the hotter valleys and depressions, where the trees and woods are larger. Various kinds of trees grow in them; the best and most valuable are cedar, molle, cinchona (quinaquina), tipa, soto, tarco, wahnut (nogal), alder, willow, algarrobo (carob), palm tree, ceiba (silk cotton) which the Indians call cuñuriyuruma, vilca, uruche, mara, sutarpo, ayayanta, and tuisumo.

### Chapter XXVI

Continuing the Description of the District of This City, and in Particular of the Variety of the Trees and Their Timbers.

1715. Of all the trees listed in the preceding chapter, the only fruit trees are: the palm, which bears coconuts; the walnut, very tough-shelled nuts; the carob, carob beans like the Spanish ones but different in being white and sweeter; the molle bears bunches of what are like small grapes; when ripe they are red and the Indians make a kind of wine out of them which they drink. The cinchona tree likewise produces pods like the carob; the other trees do not bear fruit.

**1716.** Out of cedar they make planks and frames for house doors and windows, tables, boxes, and other things; from the tipa, cinchona, soto, yayanta, tarco, and carob, joists, braces, and beams for houses and the Potosí ore mills; from the walnuts, planks, etc., as from cedars; from the molles, cogs for the gristmill wheels; from the willows, hoops for sieves and small boxes for preserves, and charcoal for gunpowder; and they get much else that is useful from these and many other trees that they have. **1717.** From the quinaquina tree (cinchona) they get a liver-colored resin which is very fragrant and healing; with its vapor (sahumerío), chills (frialdades) and head colds disappear; and with this resin mixed with oil they cure wounds and sores, and the oil which is pressed out from its seeds has the same virtue and is more efficacious. The quinaquina is a very handsome tree, and its wood is very fragrant and tough; the color of the wood is white with tawny streaks.

1718. The molle also yields a white resin which is good for curing chills; [which] given in pills, it acts as a purge. They make decoctions of its leaves to use as lotions for chills and swellings on the legs, and they are very efficacious. Its bark is excellent for strengthening and cleaning the teeth.

**1719.** The tipa tree yields a red resin with which they tighten and strengthen the teeth. The tarco tree is very medicinal in its flowers, which are purple and very handsome, the shape of white lilies, but growing in clusters; [from them] they make preserves which are very helpful and curative for syphilis tumors; water boiled with wood from this tree has the same virtue, as well as the dried leaves; powdered, they are a grand remedy for curing every kind of sore, no matter of how long standing; and this powder boiled in water is good for curing piles, used as a lotion.

**1720.** With the vilca tree they tan leather, as with sumac. This tree bears pods which have small, round seeds inside; these are an effective purge for all sorts of humors, and are the usual purge used by the Indians. The uruche tree serves the same purpose as the cork oak in Spain, being very light. From the sutarpo tree they make dishes for the table, painted trays (bateas) and other things. The leaves of the tuisumo tree are used to bring tumors quickly to a head, and to get rid of leg swellings; its bark stops or relieves aching back or front teeth, and strengthens them, killing caries. From the carob they make excellent charcoal, which the Indians call taco; the juice of its bark and leaves is an effective remedy against snake and spider bites, and the bites and stings of other poisonous vermin.

### Chapter XXVII

Of the Bezoar Stone of the Vicuña and Its Virtues, and of Other Stones, Roots, and Herbs of Medicinal Value, To Be Found in the District of This City.

**1721.** The bezoar stone of the vicuña, of which I have made mention several times in other chapters, is very effective against poison and other heart affections and the tabardillo fever, and so they administer this stone in potions and saffron plasters. There are also in this district mines of a stone useful in pain in the side, the bladder, the blood, and the milk; and another which looks like stone alum, the color of verdigris, which has medicinal value for all kinds of sores and syphilitic humors.

1722. There is a root called contrahierba which is an effective remedy against the bites of snakes and other poisonous vermin, so much so that when powdered and drunk in water or any sort of cordial, it produces a cure without any bad effect from the bite. The saltwort (paico) counteracts cold humors. Water boiled with the snake-plant (?vibora) and drunk is effective for pains in the side and for obstructions to free passage of the urine, and plasters made of the plant itself, for bringing tumors to a head. Chuma, which is a kind of spiny thistle, when sliced and roasted and laid against the sore spot on the goitre (goza) relieves the pain and dispels it; the Indians make use of the juice of this plant in their superstitions; they drink it and lose consciousness, and say that they see all that they desire. There is another plant which is all little spines, called chuquicanglia; its vapor stops the pain of headaches and megrims. The root of the guay plant, when powdered, is an effective remedy for every sort of pain, and it knits and strengthens any broken leg or arm bone. There is another plant which grows a sort of ground truffles on its roots; these are an excellent purge and are used like mechoacan; they call it Robles' purge, because one of his Indian women knew about it. The chamico plant is very medicinal; it has a white flower like the white lily; this produces a round fruit larger than a pigeon's egg, thickly covered with tough spines; inside it has a black seed which the Indians use as a purge, and in particular against witchcraft; with its leaves they cure scrofula (lamparones) and any sort of swelling and tumor; and if they administer this seed as a potion in wine, water, or other liquid, the persons go to sleep for as long as they plan in regulating the size of the dose; the antidote is to rub the nostrils with a little strong vinegar, which wakes them up.

1723. The corvincho plant resembles a thistle, and has a white and yellow flower, which produces a small gourdlike fruit with a black seed in it. This is a powerful purge for choleric humors; the leaf and bark of this plant have the same effect. Its root powdered and drunk dissolves any stone in the bladder. The pincopinco (pingopingo) plant boiled in water has the same virtue as sarsaparilla; the Indians use it for their syrups and in various diseases.

**1724.** The chucochuco plant applied wet to any wound, cures and cicatrizes it at once. The ucochacora plant is also called ucucha, which means mouse; they say they die if they eat it; water boiled with it is a potent remedy for consumptives. The yuralmaycha plant, with its leaves boiled in water, relieves pains in the side and is an efficacious remedy against the tabardillo fever, melancholia, and heartburn; women in childbirth drink this water and lose the afterbirth immediately. Powdered, it is used to knit and heal broken bones in legs, arms, and elsewhere.

**1725.** Of Spanish medicinal plants they have rosemary, fennel, marjoram, rue, maidenhair fern, ceterach, mint, hierba de Santa María, celery, parsley, balm-gentle, coriander, pennyroyal, camomile, nettles, common cress, vervain, roses, pinks, sweet basil, gillyflowers in white, yellow, purple, and of every sort, sweet marjoram, borage, artemisia, lilies, white lilies, pimpinel, watercress, clover, poppies, carrots, lettuce, cabbages, radishes, turnips, onions, and garlic, the virtues of most of which are well known.

1726. Of Spanish fruit they have quinces, pomegranates, large and small peaches, apricots, plums, figs, quantities of grapes, pears, melons, cucumbers (but the native kind is better), all kinds of pumpkins and squashes, eggplants, artichokes, oranges, citrons, grapefruit, limes, lemons, ciuties, and bitter oranges. Of native fruit there are three kinds of guavas; pacaes, which are a sweet fruit and easy to digest; native cucumbers; bananas; palta (aguacate), a delicious and wholesome fruit; pineapples, a fragrant and exquisite fruit, but phlegmy; passionflower (granadilla), whose Indian name is tintin and which is very delicious; jiquirna, which is a root like a large turnip, very juicy, sweet, and cooling; hung up, it will keep a long time; frutilla de Chile, which are like strawberries and resemble tree-strawberries but are better; there are round pumpkins which are called zapallos; there is another fruit like a cucumber, called achocha, and many other varieties of fruit impossible to enumerate; tomatoes and peppers of many sorts, which the Spaniards call ají and the Indians ucho.

#### CHAPTER XXVIII

Of the Crops Sowed in the District of This City, Both Spanish and Indigenous, and of the Rivers in This District.

**1727.** In the neighborhood of this city they plant wheat, barley, chickpeas, large beans, kidney beans, lentils of both the Spanish and native variety, corn, quinua, which is a small grain which they use

in stews, potatoes, ocas, manioc, peanuts; these are all cultivated as in Spain, with plows and yokes of oxen. But some Indians follow their ancient method and turn the earth with sticks about a stade long with a point like a spoon at the bottom and with a crosspiece about a foot long fastened with straps, as on a stilt; with the right foot they bear on this crosspiece to turn the earth with the long stick, using both hands and casting the earth one side, and that is the way they plow and cultivate; they call this plow taclla; then with other short sticks like dibbles, called caucanas, they weed their plots. There is plenty of everything for the supply of the city and its region, and much is carted off to the imperial town of Potosí.

**1728.** Just outside the city runs a watercourse called Quirpinchaca and another passes through the center, which runs full of water when it rains; it is called Churuquella, and there is a bridge for going across it from one side of the city to the other in the rainy season, which is from October to April, the same as in Spain; that is the most temperate period of the whole year, although in the city the temperature is almost always equable.

1729. The rivers nearest the city are the Cachimayo, which is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  leagues away, and rises 15 leagues off, in some springs gushing out of the Caracara Sierra. There are excellent shad (sábalos), armados, bagres, cachuelos, and other fish in it, which are caught for disposal in this city and the town of Potosí.

1730. The Río de Pilcomayo takes its rise 40 leagues from this city, in some snow-clad ranges bordering on the trading posts and tambos of Las Vizcachas and La Lagunilla. It runs within 5 leagues of the city and has the same plentiful supply of fish as the last.

**1731.** The Río de Mojotoro is also 5 leagues away from the city, and it sweeps around it at this remove until it reaches the Mojotoro Valley, which gives it its name, although it runs through other valleys. The Cachimayo and Pilcomayo Rivers unite 6 leagues from this city and enter the Provinces of the Chiriguanaes; and when they have been joined by other rivers and streams coming out of canyons, they form the famous Río de la Plata.

1732. The Río de Mojotoro unites with other rivers 10 leagues from the city and empties into one they call the Río Grande, which enters the Provinces of the Chiriguanaes and many other savage tribes, and after flowing more than 1,300 leagues to the NE., empties into the famous Río Marañón. These rivers rise in the period from November to March, their freshets coming in January and February, and low water in August and September.

**1733.** These rivers confer benefits in having many gristmills on their banks for wheat and corn, and in supplying the irrigation ditches for the numerous vineyards, gardens, and chacras, or fields of wheat, corn, chickpeas, and other crops, in the valleys through which they flow. Both the Cachimayo and Pilcomayo Rivers have stone bridges on the King's Highway running from this city to the town of Potosi, and there is no other crossing except by fording them. The Río de Mojotoro has no bridge over it, being a variable stream; although it has great floods at times, one can cross as soon as they subside. There is another river, IO leagues from this city on the highway to the towns of Salinas and Oropesa in the Cochabamba Valley, which also has no bridges, although it is a considerable stream; in the winter it is crossed by a boat kept there by a Spaniard, and in the dry season it is forded without risk.

# CHAPTER XXIX

Of the Variety of Bees Which Make Honey, in the District of This City, and of the Different Kinds of Birds and Game To Be Found There.

**1734.** This city and its neighborhood are well provided both with syrup, through having nearby some sugar mills and crushing plants where quantities of sugarcane are ground, and with honey, since there are five species producing it. Some are black and round, called linchupa by the Indians; they deposit their honey a stade underground, first building a layer of yellow wax on the bottom, about a finger thick, on which they heap many small olive-shaped wax cells in which they deposit the honey. These bees sting so that the wound hurts and festers.

1735. There are other bees, larger than the last, and called tocto by the Indians, black and yellow in color. These deposit their honey in holes they make in trees; this is better than the other; these sting like the last. There are other black bees, as large as the last, which the Indians call yao. These build hives as large as Peruvian wine jugs, of a dark gray pulp which looks like brown paper, on the ground at the foot of bushes or small trees; they deposit more honey than the others, but it is not as good. These sting a great deal. In the State of Caracas and Guiana, the Indians call these bees matchey; they work the same way there.

**1736.** There are other yellow and black bees longer than the preceding; the Indians call them lichiguana. These build their hives in the top of the highest trees, the size and shape of a man's head, and deposit their honey in it; the honey is excellent, with only a little wax; these bees do not sting.

**1737.** There are other bees as large as medium-sized olives, yellow with dark gray wings; the Indians call them guancoyro. They deposit their honey more than a stade underground in a cool place, first making a layer of wax, on which they pile up wax cells, out of which the honey is taken. This is better and sweeter than the others; it has a medicinal effect and is more highly esteemed than the rest. The sting of these bees causes pain and inflammation lasting over a month.

1738. From right outside the city one finds three kinds of partridges. The largest are called guaycos by the Indians; the mediumsized, picasas; the smallest, vutos. They have francolins, pigeons, turtledoves in great numbers and hunted with falcons, nets, and dogs; there are falcons, sparrow hawks, eagles, red owls, hoot owls, barn owls, woodpeckers, linnets, swallows; chiguacos, which are like thrushes; oritos, which are parrots; quintis, which look as if gilded, with very handsome variegated plumes; the tacataca, which is dark gray with red crest and aigrette; yuros, which are yellow and white birds the size of thrushes, and sing sweetly; the taracchis are black and dark gray, of the same shape; the palco is all red, yellow, and black; they say that its song indicates rain. There is another called tiquitiqui, all red, the size of a thrush; it sings sweetly three times a day, in the morning, at noon, and at twilight, in the topmost branches of the trees. There is a bird of prey like an eagle which the Indians call alcamari; the turkey buzzards are called auras, and the Indians call them sucara; these are larger than ravens; one remarkable thing is noted in regard to them, that although there are great numbers of them in the cities and settlements, and they are very common everywhere, the eggs and young of these birds have never been found nor can they be. These birds are so useful in the Indies that they are a secondary cause of healthfulness, for they eat up every dead animal and all offal which might corrupt the air. These birds' sense of smell or instinct is so developed that no matter in how remote a spot or how far away from them a dead animal may be, they immediately get on its trail, and they have been the means of bringing to light many hidden deeds of this nature.

1739. The condors are of such remarkable size that they are usually 4 varas in spread from one wing tip to the other. It is a very savage and harmful bird, and devours a good share of the newly born calves; three or four of them will tackle a calf; one will peck it on the hind quarters, which makes it bellow and at that instant

another condor seizes its tongue and tears it out, and so they kill and eat it without its mother being able to protect it.

#### Chapter XXX

Of the Animals Living in the District of This City, and Other Matters.

1740. The varieties of animals found here are: a small kind of deer, and up in the Caracara Sierras, which are bare and cold, there are vicuñas and guanacos. These are animals unique in the world for it is not known that they exist anywhere else than in the cold frozen territories of Peru. They have dark gray wildcats as large as a medium-sized dog; the Indians call them oscollos; they are great thieves and catch hens and other birds. There are others somewhat smaller which the Indians call caraviuchaque; these hunt poultry at night. The females have a pouch in which they carry their young after birth until they are grown, and they will let themselves be killed rather than open this pouch for any purpose except to give their young food. There are skunks (zorras; lit. foxes), called anatuia by the Indians; when they are pursued, they merely discharge their urine and the stench is so pestilential that it forces their pursuers to give up.

1741. There are very ferocious tigers which the Indians call otorongos and which do much damage among the cattle. There are dark gray lions called in the Indian language poma; there are others which are thought to be ounces, and are called lilisti; they have a head like a horse's, are very savage, and do great harm among all sorts of stock and with human beings. They have many kinds of bears, and some called ant bears. There are foxes like dogs which do harm to sheep, goats, etc., and in the fields, eating corn in the milk; they are called atoc. The vizcachas are the color, size, and shape of a rabbit; the only difference is that they have a big tail. There are cuyes, which are the rabbits of that country; they have famous ferrets, which the Indians call sigui. In the district of this city there are many cattle and sheep ranches, farms with mares, nules, and hogs; and especially in the Mojotorio (sic) Valleys, as well as in others, for there are abundant supplies everywhere, it contains llama ranches; these are the sheeplike animals which carry the wine, (es; ?), corn, wheat, flour, wood, and all else required for the provisioning of the city. And since in preceding chapters I dealt with the temples of this noble and loyal city, and the college and seminary there, I would add that the Archbishop of this city appoints a cleric of high character and education to be its Rector; he has an annual salary of 400 assay pesos and a living apartment in the college, with two daily rations for himself and a manservant, and 4 reals' worth of hay every day for the mule.

1742. In the Jesuit College there is a Lector for the instruction of the sons of that country; on his account this college is given annually 1,000 assay pesos by the Royal Treasury in Potosí, by virtue of a royal warrant which they hold to this effect. There is also a shrine of San Roque as one leaves the city on the Potosí highway.

### CHAPTER XXXI

Of the District Comprised within the Archdiocese of This City, and the Jurisdiction of the Circuit Court Located There.

1743. This Archdiocese holds a very wide and rich jurisdiction, extending from N. to S. over 160 leagues, from the Province of Paria, where it borders on those of Los Pacajes and Caracollo in the Diocese of La Paz, down to the farthest bound of the Province of Atacama, where it is bounded to the S. by the Copiapô Valley in the Diocese of Santiago de Chile. From E. to W. it covers 200 leagues, from the Province of Los Carangas, its western boundary against the villages of Arica in the Diocese of Arequipa, to the Omaguaca Valley and Province of Los Chichas on the E., which border on Jujuy in the Diocese of Tucumán.

1744. Within this district it contains very large and wealthy provinces, which are: on the W., those of Los Carangas and Paria; to the WSW., those of Los Lipes and Atacama; on the NE., the rich Cochabamba Valley; near the city, the Provinces of Amparaes, Chayanta, and others; to the E., those of Los Chichas, Tomina, and Tarija, the rich Pilaya valleys and the town of Paspaya, where they produce large amounts of wine, and others producing wine, wheat and other cereals, and there are sugar mills and large cattle ranches, all of which bring in abundant tithes to the Archdiocese.

1745. They have very rich silver mines in the district: those of Potosí 18 leagues away, so renowned all over the world; those of Oruro, 47 leagues distant; those of Porco, 5 leagues from Potosí; those of Valmisa, again 5 leagues; those of Berenguela, 12 leagues from Oruro; those of Colquiri; those of Tulco in Los Carangas; those of Usloca in Los Lipes; those of Alota, Tupiza, and Turque, not to mention other very rich mines in the district. From these comes the major part of the silver arriving in Spain; and there are many others for the whole country is paved with it.

**1746.** There are in this district 12 Spanish settlements: the city of La Plata, the town of Potosí, the town of Porco, that of San Felipe de Austria called Oruro, that of Oropesa in the Cochabamba Valley, the town of Tomina, that of San Juan de Rodas, El Villar, Tarija, the town of Paspaya, Berenguela, San Vicente en Los Lipes, and other Spanish settlements, forming 14 Corregimientos. Two of these are in the appointment of His Majesty, in consultation with the Royal Council; these are Potosí and Oruro, and also the Alcaldía Mayor of the Potosí mines. Eleven are filled by the Viceroy: Los Amparaes, Chayanta, Tomina, Tarija and Chichas, Los Lipes, Atacama, the town of Porco, Paria, Carangas, Cochabamba, Pilaya, and Paspaya. The Archdiocese of the Charcas has five suffragan dioceses: that of La Paz known as Chuquiabo, that of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, that of Tucumán, that of Paraguay, and that of Buenos Ayres.

1747. The Circuit Court located in this city is the last in Peru. It has very wide jurisdiction: N. and S., from the Moquegua Valley, where it touches the Court of Lima, to the Copiapô Valley, which is at 27°20' and belongs to the district of the Circuit Court of Chile; along the sierra, likewise N. and S., from the Province of Paucarcolla in El Collao, where it borders on the villages of Ayaviri and Orcosayo in the Province of Cabana and Cabanilla, which are in the Diocese of Cuzco and the Circuit Court of Lima, and then running through the Provinces of El Collao to the end of those of Los Lipes and Atacama, more than 200 leagues; E. and W., from the Pacific at the Moquegua Valley (for Arica belongs in the Lima Circuit Court) as far as Buenos Ayres on the Atlantic, 600 leagues, and the same to the city of Asunción, capital of the State and Diocese of Paraguay. Accordingly it comprises in its district those of the Archbishopric of the Charcas, the Diocese of La Paz, the Diocese of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, San Lorenzo or Misque, the Diocese of Tucumán, the Diocese of Paraguay and the Diocese of Buenos Ayres, and other States and Corregimientos among them which will be described in their proper place.

#### CHAPTER XXXII

Of the Province of Atacama and the Remarkable Things in It. **1748.** The Province of Atacama is 80 leagues WSW. of the city of La Plata, on the Pacific coast; it is the last plains province in Peru. On the N. it is bounded by the Tarapacâ and Pica Valleys, from which it is separated by 40 leagues of desert; on the E., by the Province of Los Lipes, 30 leagues away; on the S. by the Copiapô Valley in the district of Chile. The first village in this province is Tocompsí, as one goes from the Province of Los Lipes; then comes the village of San Pedro de Chiochio, which was converted by Capt. Pedro Álvarez Holguín; from there it is 28 leagues to the port of Cobija on the Pacific; on that coast there are the ports of Tocopilla, El Morro, and others.

1749. The Corregidor of this province resides in Atacama la Grande, which is 14 leagues from Chiochio in a straight line toward Chile. From here to the village of Toconado in the same valley it is 6 leagues, and so flat that the one village can be seen from the other. Tocompsí is 7 leagues toward Chile from Toconado, and is the last in this province. In its valleys they raise wheat, corn, algarrobas, potatoes, and grapes, cultivated by the Indians, and there are besides orchards of Spanish and native fruit trees in the tiny depressions in the midst of those uninhabitable sandy wastes, like the Catarbe Valley which is very cool and delightful, and all under irrigation; that of Toconado, Tocompsí and others.

**1750.** On the coast of this province there are no valleys, for the water in the rivers does not reach the coast, being absorbed in those desert wastes of sand. The Indians along the coast have no food crops; they are fishermen and live exclusively on fish and shellfish of various kinds, which are excellent; there are oyster beds there, from which they get food also. These oysters grow many fine pearls, but they are not gathered because the district is so remote and labor so scarce. On this coast there is a lofty headland on which the sea beats and in which there are veins of green stone; when ground up and drunk, this is a potent remedy for urinary troubles and it consumes bladder stones.

1751. On most occasions when enemy ships have come through the Straits into this sea and run up the coast within sight of land, they have reached this region; but since its Indians have no habitations except the shelters they make out of sea lions' skins for shade from the intensity of the sun, and which they leave when they want to go elsewhere in their search for shellfish which is their chief sustenance, the enemy have not stayed or even landed there.

1752. The Indians on this coast dress in sea lions' skins and make their boats or rafts out of them, on two skins blown up with air; they go out to sea on them to fish, for off that coast there are extensive fisheries of conger eels, spotted dogfish (tollos), lisas, dorados, armados, bagres, jureles, tunnies, octopi, and many other kinds of fish, which they salt down and which are carried by great troops of llamas to Potosí, Chuquisaca, Lipes, and all those provinces of the upland country, for that is the principal commerce of that region, and many have grown rich in it.

1753. All the Indians on this coast, besides their food of shellfish already referred to, have as their chief food and drink, whale oil, and they kill many whales, which are abundant on that coast, to get it. The way they fish or hunt for them is curious and shrewd. There is abundance of copper in that province, and with it they make prongs or spears shorter than bullfight spears and fasten them to short shafts secured by tying them to their wrists with sea-lion leather thongs; then they go out hunting whales. These generally sleep off that coast from midday on for 2 or 3 hours, in the most peaceful and profound slumber on top of the water, and covering the head from the sun for their sleep with a short fin they have over the heart. Then when the Indian has spied one asleep, at which they are very expert, he goes out to it on his sea-lion skin raft, which he can utilize without the possibility of losing it, and reaches the sleeping whale; he gives it a harpoon thrust under the fin, where its heart is, and immediately drops into the water to escape the whale's reaction; for when it feels the wound it is furious and bellows loudly and dashes the water high in the air in the wild and angry struggles which the pain causes; then it starts off bellowing toward deep water, until it yields to mortal fatigue. Meanwhile the Indian has recovered his raft and returned to shore to watch and locate the point off the coast where it is dying, and they remain on guard till they see it stop. Then all that clan and group of relatives who have been carefully watching, go there at once together with all their friends and neighbors for the feast; they open it up on one side, and some stay inside gorging and others outside for 6 or 8 days until they cannot stand it any longer for the stench. Meanwhile they fill all their containers (which are mostly made of sea lions' intestimes) with slices of the whale's blubber, which the sun's heat melts and turns into oil; that oil is their usual beverage. These sea-lion bags or containers are sometimes so large that each one will easily hold an arroba of oil. And as the Indians usually go inside the whale for their feasting on it and anoint themselves with its fat, their hair comes out red as gold or a burning candle; and as they are tanned by the intensity of the sun in that hot country, it is a strange thing to see their black figures and appearance (acataduras) and their hair red.

**1754.** On all this desert and inhospitable coast there is no tree or headland in whose shade one might take refuge from the blaze of the sun. There are great numbers of wild and stray dogs there, which live on the shellfish; and as they have no shelter or refuge from the virulent fury of the sun, all of them, from the tip of the muzzle to the point of the tail, and all over the back, have lost their skin and are all sores under the fiery heat of the sun; and the only way they can live in those uninhabitable deserts is to have the nights and the period before sunrise for their comfort and repose.

1755. The last village in this Province of Atacama is called Tocompsi. From here it is a day's journey to the Pajonal (Bulrush Swamp), in which there is a jagüey or well of water to refresh the traveler; there is no other in that desert, which produces very fine bloodstones, milkstones, emeralds, piedras moradas (purple stones), turquoises and other sorts of green, yellow, and variegated stones and other very fine varieties, so that one thanks God for having created them. Certainly it is great wealth, but little benefit is got from it, since it is so remote and isolated in that uninhabitable waste.

1756. There are hills of pumice stone, and in this region appear the mountains of Gilboa (Gelboé) and the people of that country so call them, for neither rain nor dew falls there, nor is there any memory that it has in the past. Those who die in that region, dry up without corruption and become mummies. From this Pajonal to Copiapô it is 14 leagues along the coast on the direct S. road to Chile; this is in the district of Atacama.

Six leagues from the Pajonal there is a tiny bright green depression full of couch grass (grama); with its cool attractiveness, this invites the traveler who has passed over 6 hot leagues of desert, sandy wastes, to stop and rest, for it is a necessary sleeping place if one is to continue over the rest of the sandy desert; this is all paved with salt, as in the territory of Arica, and even more so, as is the case with other dry plains along the Peruvian coast.

1757. This dale is called Hatunllulla, which means big liar, for it greatly deceives the chapetones (newcomers) or novices who travel through here, in their ignorance of the country, unless they have some Indian for a guide or someone else who knows the game. These latter take a nap after eating and let the mules rest in the grama some 4 hours; then they take them out to a high bluff and tie them up there till they have to start, to avoid the sad fate which has befallen many who took no guide and lay down to sleep in the coolness of the dale, with their mules hobbled, and were all drowned.

1758. The fact is that 6 leagues E. of that locality there are some high snow-clad ranges, in  $26^{\circ}$  S. Under the powerful heat of the sun the snow melts and the water comes down off the snow banks with a furious rush and in great volume; and as it is only after the evening coolness and the rising of the breeze that this melted snow water comes down, it is after midnight that a great wall of water arrives and flows for 2 or 3 hours; it carries along everything before it. This can be counted on as a regular thing for every dawn, and it lasts the time mentioned; and as those who did not know the country have suffered by it, they have given this tiny valley the name of Hatunllulla, which means big liar and deceiver. From here it is 5 leagues to the Algarrobal, and from there 3 to Copiapô, which is the boundary point of the Circuit Courts and the Archdiocese and Diocese of the Charcas and of Santiago de Chile. This must suffice, and we shall turn back and describe the Provinces of Los Lipes and Chichas of that Archdiocese, where it borders on that of Tucumán.

#### CHAPTER XXXIII

Of the Provinces of Los Lipes and Chichas.

**1759.** The Province of Los Lipes is 50 leagues WSW. of the city of La Plata; on the W. it is bounded by the Province just described of Atacama. This province raises few crops; the Indians live in tiny valleys where they grow cañahua, which is a cereal like hemp-seed; they live on this and small fish which they catch in a lake in the Alota Valley, which takes up a large part of it. This province is very rich in silver mines, for it is all paved with it. It is 5 leagues from the Alota Valley to the chief mining site in this province, a Spanish village called Lipes; from here it is 9 leagues to the Tupiza mine site, and 13 from there to that of Turque, and 14 to the mining camp known as San Vicente, on the road toward the Province of Los Chichas and Tarija, which is the boundary. Besides the silver mines with which this whole province is covered, there are mines of lipis (copper sulfate), which gives the province its name, and of lodestone.

1760. Since this whole province has large uninhabited districts, it is all covered with game, like guanacos, vicuñas, deer, vizcachas, and other animals, which also form the food of the Indians. This is the last sierra province in Peru toward Chile; coastwards it is bounded by Atacama Province, as has been stated; to the WNW. by the Pica and Tarapacá Valleys of Arequipa Diocese; on the E. by the Province of Los Chichas and the villages of La Quiaca and Omaguaca in the Kingdom of Tucumán. In this Province of Los Lipes, the Viceroy of Peru appoints a Corregidor for the administration of justice.

**1761.** The Province of Los Chichas, like that of Los Lipes, is very rich in silver ore. On the W. it is bounded by the valleys of Pilaya

and Paspaya, from which it is 36 leagues to the Spanish town of Tarija; halfway is the Sinte Valley, in which many cattle ranches have been established, and there are large vineyards, fields of wheat, corn, and other cereals, and abundance of fruit. The river running through this valley, besides furnishing delicious fish, carries quantities of gold, which they can wash wherever they look for it.

**1762.** The town of Tarija is the residence of the Corregidor whom the Viceroy appoints for it and the Province of Los Chichas. The Tomatas Indians come in for the service of the residents. The Corregidor appoints a representative in the village of Viloca, which is a mining camp in the Province of Los Chichas, which contains many small villages; the principal ones are Santiago de Cotagaita and that of Talina. There are other silver mines in this province, for it is all paved with those ores. There are large cattle ranches here, and it is well supplied with provisions, although much comes in from Tucumán, which adjoins it and the Province of Los Lipes.

**1763.** Leaving Potosí for Tucumán, one goes 9 leagues to the town of Espíritu Santo de Caŷca, an Indian village, and then downstream to the Río de Tocopalca, which is rather large and where there is an Indian village by this name. Six leagues farther on is another small village called Los Flamencos; it is 3 leagues from there to Santiago de Cotagaita, which is a frontier post against the Chiriguanaes Indians. From there one goes to the Tupisa mining camp, and 6 leagues farther, to the village of Talina, which is the last in the Province of Los Chichas, and the boundary with the great Province and Kingdom of Tucumán. All this region described is in the Archdiocese of the Charcas.

### Chapter XXXIV

Of the District of the Diocese and State of the Provinces of Tucumán.

1764. All this journey above described from Potosí on is rough country with many mountain ranges; the fields are full of vicuñas, guanacos, deer, vizcachas, tortoises as big as tubs, and much other game, as far as the village of La Quiaca, which is the first in the Diocese and State of Tucumán. From here one passes into the Omaguaca Valley, which is [100] 90 leagues from Potosí. Omaguaca is an Indian village; the valley is fertile and abounds in wheat, corn, potatoes, and other native and Spanish root crops and fruit; it is all covered with small Indian villages from Omaguaca. This is very high, and since its eruption it has been casting out and still ejects large amounts of stone and very ill-smelling gas and black slime. Between the volcano and the city of San Salvador de Jujuy there are some large rivers which flow with great turbulence, like the one running through the Omaguaca Valley; that from the volcano; the Río de León, which is very pleasant and attractive; the Río de Los Reyes, and the Río de Tobar, which run within a district of 3 leagues. Between this Omaguaca Valley and the city of Jujuy there is great abundance of deer; ostriches; partridges as large as hens, and also like the Spanish ones; the ones have red beaks and feet, the others, dark gray; and many other animals and birds which cover the plains.

**1765.** The city of San Salvador de Jujuy stands at 23°30' S. in a broad, level, and pleasant valley on some bluffs over the river running close to the city; another river flows on the other side, and they unite in front of the city. It will have 100 Spanish residents, mostly muleteers, who freight flour, corn, cheese, and other foodstuffs to the Chichas and Lipes mines; they have mule and cattle ranches, and drive their stock to Potosí. There is a parish church here, and Franciscan and Mercedarian convents. It has a few settlements or parishes of Indians, apportioned to the residents of the city. To the N. and S. it is bounded by large heathen provinces. At this city the rough country ends and the great plains of the Tucumán provinces begin; they surround it for more than 1,500 leagues. Carts drawn by yokes of oxen travel from here as far as Buenos Ayres and Paraguay, which is over 400 leagues.

**1766.** From Jujuy en route for the city of Esteco, one reaches the Río de Perico at 5 leagues; then the road passes through flat country which is wooded, hot, and damp, for 5 leagues more to the city of Salta la Nueva, otherwise known as Lerma, with a few Spanish residents; Salta la Vieja is 2 leagues away. On leaving Salta for the city of Esteco, one crosses two large rivers, one of which is near the city; a league beyond this is another called the Río de Siancas; on this stretch there are very fierce and crafty tigers. On coming out of the woods, one arrives at the Ureña ranch; round about it are a few small settlements. Two leagues before reaching the city there is a large and rapid river to cross, called Río del Pasaje; two other small rivers have to be crossed between this and the city. On this journey of 33 leagues between the city of Jujuy and that of Esteco, there are countless wild cattle and game.

**1767.** The city of Nuestra Señora de Talavera de Madrid, in the Indian language Esteco, is at 27° S.; it has a hot, damp climate, which generates countless unpleasant creatures. There was another

settlement 7 leagues off which Gov. Alonso de la Ribera transferred here in his time; they are also called Las Juntas. The city will have 250 Spanish residents, with a parish church, Franciscan, Mercedarian, and Jesuit convents; in its district are a few Indian villages or settlements. The residents of this city have large cattle and mule ranches, and most of them are teamsters. They have soap factories which make large amounts of soap which they take to Potosí, with other native products, cotton cloth and candlewicks.

**1768.** To the WSW. it is bounded by the Provinces of the Diaguitas, warlike natives; this is forested and mountainous country, all paved with veins of silver ore. To the N. it borders on the provinces known as the Chaco, in which country it is reported that there are large heathen settlements rich in gold and silver and abounding in foodstuffs; hence that province is much coveted, and many have desired to subdue it, and have tried and set out to do so, for they feel sure that exploration will reveal in that quarter another kingdom as important as that of Peru, judging by the information they possess and the report current of the wealth of that country.

## CHAPTER XXXV [25]

Of the City of San Miguel del Tucumán, etc.

1769. The city of San Miguel del Tucumán, from which this Kingdom takes its name, lies more than 50 leagues S. of the city of Esteco. It has as many as 250 Spanish residents; its climate is very hot and damp. It has in its neighborhood some Indian parishes in which are produced quantities of cotton cloth, canopies (pabellones), bedspreads, and other elaborate products. There are mule and cattle ranches in this district and it contains very fragrant and valuable timber, and on its plains countless numbers of wild cattle. It is at 20° S. and occupies a pleasant site on the slopes of very high mountains. It has an irrigation canal with which its vineyards, gardens, and fields are watered; on one side of it runs the Río de la Quebrada de Calchaqui, as well as others coming down from the Sierras. In this country there are huge sluggish snakes over 4 fathoms long and as large around as a man's body; they are slow moving, and the little progress they make is with many pauses; but God provides them meat, as with all His creatures. Since they are so ponderous, they cannot chase their game, and so Nature gave them a faculty of attraction, so that if a turkey or other large bird is perched on a tree, no matter how high it may be, and the snake succeeds in seeing or perceiving or hearing it, by merely turning its head and breathing

toward it, it makes it come down from where it is, fluttering and squawking, until it comes to the snake's mouth; thus it satisfies its hunger or at least ministers to its necessities.

**1770.** The same thing happens when game passes within its purview or perception; with its breath it makes it approach, stumbling like a drunken person and uttering loud cries, until it gets to the snake's mouth and is mauled and gobbled up, however large it may be; such is the power of attraction which Nature gave it. When other sources fail and it feels the need, it goes to the nests of the ostriches, which are innumerable in that country, and swallows 10 or 12 eggs or as many as it needs. Since these are so large and the shell so hard, it cannot crush them in 'swallowing and so it climbs up into a tree, out on one of the lowest and thickest branches, and lets itself drop belly down on the ground; the shock of landing breaks the eggs, and thus it satisfies its hunger and fulfills the instinct Nature provided it with; so our Creator should be glorified in all things.

There is another variety of snake which is long and slender, and very harmful and noxious. This has a bone or prong at the end of its tail like a spear head; they live in the trees and when a person passes underneath they spring on him and try to throw two or three coils around his body, squeezing and incapacitating him, and immediately try to pierce his groin with the tip of their tail, which is very strong and sharp, so as to burst his intestines. The usual safeguard against this is to carry a knife and when the snake coils about one, to cut it in pieces and thus escape from the danger. God sees to it that they are found in only a few places, and in those, people live on their guard against them and travelers are warned about them. I did not see them myself but I was assured of all this by persons who have seen them.

## CHAPTER XXXVI [26]

Of the City of Santiago del Estero, and of Other Things in Its District.

**1771.** Eighty-five. Eighty (sic) leagues E. of the city of Esteco, at 29° S., lies the city of Santiago del Estero; the whole way is level, forming horizons like those at sea over the great pampas or plains which they have in that country; most of the way is dotted with cattle ranches; there are great numbers of cattle, not only domesticated but escaped (cimarrón) or wild, as far as Paraguay and Buenos Ayres; there are countless ostriches, herds of deer numbering 1,000 or more in places, partridges small and large so stupid and unso-

phisticated that men traveling in the carts which do the freighting in that Kingdom, or on horseback, catch them with slip nooses on the ends of canes or sticks; there are turkeys, pheasants, quail, pigeons, turtledoves, rabbits, tortoises, turtles, and other animals like pigs, which they call tatuus (armadillos) and quirquinchus (armadillos), which are all covered with scales and are so quick, when they see somebody, and have such strength in snout and forefeet that in an instant they dig a hole underground and brace themselves so that even if they hear (oigan; for sigan; follow up?) them, they cannot be pulled out by the strength of two or even four men; but the task is made easy by running a small stick or something down the anus; and by pulling all together on that; the animal loses its strength and lets itself be drawn out easily. With regard to all these animals and birds, be it understood that they occur in all these provinces plentifully, and so repetition will be avoided.

**1772.** The city of Santiago del Estero contains the Cathedral for these provinces, seat of the Bishop and Prebendaries who reside there and serve it. The city will contain 400 Spanish and mestizo residents, apart from the service Indians and Negroes. It has Dominican, Franciscan, Mercedarian, and Jesuit convents, with a hospital and other churches and shrines. It is the residence of the Governor of those provinces, appointed by His Majesty in consultation with his Royal Council of the Indies; he is Captain General and apportions the Indians who become available (vacan).

The city is built on the banks of a large river, and has a hot, dry climate; it is 250 leagues from Potosí, In the city and the villages of its neighborhood and district they manufacture quantities of cotton cloth, canopies, bedspreads, chumbés, hats, alpargatas, grograms, and other products. Its large river is full of shad (sábalos) and other delicious fish, and on its banks are many gardens with Spanish and native shade and fruit trees which yield abundantly; they have all kinds of Spanish vegetables, and a few vineyards; this is all watered from an irrigation canal.

The water of this great river is so health-giving that many bathe in it to recover their health; and what is harmful everywhere else, is wholesome here; for if a person arrives exhausted and in a perspiration and wants to lose his fatigue and come out restored and well again, a bath in it will refresh him and leave him energetic and well; the same is true right after dining or eating supper; if one feels a little indigestion, a mere bath in the river will cure it and leave him well. **1773.** In its district it has fine large Indian villages or parishes (reducciones), for that is the name they give Indian villages in that Kingdom. On the road to Paraguay, 12 leagues to the ENE., is the village of Estaile, and 14 leagues farther, that of Yuquiliguala, built on the banks of a river called El Salado. In these they weave much cotton cloth, etc., as in the city. Along the river banks upstream there are in all this neighborhood many parishes of Indians from the neighboring tribes. In this direction the Diocese and State hold jurisdiction as far as Paraguay, over 80 leagues, up to the Río Bermejo, which belongs in the Diocese of Buenos Ayres and is the boundary.

1774. It is almost all uninhabited country, without a watercourse, and only a few wells or artificial cisterns where they store rain water and travelers drink of it; there are some reservoirs of rain water also for the cattle. The whole country is quite level, as has been noted, with a few patches of woods and algarrobo thickets. In these trees and underground quantities of honey are deposited by tiny bees smaller than flies and very tame and unsuspicious. On these wastes there are great numbers of all the game already mentioned and small ant bears with snouts over a foot (media vara) long; they stick out their tongues into ants' nests and so feed on them. There are wild or escaped (cimarrones) mares and horses in such numbers that they cover the face of the earth and when they cross the road it is necessary for travelers to wait and let them pass, for a whole day or more, so as not to let them carry off tame stock with them; the same is true of cattle. It is all like that as far as the Río Bermejo, where the Tucumán jurisdiction ends.

**1775.** Leaving Santiago for Córdoba on the Buenos Ayres road, one comes to the village of Manogasta at 5 leagues; in this and others in the neighborhood they weave cloth, etc. One continues along the banks of that great river, with small villages on both banks; and at 20 leagues from Santiago another large river, called El Salado, has to be crossed on rafts of the reeds called totora. Five leagues beyond the Salado is the village of Acuña, where the Río Grande turns northward; a little farther on it sinks underground and forms some lakes where there are many white egrets (garzas de martinetes) and other water birds. That large river is seen no more; it must run into the great Río de la Plata.

# CHAPTER XXXVII [27]

Of the Cities of La Rioja, Londres, etc.

**1776.** The city of La Rioja forms a triangle with those of Santiago and Córdoba, in a southerly direction 54 leagues from Córdoba, It is built on a level and placid plain, with bright skies and a hot climate. This city has more than 2 leagues of orange groves, as well as the other Spanish and native fruit trees. As one comes into the city, since the orange trees, as a result of the country's even climate, are always covered and loaded down with blossoms, this entrance to the city for that distance of 2 leagues is a lovely cheering sight, with the trees loaded with fruit the whole year round, and the great freshness and verdure; but what aids to make that spot seem the terrestrial Paradise or a bit of Heaven is the fragrance, sweetness, and perfume of the orange blossoms; from them they make in that city quantities of orange blossom perfume and other exquisite preserves.

**1777.** The city will have 250 Spanish residents; there is a parish church and Dominican and Franciscan convents; in the year 1623 the Jesuits had the intention of erecting one. There are many vine-yards around the city and they make much wine, which forms the principal commerce of the city. For watering the vineyards and gardens as well as the fields of wheat, corn, sweet potatoes, and other root crops and cereals, a large irrigation canal provides for all, drawn from a river which runs near the city; other smaller ones run out of this for the service of the city, which is a bit of Paradise. In the city and the Indian villages or parishes of its district, which are peopled with civilized Indians, they make quantities of cloth from their large crops of cotton. In its neighborhood it has many cattle and mule ranches, and its plains are full of wild cattle and horses, like all that Kingdom.

**1778.** Some 40 leagues from La Rioja, to the S., Capt. Juan Pérez de Zorita founded in the year 1557 (1057 in MS) the city of Londres. It has a hot climate, and is only a small settlement, with some parishes of Indians of the Diaguitas and Juries tribes, as most are in the Province of Tucumán. They have cattle and mule ranches and weave quantities of cloth and the best canopies, bedspreads, and Indian blankets in that Kingdom, in different colors; they dye them with indigo, cochineal, and other dyes found in those provinces. While the rivers in the Kingdom of Peru usually run from E. to W., from the Sierras and the Cordillera to the Pacific, those in this Kingdom run from W. to E., and they all flow into the great Río de la Plata.

In the district of this city, as in the majority of the whole Kingdom of Tucumán, they gather quantities of algarroba (carob beans), which is a very wholesome and nutritious food for the Indians; they make bread out of it, and wine too. There is much escaped or wild cattle, as has been noted in other chapters.

#### CHAPTER XXXVIII [28]

Of the City of Córdoba in New Andalusia, Province of Tucumán, and of What It Comprises in Its District.

**1779.** From the city of Santiago del Estero it is 85 leagues E. to the city of Córdoba, which is the largest and best in this State. One travels 30 leagues along the bank of the Río Grande de Santiago, as far as the parish of Acuña; farther on there are a few settlements and ranches along the road up to the parishes of Torreblanca, El Totoral, and others belonging to the residents of the city of Córdoba; in these there are a few factories of woolen serge (jergueta), coarse woolen cloth (sayales), grograms, hats, and Indian blankets.

**1780.** The city of Córdoba is at 32°30'; it has a good climate, with a winter in which it snows, and a summer delightful for being cool. The provinces round about it were subdued by Capt. Juan de Tejeda Mirabal, Capt. Jerónimo de Bustamente, Gen. Don Pablo de Meneses, and Captains Juan de Burgos and Alonso de la Cámara, and other captains and noble knights (Marg.: In Caltaqui, Capt. Juan Pérez de Zorita); and when they had pacified all those provinces, they founded the city in the year 1557 (1057 [1054] in MS; 1547?) on a plain by the bank of a large river; and to secure it against floods, strong walls have been put up on the river side.

**1781.** The city will have 500 Spanish residents, with many service Indians and Negroes besides. All the construction is of remarkable stone architecture; the streets are very straight, and it occupies the area of a large city. It contains an excellent parish church, with Dominican, Franciscan, and Mercedarian convents, and two wealthy Jesuit establishments, the novitiate and that of the professed Fathers; this has a famous college on the university model, with courses in Latin, Arts, and Theology, and they grant all degrees. There is another college with ordinarily 40 collegians with blue sashes. It has three convents of nuns: one of Santa Catalina de Siena, under the regular rule; another of Barefoot Carmelite nuns, named Santa Teresa de Jesús; this was established in the residence of Gen. Don Pablo de Meneses, by a [daughter] granddaughter of his, daughter of Capt. Juan de Tejeda. The convent of Santa Clara was founded

outside the city by a sister of Tristán de Tejeda, and is the most modern. There is a hospital for the care of the indigent sick; it is poverty-stricken, and such a pious work ought properly to be assisted. As one leaves the city there is a shrine of the glorious San Roque.

1782. The country abounds in wheat, corn, chickpeas, and other cereals, and root crops like potatoes, camotes (which are sweet potatoes), achiras, and others; they have all kinds of Spanish fruit, such as pears, large and small peaches, albérchigo peaches, apricots, quinces, pomegranates, figs, mazard cherries, oranges, citrons, grapefruit, lemons, frutilla de Chile, and other fruits; there are numerous vinevards, with all varieties of viduño vines with white and black grapes; there are many roses, pinks for almost all the year, and other fragrant flowers. The gardens, flower beds, vineyards, and fields round about the city are watered by irrigation from a large canal derived from the river more than 2 leagues above the city; every year it is cleaned out by over 400 Indians and Negroes, for it fertilizes their fields and crops; it flows later through Santo Domingo; many other channels branch off it for the city's supply and service, and then it runs through the center of the city plaza, where there is a small tower like a fort.

**1783.** There are two horse-power gristmills (atajonas) inside the city, and some water-power gristmills outside for grinding wheat; it has some looms (telares) where they weave and finish colored blankets, which are the ordinary clothing of the Indians; near the Franciscan convent there are many algarrobos, which are green the whole year and full of carob beans; the city is plentifully supplied with everything necessary for human life and has fine meadows where they raise all kinds of livestock. It is a busy commercial center, being a junction point for all that country, for Tucumán, and Buenos Ayres, and the necessary passage point for the Kingdom of Chile, from which much livestock comes via the Province of Cuyo, such as sheep and goats being driven to Potosí; much cattle comes from the city of Santa Fé.

**1784.** The principal business in this city of Córdoba is its great mule ranches and the quantities of cloth manufactured in the Indian villages in its district, over 40 in number, such as those of Don Pedro de Cabrera, Juan de Tejedo, Quilambe (which is 12 leagues off in the sierra) and Liquimán, Costasacate (which is 8 leagues away on the Buenos Ayres road) and in the same direction 20 leagues from the city, Río Tercero, on which is the parish of Don Rodrigo de Guzmán, and other settlements on the banks of that same river; on the banks of the Río Cuarto, 30 leagues toward Chile, there are other

parishes. In the majority of these there is much cotton, and they use this and wool for the manufacture of coarse cloth (sayales), serge (jerguetas), high-grade cloth (lienzo), hats, blankets, and other textiles for Indian wear.

**1785.** The river running by the city has many kinds of delicious fish, such as mojarras, bagres, shad (sábalos), dentudos, and others. The sierra begins some 2 leagues from the city; in it there are many valleys with other parishes, where they raise much wheat, corn, and other cereals and vegetables; there are silver mines; it abounds in everything. On all those plains and pampas there are many stray horses and mares, guanacos, and deer in such numbers that they cover the earth; these latter have very good bezoar stones; many ostriches, partridges, quail, pigeons, doves, armadillos (quirquinchus), and so many other animals and birds that it would be an endless task to catalog them.

### CHAPTER XXXIX [29]

Of the Boundaries of the Diocese and State of Tucumán.

1786. The State of Tucumán is bounded on the [W.] N. by the Province of Los Chichas in the Archdiocese of the Charcas; in that quarter it begins with the Omaguaca Valley. On the W. it borders on the Kingdom of Chile, although there are large heathen provinces in between the two Kingdoms, still to be subdued. On the ENE, it is bounded by the Río Bermejo, the city of Asunción, and the Provinces of Paraguay, and on the S., by the provinces and tribes which are yet to be conquered, down to the Straits. From NE, to SW. it is nearly 300 leagues long and in some parts 100 leagues wide, in others less. In this Diocese and State there are eight cities established: Santiago del Estero, called Trapalanda in the Indian language, and the capital of that kingdom; to the NW., the cities of Esteco and Jujuy, where the Río Bermejo rises; it is joined by many other large streams running between the volcano and Esteco, and still others, so that it is a mighty river when it enters the Río de la Plata, which it swells considerably. The other cities are San Miguel, La Rioja, and Córdoba.

**1787.** The city of Salta or Lerma lies between Jujuy and Esteco; it has only a few residents although it is rich in fertile land and lovely valleys plentifully watered. In its neighborhood are also the Calchaqui Valley, the villages of Casabindo, Sococha, Cochinca, Moreta, and the tribe of the Apamatas and other large heathen provinces. If the few Spaniards there could find it possible to subdue and convert them, thus making travel safe for those coming from Peru to that Kingdom, it would be an important achievement; in fact, it should be energetically prosecuted and that settlement should be charged with the task, favors being granted to those going on the expedition; thus those tribes would be converted to the Faith and the country would be very rich.

**1788.** Much heed should be paid also to the city of Londres; this is established in the Quinmibil Valley over toward Chile, in the neighborhood of the Diaguitas Indian tribe; all its ranges are paved with silver and gold ore and the Londres district itself has a marvelous climate and very fertile meadows and valleys with vineyards and abundant yields of corn and wheat, and all kinds of Spanish fruit. An increase in its population would bring these tribes into the Faith and would connect the Kingdoms of Peru and Chile more easily with those of Tucumán and Paraguay.

1789. On the slopes of the mountain ranges of Tarija and Chichas, to the E., the plains of Paraguay are situated or start, near the Río Bermejo; it is quite necessary that a Spanish settlement should be put here; in between there are large provinces of reasonable heathen Indians to be brought into the Faith; with the fertility of that country, it would be very rich, and a road could easily and quickly be opened to Buenos Ayres, abandoning the great detours which are made through Tucumán.

## Chapter XL [30]

Of the District of the Diocese and State of Paraguay.

**1790.** Going from the State and Diocese of Tucumán to Paraguay, one passes through the cities of Río Bermejo, 34 leagues beyond which is Siete Corrientes, at which the city of San Juan de Vera has been built, and which belong to the Diocese and State of Buenos Ayres.

**1791.** At Siete Corrientes one goes on board rafts built of dugouts on the Río del Paraguay, which empties at Siete Corrientes into the Río de la Plata. This Río Paraguay is very constricted and deep; at this point it will be over  $\frac{1}{4}$  league wide, and so deep-sea galleons can sail up here. It is 70 leagues upstream from Siete Corrientes to Asunción; the river passes through flat country and runs very gently; its banks are all covered with woods and handsome groves, a delightful sight, so that it appears a bit of Paradise; there are countless birds in them, of variegated and beautiful colors, and singing in sweet harmony; there are many sorts of parrots, macaws,

muytus, which are very large and handsome turkeys; herons both white and of other colors, with very fine aigrettes on their heads; other birds sky-blue in color and very handsome, called maynimbi; and the mysterious macangua[y] bird, which is the size of a small cock, with a crest, and variegated in white, gray, and other colors, and they say it lives on vipers. Its method of killing them to eat is to perch on guard in a tree to watch till the viper comes out to eat or sun itself; when it sees it, it dashes in to fight with it, shielding itself and parrying with its short wings and aiming blows at its eyes until it puts them out and kills it ; and if by chance the snake succeeds in biting or stinging it, it sets off at once and picks and eats the herb called macanguaca, which combines the name of the bird and of herb, which is ca in the Indian language of that country; and after eating this it returns to the fight until it kills it. The herb resembles maidenhair fern, except that its leaves are arranged like a cross; it has very great efficacy against poison, whose effects are instantly counteracted by eating this herb.

**1792.** The river is very full of fish; there are shad (sábalos). dorados, pacús, which are round and snub-nosed like rays; curubis, which are long and pointed like a needle and scaleless; patis, which are like dogfish, without scales and with flesh yellow as saffron; palometas, and abundance of small crayfish which they call piquiras, and which are so plentiful that with a sieve and a bit of bacon by moonlight one can catch quantities of them; they are very wholesome food and the recourse of many poor people.

**1793.** In that river there is a sort of lizard about a vara and a half long, spotted all over with yellow and dark gray; it is called yacarete in the Indian language; it has a very strong musky smell and is very harmful. In those forests there are tigers, ounces, and bears with tails so long that when it rains they cover their heads with them; and there are other curiosities in that country such that it is impossible to describe them or refer to them.

### CHAPTER XLI [31]

Of the City of Asunción, Capital of the Diocese and State of Paraguay.

**1794.** The city of Asunción was founded by Captains Juan de Ayolas and Juan de Salazar Espinosa by order of Gov. Don Pedro de Mendoza in the year 1536, on some tall bluffs on the banks of the great Río Paraguay. They go down from the city to the river for water for the city service by paths down the bluff. The city

was built in the plain on these bluffs because of the river floods, and although all those plains or pampas may be covered, they never reach the city on account of its lofty site. It lies in 25° S. and has a hot climate, although with winter and summer, the reverse of in Spain.

**1795.** The city will have over 650 Spanish residents, of whom 250 will be encomenderos de Indios; there will be in the city 11,000 mujeres de manto, as was stated on the authority and testimony of the curates' lists in the year 1623. This city is the residence of the Bishop and of the Governor who is appointed by His Majesty in consultation with his Royal Council of the Indies. He is Captain General over all the district and apportions the Indians who become available and are newly converted in all those regions, in which there are still many tribes and provinces to subdue.

**1796.** There is a very fine Cathedral with three naves, all built of urundeŷ wood which is very valuable and the best to be had in all the Indies, very fragrant and hard. It is all very elaborately wrought and finished. The roof is of palm-wood shingles, each 2 or 3 yards long; these are better than clay tiles, being lighter and not liable to crack and lasting 50 years before needing renewal; it has a wooden bell tower with four bells. This church has very rich and costly ornaments, sent to it by the Emperor Charles V of glorious memory when it was built. That church is very well served, the Bishop and Prebendaries being in attendance, and its orchestra.

**1797.** It has Dominican, Franciscan, Mercedarian, and Jesuit convents, the latter also maintaining its college and seminary, where the sons of this country study. This and the Mercedarian convent stand on the Plaza. Besides the Cathedral there are two parishes; one is named Nuestra Señora del Rosario and has a curate for Spaniards; the other parish is named San Blas; it is for Indians and has a curate to catechize them and administer the Holy Sacraments. There is a hospital for the care of the indigent sick, and two shrines at the entrance to the city, one dedicated to San Roque and the other to Santa Lucía. It has a house for orphan girls which was established by a sainted lady named Francisca de Bocanegra; here are gathered together over 100 women, young orphan girls, widows, and married women, who in great retirement and with pious example support themselves by their industry and labor and with a few contributions which are given them.

1798. The site of the city is marvelous and superb, with a fine view, since it is up on a height, from which one can see on the other side of the river wide plains and fields bare of trees and covered

with numberless herds of cattle, mares, horses, deer, ostriches, and many other kinds of animals and feathered game. Along the river bank where the city is built there is much woods and tall timber. The city has a marvelous climate, more hot than cold, although they have winter and summer. Near the city there are many vineyards from which excellent wine is made, and near what they call the Cruz de Pantaleón there are iron mines.

1799. In the district of this city there are 200 sugarcane grinding mills to produce sugar, and a Jesuit establishment with millstones to grind wheat. There are many kinds of Spanish and native fruitoranges, citrons, grapefruit, from which delicious marmalade is made; they harvest abundance of wheat, corn, barley, sweet potatoes, many varieties of mandioc, whose nature I shall explain in another chapter, yucca, jicamas (which they call bacucu), bananas (plátanos), which they call pacobas and in Brazil, bananas; pineapples (piñas), which they call anánás; ambaybas, which are a fruit the shape of one's hand and tasting like a dried fig; the tree producing this fruit is larger than a fig tree, and its leaf, in color like a friar's gown. is much larger than a fig leaf. There is another fruit called guambé which is of the shape and size of an ear of corn, and is as sweet to eat as a lump of sugar; the plant it grows on is like an artichoke, but somewhat larger, and its leaves are much larger than grape leaves. There are many other kinds of wild fruit, impossible to enumerate.

**1800.** Round about in its neighborhood, the city has many Indian villages, like Elitâ, a Franciscan parish with 500 Indians; Yaguarón, with 400; Los Altos, Tobatì, all reasonable Indians; Tuyabacoba, which means old man without a face; Yutî, a village of over 600 Indians, catechized by the Jesuit Fathers; Guarambe, and many others.

**1801.** Across the river and opposite the city are the tribe of the Guaycurús, a degenerate and indolent people; they go naked, they neither sow nor reap, they live on game and fish, and are great shots with their arrows. The Jesuit Fathers have them under their charge and work hard with them, but since they are such a worthless race, they accomplish little, for this savage tribe, besides being so indolent, have no habitations beyond a few mats, which they take along to another spot when they so wish; and though the country where they live is bare, with no woods or forests, they are hard to overcome, for when it rains the whole country is flooded, since it is very flat and has no watercourses, so that it all becomes a sea and they travel

many leagues over it in dugouts; when it stops raining, it dries off immediately. This country is full of cattle.

#### CHAPTER XLII [32]

Continuing the Account of the Customs of the Tribe of the Guaycurús, and Other Features of the District of the City.

1802. The Indians of this Guaycurú tribe are very warlike and savage, and have greatly molested the peaceable Indians in the region, nor have the Spanish residents been able to help matters. When they are not on the warpath they wear as a sign of it a net over their head like a coif; they act like stallions with mares with their young women, to debauch them, and for that reason each has his home or establishment off by himself. When they go to war and want to show they have fought bravely and killed their foes, they have a barbarous custom, initiated by the Devil and a bestial practice; it is as follows: to prove that a young man has been courageous, for which reason they entitle him a warrior, and to make him considered and respected as such they hold an assembly before the cacique their leader, and all the men of the tribe, and he chooses two sponsors from among the bravest; a quantity of their beverage has been provided, and they have a formal drinking bout. Then they put the new warrior who is to receive this title, before the cacique, with his sponsors beside him; and after having given him a long talk about the dignity of the title of warrior which they are bestowing upon him, and drinking a toast to his sponsors, they pierce his penis with a very sharp-pointed bone from a ray, and run it through; and squeezing out that blood, they anoint and wash his face and breasts with it, as a sign of the bravery he will have to demonstrate and of the title of warrior which they confer upon him; and then the cacique sets him beside him, to honor him and drinks his health. Thus he is made one of the warriors and given the title of brave. They carry out this barbarous custom at all lunar conjunctions. They go naked, with nothing but a tendon from a horse or a deer attached to the left wrist, for their bowstring, and with another tied around the waist. They part their hair into plaits (? tresquilan a carreras) and paint themselves with different colors; they pierce the tip of the nose and insert a feather of a parrot or other bird; they pierce the ears and the lip also, and from these holes they suspend numerous stones of different colors; they likewise put on a sort of diadem with different sorts of colored feathers, for their festivals and drinking bouts.

**1803.** When their cacique or lord dies, some of the bravest warriors volunteer to die with him. After the death they get together a large amount of wine, which they make from honey which is plentiful, and then carry the body to a pleasant spot and neighborhood, already prepared; and there before the dead body they carry out their drinking ceremonial; and when they are exhausted with the celebration and are intoxicated, they beg others to suffocate them so that they can keep their master company, to serve him as counselors; and when they bury him, they put them at his side; then they at once kill an equal number of boys and lay them at their feet, for them to serve them there; and they set beside them their bows, arrows, war clubs (macanas) and bolas with rope, and food and drink for the journey; and after doing this they cover over the vault or cave and leave them.

1804. When the sons of caciques are to be formally named, which is the same as being christened, the Indians first go off to war and bring in captive some of the enemy's boys. They put these in front of the cacique's son and set a stout cudgel in his hand, with which he gives it to the wretched boys on their heads and necks until he kills them, repeating "My name is N." This custom has been so ingrained by the Devil that when Don Francisco de Alfaro, Circuit Court Justice of the Charcas, was on a tour of inspection of those provinces, the Jesuit Fathers, who were charged with the catechizing of that parish and who wished to give greater solemnity to the ceremony with the Justice's presence, persuaded the cacique to have his son baptized, a boy some 13 years old. His godfathers were the Justice and Diego Marín Negrón, who was the Governor, so they gave him the name of Don Francisco de Alfaro Diego Marín Negrón. These Indians belonged to an army captain, one of the original pioneers in that country, named Alonso de Cabrera.

1805. The Indians went back home; and reflecting that the name was too long and that he had not been properly christened, they went off to war and brought in six boys. Then they renamed the cacique's son in the manner above described, giving him a cudgel with which he killed the boys, repeating "My name is Alonso de Cabrera," after which they came greatly pleased to inform the padre who catechized them, that they had now given the cacique's son a better christening and had named him Alonso de Cabrera, because the other name was too long, and they told him what they had done. This must suffice for this savage tribe, in order that we may continue with the description of the Diocese in the following chapter.

### CHAPTER XLIII [33]

Of Other Provinces and Tribes, and of the Maracayû, from Which They Get the So-called Yerba Santa of Paraguay.

**1806.** Upstream beyond the Province of the Guaycurús is the Province of the Payaguâ tribe, bordering on the Guaycurús; they are usually on the water, have the same customs in every respect as their neighbors, and go naked. The village of Maracayû is 60 leagues upstream from the city; these are tame Indians and do household service in the city of Asunción; it is here that they prepare the herb which is the usual remedy in that country; it is 60 leagues from the city of Asunción, and is a large village with more than 700 Indians, good and intelligent people; they are farmers. The village of Jujuy comes before this; it is built on the river bank and will have 200 Indians, farmers; it has the same hot climate. Then comes the village of Guirapariyâ, with over 500 Indians, at 4 leagues' distance.

**1807.** In Maracayû they gather the yerba santa, which grows in those wide plains between the Río Paraguay and the Río de la Plata, on damp ground. The tree is the size of an orange tree and the leaf like an orange leaf but thicker, very moist, round, and without a point. The tree is very brittle, so much so that it can be broken easily anywhere, no matter how thick the branch. They collect large amounts of this leaf or herb and it is worth many ducats; it is exploited by the Spanish residents of Guairâ and Villa Rica and all that country.

**1808.** This yerba santa, as they call it, is very cooling and purgative; it is taken in a large amount of hot water, which causes vomiting and gets rid of phlegm and bile. Those who take this remedy lead very healthy lives in that country and live many years. The natives of that country esteem it highly, as the Peruvian Indians do coca, and smokers, tobacco.

**1809.** The city of Guairâ is built beside the Río de la Plata 30 leagues from Maracayû; it will have 200 Spanish residents. It is hot and heavily wooded country; cattle do not breed here, and so they bring their table beef up from Paraguay. In that country cows grow hair a palm long, and bulls lose their bellow; horses die off; there is no salt. In this country they raise mandioc, corn, kidney beans, and other vegetables. It is very wretched country; there is abundance of tapirs (dantas), deer, hogs, and fowls, with which the Spaniards eke out a pitiful and wretched existence. It is 90 leagues from Asunción, on the Río de la Plata,  $\frac{1}{4}$  league from the Falls, which they call Salto, at the narrows of the Río de la Plata,

that wide, deep river; its least breadth is a league, and at the Salto, it is compressed between 2 cliffs so close that a stone can be thrown from one to the other.

The water falls between these cleft rocks so deep into the abyss that the mist which rises can be seen and made out from 10 or 12 leagues away. The Indians in this region are of the Guaraní tribe, and good domesticated people; they serve the residents of this city and gather quantities of cotton, from which they make cloth for wearing apparel.

**1810.** From this city of Guairâ it is 70 leagues to the ENE. over country all of it wooded, toward the Brazilian province of São Paulo, to Villa Rica (rich), or rather, Pobre (poor), which is 200 leagues from Brazil. Villa Rica has the same climate as the city of Guairâ and the same products and misfortune—in fact, greater, since in that wretched country with the extreme poverty of the Spaniards living there, they have no priest to administer the Holy Sacraments, and so they are like savages without a country, never hearing Mass, and their children go 7 or 8 years without being christened. Rather than live this way, it would be preferable for the Bishop either to appoint some priest for them or else have the settlement abandoned. The Spaniards living here are so poor that their only clothes are of cotton and they wear palm-leaf hats, for no Spanish merchandise ever gets here, and they have nothing with which to buy any. They gather some wax and honey from the trees and make a few hammocks.

**1811.** Fifteen leagues from Villa Rica there is a large, high mountain range which has a large deposit of stone coconuts; these have much fine rock crystal inside, blue, white, purple, ruby, and other colors. The outside of these coconuts is fine flint; the rock crystals inside are worked to a diamond point; when they are ripe, at the proper moment, the coconut bursts with a loud noise which it makes, and breaks the stone. Thirty leagues from this range and thirty from Villa Rica, forming a triangle with the two, is the Tambo del Hierro (Iron), so named from the quantity found there and exploited for the State. The Indians in this neighborhood and at Villa Rica belong to the Guaraní tribe. These villages and this tribe border on the Brazilian sertão and warlike Indians; the Portuguese raid the natives from there and carry them off captive for their service.

**1812.** The city of Jerez is 80 leagues inland to the W. of the city of Asunción, on the road to Santa Cruz de la Sierra. It has a good climate and will contain 60 Spanish residents. They have large cattle ranches with many Indians and parishes of various tribes, such as the Tapaguasûs, Payzunoes, Arrianacosies, Socorines, Xaqueses,

Guaxarapos, Chirigones, and other tribes. Sugarcane and much other fruit grows there; the country has a good climate. They gather great quantities of wax and honey in the woods; most of that country is supplied with wax from this place and its jurisdiction. Its parishes under peaceable régime are Yputû, Guarambaré, and Los Litatines, who are great farmers; they serve this city. The above is what is comprised in the district of this Diocese and State; there are four cities with Spanish residents in the district, as already described— Asunción, La Guairâ, Villa Rica, and Jerez; and besides the provinces and tribes already subdued, there are along its borders countless others to be brought into the Faith.

## CHAPTER XLIV [34]

Of the District of the Diocese and State of Buenos Ayres.

**1813.** From the city of Asunción to go to the district of Buenos Ayres, one turns back and goes downstream from Siete Corrientes, where the city of San Juan de Vera has been established, with as many as 40 Spanish residents, on some bluffs above the Río de la Plata. This place is called Taraguirô in the Indian language, which means newt, but it is also generally called Siete Corrientes (Seven Currents), because the city is built on a lofty bluff which has seven points, which form seven eddies with the union of the rivers here, and so they have given it this name.

1814. The Indians who serve the Spaniards in this little city are of the Guaraní tribe, living along this same Río de la Plata. Some of them are peaceable, but most are warlike. They go naked, are indolent, live on game and fish, and have no covering but mats in their settlements, for the excellent climate of that country makes everything possible.

**1815.** The city of San Juan de Vera has a hot climate and an excellent site, built as it is above the Río de la Plata. It belongs to the Diocese of Buenos Ayres, from which it is a little under 300 leagues distant; it has a Franciscan convent. They raise wheat, corn, and mandioc, which is a root from which they make a fair flour; the plant looks like elder (sauco). To grow it they put a bit of the stalk or stem underground, and within 3 months it is ripe. In preparing it for eating, since its juice is poisonous, they first put it in water to soak and lose the poison; after that it is good food and has a delicious taste; from its flour they make porridge and baypî, which is a kind of soup, and other dishes and stews.

**1816.** They have potatoes and some kinds of Spanish fruit, but the soil is so rich that in order to get fruit and have it ripen, they beat (apalean) the trees or bore into them, otherwise it all goes into growth and the fruit is knotty. The chief commerce of the residents of this country is in hides and in a large carting trade with Tucumán and Buenos Ayres; this is the border point for the Dioceses and States of Paraguay and Buenos Ayres.

**1817.** From this city of Siete Corrientes it is 34 leagues in the direction of Tucumán to the city of San Jerónimo del Río Bermejo. This is built half a league from the river toward Tucumán, and is the boundary where the Dioceses and States of Tucumán and Buenos Ayres meet. The river is deep and narrow; it comes from the valleys of Jujuy, at the very beginning of the State of Tucumán; many other rivers empty into it, so that it is a large stream here, but its water is brackish and not drinkable; it has quantities of delicious fish.

1818. The city of San Jerónimo del Río Bermejo is at 26°40' S. It is built on a high and prominent plateau, and will have 100 Spanish residents, with a Franciscan convent and a parish church with a friar as its curate for the administration of the Holy Sacraments. It belongs to the Diocese of Buenos Ayres, from which it is 220 leagues distant, and the same from Santa Fé. Twenty-five leagues from this city there is a large river which rises in Peru in the district of La Paz and the Charcas and is called Pilcomayu; it sinks underground in this region and comes out again some 6 leagues from Río Bermejo. When it is the rainy season in Peru it reaches such a high flood stage in this region that in Holy Week or some 15 days before or after, according as Lent comes early or late, since the land is flat, it floods it for over 100 leagues, and 30 at its narrowest point; this freshet lasts usually some 2 months, and makes a sea out of all this country. They go all over it in boats catching quantities of fish which come up from the Río de la Plata and spread over all this country; these are shad (sábalos), dorados, palometas, which are larger and broader than mojarras and have two rows of teeth; they are delicious fish; there are many other kinds, which make up their fish harvest, besides what they get of what is stranded in the ponds and pools when the river returns to its bed.

When the flood is over, the land stays full of water and spongy; they sow wheat, corn, and other cereals, cotton, melons, watermelons, which grow very large, fruit and vegetables, so that with this flood, like that of the Nile, they get an abundant harvest, and it is God's providence for them, for in that country they have very little rain. **1819.** There are a few settlements in the district, the principal ones being Yastato and Los Ojômas, who are peaceable, and others, apart from many tribes which are yet to be converted. In this city and its district they make quantities of cotton stockings, canopies, bedspreads, and other elaborate and highly esteemed products; there are many herons from which they get fine aigrettes. They gather much wax and honey; although the country is flat, there is much woods and forests; they get quantities of algarroba, from which the Indians get their vintage of wine, which is an agreeable drink.

## CHAPTER XLV [35]

Continuing with the District of the Diocese and State, as far as Santa Fé.

1820. Returning from Río Bermejo to Siete Corrientes, it is a journey of 120 leagues to Santa Fé through a wilderness, although there are a few Indian parishes; but the natives do not render service, and for that reason, since most of the Indians are usually in revolt and on the warpath, the ordinary route to Santa Fé is down the Río de la Plata, which is 2 or 3 leagues wide at Siete Corrientes, and so are the bluffs; and as for the marshes and overflowed land, they are 15, 20, or 30 leagues across. It is wooded and cool along the banks of this mighty river, and the forests are a very delightful and cheering sight.

**1821.** Along the banks there are settlements of warlike Guaraní Indians, and a few that are peaceable. On the Tucumán side as one travels to Buenos Ayres, there are vast plains they call pampas, on which there are occasionally patches of trees, but very few. The plains are inhabited by Baguales Indians, a naked tribe, for the climate allows of everything; at the most they wear a deerskin. These go on the warpath and at other times live peaceably, as best suits them; they are apportioned for service (encomendados) in Buenos Ayres, but they are no good.

1822. Over these pampas rove countless numbers of cattle, mares, and horses, for the most part cimarrón (stray) or wild; ostriches, which cover the earth; if an industry could be created in their plumes and trade be built up in them, great quantities could be exported to Spain, for they are excellent and of many colors, and many people would prosper in the trade. There are herds of deer covering the earth, and all sorts of game, for a distance of 70 leagues between Las Corrientes and Santa Fé. Along the banks of the river there are many other tribes living there, such as the Carcarañas, Quirondas,

Camís, Quivalsas, Calchines, Mecoretas, Mepenes, Canâs, and other tribes, all naked and savage in their customs and their reasoning; they wear skins and live by hunting and fishing.

### Chapter XLVI

Of the City of Santa Fé and Its District.

**1823.** The city of Santa Fé is built on a high bluff on the Tucumán bank of the Río de la Plata; the city has a marvelous location. It will have 150 Spanish residents; the Governor of Buenos Ayres keeps a deputy here. It has a parish church and Dominican and Franciscan convents. In its district they raise abundance of wheat, corn, and other cereals, with all kinds of Spanish, and some native, fruit. There are many vineyards, from which they make quantities of wine ranking among the best in that country; it is very delicious, abundant, and cheap.

**1824.** Opposite the city there is an island in the river 3 leagues long, on which the residents keep the mules and horses for their service, with other possessions of importance. There is much cattle in the district, from which the residents make quantities of hides which they export to Spain, and much is taken to the city of Córdoba in Tucumán, which is 60 leagues away, and to Potosí; a cow is usually worth 2 reals in this country, and if one buys a lot, it costs less. There are large mule ranches.

**1825.** Near the city there are a few Indian parishes for its service, and the tribe of the Calchaquíes, who are a warlike people, and go naked; they keep those plains and the river banks covered with their cabins (habitaciones) and overflow and spread over all of it. Next them come the Baguales tribe and others.

**1826.** That whole country is covered with wild cattle, ostriches, and capybaras, which are like water hogs; they have them only in those parts of the Indies. They always live in the water, but come out also on land to feed and to sleep; the females menstruate. There are large numbers of seals. Almost all this country is bare pampa, although there are patches of woods. Near Santa Fé are the Provinces of Uruguay, Tape, and Viaza, people who wear clothing, and who are all farmers and good people; Don Francisco de Céspedes, Governor of Buenos Ayres, tried to subdue them.

**1827.** The journey from Santa Fé to Buenos Ayres is 85 leagues and is made by river. The farther side of the river is occupied by Guaraníes, with a few peaceable parishes. The journey is also made overland in large carts (carros) or long, narrow carts (carretas)

with oxen over those plains; at 30 leagues from Santa Fé on the road there is an Indian parish called Los Chanâs; these are peaceable and in service. All this country is covered with cattle.

### CHAPTER XLVII [37]

Of the City of Trinidad and the Port of Buenos Ayres.

1828. The city of Trinidad and port of Buenos Ayres is 60 leagues from the sea up the river, which is another 60 leagues wide at that point. The city has more than 200 Spanish residents; it is built on a high plateau on a bluff over this same Río de la Plata. The Cathedral is situated in this city, with a Bishop and Prebendaries who reside there and serve it; it has a Governor appointed by His Majesty in consultation with the Royal Council of the Indies; there are Dominican, Franciscan, Mercedarian, and Jesuit convents, a hospital, and other shrines; there are Officials of the Royal Patrimony. This city and port is the usual goal of ships from Angola with Negroes, from Brazil and elsewhere; speaking generally, they have to put in here, for in that part of the world there is no other spot where they can take refuge and stay. And so for the relief and good administration of all those far-flung provinces and for that port, it would be highly desirable that a Circuit Court be established here, either by taking one Justice from each court, or by transferring here or to the city of Córdoba the Circuit Court of Santiago de Chile, since it is not essential in that Kingdom, and the distance here is so great from the Charcas. That step would remedy many evils and put an end to great abuses which the poor suffer because they cannot afford such a long journey to appeal for justice; and under the protection of the Circuit Court that country would be better settled and all the tribes to be subdued would be converted and that country would be very rich and tranquil.

In that district they raise much wheat, corn, and all kinds of Spanish fruit; there are vineyards from which some wine is produced, but it is also imported from the Province of Cuyo. The country is full of game—partridges, rabbits, quail, pheasants, turkeys, guinea hens, deer, ostriches, and many other animals and birds.

1829. On the other side of the Río de la Plata, which is called in the Indian language the great Paranâ, and the Indians themselves Paranâs, they border on the Charrúas tribe. This is very large and widespread; they go naked, some covering themselves with deerskins. Sometimes they are at peace and other times at war, as best suits them. When a ship drives on the coast and is wrecked, they capture the people on board, and with great caution and secrecy (so that

the Spaniards shall not learn that they are kidnapping them) they sell them off to the Guaraní Indians for a dog or a knife or glass beads or axes.

When a marriage is to take place they call a meeting at an appointed place, and the cacique orders everyone to come to where they are to marry off the bride with his arrow and bow, and to bring a pelt or other article as a present, each according to his means; and when they have gathered, the cacique goes in first to enjoy the bride, and then the others in due order, each presenting what he has brought toward her dowry, and the last of all is the husband; and with this barbarous and bestial procedure, they are duly married.

They have another savage custom: when father or mother or some close relative dies, as a sign of grief and mourning they cut off a finger or toe joint, cutting off as many as they have lost relatives by death, until they may even get completely mained in hands and feet, and those who have cut off the most joints are held and respected as the most honored.

**1830.** Some 16 leagues from the city there is another tribe of very barbarous Indians called the Pampas. These have never been pacified nor can they be brought to listen to reason. They go naked; their country is flat; they are great shots with rope bolas, spears, and arrows. It is their custom, when a marriage is to take place, for the young man to take a fagot of wood to his future father-in-law's home and lay it at the door and then retire and hide where they cannot see him, but he can see if they pick up the fagot; and if they take it inside, that means that the marriage and matrimonial ceremony is a fact, and he goes at once to his father-in-law's home without further formality and takes the bride as his own; but if they do not take in the fagot, off he goes, for they do not want him. These barbarous savages have the custom, when father or mother or son dies, of skinning and eating him; they stuff the skin with straw and keep it as a memento, saying that they cannot keep him better than inside themselves, nor give him a better resting place.

They neither sow nor trade; they are unconquerable for their country gets flooded; when it rains, it all becomes a sea; and so, although they are so near the city, for this reason and their great bestiality, they have never been subdued. If they catch any Spaniard, his sad fate is to be put in a corral or cage like a pig to be fattened and eaten. There are many other very savage tribes in those regions, impossible to enumerate.

**1831.** From this city to that of Córdoba, which is the boundary with the Diocese and State of Tucumán, it is 120 leagues of level

road. At 6 leagues is a river called the Río de Luján; 3 leagues farther, [another called] the Río de los Arrecifes; but for all the rest of the 120 leagues there is no other river or spring; travelers drink at wells dug by hand, from day's journey to day's journey; there are a few tanks for the cattle. There are some ranches and Indian parishes near the cities; all the rest of the way is uninhabited but all those plains are covered with escaped (cimarrones) mares and horses in such numbers that when they go anywhere they look like woods from a distance; it is the same with cattle in some places. There are countless deer, guanacos, partridges, quail, and ostriches, for all those plains have such wide pasturage and excellent climate that everything prospers and multiplies exceedingly. This must suffice for the district of Buenos Ayres; we shall now treat of Chile.

#### TABLE

Of the Repartimientos (Allotments) by Provinces and Corregimientos (with the Tribute-paying Indians) Existing in the Districts of the Cities of Lima, Huánuco, Trujillo, Chachapoyas, and Piura.

1832. In the Corregimiento of El Cercado which is in Lima, in the Indian villages of its district, there are 6 curates: 2 clerics, 2 Franciscans, and 2 Mercedarians. Each Indian pays a tribute of 5 assay pesos every year, and 1 tomín for their hospital.

	Tribute payers	Old people	Boys (Mucha- chos)	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Surco	192	61	147	284	965	536–7t
La Magdalena	89	26	50	156	444–7t–8	151–5t–11
Guateaymarca	60	13	44	133	292–48	136-2t-1
Manchay	12	10	6	29	60	53-4t
Guanchoguaylas	7	0	3	12	35	
Lati	31	9	30	78	155	26-7t-2
Pocorucha	6	3	7	17	30	10-1
Huancayo	45	6	37	62	247-48	123-4
Chuquitanta	20	10	23	36	110	9-б
Comascarvaillo	20	3	8	24	55	5-6
Cacahuasi	9	5	4	17	40	24
Pachacámac	70	17	55	72	358-5-3	126-3-3
Lurigancho	31	• • • •		• • • •		
	482	163	414	922	2,793 ps. 7	1,204 ps. 3-5

So that from this Corregimiento the tribute comes to 2,793 assay pesos 3 tomines and 5 granos; the Corregidor and curates and other expenses are paid out of this sum; there remain for the encomenderos 1,204 pesos 3 tomines and 5 granos.

#### WHOLE VOL. THE WEST INDIES-VÁZQUEZ DE ESPINOSA

**1833.** In the Corregimiento of the Ica Valley and its villages there are 7 clerical curates and a few Franciscans. Each tributary Indian pays 4 assay pesos and 7 tomines, and 1 tomín more for their hospitals; they pay this in silver and produce.

	Tribute payers			Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Hananica	371	50	398	403	1,723–2t–5	938-1t-3
Lurinica	374	90	237	607	1,761-11-11	1,086–7
Umay	31	9	12	26	132-5-10	
La Nasca	0	48	163	384	1,491–2–6	792-7-5
Pisco y Condor	185	51	114	341	901–7	556-7
	1,289	2.18	924	1,761	6,010-3t-8	3,374-6-8

In the repartimientos of this Corregimiento there are 6,010 pesos 3 tomines and 8 granos; deducting what is paid to the curacies, Corregidor, caciques, and other expenses, there are available 3,374 pesos 6 tomines and 8 granos.

**1834.** In the Corregimiento of the town of Arnedo or Chancay, there are 8 repartimientos, which usually contribute like the others, with I tomín for their hospital.

	Tribute payers	e Old people	Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Checras	927	376	1,107	3,327	3,286-3-2	1,841–22
Aucallama	123	26	112	217	бо4—4	37-7-10
Barranca	169	47	118	348	707-6	337-7
Vegueta	52	9	77	118	2483-8	80-4-7
Cupi	79	24	84	177	375-2	220-4
Chancay	22	10	18	31	107–4–8	
Huaura	273	33	140	526	1,322-2-2	841-1-8
Cupilín	3	••••	5	7	14-4	•••••
	1,648	525	1,761	4,751	6,666–3	3,354-1-3

**1835.** In the Corregimiento and Province of Canta there are 5 repartimientos and in them 8 curates: 4 clerics and 4 Mercedarians.

	Tribute payers		Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Huamantanga	631	256	1,038	2,311	2,223	1,399-4-10
Canta	782	284	1,084	2,785	2,826	1,359-6-4
Hananpuchas	425	150	711	1,311	2,522-7-4	1,017-7-4
Huronpichas	244	108	337	769	831-1	435-I
Atabillos	353	151	580	1,188	1,225	619–4
	2,435	969	3,750	8,364	9,628–4	4,831-7-2

**1836.** In the Corregimiento and district of the town of Cañete there are 5 repartimientos and in them 6 curates: 3 clerics and 3 Dominicans.

	Tribute payers	Old people	Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Lunahuana	320	62	169	498	1,590-2	584-4
Chincha	316	72	251	571	1,382-4	<b>596-t-</b> 9
Chilcaymara	142	32	123	232	686–3–6	360-6-4
Coayllocalango	250	91	267	583	1,156-1	595-2
Guarco	5	• • • •	• • • •			
	1,033	257	810	1,884	4,815-8	2,136-5-1

**1837.** In the Corregimiento and Province of Huailas there are 5 repartimientos. In that of Huaras and that of Marca the Conde de Lemus has 1,228 tribute-paying Indians; in accordance with the rate each Indian pays 2 assay pesos and 7 tomines and something more, out of which are paid the curates, justices, caciques, and other expenses; they contribute 1 tomín more for their hospital.

				Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Huailas	1,859	716	2,092	5,985	5,577	2,738-7-6 gr
Recuay	1,766	668	2,200	6,315	5,666–4–1	1,714-5
Huaras	606	233	640	1,796	1.591-4	747-t-2
Marca	582	188	669	1,713	1,710	469–6–1
Mitimas de Recuay	105	99	112	352	315	66-5-6
	4,918	1,899	5,773	16,161	14,860	5,737-9-3

**1838.** In the Corregimiento and Province of Los Huamalies there are 15 repartimientos and in them 8 curates: 4 clerics and 4 Mercedarians. Each Indian pays a tribute of 3 pesos and 4 tomines in assay silver, and 1 tomín more for their hospital; out of the gross tribute are paid the curates, justices, church-building expenses, caciques, etc.

×	Tribut payers	e Old s people	Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Huamalíes de Mocón	228	117	240	401	779	327-t6
Huánuco Ovas	<b>3</b> 6	19	19	69	117	62
Mancha	188	105	502	380	705	329
Gacas	351	104	324	836	1,100-4-3	527—3 gr
Huaorachuco	244	109	160	194	853-7-9	510-t3-7
Icho Huánuco	370	1 <b>3</b> 6	461	1,085	1,4532	893-6-3
El Huanca	317	106	200	549	1,245-6	699-5-7
Yanas	57	11	61	138	143-4	71-7
Pachas Lascanga	194	98	239	427	679	272-1-6
Haneyungas (?)	74	4	17	115	296	174-5
Pariarca	204	69	227	547	743	381-6
Aneyungas	166	25	162	356	581	301
Huariguancha	148	113	192	460	505-5-4	181-1-4
Arancay	48	21	27	78	168	<b>38–</b> 5–6
Other Aneyungas	59	22	20	97	236-2	129-5
	2,694	1,049	2,857	5,832	9,607-2	4,900-5

1839. In the Province and Corregimiento of Conchucos there are 8 repartimientos and in them 14 curacies: 10 of clerics, 2 of Dominicans, and 2 of Mercedarians. Each Indian pays tribute at the rate of 3 assay pesos and 4 tomines, and 1 tomín for the hospital, every year, in products of the soil.

	Tribute payers		Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Conchucos (formerly						
Pardave)	867	283	1,373	3,177	3,251-2	1,960-2
Conchucos of Mori	755	200	1,109	2,790	2,831-2	1,642-2
Allauca-Huari	720	232	1,099	2,073	3,075	1,813-6
Icho Huari	659	306	664	1,888	2,369-4	1,372-2
Piscobamba	476	195	480	1,607	1,591-4	826-4
Allauca-Pincos	393	150	286	750	1,375-4	703-5
Icho-Pincos	365	90	500	1,019	1,277-4	666-4
Siguas	161	50	447	342	538-1-4	1663
	4,396	1,512	5,958	13,646	16,309-5t-4 gr	9,151-1-3

From the gross is subtracted the cost of the curates, justices, caciques, church-building expenses, and others noted.

1840. In the Province and Corregimiento of Tarma and Chinchaycocha there are 13 repartimientos and in them 18 curacies: 14 of clerics, 2 Dominicans, and 2 Mercedarians. Each tribute payer comes out at 3 assay pesos 1 tomín and 5 granos, and 1 tomín for their hospitals.

	Tribute payers		Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Chinchaycocha	2,176	866	2,351	5,680	6,982	4,2176
Tarma	991	256	1,426	3,076	3,716–2	1,976-2
Yaros	462	241	517	1,264	τ,596	917-5
Chauquiguara	427	240	598	1,268	1,455-7	849-7
Chupacos	508	232	456	1,699	1,767-3-4	709-4-5
Tambo	310	132	325	442	1,017-1-11	372-5-8
Huamalíes	51	43	66	168	165–6	11-5
Yamamates	134	26	147	412	469-3	241
Other Huamalies	153	82	159	477	492-3	286-7
Yachas	112	77	133	335	<b>3</b> 60-1-6	155-6-6
Mitimas	142	52	119	301	471-6-9	230-3-6
Other Yachas	<b>13</b> 6	71	131	345	413-3-9	132-6
Caina	73	45	106	205	231-7-5	72-3-5
	5,675	2,385	6,534	15,672	<b>19,135–3</b> t–9	10,1746

**1841.** In the Corregimiento and Province of Jauja there are 7 repartimientos and in them 19 curacies: 10 of Dominicans and 9 of Franciscans. Each tribute payer comes out at 4 assay pesos and 1 tomín for the hospital.

	Tribute payers		Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute	
Hatun Jauja	761	375	955	2,916	2,910-2-5	1,357-4	
Lurín Huanca	2,607	1,607	3,470	8,806	9,383-7	5,630	
Hanan Huanca	1,293	794	1,847	5,145	5,131-6-5	2,332–6	
Mitimas Mancos and							
Laraos	31	13	46	125	120-4-7	49-7	
Mitimas de Chaclla.	47	27	53	179	169-5-3	90-2	
Mitimas de Mama	72	35	60	196	275-6-5	84-1	
Mitimas de Gorocheu	119	44	178	370	458-2-9	214-5	
	4,780	2,895	6,609	17,737	18,449-4-5	9,759-5	

**1842.** In the Province and Corregimiento of Huarochiri there are 3 repartimientos, and in them 10 curacies, all of clerics.

	Tribute payers	Old people	Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Chaclla	854	203	1,105	2,399	3,229-1-6	1,746-5-6
Mama	55 I	192	387	1,047	2,249-7-6	859-5
Huarochiri	1,481	474	2,206	4,9 <b>3</b> 6	6,093–1–4	3,246-1-5
	2,886	869	3,698	8,382	II,572–24	5,852-4-1

1843. In the Corregimiento and Province of Cajatambo there are 12 curacies of clerics and 2 of friars. Each tributary pays at the rate of 2 pesos 7 tomines and 9 granos of assay silver, and 1 more each year for their hospital.

		Old people		Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Andax	1,756	44I	2,628	5,952	5,5131	3,548—1 gr
Ocros	560	194	551	559	1,661–7–2	522-4
Ambar	469	97	367	1,161	1,771-5-6	I,022-4-9
Cajatambo	829	319	I,22I	2,775	3,114	1,742-4
Lampas	200	<b>33</b> 9	1,459	2,700	3,934-5	1,5967
	4,814	1,390	6,226	13,147	15,995-1-9	8,431-5-5

**1844.** In the Province and Corregimiento of Los Yauyos there are 8 repartimientos and in them 8 Dominicans who catechize them, and 1 cleric. Each tributary pays at the rate of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  silver assay pesos, and 1 tomín for their hospital.

Mancos Laraos Colpaschunga Macas Mitimas de Huaro-	1,027	people 289	1,509		Gross tribute 4,0012 4,842-4-2	Net tribute gr 2,126–4–5 gr 3,093–1–2
chiri	127	46	150	412	444-4	179-2
Mitima Chaclla	110	32	166	320	385	243
Mitimas Mancos y						
Laraos	34	10	57	139	119	486
Mitimas de Macma	26	5	32	60	56	24
Mitimas Yauyos	74	23	105	247	259	156-4
	2,631	832	3,726	8,052	10,107	5,871-5-7

**1845.** In the Corregimiento of the town of Saña and its valleys there are 10 repartimientos and in them 10 curacies of clerics who catechize them. Each tributary pays at the rate of 3 assay pesos 3 tomines and 1 grano, and 1 tomín more for their hospital.

	Tribute payers		Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Lambayeque	1,065	400	1,313	3,016	3,738-1-4	1,947-6-2 gr
Túcume	613	213	700	1,650	2,153-4-4	1,029–6
Illimo	279	100	327	773	950-2-4	375-7-7
Ferreñafe	224	21	210	<b>2</b> 91	769-7-3	245-7-9
Jayanca	355	140	383	875	1,276–2–11	390-2-8
Motupe	248	82	184	474	8682i i	275-6
Pacora	78	22	86	178	287-5	124-1
Penachí	160	44	185	341	519-6-6	169-4
Olmos	305	6	392	818	1,058–1–8	536-1-8
Copiz	13	4	24	54	57-4-4	14-4-4
	3,340	1,032	3,804	8,470	11,679-6-7	5,109-7

**1846.** In the Corregimiento of the Chicama Valley, 5 leagues from Trujillo, there are 12 repartimientos and in them 14 curates: 2 of them clerics, 4 Franciscans, 3 Dominicans, 4 Augustinians, and 1 Mercedarian, with the salaries indicated for them in the tax rates; each tributary pays at the rate of 3 assay pesos 4 tomines and  $I\frac{1}{3}$  granos, and 1 tomín for their hospitals.

	Tribute payers	e Old people	Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Chicama	447	175	618	1,232	1,549-6-3	580-7-9 gr
Chimohuanchaco	246	113	306	657	861	366-7-6
Paiján	110	40	22	236	412-4	None left
Jequetepeque	546	225	634	1,363	1,911	1,069–2–6
Chepén	52	12	46	118	208-6	43-3
Moro	32	-4	22	51	111-6-9	9-3-8
Mocupe	155			• • • •	5424	* * * * * *
Cherrepe	92	24	51	191	333	87-5
Reque	404	248	380	817	1,397-1-4	799-1-9
Callanca	302	105	303	622	1,129-2-10	393-4-1
Cinto and Chiclayo.	348				1,206-4-10	555-5-6
Collique	381	136	356	991	1,338–6	754-1-2
	3,115	1,082	2,738	6,248	11,001–7–4	4,660-3-11

1847. In the Corregimiento of the town of Santa there are 9 repartimientos and in them 7 curacies: 3 of clerics, 3 of Dominicans, and I Mercedarian. Each tributary pays at the rate of 3 assay pesos and 6 tomines, and I tomín for their hospital.

	Tribute payers		Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute	
Moyo	229	78	235	578	858-6	342-3	
Huarmey	135	<b>3</b> 9	120	258	652-4-9	100-2-10	
Guambacho	8	6	68	149	254-6-6	39-3-3	
Casma Alta	39	7	43	101	140-5-5	102–6	
Moche	45	12	12	121	1686	1068	
Guananpechao	162	12	172	257	607-2-4	42-6-8	
Casma Baja	36	6	30	34	135	(5	)
Tancayán	9	2	9	19	33-5-6		
Nepena	20	I	17	34	52-4-4	24-4-4	
-	753	163	700	1,551	2,904–15 gr	763-7-2	

1848. In the Corregimiento of Cajamarquilla del Collay there are 5 repartimientos and in them 6 curacies served by clerics. Each tributary pays at the rate of 3 assay pesos and 4 tomines, and I for their hospital. Out of the gross are paid justices, church-building expenses, caciques, and other expenses in conformity with the other Provinces and Corregimientos.

	Tribute payers		Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Chilchos	100	58	86	113	299	71-1-8
Cajamarquilla	306	183	383	1,160	1,071	443-4
Collay	451	117	373	977	1,577-2-9	8293
Buldibuchioprax	109	59	129	246	<b>3</b> 94 <b>-</b> 3-8	164-3-6
Leimebamba	421	119	368	695	I,472-7-I	5131
	1,387	536	1,339	3,191	4,815-5-2	2,021-2-2

1849. In the Corregimiento of Luya and Chillaos in the district of the city of Chachapoyas there are 24 repartimientos, and in them 9 curacies: 6 of clerics, 2 of Mercedarians, and I Franciscan. Each tributary pays at the rate of 3 assay pesos, and I tomín for their hospital.

	Tribute payers	e Old people	Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Cuymal	64	37	93	273	206-5-9	54-7-6
Yamon	175	52	140	328	524-6	135-3-11
Conguia	63	17	24	85	1 <b>88-6-</b> 6	61–1–8
					288-2-8	4 <b>7-1-</b> 9
Luya	96	53	I24	386	230-6-3	98-2
Huamocho	71	49	50	145	246–2	II4-I-4
Quemalolto	72	25	66	151	276-2	I 29–I
Conilap	85	45	104	253	373-6	76-2
Timurbamba	115	49	99	258	552	136–7–8
Casmal	184	126	256	512	185–4	93-3
					204	90-5
Chachaslebamo	53	31	70	176	143	61
Timal	60	36	68	196	672-7-6	251-7
Colcamarallaucono .	44	18	49	119	235-5-10	103–6
Jalca	222	81	225	612	96	51-2
Quistanchochoscono .	69	34	94	240	78	39
Bagua	32	9	IO	56	520	294
Culquimang	26	I	23	45	114	56
Comacocha	160	25	<b>13</b> 9	384	178–4	93
Other Bagua	38	3	22	64	405	165
Huancas	51	7	45	172	78	35
Chocoylacoca	135					
Cesuya	24	3	29	41	159	7I-I
Tiapolloachuca	52	27	53	159	132	60-4
Chisgo Baja	44	16	49	132	135	60-4
Yanta	45	5	44	91		
-	1,989	739	1,876	4,829	6,224-2-6	2,480-1-8

(The explanation of the above confusion must be that somehow the tributc figures for Jalca, Chocoylacoca, Yanta, Bagua, and others got misplaced. I have tried to follow the MS exactly rather than to correct.—C. U. C.)

**1850.** In the Province and Corregimiento of Cajamarca there are 9 repartimientos and in them 24 curacies: 13 of Franciscans, 7 of Augustinians, 3 of Mercedarians, and 1 cleric. For the salaries indicated for them, each tributary pays at the rate of 3 assay pesos I tomín and 9 granos, and I tomín more for their hospital; and among those of Cajamarca, where a new census was taken in 1611, it was found that there were 2,524 tribute-paying Indians assigned (encomendados) to the Condes de Lemus for their lives and one more life to be designated by them; and the 3 Guarangas in Cajamarca which had belonged to Gov. Juan de Salinas, were assigned to the Condes de Altamira, and in the new census taken, it was found that there were 1,726 tribute-paying Indians.

	Tribute payers		Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Cajamarca	2,523	90 <b>3</b>	2,845	7,599	8,100-7-4	5,365-6-7 gr
The 3 Guarangas	1,477	496	1,677	4,119	4,800-2	3,172-7-6
Huamachuco	1,987	1,071	2,519	5,863	6,374-4-10	3,620-4
Huambos	692	225	823	227	2,206-3-5	1,232—1
Mitimas de Saña	136	63	161	397	437-5-5	206-6-4
Mitimas Chilcos and						
Leimebamba	40	?			160–5	49-7
Mitimas Chachapoyas						
and Bracamoros	24	?			75-16	466
	6,879	2,758	7,975	19,205	22,155-5	13,694—4

**1851.** In the Corregimiento and district of the Provinces of San Miguel de Piura there are 28 repartimientos and in them 13 curacies: 11 of clerics and 2 of Mercedarians; each tributary pays at the rate of 4 assay pesos.

I J K	Tribute Old payers people	Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Huancabamba	420		1,453		864—6 gr
Ayabaca	234			••••	485-7-4
Frias Chalaco	93			••••	140
Chincharasontor	45			••••	
Parina and Cosio	48			• • • • • •	87-4-11
Mechatomecomo	56			• • • • • •	131-2
Malaca	18			• • • • • •	466
Mancora	4			• • • • • •	15
Naringala	145			• • • • • •	250-5-9
Menón	40			• • • • • •	84
Camacho	I4			••••	26-4
Sechura and La					
Punta	40			• • • • • •	44-2
Mecache	31				71-7-4
Moscalaqui	IO			• • • • • •	8-2
Marcavélica	16			,	29-2-2
Colán	30			••••	47-3
La Chira	I7			• • • • • •	38-4-2
Huaura	45		• • • •		90-I
Tangarará	9		• • • •	• • • • • •	19-2-4
Castillo	16		• • • •	• • • • • •	43-1-8
	1,542				
Sechura and Munelí.	72			• • • • • •	137-5-8
Amotape	9			• • • • • •	18-1-8
Paitalasilla	27		• • • •	• • • • • •	57-3
Vitoncra	18			• • • • • •	28 <b>-</b> 1
Solana	60			• • • • • •	120-2
Tumbes	12	• • • •		• • • • • •	12
Malingas and valley.	3	• • • •			

2,898-3

**1852.** (Marg.: 94,857 tribute payers) General recapitulation of the tribute as verified by the general inspection of what is mentioned in the districts of Lima, Huánuco, Trujillo, Piura, Chachapoyas, and Guayaquil: ninety-four thousand eight hundred and fifty-seven<sup>4</sup> Indians paying tribute; they paid three hundred and fifty-two thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight assay pesos and four tomines,<sup>2</sup> in silver and products of the soil.

At present there are fifty-nine thousand three hundred and fiftyeight \* tribute payers, with the six hundred and fifty-four of those in Moyobamba added in.

There has been a falling off of thirty-five thousand nine hundred and seventy-four<sup>4</sup> tribute payers from the number existing at the time of the general inspection, and there has therefore been a drop of one hundred and forty-one thousand one hundred and seventy-one assay pesos and four tomines.<sup>6</sup>

#### DISTRICT OF THE CITY OF GUAMANGA

**1853.** In the Corregimiento of the Province of Los Lucanas in the district of the city of Guamanga there are 3 repartimientos and in them 15 curacies: 14 of clerics and 1 Dominican, with the salary indicated in each tax list; each tributary pays at the rate of 4 assay pesos and 1 tomín for their hospital.

	Tribute Old payers people	Boys Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Soras	1,974 903	2,248 6,048	7,028-2-5	3,681–5–6 gr
Lucanas	1,7 <b>3</b> 6 658	2,212 5,817	б <b>,050–3</b>	2,771-3-7
Andamarcas	1,530 517	1,132 3,844	5,0561	2,712-2-6
	5,240 2,078	6,132 15,745	18,134-5-6	9,365-3-7

1854. In the Province of Los Angaraes, included in the State of Huancavelica, there are 4 repartimientos and in them 5 curacies of clerics with the salaries indicated for them in the tax lists. Each tributary pays at the rate of 3 assay pesos 5 tomines and 8 granos, and 1 tomín each besides for their hospital.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>94,857 tribute payers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 352,838 pesos 4 tomines.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> They now pay 203,859 pesos 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> 69,359 tribute payers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> 141,161 pesos 4 tomines.

	Tribute payers	Old people	Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Angaraes de la Viera	627	301	739	2,517	2,235-1-2	816–7– gr
Angaraes de Vendesu	661	225	696	1,8 <b>3</b> 6	2,280-7	1,208-1
Huaillay	707	162	475	1,253	2,221-6-11	1,348-7-11
Calamarca	89	36	86	185	322-5-7	183-4-10
	2,084	724	1,996	5,791	7,060-4-8	3,555-3-10

1855. In the Corregimiento and Province of Los Chocorvos included in the Corregimiento of Castrovirreina there are 4 repartimientos and in them 4 curacies of clerics with salaries according to the list. Each tributary pays at the rate of 3 assay pesos 5 tomines and 11 granos.

	Tribute payers		Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Huachos Chocorvos.	577	170	786	1,651	1,841–1–1	911-6-1
Huaitará	77 I	279	953	2,207	2,721-2	1,361
Quiguares Orejones.	172	99	148	407	631-1-6	387-7-7
Huatas	160	I 20	217	691	588-3	211-4-6
	1,680	668	2,104	4,956	5,781-2-7	2,872-2-2

1856. In the Corregimiento and Province of Zángaro and Huanta there are 5 repartimientos and in them 9 curacies of clerics. Each tributary pays at the rate of 3 pesos 3 tomines and 8 granos, and 1 tomín for their hospital.

	Tribute payers		Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Quinua	689	183	450	1,441	2,695-4-4	1,207-5
Cavinas	71	24	83	187	264-10	76-1-1
Parija	1,431	357	926	1,942	5,489-3-8	3,460-6-8
Angaraes	473	237	330	1,094	1,8064-8	800-3-2
Tayacaja	<b>39</b> 6	169	510	1,180	1,348–6	
	3,206	970	2,317	5,844	11,404-3-6	5,544-4-4

**1857.** In the Province and Corregimiento of Vilcas there are 7 repartimientos and in them 10 curacies of clerics with the salaries assigned them in the lists. Each tributary pays at the rate of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  assay pesos and 1 tomín for their hospital.

	Tribute payers		Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Hanan Vilcas	625	273	611	1,480	2,301-1	1,348-3
Palres	546	204	521	1,303	1,974-7-4	1,273-5-11
Hurin Vilcas	418	203	525	I,294	1,575-5-8	810–3
Quichuas	1,734	772	1,642	4,665	6,376-3-10	3,686-5
Tanquigues	516	194	462	1,335	1,859	992-I
Paomarca	385	129	262	813	I,440-4	670-2-6
Totos	207	114	220	657	666-5-5	179-3-2
	4,431	1,889	4,243	11,547	16,194-5-3	8,960-3

**1858.** From the general inspection of Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo it resulted that in the repartimientos of the 5 Corregimientos of the district of Guamanga there were twenty-two thousand one hundred and sixty-two tributary Indians; these 22,162 paid a tribute every year in silver and products of the soil eighty-four thousand two hundred and fifty-four assay pesos and six granos—84,254 pesos 6 granos.

In the latest reinspection there were sixteen thousand five hundred and forty-two tributary Indians—16,542. They pay in tribute fiftynine thousand five hundred and seventy- (sixty-, MS) six pesos and 6 granos, by the tax list—59,576 pesos 6 granos.

There is a loss of five thousand six hundred and twenty tribute payers.

### DISTRICT OF THE CITY AND DIOCESE OF AREQUIPA

**1859.** In the Province and Corregimiento of Los Collaguas, district of the city of Arequipa, there are 5 repartimientos and in them 16 curacies; 8 are catechized by clerics and the other 8 by Franciscans. Each tributary pays at the rate of 5 pesos and 10 granos, and 1 tomín for their hospital.

	Tribute payers		Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Yanqui Collaguas	3,215	1,223	2,220	3,734	13,243–6	8,223-1-7
Lari Collagua	978	416	797	2,107	4,549-5-10	3,105
Collaguas de Picado	992	370	860	2,202	4,547-7-1	3,067-2-9
Half of Cabana	556	168	671	567	2,523-5-6	1,396-5-8
Other half	362	102	373	956	1,848–7–1	1,061-1-2
	6,103	2,279	4,921	9,566	26,713-2-2	16,853-3-2

**1860.** In the Corregimiento of Los Ubinas there are 10 repartimientos and in them 4 curacies of clerics. Each tributary pays at the rate of 4 assay pesos and 1 tomín more for their hospital.

	Tribute payers		Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Ubinas	380	160	339	914	1,870	901-5
Pocossi	378	123	689	440	2,233-7	1,486-1-11
Carumas de Bueno	162	70	262	574	881	467
Other Carumas	140	47	167	446	759	362
Cochuna	14	I	16	25	67	
Omate	82	17	101	192	440	215-4
Quinistacas	99	33	143	292	533-4	179-2
Puquín	82	30	94	238	440	207
Cheque Mitimas	16	3	17	33	65–4	45-4
Torata	117	29	129	271	460	118-4
	1,470	513	1,957	3,425	7,749-1-7	3,982-4-11

1861. In the Province and Corregimiento of Condesuyos there are 12 repartimientos and in them 9 curacies of clerics. Each tributary pays at the rate of 5 assay pesos and 10 granos, and 1 tomín more for their hospital.

	Tribute payers		Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Chuquibanbaluque	321	119	412	1,341	1,659	1,046-2
The other half	245	88	238	808	1,144–6	641-7-6
Arones Andaray	264	68	135	626	1,381–2	664
Arones and Anasqui-						
guas	351	109	319	973	1,792–6–8	1,041-2-8
Pampacolca	530	175	638	1,719	2,4788	1,569-6
Viraco	368	120	373	1,188	1,888	1,264-6
Andaguas	418	152	446	1,148	2,323-1	1,545-1
Chachas	416	115	406	496	2,060-6	1,342-11
Chipalcas	125	48	105	282	701-4	305-2
Machanguay	174	47	153	5 <b>3</b> 6	983-5	703-I
Achanquillo	102	38	117	347	550-5-6	2236
Achamarca	138	84	191	565	6396	231-2-6
	3,452	1,263	3,533	10,029	17,602-7-4	10,578—1 gr

1862. In the Corregimiento of Camaná and Majes there are 13 repartimientos and in them 6 curacies; 5 are administered by clerics and I by a Dominican friar.

	Tribute payers	Old people	Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Majes Cosus	59	13	30	110	265-6-3	128-1-2
Majes Uraca	32	6	21	53	163-1-1	
Acarí	240	47	104	247	1,180	501-1-9
Delatorre Camaná	20	3	8	20	40	17-2
Pampanico	21	4	9	33	95	60
Quilca	26	24	10	23	131	
Ocoña del Rey	10	4	2	б	60	
Ocoña de Pacheco	14	7	25	10	78	• • • • • • •
Caraveliatico	181	61	189	531	1,086	462-1
Atiquipa	46	16	32	102	220	58—I
Chaparra	58	II	35	87	296–8	80-3-8
Molleguaca	28	3	26	63	132-1-6	
Mitimas de la Nasca	58	••••	• • • •		264-4	198-4
	777	199	491	1,285	4,013-6	1,485-6-7 gr

1863. In the Corregimiento of Arica and its rural communities (anejos) there are 5 repartimientos and in them 8 curacies, administered by clerics. Each tributary pays at the rate of 5 assay pesos 2 tomines and 2 granos, and 1 real more for their hospital.

	Tribute payers		Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Lluta and Arica	65	15	84	92	357-4	177—4 gr
Tarapacá and Pica	950	121	981	2,035	4,585	3.058-3t
Hilo	50	18	22	109	269-4	153–4t
Tacama	525	50	493	979	2,551-4-4	1,624-2-4
Hilabaya	166	19	100	231	873-1	221-7-4
	1,758	223	1,680	3,446	8,636-5-4	5,235-1-11

**1864.** In the Corregimiento of Caracoto and Vitor there are 21 repartimientos and in them 11 curacies: 2 of clerics, 4 Dominicans, 1 Franciscan, and 2 Mercedarians. Each tributary pays at the rate of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  assay pesos, and 1 tomín for their hospital.

	Tribute payers		Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Caracoto	245	44	247	442	1,158	761
Yuminas	52	6	65	142	219-4	165-4
Guayparuminas	12	I	IO	37	45-4	31-4
Vitor	30	5	32	67	150	138
Chule	25	9	26	60	126	82
Yarabaya	117	19	116	27 I	643-2	461-2
Copoata	113	20	1 <b>3</b> 6	253	58 <b>3-</b> 4	367-4
Chichuaguasacache	<b>3</b> 6	7	26	87	185–4	I 29–4
Oropones	62	6	57	102	321-4	219-4
Chihuata	113	18	I 24	277	58 <b>3</b> -4	385-4
Paucarpata	127	23	168	233	564-2	352-2
Bocavaya Quispillán.	82	8	84	206	440	304
Guayba	101	12	103	271	527	356
Colani	46				216	147
Cuquivaya	90	8	87	224	378	2 <b>3</b> 6
Chimba de Cornejo	44 I	21	403	937	2,340–2	1,773-2
Chimba de Arequipa	141	14	122	288	733-2	531-2
Chimba de Tiyavayo	1,059	52	869	2,243	5,588-6	4,354-6
Collaguas de Picado	181	ΙI	192	421	946-2	708-2
Those of Retamoso	159	9	159	312	828-4	613-4
Yanaconas	286	41	<b>3</b> 94	295	1,273-4	931-4
	3,518	334	3,420	7,168	17,852	13,029

The Indians in this district have fallen off greatly in numbers as a result of the eruption of the volcano, and are all hard put to it.

### DISTRICT OF THE CITY OF CUZCO

**1865.** The feudatory residents of the city of Cuzco and the others stopping (estantes) and dwelling there and in that district, in the year 1610 were found to own property appraised altogether at eight million one hundred and two thousand five hundred 8-real pesos; each million is understood to be ten times one hundred thousand

pesos. This valuation was made at the instance of the Viceroy Marqués de Montesclaros and is signed by the Aldermen (Regidores) and Deputies of the City Council.

In the Province and Corregimiento of Collasuyo or Azángaro and Asillo, there are II repartimientos and in them 8 curacies administered by clerics, with salaries as indicated in the tax list. The Indians pay their tribute in products of the soil, like others, and I tomín for their hospital.

	Tribute payers	e Old people	Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Chupa	396	40	<b>3</b> 91	833	1,876–6	1,364–6
Ampa	1,097	250	648	861	6,072–2–8	4,131-6
Taraco	767	92	843	1,757	3,773	2,598
Samán	1,031	81	867	2,098	4,566–2	2,998-2
Achaya	262	42	257	658	1,294-4	864-4
Caminaca	1 <i>2</i> 6	15	72	<b>3</b> 59	715-4	477-4
Caquixana	353	57	702	548	1,800	1,302
Azángaro	985	212	783	1,856	5,770-2	4,170-2-7
Asillo	935	16 <b>7</b>	<b>I,0</b> 90	2,203	5,312-5	4,001-5
Other Azángaro	190	39	201	629	1,061–7	802-7
Curahuco	II2	12	III	286	348-4	202-4
	6,254	1,007	5,965	12,088	32,591-3-8	22,914-7

1866. In the Province and Corregimiento of Urcosuyo and Atuncolla there are 18 repartimientos and in them 14 curacies of clerics. The Indians pay tribute like the others, and 1 tomín for their hospital.

	Tribute payers	e Old people	Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Atuncolla	601	36	596	1,152	2,649–2	1,533-2
Mañosso	764	84	517	1,924	3,024	2,007
Caracoto	319	<b>3</b> 6	224	844	1,527	1,169
Cabana	623	145	643	1,632	2,797-4	1,795-4
Cabanilla	674	73	617	1,527	2,963–6	2,512-7
Lampa	784	94	783	1,721	3,135-3	173-3
Nicacio	269	49	305	618	1,021	686–4
Ayaviri and Cupi	718	140	94 <b>2</b>	2,093	3,862	2,430-4
Oruro	831	26 <b>2</b>	743	874	5,2489	3,515-2-4
Nuñoa	605	306	550	1,269	3,209-4	2,240-4
Angara	145	22	113	225	716-2-3	483-5
Pucará	246	78	272	693	1,258-б	825-2
Juliaca	487	56	374	1,520	2,319	1,661–4
Llalli	205	36	275	648	1,019	756
Macari	225	56	155	594	1,131	891-7-2
Umachirí	250	72	303	788	1,138	811
Ancoayllo	80	20	96	229	465-1	346-і
Ullacache	87	5	60	128	192-6	116-6
	7,913	1,569	7,568	18,379	37,677-7	25,956-2

**1867.** In the Province and Corregimiento of Caravaya there are 6 repartimientos and in them 6 clerics: 2 in the mining camps paid by the miners and 4 in the Indian villages with salaries according to the tax list (tasa). The tributaries pay as in the other provinces, and I tomín more for their hospital.

	Tribute payers		Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Checcacupi	448	125	528	I,499	2,288	1,497
Chia and Saroma	48	12	46	126	312	168
Caravaya	265	38	296	775	1,772-1-6	1,264-5
Yparo		2	12	32	102-4	65
Ollachea	54	25	48	140	436-4	269
Ayapata	74	14	77	165	478-4	253-4
Сарасора	122	17	159	<b>2</b> 90	788-4	385
	585	108	638	1,518	3,890-7-6	2,405-1

**1868.** In the Province of Canas and Canchis and its Corregimiento there are 18 repartimientos and in them 12 curacies of clerics with salaries as in the list. Each tributary pays as in other provinces, and I tomín for their hospital.

	Tribut payers	e Old s people	Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Checcacupi	448		528	1,499	2,288	1,497
Congalla	104		188	278	549-4	318-4
Combapata	161	45	198	<b>3</b> 80	730	447
Combapata and Chi-						
ramca	118	48	135	423	607	398
Tinta	671	243	675	I,972	3,521	2,306
Cacha	393	155	538	1,358	1,980-4	1,394-4
Charracache	IOI	57	68	172	554-4	260-4
Sicuani	447	160	485	1,174	2,362-1-3	I,747-2-4
Surucache	41 I	III	388	995	2,091-2	1,647–2–4
Marangani	120	30	147	<b>3</b> 60	549	396
Yanaoca	713	235	743	<b>1,80</b> 9	3,414-5-10	2,342-5-2
Languisupa	256	155	395	1,073	1,294	850
Layosupa	227	61	180	623	1,153	754
Checosupa	449	166	443	943	2,606-1-8	1,949-6-4
Pichihua	1,139	457	1,269	2,636	5,210–2–6	3,995-6-4
Yauri	801	367	76 <b>0</b>	1,642	4,082-7-6	2,956-6-4
Copacaque	155	104	170	430	737-4-9	3947
Jancobaba	28	28	59	160	162	91
	6,787	2,580	7,419	17,927	33,855-3-6	23,746-1-1

**1869.** In the Province and Corregimiento of Quispicanche there are 30 repartimientos and in them 11 curacies administered by 8

	Tribut payers	e Old people	Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Huascarquiguar del			-			, in the late
Rey	57	10	55	192	287	102
Quispicanche	182	50	344	640	920	626
Quiguares	321	99	127	640	1,527-4	949
Papres	433	215	529	1,089	2,006-2	1,211-2
Vicos	277	77	275	576	1,440	1,078
Huaro	196	61	184	234	1,014-3-3	700-7-9
Sangarará	199	77	134	558	940-6	400-I
Collapata	190	34	156	552	874	573
Acos	227	94	289	668	1,167-1	805-3
Munaypata	61	15	81	192	279	171
Pampachulla	68	21	64	88	346-2-6	183-4
Hatuncaymaná	117	47	130	421	589-4	403-4
Pomacanchi and			Ũ	·	0 2 1	
Huaqui	435	138	400	<b>I,2</b> 99	2,214-4	1,445-4
Pumachapi	140	70	192	592	697	465
Accapia	171	31	105	313	867-4	570-4
Yaocata and Huarra-	,	U	0	00		
chape	59	21	44	152	265	164
Chachaca	15	7	20?	-	74	51-4
Accha	26				117	80
Ocongate	82	19	86	157	378-7-1	248-5-2
Conotambo	104	64	109	281	542-1	271-1-6
Quintillacta	30	II	28?	75	153-2	96-3-9
Coscoxa	24	24	30	81	110–1–8	43-7
Salloe	202	-43	330	6.46	928	579
Duenas	106	33	76	208	538-4	369-4
Mohina	142	15	140	242	708	495
Urcourco	28	I	17	61	132	93
Yanamanche and Hu-						
ascar	83	38	101	213	421-4	254-4
Cabinas	219	87	223	248	1,023	674-2
Other Cabinas	212	59	265	662	1,045-4	750-4
Cuchoa	65	50	65	99	397-6	132
	4,491	1,521	4,579	11,188	21,892-6-6	14,577-1-1

clerics and 3 Dominicans, with the salaries assigned them in the list. Each tributary pays as in the other provinces, and I tomín more for their hospital.

1870. In the Province and Corregimiento of Paucartambo of the Andes of Cuzco there are 13 repartimientos and in them 6 curacies of clerics with salaries indicated in the lists. Each tributary pays at the rate of 3 assay pesos and 6 tomines, and I tomín more for their hospital.

		people		Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Paucartambo	228	80	185	459	630	269–2
Pitumarca and						
Uchos	30				189-4	I42
Amparaes	82	37	28	113	400	82-5-4
Caycay Yovay	358	66	389	882	1,668–4	1,106-4
Tononocolquepata	323	70	336	824	1,610	950
Callanca	12	7	10	35	55	35-4
Vitoparischusa	12	12	2	19	бо	11-4
Paucarapa	8	I	II	7	31-4	17-2
Marcapata	12	I	4	II	45-4-8	25-7-4
Camayos	35	• • • •	• • • •		175	25
Villusa	10		• • • •		45	
Yataca	19				47	29-2-4?
Tononocarbamba	5	5	2	15	45	
	I,024	275	967	2,365	4,915-1-8	2,694-7

**1871.** In the Corregimiento of the Yucay Valley there are 24 repartimientos and in them 9 curacies: 8 of clerics and I Franciscan. The tributaries pay as in the other provinces.

	Tribute payers	Old people	Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Maras	271	69	466	348	1,245-3	922-3
Yucay	500	141	368	973	2,405-8	1,490-2
Cupirpongo	266	32	302	688	1,096	730
Collas	IO				47	36
Tambo	51	40	33	125	245	
Llares	194	67	160	470	915	700
Macinga	22	13	22	43	92	62-4-6
Calca	378	189	340	1,056	1,830–7	1,049-3
Puquises	140	54	87	286	690	386
Lamay	37	II	41	78	169	99-3
Pomacorco	117	14	176	330	539	389
Chimbopata	35	5	40	91	159	116-6-5?
Guatauma	48	8	38	126	220	166
Omaytaxay (?)	250	26	267	679	1,159	855
Masca de Otalo	20				80	57
Caquiaxaxaguana	296	123	240	573	1,398–5	967
Amaybamba	22	6	14	36	105	
Sayrecacha	II			• • • •	44	28-2
Huaillabamba	36	II	19	85	164	91
Amaybamba	30				III	68
Pampallasta	251	65	268	695	164	869
Palpacalla	15	••••		• • • •	68	47
Sondor	23	• • • •		• • • •	150	132
Hualla	192	46	155	229	801	525
	3,213	920	3,032	6,909	14,898-2-5	9,783

1872. In the Corregimiento of Abancay there are 23 repartimientos and in them 8 curacies of clerics. Each tributary pays as in the other provinces, and I tomín for their hospital.

	Tribute payers	Old people	Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Arabaya	121	83	161	458	587-2	309-2-2
Abancay	200	103	178	518	950	448
Choro	43	3	35	89	197	91
Curahuasi de Juan						-
Gones	160	72	198	393	774-6	470-4-10
Curahuasi de Cis-						
neros	23	8	II	52	115	33-3
Urcón	252	177	343	1,030	1,171	803
Tayroma	25				III	72
Sacsahuana	210	37	47	344	840	612
Curahuasi	26	10	33	74	100	60
Alpasondor	26	6	40	65	117	77
Pampaconga	70	12	81	234	348	237
Sallauparcos	40	19	44	80	189-4	121-1-4
Picoy	21	11	16	49	100	48-4
Conno	15				70	4 <b>I</b>
Chuyani	143	64	156	347	676—6	454-2
Mollepata	51	15	30	106	243–2	160-6-6
Ollo Guanca	5				24	18
Puquíura	<b>2</b> 29	86	236	736	1,077	725
Chincha and Puquio.	312	147	361	864	1,529–7	774
Pantipata	139	73	191	420	642	425
Callaraca	22	8	34	59	98	66
Canco and anejos	686	296	786	1,957	3,156	2,245-5-4
Pumahuanca	348	86	462	989	1,611	1,085
	3,447	1,316	3,443	8,864	14,727-8	9,387-5-2

1873. In the Corregimiento and Province of Cotabambas there are 9 repartimientos and in them 15 curacies: 7 of clerics and 8 of Augustinian friars. The tributaries pay as in the other provinces, and 1 tomín more for their hospital.

	Tribute payers		Boys	Women	Gross tribute	· Net tribute
Cotaneras	438	180	484	1,343	2,233	1,525-7
Huaillamisa	44	24	46	135	224	123-5
Cotabambas	1,341	182	1,412	4,237	7,193-1-11	5,128-5-4
Omasayos	1,157	557	432	4,123	6,279-5-10	4,458-5-4
Haquira Yanaguaras	777	278	937	2,270	4,304-3-10	2,835-5-5
Piti Yanaguaras	693	250	746	1,864	3,842—4	2,7294
Naray Yanaguaras .	330	117	406	947	1,956	1,267–4
Yanaguaras Malmay-						
nas	406	153	528	1,413	2,310–4	1,462
Huancollo and Cha-						
caro	253	148	251	650	1,415-1	883-5
	5,439	1,889	5,242	16,982	29,738-2-11	20,414-5-5 gr

**1874.** In the Province and Corregimiento of Los Aymaraes there are 8 repartimientos and in them 14 curacies: 11 of clerics and 3 of Mercedarian friars, with salaries according to the list. The Indians pay as in other provinces, and 1 tomín for their hospital.

	ribute ayers		Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Collana Aymará 2	2,785	1,147	3,446	8,836	12,592	8,932
Taypeayllo 1	,896	1,156	2,149	5,195	8,542-9	5,964–6–8
Cayao Aymará	874	243	829	2,744	3,756	2,600
Challhuanca	446	268	500	1,297	2,025-6-8	1,370-6-8
Mudca and Payraca.	329	186	360	908	1,491–5	959-5
Quichuas	755	774	1,236	3,113	3,361-4	1,992-4
Atancama	197	148	529	529	893-1-8	542-7-8
Huamanpalpas	339	213	1,354	1,354	1,507-4	841-7
7,	621 /	4,135	9,225	23,976	34,169-6-1	23,204-5

**1875.** In the Province and Corregimiento of Los Chilques there are 27 repartimientos and in them 9 curacies: 4 of clerics and 5 of Mercedarian friars. Each tributary pays at the rate of 4 assay pesos 6 tomines and I grano, and I tomín more for their hospital.

	Tribute	Old	Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
0 1	payers 311	people	-		1,745-2-8	932-5-6
Omacha Huanuguito	161	139	348	859		481-2
		72	142	392	795	
Corcamarasaca	74	17	100	276	339	224
Curimarca	20	3	22	<b>3</b> 6	94	67
Cancha	47	8	54	103	220	157
Tantarcalla	26	I	20	24	117	79
Unchurco	22	• • • •	• • • •	• • • •	99	66
Cororo	79	17	81	36	365	251
Arapito	62	18	74	186	285	198
Mascas	196	130	207	567	929	537-1-6
Pacaritambo	181	65	205	335	855-6-9	541-6-9
Cayaotambo	181	82	181	433	854-3	444-3
Colcanpata	245	68	216	541	1,139-4-9	695-7-9
Accha	623	224	575	1,598	2,951-4-9	1,976-4-9
Pillpinto	363	115	417	795	1,696–7	1,015-7
Cauraulpo	181	100	253	536	840-б	348-2
Tantar	49	12	34	88	224	134-3
Suticuchucho	109	70	61	266	513-6-7	212-6-7
Cayaptambo	205	45	196	369	959-4	560
Сарі	31	4	26	80	141	98
Pirca	27	3	22	62	148	109
Micheachucho	139	29	152	442	647	446
Cajapucará	<b>3</b> 6	15	16	75	170	84-7
Coyango	65	25	101	173	305-1-6	132-2
Collanatambo	90	36	115	251	424-I	225-7
Tocoache	17	5	32	32	75	54
	3,586	1,312	3,723	8,650	17,146-7	10,214-4-6

1876. In the Corregimiento and Province of Chumbivilcas there are 10 repartimientos and in them 12 curacies: 8 of clerics, 3 of Dominicans, and 1 Mercedarian, with the salaries indicated on the lists. Each tributary pays at the rate of 5 assay pesos 3 tomines, and 1 more for their hospital.

	Tribute payers	Old people	Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Llusco Aymará	842	331	864	I,473	4,523-4	3,184-3
Capacmarca	278	128	373	828	1,698-4	1,045-2
Марау	II	8	17	33	58	29-6-7
Aloag	630	223	439	1,439	3,373-4-4	2,449-1-4
Achambi	283	146	224	2,013	1,396–6–9	540-6-7
Cotahuasi	302	78	369	517	1,479-7-9	570-5- <b>i</b> i
Velille	915	401	980	2,174	5,201—6	3,535-1-6
Ancoyo	198	65	245	232	1,059-2	833
Livitaca	479	233	640	1,408	2,484–1	1,539-5-3
Caratupa	663	216	743	1,719	3,537-4-7	2,420-5-7
	4,601	1,829	4,894	11,836	24,812-5-6	16,068-5-5

1877. In the Province and Corregimiento of Los Parinacochas there are 4 repartimientos and in them 14 curacies: 7 of clerics and 7 of Dominicans. Each tributary pays at the rate of 5 assay pesos and 2 tomines, and 1 tomín more for their hospital.

	Tribute payers		Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Parinacocha	1,481	524	1,462	2,871	7,806-2-7	5,139-1-6
Pumatambos	1,407	450	I,227	3,153	7,585	4,602
Guaynacotas	1,013	360	637	2,307	5,307	3,105-5-2
Collana	1,003	380	1,080	3,160	5,265-6	3,122-4
	4,904	1,714	4,406	11,274	25,964—7	15,969–2–8

**1878.** In the Province and Corregimiento of Andahuailas there are 6 repartimientos and in them 11 curacies of clerics with the salaries indicated for them in the lists. Each tributary pays at the rate of 3 assay pesos 5 tomines and 4 granos.

	Tribute payers		Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Huancarama	 317	192	347	1,057	1,459-5-5	1,0535
Andahuailas	 3,130	1,019	3,127	9,110	12,507-5-7	7,0433
Cayara	 321	147	435	1,055	1,168	684
Ongoy	 160	91	62	256	596-2	292-7-4
Oripa	 206	70	209	597	745-4	521-5-6
Ocobamba	 213	65	164	411	744-2	478-2
	4,347	1,584	4,344	12,486	17,231-3	10,072-7-6

**1879.** The converted Indians residing in the parishes of the city of Cuzco pay for religious instruction and other expenses 7,689 assay pesos.

	Tribute payers		Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Culcura Emarasaya.		IO	75	170	290	187
Arapa Antamachay.	142	39	115	206	708-6-3	483-5-3
Cayra	57	IO	64	162	280	180
Uro and Camaná	51	13	43	127	250	160
Yanacota	61	9	61	163	300	192
Pumamarca		35	157	390	715	460
Cachona		II	44	101	215	140
Chocó	49	II	33	114	145	45-7
Huancarlara	17	5	24	57	80	54
Saylla	30	18	63	48	165	81
Parish of the Hos-						
pital		• • • •	• • • •	• • • •	540	394
Parish of Belén			• • • •	• • • •	1,275	875
Parish of Santa Ana		• • • •	• • • •	••••	77-1	578
Parish of San Cris-						
tóbal			• • • •	• • • •	1,323	1,923 1,023?
Parish of San Blas	0 1	••••	• • • •	• • • •	1,692	1,172
Parish of Santiago		• • • •	• • • •		957	693
Parish of San Sebas-						
tián			• • • •	• • • •	496	
San Jerónimo	244	• • • •	• • • •		732	
	3,248	161	679	1,538	10,937-6-3	6,718-4-3

**1880.** At the general inspection of Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo there were in the repartimientos of the 15 corregimientos of the district of the city of Cuzco sixty-seven thousand five hundred and fifty (Marg.: 67,550) Indians paying tribute. Each year they paid in currency and kind three hundred and twenty-four thousand four hundred and ninety-two pesos, seven tomines, and one grano (Marg.: 324,492-7-1), Los Aymaraes being taxed at the rate of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  assay pesos, and Los Uros at  $3\frac{1}{2}$ . But at present by the latest reinspections they pay in the other currency and kind three hundred and twenty-three thousand three hundred and seven pesos, six tomines, and nine granos (Marg.: 323,307-6-9). According to the reinspection there is a drop of one thousand eight hundred and ninety Indians paying tribute; by the latest reinspections there were sixty-five thousand six hundred and sixty tributaries (Marg.: 65,660).

#### DISTRICT OF THE DIOCESE OF LA PAZ

**1881.** In the Province and Corregimiento of Los Pacajes there are 9 repartimientos and in them 12 curacies of clerics with the

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	Tribute payers		Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Callapa	<b>1,</b> 224	239	1,836	3,512	8,534	5,306
Big Machaca	1,310	270	1,751	3,461	8,528	5,699
Little Machaca	802	186	922	2,400	4,978	1,738
Caquiaviri Anansaya	829	219	1,177	2,319	5,105	3,923
Caquiaviri Deunsaya	684	183	963	1,969	4,233	3,272
Viacha	855	144	1,705	870	5,195	3,855
Huaqui	1,286	16 <b>7</b>	2,697	1,650	6,064	3,415
Tiahuanaco	868	222	1,780	1,459	4,999	3,619
Caquingora	1,615	386	2,484	4,593	9,943	7,511
	9,473	2,016	15,315	24,233	57,979-6	38,338

salaries indicated on the lists. They pay tribute as in other provinces, and I tomín more for their hospital.

1882. In the Province and Corregimiento of Caracollo there are 9 repartimientos and in them 11 curacies of clerics; 5 belong to the Archdiocese of the Charcas and 6 to the Diocese of La Paz. They pay tribute according to the assessment in the adjoining provinces, and 1 tomín for their hospital.

	Tribute payers	Old people	Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Ayoayo	457	92	732	1,416	2,825	1,665
Calamarca	394	84	876	78	2,344	1,384
Caracollo	853	162	2,299	1,064	5,943-2	3,586-2
Sicasica	572	117	1,350	740	3,532	2,284
Suri	104	49	278	197	1,803-4	1,206
Chupe	19	5	26	53	194-7	68–3
Yanacacha Chuare	93	20	188	183	865	574-7
Chapis	<b>9</b> 6	5	123	93	929	567
Chapis de Oyune	548	242	648	1,491	3,324-4	1,877-4
Quichuas de Oyune.	• • • •	• • • •	• • • •	· 6· · ·		
	3,172	776	6,520	5,716	21,760-1	13,207

1883. In the Province and Corregimiento of Paucarcolla there are 7 repartimientos and in them 7 curacies of clerics. Each tributary pays at the rate of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  assay pesos, and I tomín for their hospital.

	Tribute payers		Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Capachica	1,303	245	1,038	2,774	6,567-4	4,693
Puno	983	225	1,065	2,132	4,870	3,421
Huancane	753	193	806	1,642	4,163	2,581
Paucarcolla			1,059	2,319	5,082	3,005
Coata			297	734	1,627	1,104
Mohoyconima	585	151	649	1,383	3,031-5	1,850
Vilque	325	55	273	609	1,680	I,I29–2
	5,400	1,401	5,187	11,593	27,023-1	17,784

1884. In the Province and Corregimiento of Omasuyo there are II repartimientos and in them I2 curacies: 8 of clerics, 2 of Augustinian, and 2 of Mercedarian friars. The Aymaraes pay at the rate of 6 pesos 7 tomines and 9 granos each, and the Uros, 4 pesos, and I tomín for their hospital.

	Tribute payers	Old people	Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Laja	752	116	608	965	4,634	3,390
Quinaquitara	тоб	9	62	158	371-б	246
Huarina	1,419	325	1,516	2,644	7,999	5,535-4
Hachacache	1,713	278	1,545	3,152	9,441-4	7,062-4
Yaye	197	31	193	403	792	484
Ancoraymes	151	47	1,351	223	<b>92</b> 2	650
Copacabana	I,04I	75	1,186	2,643	5,240	3,750
Huancasco	70	29	<b>18</b> 6	155	455-2	379
Carabuco	727	536	1,715	I,277	3,771	2,789
Pucaraní	1,227	214	1,315	<b>2,</b> 642	7,193	4,946–4
Huaicho	529	198	528	I,2II	2,306–2	2,018-2
	7,932	1,858	9,099	15,463	40,725	31,260-6t

1885. In the Province and Corregimiento of the Larecaja there are 8 repartimientos and in them 10 curacies of clerics. Each tributary pays at the rate of 6 baskets (cestos) of coca, and 1 tomín for their hospital.

	Tribute payers	Old people	Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Songochechallana and						
Chacapa	457	65	454	963	3,638-2	1,643-2
Characanecalixana,						
Mocomoco and						
Omanata	680	213	1,541	1,177	4,778-1	2,376?
Camata	160	34	1,183	213	1,570-4	865-4
Ambaná	350	58	358	684	I,042	621
Larecaja and Usadea	229	66	320	637	1,516	916
Ayata	41	6	44	123	260	151
Hilabaya	34	3	30	73	226-4	139
Yungas de Pere	23	4	19	30	231	77
	1,974	449	2,943	3,900	13,262-3	7,383

# DISTRICT OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF THE CHARCAS

**1886.** In the Province and Corregimiento of Paria there are 3 repartimientos and in them 10 curacies: 6 of clerics and 4 of Augustinian friars, with the salaries indicated on the lists. The Indians pay as in the other provinces. Here are the mines of Oruro and the town of Philip of Austria (San Felipe de Austria.)

	Tribute payers	Old people	Boys	Women	Gross tribute	
Paria	3,801	882	4,200	8,451	14,470	9,378
Aullagas and Uru- quillas Quillacas and Asana-	1,371					3,864
ques	2,545	381	2,805	5,795	13,441	9,389
	7,717	1,420	8,126	16,448	34,373	22,631

1887. In the Province and Corregimiento of Los Garangas, there are 4 repartimientos and in them 10 curacies of clerics with the salaries on the lists. The Indians pay as in the other provinces.

Totora		people	Boys		Gross tribute 7,325–6	Net tribute 5,260
Colquemarca and An- damarca Chuquicota and Za-	2,267	372	4,891	1,484	12,068	8,723
valla						7,747-7
Unnoca	264	203	465	223	1,316–6	954
Total	6,254	1,498	14,033	7,405	32,321-3	22,684-7

**1888.** In the Province and Valley of Cochabamba the Corregimiento has 4 repartimientos, and in them 10 curacies: 8 of clerics and 2 of Augustinian friars with the salary (sínodo) indicated on the lists. The tributaries pay as in the other provinces.

	Tribute payers	Old people	Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Sipesipe	304	96	288	712	1,933-2t-4	724-3-1
Tapacarí	1,173	240	555	3,046	7,437	5,514
Titipaya	504	183	597	1,289	3,189–4	2,280-4
Santiago del Paso	364	224	222	661	2,313-6-1	1,267–4–6
Sum total	2,345	743	1,662	5,708	14,873-4-5	9,786-3-7

1889. In the Province and Corregimiento of Chayanta there are 5 repartimientos and in them 7 curacies of clerics. The tributaries pay as in the other provinces.

	Tribute payers	Old people	Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Moromoro	279	<b>8</b> 6	345	764	1,729	1,190
Caracara	176	50	184	390	990	449
Machá	2,088	378	2,632	5,363	12,985	9,056
Chayanta	2,167	27	3,354	6,356	13,458	9,975
Sacaca	1,049	272	1,196	2,544	6,523	4,516
	5,759	813	7,632	15,417	45,685	25,186

**1890.** In the Province and Corregimiento of the town and mines of Porco there are 5 (4?) repartimientos and 12 curacies: 9 of clerics, 2 of Mercedarian friars, and 1 Augustinian, with the salaries as on the list. Each tributary pays at the rate of 6 assay pesos 4 tomines and 6 granos, and 1 tomín for their hospital.

	Tribute payers		Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Visisa and Caiza	562	520	223	1,399	3,644-1-9	1,720-1-9
Chaquí	512	99	377	837	3,271-3-1	2,324-7-1
Cacumapicachuri	292	99	189	459	1,906–7	924-7-2
Puna	1,164	314	1,482	3,008	7,165	4,915
Potobamba and Ta-						
cobamba	350	142	412	916	2,296–7	1,333-7
	2,880	1,174	2,683	6,613	18,283–2–10	11,218–7

**1891.** In the Province and Corregimiento of Los Amparaes and Yanaconas of the city of La Plata, there are 11 repartimientos and in them 17 curacies: 13 of clerics, 2 of Dominican friars, and 2 of Mercedarians, with the salaries indicated in the lists. Each tributary pays at the rate of 7 assay pesos, and 1 tomín for their hospital.

	Tribute payers	Old people	Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Pacha	95	48	340	476	665	31
Condes de Arabates.	326	45	309	554	1,123	1,386
Ingas Gualparocas	135	49	135	335	872	579
Amparaes	566	119	646	1,400	3,680	2,602
Churumatas and						
Moyos	152	17	90	252	1,057	733
Moyos de Barba	113	5	57	155	784	543
Moyos de Luna	131	15	91	202	910	633
Moyos de Pasiña	48	6	38	75	329	225
Moyos of His Maj-						
esty	32	I	17	40	317	153
Moyos de Marmolejo	47	3	30	62	322	228
Moyos de Gallardo	28	I	12	34	189	133
	1,673	309	1,766	3,575	11,248	7,246

**1892.** In the Corregimiento and frontier post of Tomina there are I repartimiento and 6 curacies; 4 of them are in the valleys and farm lands of the Spaniards, and 2 in Indian villages; in them there are 2 clerics and 4 Dominican friars. The Indians pay as in the other provinces.

	Tribute payers		Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Carabuco	476	141	500	1,148	3,257-5	2,300-5

The Yanaconas in this province are not tabulated for their exact number is not known.

1893. In the Province and Valley of Misque in the district of the Diocese of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, there are 5 repartimientos and in them 6 curacies: 2 of clerics and 4 of Franciscan friars with the salaries indicated on the lists. The Indians pay tribute as in the other provinces.

-	Tribute payers	Old people	Boys	Women	Gross tribute	Net tribute
Misque		84			1,380	722-1-6
Pocona	575	<b>2</b> 46	449	574	3,813	2,226–6
Ayquile	47	11	35	61	266	164
Totora de Doña Bea-	-					
triz	. 30	10	22	71	75-6?	225?
Totora de Doña Ma-	-					
yor	. 27	5	31	65	405	187-4
	880	356	662	902	5,940	3,525-3-6

1894. General summary of the Indians formerly and at present paying tribute in the districts of the cities of Cuzco, La Paz, Chuquisaca, Arequipa, Guamanga, and the Provinces of Chucuito, Atacama, and Lipes; the number remaining at the reinspections; and what they pay, with indication of the shrinkage.

	Former tribu- taries	What they paid	Number at rein- spection	Present tribute	Loss in numbers	Loss in tribute
La Paz	28,612	164,800	28,302	163,906–3t	320	1,797
Chuquisaca	32,492	177,207-5	29,908	159,031–5t	2,584	18,175–6–7
Cuzco	67,550	324,992-5-1	65,660	323,507-6t-5	1,890	1,1854
Arequipa	23,943	118,314-2	16,972	83,566-6t-5	6,971	25,749-4-2
Guamanga	22,162	84,254-6	16,542	59,5766	5,620	19,936–4
Chucuito	17,779	81,958-7	13,364	66,623–2–6	4,415	15,324-5-6
Atacama and Lipes		• • • • • • • •	902;	they were no	t listed.	

There were 192,538 Indians; they paid 951,527-5-7. At present there are 171,650; they pay in tribute 856,011-3-7. The falling off in numbers is 21,790, and in tribute, 82,168-4-7 (pesos, tomines, and granos.)

# (LIST OF CITIES AND TOWNS)

As regards the district of the Secretariat of Peru and the Spanish Main, they will be listed by Circuit Courts (Audiencias) and Dioceses. 1895. District of the Circuit Court of Panama.

City	of	Panama.	Town	n of	Pueblo Nuevo.
44	**	Puerto Bello.	6.6	66	Los Santos.
66	+6	Chiriquí, or Santiago de Al-			Natá.
		janje.	66	"	Montijo.
**	66	Los Remedios.	" "	66	Chepo.
"	"	Concepción de La Vega.	City	of	Santa Fé.

**1896.** District of the Circuit Court of Santa Fé de Bogotá, located in the New Kingdom of Granada.

City	of	Santa I	Fé	đe B	ogotá.	City	y of	Salazar de Las Palmas.
66	66	Tunja.				66	6.6	San Juan de Los Llanos.
66	66	Vélez.				""	"	Guadalajara de Buga.
"	"	Pamplo	na.			" "		Madrigal, or Chapanchica.
**		Mérida.				44		Toro.
" "	66	Barinas				**	6.6	Santa Ana de Anzerma.
46	"	Pedraza				""		Santiago de Arma.
56	"	San Ma	itía	s.		66		Caramanta.
46	and	d Mines	of	Muso	and Trinidad	d. "	6 6	San Vicente de Los Paeses.
""		La Palr				66	66	Mocoa.
**	an	d Mines	of	Mario	uita or Laja	s. "	**	Caloto.
"	of	Ivaguê.				44		San Juan de Trujillo.
**	and	1 Mines	of	Anti	oquía.	66		Los Sucumbios.
**	"	66	66	Zara	goza.	66	"	Tocayma.
"	"	66			Remedios.	66		Santiago de la Atalaya.
"	"	6.6	44	Cáce	res.	Точ		of Leyba.
"	66	66	""	San	Jerónimo de	el "	66	La Grita.
					onte.	66	"	San Cristóbal.
66	"	46	"	San	Sebastián d	le "	66	San Juan de Borja.
				La	Plata.			

1897. Diocese of Cartagena.

City of Cartagena.	Town of Vallamo.
Town of Mompós.	City and Mines of Guamacô.
" " Tolû.	

1898. Diocese of Santa Marta.

City	$\mathbf{of}$	Santa Marta.	City of Los Reyes del Valle de Upar.
"	66	Sevilla.	" " Nombre de Jesús.
46	66	Córdoba.	Town of Ocaña.
46	" "	Tamalameque.	" " Tenerife.

The two following cities, although in the Diocese of Santa Marta, belong in the district of the Circuit Court of Santo Domingo:

City	of La	Ramada.	(	City	of	Río	de	la.	Hacha.
	47								

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1899. Diocese and State of Popayán: part of it is in the District of the Circuit Court of the New Kingdom of Granada, and part in that of the Circuit Court of Quito.

City	$\mathbf{of}$	Popayán.			Ágreda.
64	44	Almaguer.	66	""	Cali.
66	44	Timaná.	66	66	Cartago.
Γ"	6.6	Tocavma].			

1900. District of the Circuit Court of Quito.

City	of	San Francisco de Quito.	City of Cumbinamâ, or Loyola.
"		Villaviciosa de Pasto.	"" " Nieva.
66	" "	Baeza.	" " Valladolid.
46	4.6	Archidona.	" " Santiago de Las Montañas.
6.6	66	Ávila.	Town of San Miguel de Ybarra, or
6.6	66	San Pedro de Alcalá del Río.	Carangue.
<u></u>	66	Écija.	"" " Latacunga.
6.6	66	Sevilla del Oro en Macas.	" and Mines of San Antonio de
66	66	Santiago de Guayaquil.	Zaruma.
6.6	"	Puerto Viejo.	City of Castro in the Vili Valley.
66	""	Cuenca.	Town of El Villar de Don Pardo de
6.6	66	Loja.	Riobamba.
6.6	6.6	Zamora.	

1901. District of the Circuit Court of Lima de Los Reyes.

City of Los Reyes, or Lima.	Town and port of Pisco.
" " León de Huánuco de los Ca-	" of Arnedo in the Chancay Val-
balleros.	ley.
Town of Santa, or La Parrilla.	" " Huaura.
" " Cañete.	" " La Nasca.
" and port of Callao.	" " Carrión de Velasco.
" of Ica.	

1902. Diocese of Trujillo.

City	of	Trujillo.	City of Moyobamba.
6.6	4.6	San Miguel de Piura.	Town of Saña, or Miraflores.
6.6	44	Chachapoyas.	" " Cajamarca.
66	""	Jaén de Bracamoros.	Mines of Siguas.

1903. Diocese of San Juan de La Vitoria de Guamanga.

City of Guamanga.	Town of Villa in the Huanta Valley.
" and Mines of Castrovirreyna.	" and Mines of Huanta.
Town and Mines of Huancavelica, or	
Oropesa.	

**1904.** Diocese of Cuzco.

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City of Cuzco.	City and Mines of Vilcabamba.
" " San Juan del Oro.	Town and Mines of Carabaya.
" and Mines of San Francisco de	e Town of Abancay.
La Victoria.	" " Oropesa.

1905. Diocese of Arequipa.

City of Arequipa.						Town of Camanâ.							
44	and	port	of	San	Marcos	de	6.6	66	Santa	Catalina	in	the	Mo-
Arica.									queg	ua Valley	•		

1906. District of the Circuit Court of the Charcas.

-				r Chuquisaca.		Town		nd "	Mines			
Town	i and	Mines	of	Potosí.		**		••	••	66	Tur	que.
66	66	61	66	San Felipe	đe	66		66	66	÷ 6	San	Vicente.
				Austria,	or	66	of	Or	opesa	in	the	Cochabamba
				Oruro.					Valley.			
66	66	<b>66</b>	" "	Porco.		66	66	El	Villar	•.		
**	66	64	66	Berenguela.		66	66	Sa	n Juar	ı de	e Ro	das.
**	44	66	66	Valmisa.		66			laya.			
66	66	<b>66</b>	66	Valoca.		66	66	Pa	spaya.			
66	66	"	66	Colquiri.		66	66	То	mina.			
44	66	66	"	Los Lipes.		£ 6	64	Ta	rija.			

1907. Diocese of Tucumán.

City	of	Santiago del Estero.	City	of	Salta, or Lerma.
÷6	66	Córdoba.			Jujuy.
44	66	San Miguel del Tucumán.	66	66	La Rioja.
66	"	Talavera de Madrid.	4.6	66	Londres.
66	66	Esteco, or Las Juntas.	6.6	46	San Juan de La Ribera.

1908. Diocese of Buenos Ayres.

City of	La Trinidad.	City	of	San	Juan	đe	Vera,	or	Siete
66 66	Santa Fé.			Co	orrient	es.			
		46	66	Río	Berme	ejo.			

1909. District of the Circuit Court of Chile.

City	of	Santiago de Chile.	City of	San Luís de Loyola.
66	4.6	La Serena, or Coquimbo.	66 66	San Juan de Cuyo.
66	66	Mendoza.		

1910. Diocese of Santa Cruz de La Sierra.

City	of	Santa Cruz de La Sierra.	Town	of	Las	Salinas	in	the	Misque
64	66	San Lorenzo de la Barranca.			Vall	ley and H	Río	de P	isuerga.

1911. Diocese of Paraguay.

City	of	Asunción.	City of La Guayrâ.
66	"	Jerez.	Town of Villarica.

1912. Diocese of La Concepción, i.e., that of La Imperial.

City of La Concepción. City of Castro en Chiloé. " La Bartolomé de Chillán.

In this diocese six cities were abandoned because of the Indian rebellion in Chile.

1913. So that there are in the district of the Spanish Main, Peru, the Kingdom of Chile, Tucumán, Paraguay, and Buenos Ayres, 173 Spanish settlements; 116 of them are cities, listed by the districts of their Circuit Courts and Dioceses, and indicated by the letter C; and 57 towns (villas), (all of them designated by the letter T), and those with the letter M are mines. But others should be added which have fewer inhabitants, and many others which are mixed cities of Spaniards and Indians.

> There are one hundred and sixteen cities..... 116 There are fifty-seven towns...... 57

#### Book VI

Of the District of the Circuit Court of the Kingdom of Chile, Describing the Nature of That Kingdom and Its Provinces, the Savagery and the Customs of Its Indians, the Products of the Soil, the Founding of Its Cities, and the Abandonment of Some of Them, Together with the Authority Exercised There by His Majesty in Consultation with the Supreme Council, and That of the President of That Circuit Court, with Other Features of the Country.

### CHAPTER I

Description of the Kingdom of Chile, and the Founding of Its Cities.

**1914.** The Kingdom of Chile is bounded by the Province of Atacama and its deserts. It is so called from a valley and river, the Rio de Quillota, where there were rich gold mines, and still are today, for all that Kingdom is paved with this metal. The first Spaniard to explore this Kingdom was Commander Don Diego de Almagro in the year 1536; he had spent the whole year 1536 in progress from the Provinces of Los Chichas through that of Jujuy and then the Province of Los Chicoanas; he was accompanied in all these trials by good Paullu Inca, son of Huayna Capac, and great-grandfather of Don Melchior Inca, Knight of the Order of Santiago.

**1915.** From Chicoana they traveled some days' journeys through deserts and over saltpeter beds, suffering much from hunger and hardships, till they finally descried the Cordillera and the lofty snowclad sierras. That was the greatest hardship they suffered. The Commander went first with a troop of light cavalry, to reconnoiter the way and look for some source of supply for his army. It took him 3 days to reach the top of the highest range, the one running from Junto to Santa Marta; from its peak they made out the Copiapó Valley 12 leagues away on the seacoast.

**1916.** Next the army crossed the terrible snow-covered Cordillera; the country was so high, the winds so keen, their weakness and fatigue so great that they were frostbitten and the breath of life failed them; it was still worse at night with the extreme cold prevailing and the chill of the snow. Thirty horses of the troop died and many Negroes and Indians were frozen to death; one Negro

leading a horse by the bridle stopped on hearing some noises and both the horse and he were frozen stiff. Many more would have perished had they not been succored by the Indians of the Copiapó Valley; with food and the cheering view of the valley they recovered.

**1917.** The same thing happened to the part of the army which Rodrigo Ordóñez had under his charge; climbing up the terrible snow-covered Cordillera they met a very cold wind, which grew so much worse at night that most of the Negroes and Indians were frozen to death; many had fingers and toes frostbitten and the nails fell off. Some Spaniards under a canvas were caught in such a blizzard that they were buried alive there with their Negroes and Indians; 26 horses were frozen stiff, saddles and all; and almost all the baggage was abandoned on that mountain ridge, in order to save their lives. Those dead bodies remain there, suffering no corruption or putrefaction. There was a boy among those who crossed the mountains with the Commander; they stayed in some shanties, going out only to cut flesh off the dead horses but without enough energy to make their way out from that spot; the wind finally carried them all off, and only the boy came out alive.

**1918.** After all these trials the Commander and his army reached the Kingdom of Chile late in the year 1536; but having got word that Juan de Rada had received the commission advancing him to the command of the New Kingdom of Toledo, in whose district lay the imperial city of Cuzco, he enjoyed no fruit of his labors; his only achievement was to restore to a young gentleman of the Copiapó Valley his estate and seigniory, wrongfully appropriated by a relative who had administered them as his guardian. He might have explored and subdued that great Kingdom, and that would have been of greater avail to him; but he returned with his men to Peru to take up his governorship, and that was the cause of dissensions, ruin, and the death of himself, of the Marquis, and of many friends of each of them.

CHAP. Continuing the Theme Broached in the First Chapter, and How Pedro de Valdivia Subdued the Kingdom of Chile.

**1919.** The second Spaniard who entered the Kingdom of Chile was Gov. Pedro de Valdivia in the year 1540, 4 years later than Commander Diego de Almagro. The Kingdom of Chile begins on the N. with the fertile Copiapó Valley, which is at 27° S. This is the boundary with the Province and deserts of Atacama along the coast, the last province in Peru, in the district of the Circuit Court and Archdiocese of the Charcas. Although this is a small valley it is very

fertile and corn yields very plentifully here. It contains the vineyard and sugar enterprises of Gen. Francisco de Aguirre, and mines of turquoises and other precious stones. The Governor of Chile appoints a Corregidor for the administration of justice in this valley and that of Titón and Huasco.

**1920.** Thirty-five leagues S. of this valley lies that of Huasco, and between the two that of Titón. There are vineyards in both of them; they make some wine and harvest abundant crops of corn, wheat, and other cereals and fruit. There are many partridges, guanacos, fallow deer, and squirrels with wonderful fur for linings, and other valuable and highly prized animals. This Huasco Valley is in full 29° S. All the Indians on this coast are fishermen. It does not rain here, just like all the rest of the Peruvian plains; they have puquios or jagüeyes, which are wells, from which they get drinking water, for they lack water in all that region and coast.

**1921.** From Huasco it is 24 leagues S. to the port of Coquimbo, which is at 30° 30'; that is about 2 leagues from the city of La Serena, which is the first city with Spanish residents, as one comes from Peru. It was founded by Gov. Pedro de Valdivia on a plain by the bank of a small stream in the year 1544, after he had explored part of that Kingdom and first founded the city of Santiago de Chile. La Serena is a short half league from the sea; it has an admirable climate with bright skies and healthy breezes. It rains rarely in that region, for the rainless plains district of Peru comes as far as this. It has 100 Spanish residents, not counting the service Indians and Negroes. It contains a parish church, Dominican, Franciscan, and Mercedarian convents, a hospital for the care of the indigent sick, and other churches and shrines.

**1922.** This country is very rich in gold, for it is all paved with it. Little is extracted, for lack of labor and water, there being no rain. It has copper mines which are the best in the Indies, because of the large amount of gold in the ore. The copper taken from these mines was used for the casting of all the culverins and artillery pieces of the Callao forts, and also for those on the ships of the navy in that Kingdom.

**1923.** The residents have farms of wheat, corn, and other cereals, and vineyards and olive groves producing quantities of wine and oil; they have cattle and sheep ranches, and many goats, from which they make the best cordovan leather in the Indies; there is a large trade in this and they freight boats with it for Lima. They have all kinds of Spanish fruit, and strawberries, which they call fruitla de Chile, and which are very large and delicious. The Governor

appoints a Corregidor for the good administration of justice in this city. The city has in its outer district a little over 300 Indians. Near Coquimbo is the Limarí Valley, where there are vineyards and olive groves and they raise wheat, corn, potatoes, and other cereals and root crops.

**1924.** From La Serena S. to the city of Santiago it is 70 leagues, all covered with farms and cattle and sheep ranches, and with valleys abounding in vineyards, olive groves, fields of corn and wheat, and all kinds of Spanish fruit. In the La Ligua Valley they plant and harvest quantities of hemp; Guana is in the district of the city of La Serena, with other villages round about. The Governor appoints a Corregidor in La Ligua to administer justice.

**1925.** The Quillota Valley, called also Chile, from which the whole Kingdom takes its name, had very rich gold mines worked by Gov. Pedro de Valdivia and from which he gained great wealth. It lies near the sea close to the port of Valparaiso, which is the chief port of the city of Santiago. In this valley they raise quantities of hemp and some flax; the hemp is sold to make rope for the army maintained by His Majesty in that Kingdom, and rigging for the ships on the Pacific; it is transported to Callao near Lima. In the year 1614, when Licentiate Machado, Justice of the Circuit Court of Chile, inspected that Kingdom, they handled 1,270 quintals; each quintal was worth 100 reals in the raw (en blanco). At present they raise more, for it grows well, there is a demand for it, and it pays well. Flax does well also, but it is not much grown.

#### CHAPTER II

Of the City of Santiago de Chile, Its Founding, and Other Matters in Its District.

**1926.** The city of Santiago de Chile was founded and colonized by Gov. Pedro de Valdivia on January 24, 1541; it was the first established in the Kingdom, its court city and capital. It lies on a plain beside the Río Mapochó, 18 leagues from the port of Valparaiso, and 5 from the snow-clad Cordillera to its E.; on that quarter there is a ridge called Santa Lucía which provides it with some shelter; it is at 33° S. The city is liable to be inundated when the river comes down in flood, but they have given it some protection with palisades and embankments. It covers the area of a very large city, for all the houses occupy large plots with gardens and orchards on them. In the year 1614 it was 14 blocks long E. and W. along the river bank, and 6 across from N. to S.; they have kept building

all the time. In that year 1614 it had 346 houses, 285 of them very well constructed, each with garden and orchard; all kinds of Spanish fruit are remarkably good here. These houses would average 4,000 pesos in value; the 61 others are worth little; some of them are thatched with icho or straw. There were 44 shops selling merchandise and groceries.

In these houses resided 306 married men and 230 bachelors. At present the city is growing and they are putting up houses. Across the river is a suburb called La Chimba with many chacras or gardens containing olive groves, vineyards, large and small peaches, quinces, pomegranates, pears, apples, pippins, apricots, plums, mazard cherries, figs, very good melons, and frutilla de Chile, which are large strawberries.

**1927.** In the city of Santiago there is a Cathedral with a Bishop and 9 Prebendaries who reside there and serve it; there are 35 clerics and curates who went and said Mass on the chacras and farms. Besides the Cathedral there are 2 parish churches, those of San Lázaro and San Saturnino, and 5 convents. The Dominican had 70 friars, with some revenue, a chacra, vineyard, and farm with 6 Negroes to work it; the Franciscan had 40 friars; the Augustinian, with 30 friars, had a chacra and a vineyard, with 6 Negroes for service and farm work; the Mercedarian, 40 friars, with some revenue, a chacra, vineyard, and cattle ranch; the Jesuits, a few more than 30 friars, with some revenue, a vineyard, a chacra, and a farm with 20 Negroes for service and farm work. This was the state of affairs in the city of Santiago in the year 1614.

**1928.** There are 2 convents of nuns, one of Santa Mónica and under the rule, which had 90 nuns, with some income, a chacra, and a vineyard for the support and comfort of the nuns. The other is of Santa Clara, under the charge of the Franciscan friars; it was established by 13 nuns who came from the city of Osorno, which was abandoned after the rebellion and general uprising of the Chilean Indians at the end of the year 1598, when they killed Gov. Martín García de Loyola. His Majesty made them a gift of 6,000 pesos, with which they bought a plot on which they were building in that year 1614; at that time they had 30 nuns with some income and a farm. Today it is an excellent convent and has grown a great deal.

**1929.** There is a seminary supported by the 3 percent prescribed by the Council celebrated at Lima in the year 1583 and presided over by the sainted Archbishop Don Toribio Mogrovejo of glorious memory, truthful and a good shepherd, full of care and zeal for the flock of that new church; in this council he assembled all the Bishops

of the Kingdom of Peru, Chile, Tucumán, Río de la Plata, Panama, and Nicaragua, who were his suffragans. This college has 8 collegians with blue sashes; it has some income, and a chacra for its maintenance. There is another college under the Jesuit Fathers, where they take students in as boarding pupils, with a house specially for them; each pays from 80 to 100 8-real pesos; here they teach them virtue and letters; ordinarily there are from 50 to 60 collegians.

**1930.** The city of Santiago has a hospital for the care of the indigent sick, with a Superintendent appointed by the Governor to administer the property of this hospital for the care and comfort of the poor invalids. It has an income of 700 8-real pesos, and 700 more from the  $\frac{1}{2}$  percent assigned it from the ninth of the tithes. Besides this, it has a gristmill, a chacra, and a cattle ranch. It has already been taken over by the Brethren of San Juan de Diós for the service and care of the poor.

The Circuit Court has its seat in this city. It was established for the second time at His Majesty's instance by Justice Merlo de la Fuente of Lima in the year 1600, on Our Lady's Day in September. It has 4 Justices and an Attorney. The President, who has the title of Capa y Espada (Sword and Gown), usually resides in La Concepción, which is the fortified post of that Kingdom. The Court's jurisdiction extends: on the N., from the Copiapó Valley, which is at  $27^{\circ}$  S., and the boundary against the Province and deserts of Atacama in the district of the Charcas; and on the S., as far as the city of Castro in the Chiloé Islands, at  $43^{\circ}$  S., but that is all war territory. Thus N. and S. it will cover more than 300 leagues in length; in breadth E. and W. from the snow-clad Cordillera to the sea, at the most 27 leagues and at the least 19; but on the other side of the Cordillera to the E. is the Province of Cuyo; from Santiago to its farthest point will be over 120 leagues.

**1931.** In the district of the Circuit Court there are 2 Dioceses, Santiago and La Concepción. In that of Santiago there are 5 cities: Santiago, capital of that Kingdom; La Serena, 70 leagues to the N.; and in the Province of Cuyo, over to the E. across the Cordillera Nevada, there are 3 cities: San Luís de Loyola, known as Punta de Venados (Deer Point), with some 20 poverty-stricken Spanish residents; there will be in the neighborhood more than a thousand Huarpes Indians; they have not yet been settled in villages or converted, on account of the weakness of the Spaniards. This city is 120 leagues from Santiago.

### CHAPTER III

Continuing the Description of the Diocese of Santiago de Chile.

**1932.** The city of Mendoza, which is the capital of the Province of Cuyo, has as many as 40 Spanish residents and over 1,500 Indians to convert and civilize; it is 60 leagues from Santiago. The Governor appoints for it and for the whole province, a Corregidor to administer it and dispense justice. The city of Mendoza has Franciscan, Mercedarian, and Jesuit convents. The country is very fertile and prolific; everything planted there does very well. There are very good vine-yards from which they make quantities of wine which they export in carts via Córdoba to Buenos Ayres. Wheat yields well; from one fanega they usually harvest 150; corn does still better. They have quantities of Spanish fruit, of excellent quality and early bearing. The land is very fertile in itself, but the pcople are very poor, with few possibilities and no help from headquarters, being so distant and remote.

**1933.** The city of San Juan is also 60 leagues from Santiago, but near the city of Mendoza and with the same hot climate. It has 24 Spanish residents, poverty-stricken for the reasons given above, although the land itself ranks with the best and most fertile in the world; it has vineyards, sugar plantations, all kinds of Spanish fruit. There are in the neighborhood a little over 800 Indians of the Huarpes tribe, like those in the other cities and settlements. Although these natives are humble and gentle folk, very few have been converted, because the Spanish residents living there' are so powerless. A few Indians of this Huarpes tribe have been taken to Santiago by the encomenderos for their service.

In the district of the city of Santiago there are 48 small Indian villages, assigned to 30 encomenderos. In the 48 villages in the year 1614 when they were inspected by Licentiate Machado, Justice of that Circuit Court, there were 2.345 Indians, 331 old people, etc. Tribute payers in the villages were 696; the others were away, some out on their work, others in the service of their encomenderos. In these villages of the district of this city and Diocese, and on the farms, there are 23 curacies, 21 administered by clerics and 2 by friars.

**1934.** At the above date there were 72 Indian men and 85 Indian women (?) slaves captured in the war after the slavery proclamation. There were likewise 501 Huarpes Indians from the Province of Cuyo residing in the country, of those who had come in for their mita, and 225 from Peru and Tucumán. There were likewise 481 of the Beliches tribe from these villages, who were artisans: Car-

penters, 124; tanners, 100; tailors, 33; shoemakers, 81; silk weavers, 3; ropemakers for rigging, 2; masons, 30; blacksmiths, 7; water-jar makers, 19; stonecutters, 6; house painters, 4; they all lived and resided in the outer wards of the city of Santiago; the artisans alone numbered 409.

Round about the city there were 102 chacras, of wheat, corn, chickpeas, lentils, kidney beans, and other cereals and vegetables; there were some carts (carretas) which brought wood into the city and transported merchandise from the port and did all else necessary in the city service. In the city and on the chacras and ranches there are 41 tanneries in which every year they tan over 30,000 pieces of cordovan leather, and some hides for soles. On the river bank and on the chacras and ranches of the district there are 39 gristmills for wheat, and 3 woolen mills in which they work up and turn out every year over 14,000 varas of coarse cloth and grograms and more than 500 blankets.

## Chapter IV

Continuing the Description of the Preceding Subject.

1935. Besides the above there were 354 farms—cattle ranches, corn, wheat, and other cereals; on them there were some Beliches Indians and 2,162 Yanaconas—part of them from the upcountry cities abandoned because of the rebellion of the Indians in that Kingdom, and others from elsewhere. These Indians are civilized (Ladinos); because their villages and natural surroundings are uncongenial, or because they are escaping from troubles they might have at home, or because they are wanderers, they bring themselves to enter the Spaniards' service. They are assigned (repartidos) to these farms, with their wives and children, 4, 6, or more to each, just as they would naturally settle; normally they live there and cultivate their own gardens and fields for their necessities, in addition to what the masters they serve give them in clothing, cash, or food.

On the majority of the farms there are superintendents (mayordomos), Spanish soldiers or mestizos, the sons of Spaniards and Indian women, or mulattoes or free Negroes. These keep track of the figures for the sowing and the harvest, and see that the people work and do all else necessary. On all the farms and ranches in the Indies, of any importance, they are to be found and have excellent salaries, according to the size of the establishment. In this Kingdom most are paid one-fourth of the products of the soil and of the stock bred; some are paid less, for there is every sort of system.

**1936.** In this Kingdom there are very large rivers, swollen in winter with water from the rains and in summer with the great freshets from the snow melting under the sun up on the Cordillera Nevada. These all run from E. to W., to the Pacific; with them they irrigate their property and fields. They are utilized for a distance of about 40 leagues, in which irrigation produces large amounts of wheat, corn, barley, chickpeas, lentils, peas (porotos), and other cereals and vegetables, which yield abundantly; they raise a few potatoes. The fanega of wheat is usually worth 8 reals; they normally ship large amounts to Linna when they need it there, and it is also taken for His Majesty's camp and army, for the soldiers' sustenance.

There are quantities of vineyards around Santiago and on the farms; every year they get more than 200,000 jugs of wine from them; that was the figure in the year 1614, when they made the inspection of that Kingdom. In the 3 preceding years they had planted 498,500 vines, and many more have been set out since then; the land is very fertile and the vine grows thick, strong, and sturdy; they treat it with gypsum and ferment (cocido) as is done in many places. It is all consumed within the country; some is taken for His Majesty's army to the city of La Concepción.

**1937.** The residents of Santiago possessed in the district of the city 39,250 cattle, the yearly increase of which was 13,500; quantities are slaughtered every year for tallow; they raise oxen for plowing and for their carts. Every young steer is worth 4 8-real pesos; an ox broken to work, 8; when a herd is sold, it is at the rate of 12 reals a head. There were on the ranches in the district 4,278 mares, and their annual increase, 1,200; each is worth 4 reals. Riding horses are worth from 16 to 20 8-real pesos; sumpter horses, 8 to 10; choice fine steeds, from 100 to 200 pesos.

They had in the district 323,956 goats, whose annual increase was 94,764; they slaughter quantities of gelded males and of females, and get over 2,500 quintals of tallow from them annually, worth 13 8-real pesos a quintal, and 25,100 pieces of cordovan leather, which they ship to Callao for Lima, since it is the best in the Kingdom. Before tanning, each sells for 16 reals; tanning each piece comes to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  reals. There were 623,825 sheep, whose annual increase was 223,944; they slaughter great numbers of them and get on the average 7,650 quintals of tallow from them every year. The usual price of a sheep is 2 reals, and a dressed mutton (carnero) the same, and in the city, 4. They are large, fat, and very good.

## Chapter V

Continuing the Description of the District of the Diocese of Santiago de Chile.

**1938.** The district and jurisdiction of this diocese cover more than 120 leagues E. and W., as has been remarked, from the city of San Luís de Loyola, which is the last in the Province of Cuyo, to Santiago, which is the westernmost. N. and S. it runs from the Copiapó Valley to Captain Salvador's ranch, 16 leagues before the city of La Concepción. Close to that ranch is the Río and Province of Maule, which is the limit of the Diocese of Santiago; the Governor appoints a Corregidor. Here it borders on the district of the Diocese of La Concepción. From the Copiapó Valley to this Río de Maule and Captain Salvador's ranch, it is 183 leagues.

1939. The Governor of Chile appoints in the district of the Diocese of Santiago to nine Corregimientos, for their good administration and the dispensing of justice. These are: Santiago; Quillota; Melipilla near the city; Aconcagua, near the Cordillera on the road to the Province of Cuyo; Colchagua; Maule, which is the boundary with the territory of the city and Diocese of La Concepción; Mendoza, of Spaniards and Indians, in the Province of Cuyo; La Serena, of Spaniards; and the Copiapó Valley, of Indians; this is the last toward Peru.

**1940.** The salary which these Corregidores receive is 25 percent of the 25 percent which the Inspectors (Administradores) take in, except for those of [Acolcagua] Aconcagua and Maule, who have collection agencies in connection with their offices, and the Corregidor of Quillota, who has both a small collection agency (administración) and 10 percent of the harvest of a grainfield belonging to His Majesty and under his charge. The Corregidor of Melipilla has the collection agencies of Melipilla, Pico, and Pomayre, with 200 8-real pesos, since he has the woolen mill (obrage) under his charge.

**1941.** The other Corregidores are on the same basis. Furthermore there are 16 other collection agencies (adminstraciones); to make this intelligible, I would explain that in every Indian village, after they have exacted the mine levy (tercio de minas) and personal service and the other contributions, there usually remain in each village 5 or 6 tribute-paying Indians, more or less, and about as many old people. The Governors appoint Administradores (Inspectors) in these villages; these are soldiers who live in the villages and make these Indians work—planting corn, wheat, and barley; looking after the stock owned by the community; if the community owns

vineyards, tending them and carrying out the vintage. All that is harvested pays the tithe and then the Administrador takes a quarter for himself and another quarter for the curate. The rest, i.e., the other quarters, belongs to the communal organization of the Indians, for their necessities and their infirmities; but the Administradores are lords of all and do what they please, for no accounting is asked of them, and so they postpone it till when they will have to render it to God. May His Divine Majesty give due recompense, for the benefit of the poor Indians! This is a universal evil in all the Indies.

**1942.** Besides these burdens just mentioned, the poor Indians have other burdens in addition, in the Protectors whom the Viceroys, Presidents, or Governors appoint to defend the interests of the Indians; they check on the Administradores and collect the taxes (censos) and the community income, and in this way they have exhausted and are exhausting the community property, both because they give no proper security and because they have more consideration for their private profit and interests than for those of the poor Indians.

With their office they receive authority and power over all the property, to make and unmake; they can sell the livestock and whatever else belongs to the community, arbitrarily and with slight reckoning to make. In Honduras they give them Farm Inspectors (Juezes de Milpas) to make them plant their crops; in New Spain, Repartidores (Assessors); in Peru, Mill Inspectors and Inspectors of Community Property (Administradores de Obrages y de Bienes de Comunidades). All this I saw and considered when I was in those Kingdoms; but because I have made a long digression and much more ought to be said about it, I shall leave it and take up the Diocese of La Concepción.

# Chapter VI

Of the City of La Concepción, and Other Matters in Its District. **1943.** The city of La Concepción is 70 leagues S. of Santiago, at 37° S. It was founded by Gov. Pedro de Valdivia in the year 1545, at the water's edge; its port is Talcahuano. It was abandoned later, at the time of the revolt of the Araucanian Indians and the death of Gov. Pedro de Valdivia, in the year 1553, and suffered a thousand misfortunes; it was burned and sacked and most of its residents killed by arrogant Captain Lautaro and his savages; but they went back and rebuilt it, and at present it is His Majesty's army post and the usual residence of the Governors of that Kingdom, since Indian warfare is the most important part of their duties and this is convenient for that. 1944. This city has the Cathedral which used to belong to La Imperial, which was abandoned in the month of April 1600 after the second Indian revolt, when they killed Gov. Martín García de Loyola at the end of the year 1598. Don Francisco de Quiñones who was then Governor of that Kingdom, dismantled the city at the instance of its residents, as a sequel to many requisitions; they would certainly have perished if he had not rescued them from that great tribulation, as I shall relate, God willing, in the book I am writing on wars and events in that Kingdom.

1945. The Bishop also resides in the city of La Concepción, which has the Cathedral that used to be in La Imperial; he resides at the Cathedral and serves it with his Prebendaries. There are five convents in this city, Dominican, Franciscan, Augustinian, Mercedarian, and Jesuit; a hospital for the care of the indigent sick, and a shrine devoted to Our Lady of the Snows. The city will have 200 Spanish residents, and in the neighborhood a few Indian villages, which are small, for they have died off in the war. The Governor appoints in the district of this Diocese to five Corregimientos: three of Spaniards—La Concepción, San Bartolomé de Chillán, and the city of Castro; and two of Indians, which are Itata and Talcahuano, as will be related in due course.

1946. In the neighborhood there are many establishments with cattle and sheep ranches; on them they raise quantities of wheat, corn, chickpeas, lentils, kidney beans, porotos, and other cereals; there are a few vineyards producing wine. Before the Indian revolt the district of this Diocese was large; at present it is small, on account of the war. The Corregidor appointed by the Governor at La Concepción is an Army Captain with a Spanish garrison; another is appointed for the city of Chillán, which is 12(?) leagues from La Concepción, near the Cordillera. This was built by Marshal Ruíz de Gamboa on the bank of a river; it is surrounded by a wall, on account of the Indian war; there is a fort there with eight pieces of artillery; the Corregidor has a garrison of a company of infantry. There are in the city a parish church and Dominican, Franciscan, and Mercedarian convents.

1947. Another is appointed for the city of Castro, which was founded in 1567, the year when the mercury mines of Huancavelica in Peru were discovered, the Governor of Peru being Licentiate Lope García de Castro, who was succeeded in the governorship by Don Francisco de Toledo. This city is the last in the Kingdom of Chile before the Straits. It is built on the largest island in the Chiloé Archipelago, at 43° S. It will have as many as 40 Spanish residents,

who are poor people; the land bears abundantly wheat, corn, lentils, and other cereals; there is much gold here, with which they inlay coats of mail (?mallan volador). The island on which the city is built will be 50 leagues long, and in width, 10 leagues in places and more or less in others; it will have 3,000 Indians in apportionment. It is all covered with woods and forests of fine tough timber; there are shipyards. It is 18 leagues from the mainland. There is a Franciscan convent in the city with two friars.

1948. The residents of this city have built wooden enclosures on the beach with trap doors which they keep raised; when the tide comes in, they fill up with fish; and when the tide starts ebbing and going out, they drop the gates and the enclosures are full of fish on dry ground. All through the woods and forests there are in the trees great numbers of hives of excellent honey, made by the many varieties of bees to be found on those islands. There are many of these islands; some are 30 leagues long, others 20, more or less; they are covered with forests, and countless goats breed among them. Our Dutch or English enemies, after coming out from the Straits, are in the habit of caulking and careening their ships on these islands; and since there is nobody to hinder or resist them, they sow and reap while waiting for a chance to sail, or till they are ready; in fact, they have twice captured this city. That and many other evils would be remedied if His Majesty would order a city and fort built at Valdivia, with 200 married colonists, a fort with 50 bronze pieces, and a Spanish garrison, as I pointed out in a booklet I wrote in the year 1625. That would not only be a curb on enemies at sea, for that fort in such a good harbor and so prolific a country we may consider as the key to all that Kingdom ; it would likewise be a curb on enemies on land.

### Chapter VII

Continuing the Description of the District of the Diocese of La Concepción.

**1949.** The Corregidor of the city of Castro has the title of Militia Captain, with the money grant for a regiment of cavalry. He has two forts on the mainland, Calbuco and Carelmapu, with two companies, one of cavalry and the other of infantry, all at the charge of this Corregidor and Militia Captain, for him to make war with on the rebellious Indians in that region, and keep the peaceable ones round about and on the Chiloé Islands, from making trouble.

**1950.** The Corregimiento of Itata lies between La Concepción and Chillán, and that of Talcahuano near La Concepción. The island

of Santa María lies opposite the Province of Arauco, near where the great Río de Biobío empties into the sea; and in front of the mouth of the Río de Cautín, which is the river of La Imperial, is the island of Mocha, with a few peaceable Indians.

**1951.** Two leagues from the city of La Concepción is the Río de Biobío, which is the war boundary; on the bank of this river is built the fort of San Pedro, with a few Spaniards in it, to ensure safe passage over this river with a flatboat of the sort that in Flanders they call pontoon, to Arauco, which is 9 leagues from this fort, for Arauco is the seat of the Militia Captain General of the Kingdom, with 500 Spanish cavalry and infantry, besides the infantry in the castle and fort of Arauco, some 100 Spaniards with their warden. This fort of Arauco is  $\frac{1}{8}$  league from the sea. These Spaniards campaign along the whole coast, trying to keep the converted Indians peaceable. Seven leagues beyond Arauco is the fort of Lebu, 4 leagues inland from the coast; this serves the Spaniards as a base for raids into the enemy's country.

**1952.** Six leagues E. of La Concepción toward the Cordillera and on the bank of the Río de Biobío is the fort of Talcamávida, and 6 leagues farther on, the fort of San Rosendo; 4 leagues up the river, El Nacimiento, which is another fort; and 9 leagues from the city is the fort of Buena Esperanza (Good Hope), also called Estancia del Rey (the King's Ranch), because of the great wheat harvest which His Majesty gets there every year to help maintain the army. Two leagues from this position is the fort of San Cristóbal, where a number of Indians have again been settled. Near this post is the headquarters of the other part of the army, which the Sergeant Major of the Kingdom has under his charge; this usually comprises 500 Spaniards, cavalry and infantry. These campaign along the sierra. This is the state of affairs in that Kingdom at present, and the peaceful situation described in the Diocese of La Concepción.

## Chapter VIII

Describing the Kingdom of Chile, the Provinces Which Were Subdued and the Cities That Were Established in Them.

**1953.** Before the war and general uprising of the Indians of Chile, this Diocese was very rich and had very extensive jurisdiction. The site of the Cathedral was the city La Imperial. It possessed many other provinces and cities belonging to it. I shall therefore write a description of them and of their status at that time, with the greatest conciseness and clarity, noting their most important features. It is

true that there are different ways of reaching them, both by the coast and by the King's Highway; I shall state accurately both what I have learned from officers and soldiers of experience in that Kingdom, who have marched through it and have examined it many times, and what light I myself have gained on it all, for I have spent the best part of my life down there.

**1954.** From the city of La Concepción to Biobío, where the fort of San Pedro is situated, it is 2 leagues. From there it is 15 to Lavapié. In between there is an inlet, at the Province of Arauco on the coast 9 leagues from the fort of San Pedro ; that was the limit of the territory of the city of La Concepción. Arauco is at  $37^{\circ}30'$ ; there used to be a fort there, which was the base for the pacification of that country. From Arauco it is 5 leagues to the Millarapué Valley, occupied by Indians on the warpath even in peaceful times. The territory of Lavapié is in this neighborhood, on the same latitude. The sea runs up the river on the rising tide, so that boats can enter; they get quantities of fish and also of salt, which they make by damming the sea water coming in with the tide, and caking it under the hot sun.

**1955.** From Lavapié Point to the Río de Lebu, which is at 38° S., it is 6 leagues. Here Don García de Mendoza established the city of Cañete, which was later abandoned on account of the war. From the Río de Lebu it is 6 leagues to the island of Mocha, which is 5 leagues out to sea. This island has a population of peaceful Indians. Now returning to Millarapué, it is 3 leagues from there to Quiapo; from there, 2 to the fort of Lebu; then 2 to the tanning vat (lavadero) of Paylataro; 1 more to the Old House (Casa Vieja) of Lincoya; then 2 to the Pilmaiquen Valley, and 2 more to Tucapel, where the old fort stood which was burned by the Araucanians in the year 1553, and within sight of which they attacked Governor Valdivia and defeated and killed him; the Spaniards fought with them on that plain and the 14 who remained alive reached the ferry across the Río de Lebu, where they perished, as will be described when I treat of the wars.

**1956.** From Tucapel one comes at once on the Purén swamp, where there was another fort with 30 soldiers, married men and bachelors; at that time when they saw the country in rebellion, they retired to La Imperial with 7 more soldiers of renown (?) (de la fama), the survivors of the 14 who had gone from the Purén fort to the relief and aid of the Governor, and arrived after the Indians had won and had killed the Governor. They fought with the savages and escaped by good luck and courage from that critical situation.

From Purén fort to the city La Imperial it was 8 leagues; to the right were the villages of Claroa and Tirúa, and others along the coast among high mountains; it is very rough country, exceedingly rich in high-grade gold ore; Tirúa is paved with this metal. It is near the Río Cautín, which passed La Imperial, 9 leagues away; Tirúa forms a triangle with La Imperial and Purén.

1957. Traveling from Arauco to the city of La Imperial, E. toward the Cordillera, one follows the King's Highway to the city of Angol. This is 28 leagues from La Concepción; it is 12 to San Bartolomé de Chillán, and 16 from Chillán to Angol. It was founded by Don García de Mendoza in the year 1559 on the so-called Angol plains by the bank of a river whose sweet and crystal-clear waters, after dashing furiously down from the great Cordillera Nevada in which it rises and originates, irrigate and fertilize its fields and meadows, which were the most fertile and prolific to be found in the entire Kingdom. On them they raised quantities of corn, wheat, barley, chickpeas, lentils, porotos, and other cereals; their cattle increased rapidly for the land was highly suitable; their vineyards produced so plentifully and abundantly that this city provided all the upland cities in the Kingdom with wine; their raisins and figs were famous, and all other kinds of Spanish fruit.

1958. This river ran through the southern part of the city, and a smaller one through the northern part, with many gristmills on it. The city was at 38°30', between the two Cordilleras, 8 leagues from the Cordillera Nevada to its E., and 2 from the coast range to the W. When Don García founded it he named it Villanueva de Los Infantes : later, Gov. Villagrá called it de Los Confines. Its territory extended E. and W. from the Cordillera Nevada to the sea, 10 leagues, and 18 N. and S., 8 of them to the Rio de la Laja (Crag), from a very high crag in it, 25 stades high, past which it dashes with furious current. To cross the river above these rapids to the E. one has usually to swim one's horse, it is so large. The other 10 leagues run S. along the La Imperial highway; on this stretch to one side along the sea are the villages of the Purén swamp, as one comes on the straight road from Arauco. All through this region there are very tall cypresses, very fragrant; they make fine sealing wax (lacre) from them. There are numerous pine groves with tall pines producing very large pine nuts (piñones); they have them as far as the Río de la Plata in the Province of Paraguay, and other parts, of the same size as these of Purén; each is as large as a good acorn. The Purén Indians and those of the region make them their food and

drink. It is 8 leagues from Purén to where the city of La Imperial used to be.

1959. The whole King's Highway from where the city of Angol stood to La Imperial, was practically uninhabited. Toward the Cordillera there were and are numerous villages, such as Vilque, La Cabrera, Rangali, Rangalicán, Voroá, Claroa, Mulchén, and many others, and Los Puelches, the last in the Cordillera, on the edge of the Tucumán plains and the Diaguitas Indians; in the other direction, westward toward the sea, the Indians of the Purén swamp. The King's Highway from Angol to La Imperial is to the WSW.

# CHAPTER IX

Continuing the Description of the Kingdom of Chile: the Manner in Which the City of La Imperial Was Founded, and Other Matters.

**1960.** After Gov. Pedro de Valdivia had explored and subdued those provinces, he founded the city of La Imperial in the year 1551 on the tip of a bluff formed by the Río de Cautín and a small stream emptying into it W. of the city; he built it on this site because it seemed to him a strong position. It is 3 leagues inland from the sea, at 38°40' S., 40 leagues S. of La Concepción, 22 from Villarica and 36 from Valdivia. Its fields and meadows were productive, growing quantities of wheat, corn, barley, lentils, porotos, and other cereals and Spanish and native fruit; there were large ranches of cattle, sheep, hogs, and llamas, and today there is plenty of stock there for it has multiplied greatly, the land being fertile and with wide pastures; so that the country was not only well populated but very prolific and fruitful.

**1961.** Although grapes bore well, they did not ripen enough for making good wine. The city of La Imperial was capital of the second and richer Diocese. When it was abandoned and the country lost through the Indian uprising of the year 1598, when they killed Gov. Martin García de Loyola, its place was taken by the city of La Concepción, where His Majesty directed that a Bishop should reside, from the year 1617 (*ex* 1618) on. The territory and district of La Imperial was thickly settled and abounded in everything necessary for human life.

**1962.** The whole neighborhood had a dense Indian population, for in the district there were over 200,000 Indians liable to pay tribute; and among the large settlements and villages of converted Indians in the district within 6 leagues of the city, there were 3 villages of 600 Indians each, settled under their forts. One was

called Rangali ; between this and the city was the lovely Rangalicán Valley, in which were all the farms, cattle ranches, and fields of corn, wheat, and other cereals and vegetables belonging to the Spaniards. The second village was a settlement beside the fort of Voroá, and the third, beside that of Maquegua. Each of these forts was 6 leagues from La Imperial, forming a triangle, and they were a league and a half apart ; they arranged them this way in a triangle so as to be able to defend them from the enemy if he came in numbers against one of them. In each of these forts there were eight Spanish harquebussiers, which was a sufficient defense and safeguard, for the peaceable and friendly Indians who were favored and protected by the Spaniards valiantly defended their party.

**1963.** On receiving word through the spies whom our men maintained among the savages that there was a force gathering to attack one of the forts but it was not definitely known which one they would attack, at this news 35 harquebussiers and cavalrymen used to leave La Imperial and take up a position in between these forts, so as to relieve whichever was attacked, as quickly as possible. Near each fort there was a large shelter (galpón) 30 or 40 paces long, thatched with straw and quite like a long dwelling; this was set on fire by our men when the enemy attacked, so that the Spaniards might know where the enemy force was, and those who were stationed on guard would rush up immediately for their prompt relief.

1964. It happened in the year 1593, when Don García de Mendoza, Marqués de Cañete, was Viceroy of Peru, and Don Alfonso de Sotomayor was Governor of Chile, the predecessor of Martín García de Loyola, that word was brought by the Indians to Col. Francisco del Campo; Indian spies, although belonging to the enemy, on learning of any gathering to attack a fort, used to come secretly to warn the Corregidor or head man, because they were well paid for it, being given a horse or a suit of clothes; so they informed the Spaniards of whatever the enemy was planning, which was of great importance to them. Accordingly, one of these Indian spies came to the Corregidor or head man of the city and said to him: "Sir, I bring you news of importance; for it you must give me a reward or two." These were given without hesitation or delay, with great exactitude, for with their avarice and the certainty of a reward, they were prompt to bring word of everything, even if it meant selling their parents' lives.

**1965.** Finally Col. Francisco del Campo got word that a united force was on its way against one of these forts—which one, was not known with certainty. At the news this Colonel set out with

35 harquebussiers, putting them at the center of the triangle formed by these forts, hidden in a small grove of some 30 filbert trees. He stayed there with his force all that day and the following night, waiting to see where the fire signal would break out. At dawn they set fire to the Voroá galpón, and Col. Francisco del Campo reached there at sunrise with his soldiers; he found there over 1,000 Indians, some mounted and some on foot. At the arrival of the Colonel and his force, 500 Indians and 8 Spanish harquebussiers rushed out of the fort and attacked the savages, and followed them in their flight more than a league over flat country till they reached some bluffs over a dry watercourse, where they threw themselves over the cliff, not being able to resist; in this manner over 700 died, without our losing more than I Spanish soldier.

#### CHAPTER X

Describing the Country and Jurisdiction of Villarica.

**1966.** Villarica was 22 leagues from the city of La Imperial, SE. $\frac{1}{4}$ E.; it was 25 leagues from the sea and 3 from the Cordillera Nevada, in 39° S., near a lake which is 4 leagues long E. and W., and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  wide, named Mallalauquén; the city was built W. of it; near the outlet of this lake is the source of the Río Toltén. That city was founded and colonized by Gov. Pedro de Valdivia in the year 1551, a few days after La Imperial. The lake was and is a great resort; the residents of the city used to go there and enjoy themselves boating; it served as a fort and wall for the city on one side; on the other, it was surrounded by very high ridges and by forests of lofty cypresses, and by cliffs with huge pine trees with pine nuts.

**1967.** Among these pine groves they raised quantities of hogs, which they fattened with the pine nuts; their ham and bacon was the best in all the Kingdom, in fact, in the world. High above it on the summit of the Cordillera, the city had a volcano which was generally spouting fire; on its slopes near the lake two springs gush forth, the size of oxen, and flow into it. The location of the city was excellent and agreeable, and the region is fertile, although it is all very rough country. There were Franciscan and Mercedarian convents in Villarica.

**1968.** Two leagues from the city, as one came from La Imperial, stood the fort of valiant Capt. Juan Beltrán, a mulatto, son of a Negro and an Indian woman, who is worthy of eternal memory for his great deeds among those savages. He was very deferential toward the Spaniards, and very obedient and loyal to them; with the Indians

he was fearless; they stood in awe of him and respected him, to such a degree that the mere mention of his name was often enough to intimidate the Indians and put their squadrons to flight; the Spaniards on several occasions, seeing themselves hard put to it, gave out that Capt. Juan Beltrán was coming with them, and thus gained the victory; such authority did he have with them, and such respect and fear did they show him.

**1969.** Accordingly for his sterling character and his bravery, Gov. Martín García de Loyola, in His Majesty's name, presented him with 500 Indians and gave him the title of Infantry Captain. He was a valiant governor and captain for them; with his 500 Indians he built his fort 2 leagues from Villarica; they were very obedient to him. He made himself respected and feared in all the neighboring provinces; he made long malocas or raids into them, bringing back great prizes. So long as he lived, Villarica was well defended and could rely on his aid and protection, until they finally killed him. His loss was the end of the Spaniards, and they perished at the hands of the Indians. Merely to write his victories and heroic deeds against the savages in His Majesty's service and in defense of the Spaniards, would require an entire volume.

#### CHAPTER XI

Continuing the Description of the Country, and of the City of Valdivia.

1970. From Villarica to the city of Valdivia was 16 leagues. This was founded and colonized by Gov. Pedro de Valdivia at the end of the year 1551; he finished colonizing it in 1562. It had a marvelous site on a flat-topped hill between two rivers, one a large one known as the Río de Valdivia; it was at 40° S., and 2 leagues inland from the sea. This large river has a medium-sized island at its mouth, forming two channels emptying into the sea; the northern one is the deeper, and ships sailed up it as far as the city, for it was deep, clear, safe, and free from currents; they even anchored by the shore, between the Franciscan and Dominican convents, with bow or side next the bank; they put out short planks and the men and women of the city would visit the ships, which they much enjoyed doing.

**1971.** The whole Cantaranas ward lay on the bank of this great river. On the other side of the city ran a small stream called the Río Carmenga, which was a favorite resort for pleasant excursions for the citizens; they had gristmills there and gardens and orchards

of fruit trees; all Spanish varieties yielded abundantly and very early; wheat, corn, and other cereals gave excellent returns; every fanega of wheat produced 30, 40, or more, according to the cultivation.

This city was the best, the richest, and the busiest trading center in the whole Kingdom of Chile, for besides the abundance of all sorts of products of the soil, it was very rich in high-grade gold ore; wherever it occurred, and merely from the known mines, the Indians used to extract 25 or 30 pesos' worth of gold every day. This and its excellent harbor normally brought in many ships with merchandise, and there was never any shortage. The location of the city, though level, stood over 3 stades high above the river's backwater, so that it was safe from any flood. It was well provided with delicious fish, for the Indians came in every day with boats full of them, especially on Fridays and in Lent, when 40 or 50 boats would come in. Round about the harbor, near where the city was built, there are large woods and forests of valuable tough timber for ship building, which might have been carried out at low cost, the timber being at the water's edge.

**1972.** The city and its environment seemed a bit of Paradise, having bright skies, good soil, and healthful breezes. The tide runs up the river as far as a plain surrounded by mountain ridges and known as Guadalauquén. The Sierra Nevada is 17 leagues distant from the site where the city was built. Its longest day, which was Christmas Eve and the day preceding, was of 14 hours 26 minutes; and the shortest, which was St. John's Eve, 10 hours. Fifteen leagues from where the city of Valdivia was built, there were some hot baths, with springs gushing out, some 2 leagues from the Cordillera Nevada. These were and are very health-giving, curing the bathers of all sorts of illnesses; people suffering from contractions of a tendon, foot, arm, or leg or other part of the body, had only to bathe in them and the member straightened out and healed. In the district of the city there were very good cattle, sheep, and hog ranches, for the country was suitable and had excellent pasturage.

## Chapter XII

Describing the District of the City of Osorno.

**1973.** From the city of Valdivia to that of Osorno was a very rough journey of 16 leagues with many ridges and steep slopes, as far as the Tenguelén Valley, which was covered with Indian settlements and Spanish ranches, with large herds of cattle and fields of wheat, corn, and other cereals. From this valley to the city of Osorno

it is a level road but wooded and forest country, and with one large river to cross.

1974. Osorno was founded by Don García de Mendoza in the year 1559 after he had pacified the whole country and put down all the rebels. It is in the same latitude as the town of Madrid,  $40^{\circ}26'$ , but S., while Madrid is N., of the Equator. He colonized it with many nobles and distinguished gentlemen, who had helped him subdue the country. In its territory very large amounts of high-grade gold were extracted, for it is all paved with gold ore; it had a large native population, which, with its fertility and the rapid increase of its cattle, made it very wealthy. It had a parish church, Dominican and Franciscan convents, and one of Santa Clara nuns. It was at a distance from the sea, near the Cordillera.

**1975.** Its neighborhood consisted of fine fertile land, which produced abundance of everything—all kinds of Spanish fruit and many native varieties, filbert trees, very large pine groves (pinales), with huge cones and nuts (piñones) common in those parts and like big acorns, and other trees with valuable and highly prized timber. It was the last city on the mainland in the Kingdom of Chile this side of the Straits of Magellan. From Osorno to the city of Castro, which is built on the islands of the Chiloé Archipelago to the WSW., it is 48 leagues, 30 by land and 18 by water. That was the district held by the Diocese of La Imperial before the death of Gov. Martín García de Loyola, which was the origin and cause of the Indian uprising in that Kingdom.

The wealthy city of Osorno kept growing in numbers and importance on account of the richness and fertility of its territory. There were woolen cloth mills in the city and other fine products were turned out. Two leagues out of the city there was a beautiful lake, called Laguna de Gaeta, full of delicious fish with which the city was admirably supplied; on it was a great variety of waterfowl—ducks, geese, herons, egrets, widgeons, and many others. The port utilized by the city was that of Las Canoas, called also that of Osorno. There was abundance of wild hogs, fallow deer, deer, guanacos, vicuñas, tarugas, ostriches, and many others of various sorts.

# CHAPTER XIII

Of the District of the Kingdom of Chile, Its Harbors, and the Distances in Leagues along the Coast.

1976. The Kingdom of Chile stretches along the Pacific Coast, starting at the end of the Kingdom of Peru with the Copiapó Valley,

at 27° S.; its fertility has been described in due course. From Copiapó to the Straits of Magellan, at 52°30′ S., it is 480 leagues, more than 300 of them occupied by tribes who are white, warlike, courageous, and persistent, as our Spaniards have learned by experience during this period of 88 years since Gov. Pedro de Valdivia began the exploration by penetrating into the country in the year 1540, up to the present year of 1628; in various battles, skirmishes, and defeats more than 15,000 Spaniards and over 60,000 friendly Indians have lost their lives, as I shall tell fully in greater and more explicit detail in the book I am writing on the Chilean wars, if God grant that I finish it.

**1977.** It was subdued and colonized from the Copiapó Valley just mentioned, up to the city of Osorno at  $\downarrow 0^{\circ}26'$  S., and the Chiloé Archipelago with the city of Castro at  $43^{\circ}$  S., and the rest down to the Straits, which is the Costa de los Césares; there are a few savage tribes there with barbarous customs; the country inland is occupied by the tribe of the Patagones, giants who dress in deerskins, and by other tribes. These have not yet been subdued at all, both because of the wildness of the sierras and Cordillera Nevada and of the little profit to be gained, and also because throughout that country there are many deserts, it is so high and cold.

**1978.** The center of this warlike country is coming to be the Province of Guadalauquén, where the city of Valdivia was established and colonized, on the banks of its famous river, 2 leagues inland from the sea, at 40°, which is the same as that of the imperial city of Toledo, which is however to the N. of the Equator, and Valdivia to the S. From this city of Valdivia we can calculate the progress of the sun and its delay in arriving from the meridian of Seville to that of Valdivia, 5 hours and 20 minutes; accordingly when it is 12 noon in Seville, at the meridian of Valdivia it will be 6:30 a.m. Valdivia is distant from Seville to the SW. in a direct air line 1,970 leagues.

**1979.** The seasons in that Kingdom are the reverse of those in Spain, for when it is summer in Spain it is winter in Chile, and vice versa. The reason is that that Kingdom lies outside the other Tropic, that of Capricorn, toward the South Pole, while Spain lies outside the Tropic of Cancer toward the North Pole, and the sun moves from the Torrid Zone or the Equator to the Tropics without going beyond them, on its ordinary course. That Kingdom is very wet and humid, especially from the district of La Concepción at 37° to all the country and provinces which are at war; their crops all grow in the rainy season; most of the district of the city and Diocese of Santiago is under irrigation from the rivers flowing down from

the Cordillera Nevada from E. to W. to the sea; with their water they irrigate their crops, which yield with prolific abundance.

# CHAPTER XIV

Continuing the Description of the Chilean Coast and Its Harbors. 1980. From Copiapó to Huasco the coast runs S.<sub>1</sub>SE.; Huasco is at 29° S. Then the coast runs S. as far as Coquimbo, which is in full 30° S. From Coquimbo to Valparaiso, the port of Santiago, which is at 33° S., it is 70 leagues in the same southerly direction; in that same region and parallel, 75 leagues W. out at sea are the Juan Fernández Islands, which are well supplied with goats, wood. and water, excellent harbors, land fertile for crops, with fine tough timber for ship building. In the days of the Marqués de Cañete they built some ships on these islands, and some of the stock brought over as food for the workmen was left there, in particular some goats, and they have so multiplied that the islands are full of these animals. They serve to provision our Dutch enemies after they pass the Straits: they stop at these islands to careen and repair their ships after the long voyage they have made; they sow and harvest crops and make great slaughter of the goats to jerk their meat, and take in wood and water; and since they are so far out to sea, they are neither seen nor perceived. Then they start out as well equipped as if they had not traveled at all, and on their way they usually harry and raid the Peruvian coast; I have described this and the way to remedy it in a booklet I presented in the year 1625 at the meetings held by His Majesty's command at my instance before the Grand Prior of St. John and Conde de la Puebla, to the effect that it was not desirable that the naval force should leave which was being sent through the Straits, and showing how to remedy and prevent the evils which were apprehended.

1981. Beyond the port of Valparaiso, 70 leagues to the S., is the port of Talcahuano for La Concepción, at  $37^{\circ}$  S.; there are some of less importance in between. Beyond Talcahuano is the island of Santa María, which is occupied by peaceable Indians and lies in front of the bay of the Provinces and State of Arauco, at  $37^{\circ}30'$  S. Then comes Lavapié Point, from which to the Río de Lebu, running S. along the coast, it is 6 leagues. At  $38^{\circ}$  and in the same region and parallel, 5 leagues out to sea, is the island of Mocha, occupied by peaceable Indians. From Lebu the coast runs SW. 8 leagues to another point which is at  $38^{\circ}30'$ ; this is the region where the city of Angol was built, known also as Los Confines. Four leagues from

this point or cape is the Río de Cautín at 38°40', following the coast to the S.; and in the same direction at 39° is the Río de Toltén, which rises in the lake by which Villarica was built; it has a good harbor for ships.

**1982.** Eight leagues farther along the coast in the same southerly direction, at 39°30′, is the Río de Queule and the port. From there the coast runs S. to the Río Grande de Valdivia, 9 leagues, all of it ridges and Cordillera right down to the sea. The mouth of the Río de Valdivia is at scant 40°, with a grand harbor. The river empties into the sea heading somewhat N. and with two arms or mouths formed by a medium-sized island across the entrance. It is highly essential and important that His Majesty order a city to be established there, and a fort with a Spanish garrison; that would not only ensure the Kingdom of Chile against enemies on sea and land, forming a bulwark against both, but also for the whole Kingdom and coast of Peru, for it is to windward of them all, and the first point where our enemies, exhausted by the voyage, can stop and rest, with an excellent harbor and timber, as I have demonstrated not only in writing but also with maps.

**1983.** From Valdivia the coast runs S. 7 leagues to the Punta de la Galera, and from there in the same direction to the Río Bueno, where 5 other rivers debouch, it is again 7 leagues. From Río Bueno it is 10 leagues along the same course to the Punta de Billiva; Billiva is at 41°. To San Marcelo it is 7 leagues; all this coast is high mountain ranges. In this neighborhood the Chiloé Archipelago begins. The coast runs SE. from San Marcelo; at 8 leagues is the port of Chanquî, at 43°, opposite these Chiloé Islands; nearby are the forts of Calbuco and Carelmapu, with two companies of Spaniards, one of cavalry and the other of infantry, to keep the Indians of the island and the neighborhood peaceful, and to restrain the fury of the warlike savages.

**1984.** This Cape and port of Chanqui is one of those at the mouth of the Gulf of Los Coronados. Four leagues to the S. is Cape Ballena, so that these two capes form that gulf. Beside it is the Province of Ancud or Chiloé. Next comes Cape San Felix, 9 leagues S. of Cape Ballena. At this Cape San Felix there is great wealth of gold, for the whole country is paved with this metal, of high grade, over 23 carats. Here the Costa de Los Césares starts and runs down to the Straits. From Cape San Felix to that of San Cebrián it is 14 leagues S.; from there to that of Santa Clara, 4, and 10 to Cape Isla, running S. along a coast which is all Cordillera Nevada close to the sea. From Cape Isla to the island of Nuestra Señora, which is near the mainland, the coast runs SSW.

1985. From the island of Nuestra Señora to Cape Gallego, which is at 46°, it is 25 leagues, and 12 more along a coast running S., to San Estéban. From there it is 6 to San Andrés, and 8 more to Ochavario, which is at 47°, along the same course. From there it is 10 leagues to the Nuestra Señora Valley, and then 18 to the harbors and coves of Hernando Gallego, which is at 49°. From there it is 15 to the Bay of San Guillén; then 6 to Punta Delgada, which is at 50°. Then follow immediately the ports of Los Reves and Los Inocentes; farther on, the Cape of San Augustín, and close beyond, that of Santa Catalina, at 51°40'. Nearby is the port of San Amaro, and farther on, the Bay of San Vitoriano, at 52°30'. This lies among lofty islands, some of them snow-capped; at the southern point of the bay there are three small islands forming a triangle, which are a certain indication of the mouth of the Straits; the day is 17 hours long there. At the mouth of the Straits there are four islands to the N., which they call the Evangelistas. After passing the mouth of the Straits there are 12 small islands hugging the shore, between 53° and 54°, which they call the 12 Apóstoles. If one enters the Straits of Magellan, there is more than 70 leagues of the strait; the point farthest S. is at 54°; up to that point it is narrowest, coming from the Pacific; it will be 1 or 2 leagues wide; then it widens.

#### Chapter XV

How Gov. Pedro de Valdivia Explored and Subdued the Provinces of Chile, and How It Was Governed.

**1986.** Now that I have described the Kingdom of Chile and the other subjects of the preceding chapters, it will be well for greater clarity and precision, to tell how it was subdued. I would therefore say that Marqués Don Francisco Pizarro conferred the governorship and the exploration of the Kingdom of Chile upon Pedro de Valdivia, in return for his valuable aid in his campaigns and because he was one of the best and most experienced soldiers who had come over to those realms.

**1987.** In the year 1540 he got together 150 Spanish soldiers in the Province of the Charcas, where he was a resident encomendero; and leaving his home and the Indians he possessed in the Charcas, he left there and crossed the Provinces of Los Lipes and Atacama, which is the last in Peru. After he had passed its deserts he reached the Copiapó Valley; in the native Indian language that means tur-

quoise mine, from their abundance there. The valley was fertile and prolific in everything necessary for human life; but without doing a thing there or colonizing it, although it is a bit of Paradise and at that time contained many Indians, he went ahead to the valleys of Titón, and Huasco, which is 35 leagues S. and has similar fertility and climate, with plenty of partridges and other game birds and animals. He deliberately left it behind for his project of conquest and colonization, great soldier and captain that he was, and well aware of the incredible hardships to be undergone in the subjugation of new territories, apt to intimidate some men and make them turn back from their enterprise.

Gov. Pedro de Valdivia, wishing to keep his men from cherishing any hope of opportunity of return, was unwilling to leave open that gate and passageway by which they might go back, but resolved that they should all act like good and courageous soldiers, realizing that they were surrounded by enemies on every side.

**1988.** After crossing these valleys, he found territories thickly settled by those heathen, and kept on subduing them until he reached the Río de Mapochó. There in a level and attractive valley along the banks of that river, he came upon a region which was well populated and suitable through its fertile meadows, and founded the city of Santiago on January 24, 1541; today that is the court city of that Kingdom and the seat of the Circuit Court. At the same time with his founding of the city he built a fort for the safeguard and protection of his men, for he knew the warlike spirit and the courage of the savages.

He kept subduing them with energy and courage; and when he had them subjected, they plotted to murder him and all his men. When the Governor came to know the design of the savages, he took the caciques and put them in the fort, leaving them under guard of his lieutenant, Capt. Alonso de Monroy, while he himself set out with his few Spaniards in a cross-country campaign for their protection. While they were fighting, Doña Inés Suárez, afraid that these caciques imprisoned for their plot, might rebel, killed them with an ax for splitting wood. The Spaniards rushed out on the plain and fought valiantly till they won, having killed many of the savages.

**1989.** In view of the great trials and deprivations they were enduring while Gov. Pedro de Valdivia was in Peru and his Militia Captain Francisco de Villagrá acting as his lieutenant, some of the Spaniards discussed returning to Peru, and for this purpose they tried to kill Francisco de Villagrá, under the pretext that Pedro de Valdivia had 752

made himself Governor on his own motion without authority. Villagrá, on learning of their plot and purposes, seized Pedro Sánchez de la Hoz, who was the leader and had come down almost as a colleague of Pedro de Valdivia; for when Marqués Don Francisco Pizarro committed to Valdivia the exploration of Chile, Pedro Sánchez de la Hoz had objected, because he held a royal warrant as Governor of all the territory that should be colonized after leaving the jurisdiction of the Marqués; but the Marqués had given that commission to Valdivia, who had given him an encomienda in the city of Santiago. Indulging this presumption in Valdivia's absence, he planned to kill Villagrá and take on the governorship. So when the matter was discovered, he was beheaded by order of the Militia Captain, and Romero, a soldier who was seconding this plot, was hanged, and others were punished in accordance with their guilt. When Gov. Pedro de Valdivia returned, he concurred in all this and approved it.

### Chapter XVI

Continuing the Preceding Theme, and How Pedro de Valdivia Comported Himself in the Exploration and Pacification of the Country.

**1990.** After Gov. Pedro de Valdivia had established the city of Santiago and by his energy and valor had brought the Indians of that region to respect and obey him, having had some encounters with them and vanquished them, he was impressed with the prosperity and wealth of the country and its large Indian communities, and realized that it would be well to make another settlement at the entrance to the Kingdom, to provide safe passage for travelers to and from the Kingdoms of Peru. With this in mind he founded a city in the Coquimbo Valley in the year 1544 and gave it the name of La Serena, for that was the name of his native town in Estremadura.

**1991.** He apportioned the Indians of the neighborhood among the colonists, and at that time he was greatly feared and respected by the Indians and enjoyed great authority among them. Hereupon Capt. Alonso de Monroy arrived with a reinforcement of 60-odd soldiers, who had been given him by Gov. Vaca de Castro in Peru. This was a great help to Pedro de Valdivia; they gave him encouragement and he subdued the Provinces of the Río de Maule, the Kingdom of Gueler, Itata, Quilacura, and others, to the limit of the conquests of Inca Yupangui, tenth king of Cuzco.

**1992.** From the Río de Maule it is 23 leagues to the Río de Itata, at 36°; the coast runs SSW. To the port of La Herradura it is 3 leagues in the same direction. From La Herradura to the Bay of Penco it is 4. There by the water's edge in the little Penco Valley he founded the city of La Concepción in the year 1545. It is suitable country, prolific in crops, rich in gold and densely populated, although most of the natives have disappeared in consequence of the continual warfare. For the security of the residents of the new settlement he provided it with a fort, since the natives were very warlike. This was the way in which good Gov. Pedro de Valdivia sustained these provinces which he had conquered and of which he had apportioned out the natives to the residents of these three cities, from the year 1541, when he made his entry into the Kingdom, up to 1550; he made some raids or malocas inland, and in this period he subdued the intractable tribes of Arauco, Tucapel, Millarapué, Lebu, Paylataro, Pilmaiquén, Lincoya, Quiapo, and many other valiant and warlike provinces; subjected by the courage of the Spaniards, they were already obedient to them and becoming more civilized.

# CHAPTER XVII

How Gov. Pedro de Valdivia Explored and Subdued Many Other Provinces and Established Some Cities in Them.

1993. It was now 10 years since Gov. Pedro de Valdivia had entered that warlike Kingdom, during all which time they had undergone and met with courage great trials and deprivations, in rags and famished, but with weapons in their hands, subduing those indomitable tribes and having constant skirmishes with them until they brought them under control. It now appeared to him that their failure to subdue all the country in spite of his courage and the efforts of his men, was damaging their reputation; so early in the year 1551 he set out with the men he had available, leaving the cities fortified, and started exploring over the Angol plains, having some brushes with the Indians, who had never been subjected and so ill brooked the sight of strangers in their country, who would like to reduce them to slavery. He defeated them in all the skirmishes, and arrived at the Río de Cautín, on whose banks and round about there were large settlements; he subdued those tribes and reduced them to submission; and since the country seemed suitable to him, he founded and colonized La Imperial in the year 1551 and apportioned among the settlers the land and over 200,000 Indians, so that they might defend it with greater affection; and he built them the

three forts of Angalicán, Voroâ, and Maquegua, as has been told in its proper place.

**1994.** At this time Captain Villagrá arrived from Peru with reinforcements of 180 soldiers; he found the Governor in the Mariquina Valley. From there he went on exploring and subduing the provinces in his path up to that of Guadalauquén; and on the banks of that famous river he founded in that same year 1551 the city of Valdivia, giving it his own name. Its territory was fertile, with broad meadows, well settled by numerous Indian tribes, and rich in high-grade gold. He apportioned the land and the Indians among the colonists, and since Mars ruled there, he built them a fort as a place of refuge. This city grew mightily, but through the negligence of the Militia Captain Gómez Romero, the Corregidor, it was burned and its residents killed on Wednesday, November 24, 1599, in the Indian uprising whose leaders were Anganamón and Pelentaro.

**1995.** From the city of Valdivia Capt. Jerónimo de Alderete set out exploring eastward along the Sierra Nevada near the Lake of Toltén; and since it was rich and suitable country, he founded Villarica; he apportioned the land and the Indians among the residents, and for their defense he erected a fort and blockhouse. Having finished this, he went back and inspected the new city of Valdivia, and went from there to La Imperial; after his inspection there, he crossed Purén and the Provinces of Tucapel; and since he realized the haughty spirit of the Indians and how ill they brooked slavery, he ordered three forts erected within a district of 8 leagues, so that each could aid the other in case of need, and with these fortresses the indomitable savages might be better controlled.

But if he, experienced officer that he was, realizing the haughty spirit of the Indians and their hostility to slavery, had not divided his forces by establishing so many cities at such great distances, and had not become negligent and blinded by his ambition for gold and riches, he would not have met the fate to be told in the following chapters, nor would the rebels have inflicted it on him.

# Chapter XVIII

How Gov. Pedro de Valdivia Sent Alderete to Spain and Ulloa out to Sea Exploring, and Occupied Himself with the Mines; the Start of the Rebellion, and His Ruin.

**1996.** Early in the year 1552 Gov. Pedro de Valdivia sent Capt. Jerónimo de Alderete to Spain to render account to His Majesty of the large and wealthy provinces which he had explored and subdued,

and that he had established in them the 6 cities mentioned, and requesting that for these great services and those he hoped to render later, His Majesty should confirm him in his post as Governor, and should confer other signal favors upon him.

**1997.** He sent Capt. Francisco de Ulloa with two ships to explore the ports and provinces to be found down to the Straits, thinking with lofty ambition that he might gain another empire greater than that of Peru, since he had already explored and subdued much of it, and colonized six cities in its provinces. With this in mind he set out at La Concepción to indulge his insatiable greed—the origin of his downfall—by having search made for gold mines; those of Angol were discovered, whose richness was such that in the year 1552 he founded there the city called Los Confines; to ensure its safety and that of the mines he built a fort and garrisoned it with Spaniards more interested in discovering and exploiting gold mines than in rendering secure the wide rich provinces which he had subdued, although he knew the haughty spirit of the Indians and how ill they brooked the yoke of slavery to the Spaniards.

**1998.** He discovered other very rich mines 4 leagues from La Concepción at Quilacoya, and put 20,000 Indians to work taking out ore under Spanish miners and superintendents, for whose security he had a fort built with moat and palisade. From this and the other mines they extracted large amounts of gold for him. Under this excessive labor in the mines, the Indians, noting the Spaniards' careless way of living and their self-confidence though their forces were divided, resolved on a universal uprising to massacre all the Spaniards; and so they started the war with guile, some continuing to work and divert the Spaniards, while others made war openly.

**1999.** At this time they invested the fort of Tucapel, which was under the charge of Capt. Martín de Erizar. He defended himself bravely against the savages with the few men he had, and put the bulk of the Araucanians to flight, though they kept molesting and harassing him; he begged for reinforcements several times, seeing himself hard pressed by the haughty and overbearing Araucanians. Seeing that no help came, he wisely saved himself by withdrawing with his men to the Purén fort and thus achieved safety. Meanwhile Capt. Diego de Maldonado with six soldiers brought him aid, although too late; they reached Tucapel but found it burnt down; the savages attacked him with new energy; he made a hot fight, but they killed three of his men; with the others, all of them badly wounded, he succeeded, by good luck and ability, in getting back to Arauco, from which point he sent the Governor word of the Tucapel incident and the Indian uprising, and that he should take steps to defend the country, for it was all up in arms and the Indians haughty and insolent.

#### CHAPTER XIX

How After the Burning of the Tucapel Fort, Caupolicán Held a Council of His Followers To Discuss What They Should Do; and Other Episodes in the Life of Gov. Pedro de Valdivia.

2000. Caupolicán was a shrewd and courageous captain among the Indians; for his valor in war they all recognized him as their commander. He had started their rebellion with the burning of the Tucapel fort and the massacre of the Spaniards there and other insolent deeds. He summoned a council, with the approval of their most valiant captains-Tucapel, Rengo, Talgueno, Leucotón, Engol, Lepomande, Gracolano, [Cocololo] Colocolo, Guaticol, and other captains and old and experienced warriors; he discussed with them what should be done to shake off their burdensome and oppressive servitude to the foreigners, and to kill them all. Then they assembled from the States of Arauco, Tucapel, Paylataro, Lincoya, Pilmayquén, Quiapo, Lebu, Millarapué, and other provinces over 13,000 picked Indian warriors, besides many others whom they sent out in every direction to rouse and distract the Christians with their insolent deeds and follow them up to catch them isolated and thus more safely defeat and kill them. Meanwhile Caupolicán with the bulk of the army took position in ambush near Tucapel, where the trouble had begun, for he felt certain the Governor would repair there with the few men he had; he could then defeat him and terminate the war, and they could rest peacefully in their own land.

**2001.** At this time Gov. Pedro de Valdivia was at La Concepción. When he got news of what had happened at Tucapel, he set out with little foresight and greater haste than was wise, to remedy the wrong and chastise the Indians. Some say that he had 53 cavalry soldiers and a few servants, plus 14 more whom he ordered to join him from the Purén fort; others say he had 150 soldiers. On the way he visited his mines at Quilacoya, crossed the large Río de Biobío at Talcamávida, stopped at the Arauco fort and picked up some Spaniards there, the total number coming to 150. But although Capt. Diego Maldonado, who was badly wounded, repeatedly warned and begged him, on the basis of what he had seen, not to press onward with such a small troop and his forces divided, until he had got them all together for a final victorious battle, for on that victory depended the Kingdom's peace and tranquillity, the Governor would not listen to the

helpful advice of Captain Maldonado, for he had slight opinion of the Indians—an additional cause of his downfall. Thinking that he was losing time and reputation, and that his courage and the force he was leading would suffice, he marched on heedlessly, leaving written orders and word in every direction that they should follow him. On reaching Cotón, he sent Capt. Diego Doro ahead with 10 soldiers to hurry and reconnoiter the enemy's location and camp. They were killed by the savages, and cut in pieces which they hung up on trees; but the Governor went on, though he witnessed this sad spectacle of his scouts' fate; rashly he proceeded, Death calling him on, and reached a plain within sight of the Tucapel blockhouse, whence the enemy came forth to meet him.

#### CHAPTER XX

How the Araucanian Army Joined Battle on the Tucapel Plain with Gov. Valdivia and His Men at Many Points, and Defeated and Killed Them.

**2002.** When Governor Valdivia and his 150 Spaniards had reached the plain within sight of the Tucapel blockhouse which the savages had burned down—it was there that the rebellion had started, at the end of October 1553—the 13,000 Indians rushed out upon him from ambush; this was the force that had been determined upon and raised at the meeting earlier described. The able strategy of Caupolicán and an elderly captain who had remarked the Spaniards' method of fighting, divided them up into 13 squadrons of 1,000 Indians each, under their brave and energetic chiefs or governors—Tucapel, Rengo, Lepomande, Gracolano, Guaticol, Leucotón, Engol, and other brave captains with their officers and subordinates to aid them in directing them. The general in command of the whole army was valiant Caupolicán, who had with him other elderly captains belonging to his council as aides to assist him.

**2003.** This was the way, and such the arrangement in which they issued forth from the ambuscade: from different directions they fell upon Gov. Pedro de Valdivia and his men, under orders to keep fighting in relays and put their utmost efforts into it, with the idea of exhausting the Christians. They all made a sudden attack upon them, divided as has been described; one squadron of 1,000 Indians would fight until it was cut up and dispersed by the courage of the Spaniards; then these would retire to get a rest and immediately another squadron would come in in its place; and as the Spaniards with their courage and the plunging of their horses would break

them up, others would come on in their stead. Accordingly although the Governor and his men had fought and kept fighting valiantly, killing many Indians and putting them to rout, all the squadrons which had attacked them still remained whole, for those who kept dropping out of the battle went off and reinforced and renewed other squadrons. Thus they fought from dawn to eve with slight loss or fatigue on the part of the Indians, thanks to the new system and method of fighting they had adopted, under which they kept renewing their forces while the Spaniards lost theirs.

2004. But the Christians, who had been fighting all day, were now exhausted, as well as their horses. And when Gov. Pedro de Valdivia realized the Indians' trick and their new system of fighting, and that their squadrons remained entire because they kept renewing them, he saw that he was lost; late as it was and tired and exhausted as they were, after the loss of many of their force, he went and retreated as far as Cotón. On the retreat he notified them to pass the word along that they should keep together and retreat to the Lebu Pass; there they could make a stand, for two men alone could defend it against the savages while the others rested. But this word was not so secret but that Lautaro, a civilized (Ladino) Indian who had been with the Governor since he was little, heard it; he should out the Christians' intention to the savages, and with a war whoop he seized a lance and started fighting as sturdily as a mastiff against the Spaniards. Caupolicán and his old counselor, on learning of the plan adopted by the Governor and his force, dispatched two Indian squadrons at full speed to go and take the Lebu Pass, so that the Christians should not get away from them, so eager were they to finish by massacring them.

The Spaniards, who had fought all day without ceasing, arrived at sundown, the 14 of them who had remained alive, badly wounded and worn out, at the pass where they hoped to escape with their lives. Thereupon the squadrons which had been sent ahead to guard the pass, rushed out on them, and they were caught between them and the main bulk of the savages' army following them. The Christians, who now saw Death eye to eye, without spirit or strength to fight, like good Christians recommended their souls to God and were killed and hacked to pieces with great fury and barbarous cruelty by the savages; the only ones taken alive were Gov. Pedro de Valdivia and a chaplain of his, whom they tied to two stakes while they made ready for their fate and the celebration of their victory.

#### CHAPTER XXI

Of the Death of Gov. Pedro de Valdivia and of What Happened to the 14 Spaniards Who Left Purén in His Suite.

**2005.** After the cruel and bloody battle fought on the plain in sight of Túcapel, which had lasted from dawn till the darkening of the night which ended at Lebu Pass, and in which all the Spaniards died fighting, four friendly Indians alone escaped, three of them Yanaconas and one a boy named Andrés, native of the Chile Valley, who had been companion of the treacherous Felipe, whose other name was Lautaro. While the exultant Araucanians gathered and busied themselves in celebrating their victory, the four Christian Indians, who had been in hiding for fear of the savages' vengeance, made all speed, sometimes on the roads and sometimes through the woods, for they knew the country, and arrived at Fort Arauco, where Capt. Diego Maldonado had remained nursing his wounds with 15 other Spaniards who had been hurt in the retreat from Tucapel; they informed him of the bloody battle and disaster in which the Governor and his men had been killed.

**2006.** Capt. Diego Maldonado, on learning of the unfortunate disaster caused by the Governor's refusal to accept his helpful advice and wait for reinforcements, took courage and rose from his bed and immediately abandoned Fort Arauco with all his men, not having forces able to defend it and withstand an enemy puffed up and overbearing after his victory; he retreated to La Concepción, commissioning the leading Indians of Arauco, who were at peace, to bring all the stuff and the baggage which they had there and which had been left by some of the soldiers who fell with Gov. Pedro de Valdivia.

**2007.** While this was going on, the Araucanians celebrated their victory with great festivities and drinking bouts. Again they gathered and held a council to determine how to finish with the Spaniards and kill them all, so as to remain quiet and peaceful in their own country, without any interference, since they had come out victorious and better off with the weapons and horses of the fallen Spaniards. They debated all this in the presence of wretched Gov. Pedro de Valdivia and his chaplain, tied to two posts. He humbly begged and urged them to spare his life; he promised that without any new impositions or warfare he would immediately leave the Kingdom and take away the Spaniards living there and leave them free and

unmolested on their own land. He had got Lautaro and other important Indians who were somewhat favorable to his prayers, to intercede for him, since they pitied his wretched state, when that cruel old counselor of Caupolicán's who had arranged the squadrons and given them that new method of fighting, suddenly got up, and with a bludgeon or war club (macana) dashed the poor Governor's head to pieces, smashing and putting a stop to the agreements and terms he was offering; he did the same to the cleric, upbraiding his fellows for pitying or yielding to the prayers of a cruel enemy of their nation and country, who had oppressed and subjugated them; and what could he accomplish if he saw himself free?

**2008.** These sudden cruel murders distressed many of the Araucanians and in particular General Caupolicán, [Cococolo] Colocolo, and others, who were sorry for the poor Governor and set upon freeing him. This is the most trustworthy account of the end of poor Gov. Pedro de Valdivia, a valiant gentleman and great soldier, and very fortunate up to the thirteenth year after his entry into that Kingdom which he had subdued and subjugated with such courage and success; but he was so negligent as to divide his forces and underestimate his enemies.

2009. He entered that Kingdom in the year 1540, explored and subdued large and wealthy provinces, and with his men underwent unbearable hardships for a period of 13 years. He founded seven cities-Santiago, La Serena, La Concepción, La Imperial, Valdivia, Villarica, and in the year 1552, Angol-and many forts for their protection. He discovered and exploited very rich gold mines, and derived huge wealth from them. He was successful in everything till he divided his forces, and although he knew the great courage of the Indians and their warlike spirit, he undervalued them, which was his complete perdition, destruction, and ruin. So at the end of the year 1553, the thirteenth of his governorship, he met this melancholy fate, having been a fortunate and successful soldier and captain in the course of his life. He was a native of La Serena in Estremadura and the son of aristocratic parents; he was of great aid to Marqués Don Francisco Pizarro in the conquest of Peru and for his good service Pizarro conferred that expedition upon him.

**2010.** After the savages had spent all that night in festivities and drunken orgies, having murdered the Governor and his chaplain in the manner described, while they were discussing in their council meeting how to end the war and do away with the Spaniards who

were still in the Kingdom, at dawn Capt. Juan Gómez de Almagro came in sight of Tucapel Fort; he had left Purén Fort a day later than the Governor had ordered him to come to his aid, with 14 valiant soldiers; they had not been able to make preparations and get ready sooner, and so arrived to join him a day after the battle. When the savages saw them, they fell upon them with great shouts and war whoops. The good Captain and his men fought with them valiantly; when they saw themselves hard put to it in their defense, they said: Since we are 14, 2 of us will be missing; they will call us The Twelve of Fame. When 7 of them had fallen, the other 7 remaining, who were badly wounded, retreated with him to the Purén blockhouse; though they had escaped from the fury of the savages, seeing that the country was lost and in rebellion, and that they were not safe there, with great hardships and courage they made their way to the city of La Imperial, sending word to the other cities and especially to Capt. Francisco de Villagrá, the Governor's Lieutenant General, who was residing in Valdivia, of the destruction and death of the Governor and his men and of the general uprising of the Indians. With which I conclude this book and first volume, to treat in the second which I am at present writing, of the wars of this Kingdom and of the valiant deeds of General Villagrá and the other governors, his successors, and of the famous deeds of the Indians, if God grant that I may bring it to light, that all may be for His glory and that of His Most Holy Mother. Amen.

**2011.** Statement of the salaries earned, with payment from His Majesty, by the Governor and Captain General of this Kingdom and the Provinces of Chile, and by the higher officers and ministers, captains, officers, and soldiers and other persons and the naval force who serve him in the army, each year in the statement of his royal budget (situado), and what was paid wholly or on account (socorrió) this past year of 1612, Alonso de Ribera being Governor and Captain General, together with what was spent in purchases of supplies and stores, and what was paid to friendly Indians and day laborers, back debts, capital expenditures (gastos de capital), and for frigates, boats and flatboats, agricultural land (sementeras), mill and royal apartments, and other expenditures which were necessary for the maintenance and service of the aforesaid army, in conformity with His Majesty's orders; and also what was left on hand (había en ser).

This follows in full:

#### ANNUAL SALARIES

2012. Higher-paid army officers and the salaries they receive.

Posts.		
I The Governor and Captain General gets as salary	66,176	Reals
1 A Militia Captain General	13,200	64
I A Supervisor (Veedor) General	16,500	66
I A Treasurer of the Royal Exchequer (Caja) has on the		
budget	7,380	46
1 An Auditor General	4,400	"
I A Sergeant Major of the Kingdom	6,600	**
I A Chief (Cabo) and Governor of the Arauco regiment		
(tercio)	7,700	"
I A Purveyor General for the forts	6,600	"
1 A Campaign Captain (Capitán de Campaña)	3,300	66
1 A Chaplain Major	4,400	66
4 4 Sergeant Major Adjutants	10,560	66
I A Field Surgeon Major (de campo)	2,750	**
I A Surgeon Major's Adjutant	2,000	46
1 A Provost General	1,280	66
I A Field Factor (Buying Agent)	3,000	66
I A Higher Officer of the Supervision General	4,000	66
10	159,846	"
-2		

2013. Interpreters, couriers, superintendents, and other persons receiving considerable salaries in the budget.

2 2 Interpreters General	6,000	Reals
2 2 Field and Army Couriers	3,200	66
I A Superintendent of the hospital	3,400	"
I A Surgeon for this hospital	3,400	"
I An Apothecary for this hospital	1,120	66
I A Superintendent for the cattle ranch	3,382	""
I Another Superintendent, for the mare ranch	960	"
7 7 Chaplains for the forts, with the one for the Province		
of Chiloé, 19,250, at the rate of 750 ducats a year, in-		
cluding the wine, wheat, and wax stipend	19,250	**
35	198,558	<i></i>

# 2014. Captains, officers, and soldiers.

6	6 cavalry Captains, including the Chief (Cabo) and Gov-		
	ernor of Chiloé, at the rate of 700 ducats a year	46,200	Reals
6	6 Lieutenants at the rate of 240 ducats	15,840	4.6
$_{2I}$	21 infantry Captains at 600 ducats	138,600	66
22	22 Ensigns, including the Chief at the Fort of Buena Es-		
	peranza, at the rate of 2,640 reals	58,080	4.6
$2\mathbf{I}$	21 Sergeants for the 21 companies, at 144 ducats	33,264	" "
6	6 Buglers for the cavalry companies, at the rate of 105		
	8-real patacones	5,040	"
I	A Bugler Major for the Captain General	2,376	" "
2I	21 Drummers for the 21 infantry companies, at the rate of		
	105 patacones	17,640	" "
21	21 Color Sergeants (Abanderados) at the same rate	17,640	" "
51	51 noncommissioned officers (Capitanes Reformados) in		
	attendance on the Captain General, at the rate of 215		
	patacones a year	87,720	66
56	56 noncommissioned Ensigns and Lieutenants serving in the		
	army, at the rate of 160 8-real patacones a year, in-		
	cluding the extra pay (ventaja) of 40 ducats which His		
	Majesty gives them, 71,680 reals	71,680	66
23	23 noncommissioned Sergeants who likewise serve in this		
	army, at the rate of 1,115 reals, including the extra pay		
	of 25 ducats which H. M. gives them	25,645	44
189	189 cavalry soldiers serving in their (de hellos) companies,		
	at the rate of 1,060 reals, including the extra pay of 20		"
	ducats which H. M. gives them	200,340	
44	44 Squadron Chiefs (Cabos de Escuadra) in the infantry		
	companies, at the rate of 1,104 reals, including the extra	0 (	66
	pay of 24 ducats which H. M. gives them	48,576	"
0	132 musketeers in these companies at the same rate	145,728	
998	998 simple enrollments as harquebussiers with (?) pikes		
	in the infantry companies, detached and in garrison, at the	0.0	"
	rate of 105 8-real patacones a year, 838,320 reals	838,320	

# 2015. Naval forces.

	A Captain and Master of a frigate, who is Licensed Pilot. Another of another, not licensed, half pay	,	Reals "
1,655	5	1,963,147	44
8	A Master (Arráez) for the boat for La Isla and Arauco.	1,920	""
	6 Spanish sailors serving on these 2 frigates, at the rate o		
	240 patacones		66
	A Calker (Calafate) working on the hulls of these 2 fri-		
	gates, the boat and the flatboats		66
1.66	3 Enrollments The salaries total	1,978,987	66

**2016.** So that these one thousand six hundred and sixty-three posts which were thus compensated in whole or in part (socorrieron) in this year of 1612, came in annual salaries to the total of a million nine hundred and sixty-eight thousand, nine hundred and eighty-seven reals, which makes 247,378 8-real patacones and 3 reals. And the lump (por mayor) sums that were drawn and paid, and the expenditure in purchases and other things detailed at the start of this account are as follows, noting that in the given number of cavalry and infantry soldiers are included 30 who are occupied with various materials and items in His Majesty's service; 3 are ropemakers, for rope and rigging; I blacksmith and armorer; 6 handle the horses for the Purveyor General; 7 are on the flatboats and 6 on the boats (barcos); 4 tend the horses and stallions on the ranches providing the Field Buying Agent (Factor) with horses to carry and draw supplies; 5 at the fords of the Río de Biobío and the passes to enemy territory (? Pasos de Los Enemigos?); and 4 in the Budget Offices, who are quite indispensable.

#### PAID FOR EXPENDITURES

2017. There were expended for these 1,663 posts both on account (a buena cuenta) and with some advances (? arrears? alcances), a sum of 1,591,495 reals.

What was paid out in purchases of supplies and stores amounted to 191,044 reals, as follows:

Eighty-four thousand and thirty-eight reals for $5,252\frac{1}{2}$ fanegas of wheat, at 16 reals the fanega, which were bought for this army, and which is discounted and charged (carga) when ac- counts are closed with these people	84,038	
counts are closed	71,948	
20,038 reals for quantities of rope, hemp, and other materials and stores bought in Santiago and this city for the army service		
and supplies for the soldiers	20,038	
13,220 reals for 371 varas of Quito cloth at $32\frac{1}{2}$ reals the vara (?), and for 100 varas (?) of grogram at $7\frac{1}{4}$ reals the vara (?),		
and for 60 varas (?) of baize (bayeta) at 7 reals, bought for		
the soldiers' clothing, there being lack of other kinds	13,220	
1,800 reals for 100 planks from Chiloé bought for stores, repairs, and other purposes necessary for His Majesty's works,		
at 18 reals	1,800	
Expenditures in purchase of supplies	191,044	reals

**2018.** The amount spent for expenses incurred on the agricultural land, cattle ranches, teamsters' hire (arria), woolen mill (obraje), gristmills, army chaplaincies, fortification, royal apartments, and other extraordinary expenses to the account of the royal budget, amounting to 76,895 reals:

7,293 reals spent in outfitting the teamsters escorting the	
wheat shipments to the forts, garrisons, etc	7,293
16,000 reals spent in wages in the woolen mill and in purchase	
of supplies for the Indians working there, and other things	16,000
17,600 reals counted as extraordinary expenses, for thefts from	
the royal stores, a wall having been broken through	17,600
12,800 reals paid to the Franciscan Convent for the chaplaincy in the army, levied on the budget of La Concepción (ynpuesta en	
el de Nuestra Señora de la Concepción); this amount is imposed	
on the increased production of cloth (? esta cantidad se echa en el	
crezimiento de la rropa); the chief contributors are the Governor,	
Supervisor General, and Treasurer, and those who receive the	
higher salaries	12,800
2,640 reals paid in wages on the cattle ranch and for matters	12,000
connected with its service	2,640
2,081 reals paid and spent in plowshares, axes, hoes, steel, iron,	
and other materials necessary for His Majesty's agricultural land	
at Buena Esperanza	2,081
3,154 reals paid and spent in repairs and remodeling His Maj-	
esty's gristmill which has been rebuilt in this city	3,154
4,823 reals paid and spent in repairing the royal apartments and	
stores and in the fortification of the fort and artillery	4,823
10,504 reals spent for freight coming from Santiago, for rope,	
budget expenses (descarga), field tent, wax for the chaplains,	
paper, ink, pens, and parchment for the paymasters' offices, the	
factors at the forts, and other petty expenses and repairs on har-	70 501
quebus stands, and other things necessary for the army	10,504

76,895 reals

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22,320

14,419 reals

#### 2019.

22,320 reals spent on the hulls, repairs, and outfitting of the 2 frigates, one barge (barco) and 7 flatboats (chatas) operating on this coast and on the Río de Biobío and at the fort ferries, for sails, rigging, nails, tow, pitch, tallow, masts, anchors, yarn, and other things necessary for their outfitting.....

14,419 reals paid and spent in the Royal Hospital of this city, which is the army's hospital, in medicines, cloth, and other things utilized for the soldiers' comfort, and in repairs on the building and the church, and this amount and much more is levied as a contribution (se desquenta) on the salaries of the captains, officers, and soldiers when their accounts are settled. The amount spent on the Army Hospital.....

(Folio 174 verso) 400 reals which by His Majesty's order are given every year to Don Juan de Molina, Cacique and Toque (Bell Ringer?) of La Imperial, who has been succeeded by a son, and the 13,179 reals remaining were paid to various Indians who worked on the fields, at the plowing and the harvest on His Majesty's ranch at the island of Santa María, and on the frigates, the transport of the wheat and other items in his royal service. The amount spent on friendly Indians and day laborers.....

The amount spent on friendly Indians and day laborers......15,53022,458 reals paid by order of the Viceroy of Peru and Governorof this Kingdom and Father Luís de Valdivia to the officialsnamed for the inspection of the natives in the Diocese of LaImperial, carried out by order of the previous Viceroy; in thisare included 8,000 reals which this Padre drew and took for hisown expenses. The amount expended by Padre Luís de Valdiviain this inspection......22,458

2020.

4,160 reals paid for a quantity of cloth which Gov. Alonso García Ramón took in the year 1606 under the head of redemption of captives and distributed it among the soldiers.....

22,800 reals spent in powder, rope, and lead, standardized ac- cording to the prices which prevail and which it costs His Majesty to be expended for his royal account in war material	4,160	
and defense	22,800	
for the making of shirts 102,080 reals paid to different persons for debts contracted in the year 1611: Juan Xaraqueniada for purchases of supplies, salaries, and other things, including 70,329 reals paid to Diego de Hinojosa and Fray Jerónimo de Hinojosa by virtue of their drafts and letters of attorney and the Viceroy's provisions. Paid on back debts for the year 1611	4,155 102,080	
8,000 reals paid to Capt. Juan Pérez de Uracandi as owner and master of the ships <i>San Francisco</i> and <i>San Agustín</i> which serve in His Majesty's pay on this coast by virtue of the Viceroy's decree as coast aid and to transport the budget money and for	2,213,245	
other purposes. Paid for coast aid by the Viceroy's order	8,000	reals

2021. So that 2,221,245 reals were paid and spent in this year 1612 on salaries of the persons mentioned, purchases, back debts, and other matters detailed above, on account of this royal budget; deducting from the 2,406,277 reals the 2,062,786 reals which was the value of the silver, cloth, and various articles which were brought duly registered from the city of Lima on account of the 212,000 ducats which His Majesty ordered provided for the pay and expenses of the army personnel, in which are included 44,000 reals which are levied on increase of pay (?crecimiento) for the army chaplaincy and transport expenses, coarse woolen cloth, sacking (arpilleras) and other things which His Majesty purchases for the benefit of the cloth (para beneficio de la rropa); and the 343,491 remaining, which was what the silver, cloth, and other commodities on hand in the royal stores, amounted to, was increased by (prozedieron) 3,970 income from the gristmill and the 45,942 for the cloth which is manufactured in the Melipilla woolen mill and comes into the hands of the Royal Officials, and the rest in silver and other commodities likewise received by these Royal Officials on this account and for this outlay and expenses; and there appears to have been a surplus of 185,032 reals, which remained on hand in these royal stores in powder, rope, harquebusses, swords, nails, iron, salt, soap, scrap iron (herraxe), shoes, and many other things and trifles; and it is noted that in this budget there were discounted by the city of Lima 303,820 reals in the following items:

160,000 reals which the Viceroy sent to the Royal Officials of the city of Santiago for them to pay therewith the supplies, stores, etc., which had been requisitioned (tomado) in past years for budget account and to supply the army for other purposes, as was stated in that register book..... 160,000 109,283 reals which the same Viceroy ordered given at Lima to President Luís de Valdivia for the maintenance of himself and his companions, and other expenses..... 109,283 7,337 reals which were paid by order of the same Viceroy to the Royal Officials of Quito and Guayaquil for the unpaid balance for the cost of the 200 pieces of cloth and 6,000 pairs of shoes which were bought in the year 1611 on budget account.. 7,337 276,620 reals 24,000 reals which the same Viceroy ordered taken from the register book (registro) and given to the Navy Paymaster at the port of Callao to pay the soldiers who came to serve in this Kingdom ..... 24,000 reals 3,200 reals which he ordered given as subvention to Capt. Juan Peraza de Polanco who came to serve in this Kingdom in company with Padre Luís de Valdivia and which had been charged to the above-mentioned on his salary account, but the Viceroy by personal provision ordered it should not be so charged but should be given as a subvention on budget account. 3,200 reals

303,820 reals

And in conformity with the above, be these expenditures made and these persons paid; thus this budget is acquitted, with the surplus above explained; in attestation thereof, as His Majesty commanded, this statement is sent, made out in the city of La Concepción on December thirtieth, one thousand six hundred and thirteen.

Don Francisco de Lillas y Oviña (?) Ferdinando de la Guerra (?)

**2022.** TABULATION of the Audiencias (Circuit Courts), States (Gobiernos), Corregimientos (Municipal Districts), and other civil (de pluma) posts and of the Archdioceses and Dioceses to which His Majesty appoints in consultation with the Supreme Council of the Indies, in the District of the Spanish Main and Peru, and those to which the Viceroy, Presidents, and Governors appoint, with statement of the salaries and income which they receive.

The Circuit Court of Panama was the first established on the Spanish Main. The President receives 4,500 ducats annual salary. It has 4 Associate Justices (Oidores), who are Alcaldes de Corte, and an Attorney (Fiscal), each with 2,000 assay pesos; it has the necessary additional functionaries.

**2023.** The Circuit Court of Santa Fé de Bogotá in the New Kingdom of Granada has a President with 6,000 ducats salary, 6 Associate Justices who are likewise Alcaldes de Corte, and an Attorney, each receiving 800,000 (?) maravedís, and the other necessary functionaries.

**2024.** The Circuit Court of San Francisco de Quito has a President with 4,000 assay pesos, 4 Associate Justices, who are likewise Alcaldes de Corte, and an Attorney, each with 2,000 assay pesos; it has the other necessary functionaries and officers.

**2025.** The Circuit Court of Lima has a Viceroy with a salary of 30,000 ducats; 8 Associate Justices, 4 Alcaldes de Corte and 2 Attorneys, each with 3,000 assay pesos; it has Relators and the other necessary functionaries and officers.

**2026.** The Circuit Court of the Provinces of the Charcas, which has its seat in the city of La Plata, has a President with a salary of 5,000 assay pesos, 4 Associate Justices who are Alcaldes de Corte, and an Attorney, each with a salary of 4,000 assay pesos; it has the other necessary functionaries and officers.

**2027.** The Circuit Court of Santiago de Chile has a President who is Governor and Captain General of that Kingdom; he has a salary of 5,000 mine-gold pesos (de oro de minas). It has 4 Associate Justices who are Alcaldes de Corte and an Attorney, each with 2,000 assay pesos. There are in this court the other necessary functionaries and officers, not counting many representatives appointed in its districts.

So that His Majesty appoints, in the district of Peru and the Spanish Main, to 47 posts: one Viceroy, 5 Presidents, 30 Associate Justices, 4 Alcaldes de Corte and 7 Attorneys, not counting the other necessary functionaries and officers, like Secretaries and Relators.

**2028.** The Circuit Court of Panama has in its district the State of Veragua, and in church matters, the Diocese of Panama.

**2029.** The Circuit Court of Santa Fé de Bogotá has in its district 5 States, to which His Majesty appoints in consultation with the Supreme Council: Cartagena, Santa Marta, Antioquía, Los Musos, and Mérida; and 3 Corregimientos: Tunja, Mariquita, and Tocaima; and part of the State of Popayán. In church matters, it has the

Archdiocese of Santa Fé, the Diocese of Cartagena, that of Santa Marta, and part of that of Popayán.

**2030.** The Circuit Court of Quito has in its district 3 States to which His Majesty appoints: Popayán, Los Quixos, Zaguarzongo; and 4 Corregimientos: Quito, Cuenca, Loja, and Guayaquil. In church matters, it has the Diocese of Quito, and part of that of Popayán.

**2031.** The Circuit Court of Lima has in its district II Corregimientos in the appointment of His Majesty in consultation with the Supreme Council; these are Paita, Saña, Trujillo, Cajamarca, Ica, Castrovirreina, Guamanga, Cuzco, Los Andes de Paucartambo, Arequipa, and Los Collaguas, and part of the State of Jaén de Bracamoros. In church matters it has the Archdiocese of Lima, and the Dioceses of Trujillo, Guamanga, Cuzco, and Arequipa.

**2032.** The Circuit Court of the Charcas has in its district 5 States, to which His Majesty appoints in consultation with the Supreme Council of the Indies: Chucuito, Santa Cruz, Tucumán, Paraguay, and Buenos Ayres; and 4 Corregimientos: Potosí, Oruro, La Paz, Arica; and one Alcalde Mayor de Minas, at Potosí. In church matters, it has the Archdiocese of the Charcas and the Diocese of La Paz, Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Tucumán, Paraguay, and Buenos Ayres.

**2033.** The Circuit Court of the Kingdom of Chile has in its district for church administration 2 Dioceses: Santiago and La Concepción.

2034. LIST of the governorships and other civil posts filled by appointment of His Majesty in the Panama Circuit Court District.

Governor and Captain General of the Province of Veragua,

1,000 assay pesos. ..... 1,000 assay pesos Paymaster (Contador), Treasurer, and Factor of Panama

and Puerto Bello; each has a salary of 400,000 maravedís... 400,000 maravedís

**2035.** The Governorships, Corregimientos, and Civil Offices (de pluma) in the district of the Circuit Court of Santa Fé de Bogotá, and their salaries.

Governor	and Captain General of Cartagena, 2,000 assay	
pesos		2,000 assay pesos
Governor	and Captain General of the Provinces of Santa	
Marta, 2,000	o ducats	2,000 ducats
Governor	of Antioquía, 2,000 ducats	2,000 ducats
Governor	and Captain General of Los Musos, 600,000	
maravedís	•••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••	600,000 maravedís

Governor and Captain General of Mérida and La Grita,450,000 maravedís450,000 maravedísCorregidor of Tunja, 1,000 assay pesosCorregidor of Mariquita and its mines, 800 assay pesosCorregidor of Tocaima and Ibagué and the Tierra Caliente(Hot Country), 1,000 assay pesos1,000 assay pesos

**2036.** Royal Officials appointed by His Majesty in consultation with the Supreme Council of the Indies in the district of the Circuit Court of Santa Fé de Bogotá, and the salaries they receive.

In Santa Fé de Bogotá there is a Tribunal de Cuentas		
(Exchequer Court) with 2 Paymasters (Contadores), each		
with a salary of 1,500 ducats	1,500	ducats
There are also 2 Auditors of Accounts; each has 800		
ducats	800	ducats
Paymaster and Treasurer of Bogotá, with salary of 400,000		
maravedís	400,000	maravedís
Paymaster and Treasurer of Antioquía, at 700 mine-gold		
pesos (de oro de minas)	700	pesos
Paymaster and Treasurer of Cartagena, at 300,000 mara-		
vedís	300,000	maravedis
Paymaster and Treasurer of Santa Marta, at 200,000		
maravedís	200,000	maravedís

**2037.** LIST of the Governorships and Corregimientos and Civil Offices to which His Majesty appoints in consultation with the Supreme Council of the Indies in the Quito Circuit Court District, and the salaries they receive.

Governor and Captain General of Popayán has a salary of		
2,000 ducats	2,000	ducats
Governor and Captain General of the Provinces of Los Quixos,		
1,000 ducats	I,000	ducats
Corregidor of Quito, 2,000 ducats	2,000	ducats
Governor and Captain General of the Provinces of Zaguarzongo		
and Jaén de Bracamoros, 1,500 ducats	I,500	ducats
Corregidor of Cuenca, 800 pesos	800	pesos
Corregidor of Guayaquil and its provinces, 1,000 assay pesos		
Corregidor of Loja and Zaruma, 1,500 ducats	1,500	ducats
Paymaster and Treasurer of the city of Quito; each has a		
salary of 500 pesos	500	pesos
Paymaster and Treasurer of Popayán, at 400 pesos	400	" "
Paymaster and Treasurer of Loja, at 600 pesos	600	66
Paymaster and Treasurer of the city and port of Guayaquil;		
each has a salary of 300 pesos	300	"

**2038.** LIST of the Corregimientos and Civil Offices to which His Majesty appoints, in consultation with the Supreme Council of the

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Indies, in the district of the Circuit Court of Lima, and the salaries they receive.

Corregidor o	f Piura and I	Paita, 1,200 assay pesos	1,200	pesos
66 G		assay pesos		
66 6		oo assay pesos		64
		1,000 assay pesos		66
		ay pesos	800	66
		na and its mines, 1,000 assay pesos	1,000	66
		2,000 assay pesos		"
		assay pesos		**
		2,000 assay pesos		<b>66</b>
		000 assay pesos		" "
		of Lima has 3 paymasters, each with a		
salary of 2,700	ducats		2,700	ducats
2 Auditors (	Ordenadores)	of the Tribunal, at 1,200 ducats	1,200	66
Paymaster, 7	Freasurer, and	Factor at Lima, at 1,200 ducats	I,200	"
Paymaster an	nd Treasurer of	of Paita and Piura, at 300 assay pesos.	300	pesos
Paymaster an	nd Treasurer	of Trujillo, at 1,000 ducats	1,000	ducats
Factor at Cl	nincha, charge	d with the receipt of the mercury, at		
800 assay pesos			800	pesos
Paymaster a	nd Treasurer	of Castrovirreina, at 800 pesos	800	44
	6.6	" Guamanga, at 1,000 assay pesos	1,000	"
44 44	66	" Cuzco, at 800 ducats		ducats
44 41	6 <b>6</b> 6 6	" Arequipa, at 800 ducats	800	66

**2039.** LIST of the Governorships, Corregimientos, and Civil Offices to which His Majesty appoints in the Charcas Circuit Court District, and the salaries they receive.

Governor of the Chucuito Provinces, 3,000 assay pesos " and Captain General of Santa Cruz de la Sierra,	<b>3,000</b> pesos
3,000 assay pesos	3,000 "
Governor and Captain General of Tucumán, 4,000 assay	
pesos	4,000 ''
Governor and Captain General of Paraguay, 2,000 ducats.	2,000 ducats
" " " of Buenos Ayres, 3,000	
ducats	3,000 "
Corregidor of Potosí, 3,000 assay pesos	3,000 pesos
Alcalde Mayor of the Potosí mines and range, 1,500 assay	
pesos	1,500 "
Corregidor of Oruro, 2,000 assay pesos	2,000 "
" " La Paz, 2,000 assay pesos	2,000 "
" " Arica, 1,000 assay pesos	1,000 "
Paymaster, Treasurer, and Factor of Potosí, at 2,000 assay	
pesos	2,000 ''
Contador de granos (Paymaster of the Granos Fund) at	
Potosí, 800 assay pesos	800 "

Pay	master	and	Treasurer	of	Oruro, at 800 pesos	800	pesos
	66	66	66	64	Arica, at 1,000 pesos	1,000	66
	66	66	44	66	La Paz, at 800 ducats	800	ducats
	"	"	66	66	Tucumán, at 500 pesos	500	pesos
	"	""	6.6	64	Buenos Ayres and Río de la		
Plata.	at 350	.000	maravedís			350.000	maravedís

2040. In the Circuit Court District of the Kingdom of Chile.

So that His Majesty appoints, in consultation with the Supreme Council of the Indies, in the District of Peru and the Spanish Main, to 37 judicial posts: 14 Governorships, 22 Corregimientos, and the Alcaldía Mayor de minas at Potosí; and 62 civil posts, with the 2 Tribunales de Cuentas at Lima and Santa Fé de Bogotá.

**2041.** Corregimientos filled by appointment of the Viceroy of Peru, the Presidents of the Circuit Courts of Santa Fé de Bogotá in the New Kingdom of Granada, and of the Kingdom of Chile, and the Governor of Popayán, with the salaries they receive, and the Circuit Court Districts and Dioceses in which they fall.

In the District of the Circuit Court and Archdiocese of Lima, the Viceroy appoints to 15 Corregimientos:

El Cercado	500	pesos			
The town of Cañete and Chincha 800					
" " " Arnedo in the Chancay Valley	800	66			
""" Huaura	800	66			
The Province of Huarochiri		66			
The Province of Canta					
The Province and Valley of Jauja 1,400					
The Province of Los Yauyos					
The town of Santa	800	66			

In the same District of the Circuit Court and Archdiocese, in the jurisdiction of the city of León de Huánuco:

(

City of L	eón	de Huánuco de los Caballeros	800	pesos
Province	of	Conchucos	1,000	61
66	an	1 Valley of Huailas	1,000	66
66	of	Los Huamalíes	I,000	64
" "	66	Cajatambo	1,000	66
66	" "	Tarma and Chinchaycocha	1,000	66

In the same Lima Circuit Court District, in the Diocese of Trujillo, he appoints to 5 Corregimientos:

774

Chicama Valley	800	pesos
Chiclayo Valley	800	6.6
City of Chachapoyas	800	6.6
Province of Cajamarquilla del Collay	1,000	44
Luya and Chillaos	700	4.4

**2042.** In the same Lima Circuit Court District, in the Diocese of Guamanga, he appoints to a Governorship and 4 Corregimientos:

Governor	$\mathbf{of}$	the Huancavelica mercury mines	2,000	assay	pesos
Province	$\mathbf{of}$	Chocorvos	1,000	pesos	
66	4.6	Vilcas	1,000	" "	
66	66	Los Lucanas	1,000	44	

In the District of the Diocese of the imperial city of Cuzco, which is in the Lima Circuit Court jurisdiction, he appoints to 17 Corregimientos:

Province	of	Andahuailas	1.000	pesos
Abancay			1,000	••
		Cotabambas		66
44	an	d mines of Vilcabamba	1,000	" "
66		Los Parinacochas		66
4.6		Los Aymaraes		66
66	44	Omasayos	1,000	66
4.6	66	Chumbivilcas	I,000	66
66	66	Velille	1,000	6.6
66	64	Quispicanche	1,000	6.6
Yucay V	alle	у	1,000	6.6
		Canas and Canchis		4.6
44	6.6	Cabana and Cabanilla	I,000	"
<b>66</b>		Taraco		6.6
4.6		Asillo and Azángaro		44
66		Caravaya	800	46
44		Chisques and Masques	1,000	44
		• •	,	

**2043.** In the Diocese of Arequipa, in the same Lima Circuit Court District, he appoints to 5 Corregimientos:

Province of Condesuyos	I,000	pesos
Valley and Town of Camanâ		
Province of Los Ubinas	900	66
Vitor and Siguas Valleys	600	66
Moquegua Valley	1,000	66

In the District of the Circuit Court and the Archdiocese of the Charcas, he appoints to II Corregimientos:

Province of Los Amparaes		pesos "
Town and mines of Porco		66
Tomina Frontier	800	66
Pilaya and Paspaya Valleys	1,000	66
Town of Tarija and Province of Chichas	800	66
Province of Los Lipes	800	" "
Province of Atacama		66
" " Paria	1,000	66
" " Los Carangas	1,000	44
" and Valley of Cochabamba		66

**2044.** In the Diocese of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, in the same Circuit Court District, he appoints to one Corregimiento:

Town of Río de Pisuerga in the Misque Valley ...... 1,000 pesos

In the Diocese of La Paz, in the Circuit Court District of the Charcas, he appoints to 5 Corregimientos:

Province	of	Paucarcolla	1,000	pesos
"	"	Larecaja	1,000	66
66	""	Caracollo and Sicasica	1,000	"
"	"	Omasuyos	1,000	66
44	"	Los Pacajes	1,000	66

The President of Panama appoints a Corregidor in the town of Santos and its district.

**2045.** In the District of the Circuit Court and Diocese of Quito, the Viceroy appoints to the 5 following Corregimientos:

Province of Otavaló	500	pesos
" " Los Yumbos	500	64
" and town of Latacunga	500	" "
Town of Riobamba	500	" "
Province of Chimbo	500	"

In the Quito Circuit Court District and Diocese of Popayán, the Governor of Popayán appoints to 4 Corregimientos :

Popayán	400	pesos
Pasto		
Almaguer	300	66
Rondanillo	100	64

**2046.** In the District of the Circuit Court and Archdiocese of Santa Fé de Bogotá, the President of the New Kingdom of Granada

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appoints to 20 Corregimientos and names I Juez de Canoas (Boat Inspector), each of whom has a salary of 200, 250, or 300 gold pesos (pesos de oro); he appoints also other officers and makes temporary appointments when posts filled by His Majesty fall vacant.

Ubatê	Ubáque
Guatavita	Bosa
Suesca	Sabana de Bogotá
Chía	Panches and Sutagaos

In the Tunja District of the same Archdiocese:

Chita	Sogamoso
Gámeza	Soatá
Tensa	Sáchica
Toca	Pamplona
Ceniza	Alcalde Mayor de Minas de Pam-
Moabita	plona
Turmequê	

He appoints also an Administrator for the Mitayos.

**2047.** The Governor and President of the Chile Circuit Court fills 13 Corregimientos by appointment; they have no fixed salary, but receive what is due them, according to the statement filed in each case. In the Diocese of Santiago de Chile, he appoints to the 8 following:

Santiago	Melipilla
La Serena	Colchagua
Mendoza in Cuyo Province	Maule
Quillota	Copiapô Valley

In the District of the Diocese of La Concepción, he appoints to the 5 following Corregimientos:

La Concepción	Itata
San Bartolomé de Chillán	Talcahuano
City of Castro on Chiloé	

The Viceroy of Peru appoints also 4 Supervisors (Veedores) for the Potosí mining range; they are under the orders of the Potosí Alcalde Mayor de Minas, and receive salaries of 500 assay pesos.

**2048.** Besides the above judicial posts, the Viceroy of Peru also makes the following appointments:

300 pesos

In the city of Lima he appoints a Receiver of Accounts (Contador de Cuentas) for the audits (residencias) imposed on the Corregidores; he is appointed by the same Viceroy to see that they give good account of the tribute they collect from the Indians, which is called the tax rate (tasa). This Contador has a salary of 300 assay pesos....

He appoints another Contador in this city of Lima, who is called the Contador de Retasas (Reappraisement), which are the statements of the amount of the tribute collected from the Indians. He has a salary of 500 assay pesos He appoints in this same city an Administrador de los Censos of the Indians (Indians' tax list); this is a highly profitable and authoritative (de confianza) post.	500	pesos
He appoints a Paymaster (Contador) and Inspector (Veedor) of Fleet and Rations; his salary is 1,200 assay pesos	1,200	""
He appoints an Assayor and Weighmaster (Balanzario), who has a salary of 400 assay pesos	400	"
He appoints a Contador de Granos (Paymaster of the Granos Fund), with a salary of 800 assay pesos	800	"
Another Weighmaster and Alguacil (Constable) of the Treasury,		66
with a salary of 400 assay pesos In Caravaya he appoints a Paymaster and a Treasurer, εach with	400	
a salary of 500 gold pesos (pesos de oro) In the city of León de Huánuco, a Paymaster and a Treasurer,	500	"
each at 300 assay pesos At Potosí, an Administrador (Collector) de los Censos (Taxes)	300	44
of the Indians; he gets 10 percent of what he collects (administra).		
He is also judge. Protector of the Indians, at Potosí, with a salary of 1,200 assay		
pesos Contador de Granos (Paymaster of the Granos Fund), at Potosí,	1,200	"
at 800 assay pesos	800	66
Paymaster and Treasurer of Chachapoyas, at a salary of 150 assay pesos	150	"
Inspector for the collection of the tribute of Chucuito; he has a salary of 1,200 assay pesos	1,200	"
He appoints 25 Supervisors (Administraciones) of the Indians' community income and the woolen mills, with salaries of 500, 800,		
and 1,000 pesos.		
He appoints in that vast Kingdom many Protectors of the In- dians, who all receive salaries of 500 or 800 pesos, and many other		
officials whom it is impossible to enumerate.	FOO	66
Treasurer of Tarija, 500 assay pesos	500	

Alcalde Mayor de Minas for Caravaya, 250 pesos de minas.... 250 "

**2049.** There are 2 Tribunals of the Holy Inquisition: that of Lima has always had 2 Inquisitors and an Attorney, each with a salary of **3**,000 assay pesos. It has Secretaries and other functionaries, appointed by the Inquisitor General, but everything is approved and passed upon by the Royal Council for the Indies.

The Tribunal of the Holy Inquisition in Cartagena is more recent. It has 2 Inquisitors, an Attorney and the other officials and functionaries.

There are Higher Tribunals of the Holy Crusade in all the cities with Circuit Courts; the Commissaries are appointed by the Commissary General and approved by the Royal Council. **2050.** General statement of the amount and the distribution of the Indian taxes (tasas), made by order of Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo in the year 1575, from the Provinces of the Charcas to those of Guayaquil in the Diocese of Quito, containing 614 repartimientos or encomiendas (Indian apportionments). The amount came to 1,384,228 assay pesos and 26 granos; but this has all fallen off because the Indians are decreasing in numbers and there is nothing definite in this.....1,384,228 pesos 26 granos

In	the	Charcas Provinces, 188,693 assay pesos 3 tomines	188,603-2
	64	Chuquiabo Provinces, 178,053 assay pesos 4 tomines	
66	66	Cuzco and Chucuito Provinces, 493,495 assay pesos 2 tomines	
	" "	Guamanga Provinces, 107,530 assay pesos 2 tomines	107,530-2
66	66	Arequipa Provinces, 112,440 assay pesos 5 tomines	112,440-5
66	66	Lima Provinces, 141,886 assay pesos 3 tomines	141,886–3
	66	León de Huánuco Provinces, 66,654 assay pesos 6 tomines	66,654–6
	6.6	Trujillo Provinces, 69,484 assay pesos	69,484
	66	San Miguel de Piura Provinces, 12,861 assay pesos 2 tomines	12,861-2
66	"	Guayaquil and Puerto Viejo Provinces, 13,126 assay pesos	
		4 tomines	13,126–4

Distribution of the Indian taxes (tasa).

To the curacies, 280,849 pesos 26 granos	
For church building, 5,541 pesos	5,541
For hospitals, 3,075 pesos	3,075
Justices' salaries, 181,305 pesos 1 tomín	181,305-1
Caciques' salaries, 153,920 pesos 6 tomines	153,920-б
To established encomenderos, 859,228 pesos 26 granos	859,22826

From these 859,228 pesos 26 granos of the encomenderos, should be deducted the diminution which has taken place since the assessment, because it has all fallen off. The residues applied to good purposes amount each to 72,101 pesos from the year 1581 on, as is stated by Dr. Diego Méndez in his chart; as regards the rest, it has not been possible to verify the facts.

**2051.** In the District of the Kingdom of Peru and the Spanish Main, His Majesty, in consultation with the Supreme Council of the Indies, appoints to 3 Archdioceses and 16 Dioceses. The Dioceses will all be listed with their metropolitans and dignitaries, Canons, Prebendaries, half-time Prebendaries, with the income they receive, although there is no exactitude (punto fijo).

Archdiocese of Santa Fé with its suffragans:

Archdio	ces	e of Santa Fé de Bogotá	14,000 pesos
		Cartagena	
		Santa Marta	
44	66	Popayán	500,000 "

Archdiocese of Lima with its suffragans:

Archdiocese of Lima 50,000 pesos							
Diocese	of	Trujillo	14,000 "				
"		Quito					
66		Panama	6,000 "				
		Guamanga	8,000 "				
66		Cuzco	20,000 "				
66	66	Arequipa	1.4,000 "				
66		Santiago de Chile					
""		La Concepción					

Archdiocese of the Charcas, and its suffragans:

Archdio	ces	e of the Charcas	60,000 pesos
Diocese	of	La Paz	14,000 "
66	""	Santa Cruz de la Sierra	9,000 "
6.6	<b>6 6</b>	Tucumán	7,000 "
66	"	Paraguay	500,000 maravedís
6.6	66	Buenos Ayres	500,000 "

**2052.** Archdiocese of Lima: 50,000 pesos; Archbishop, Dr. Hernando Árias Ugarte; has 5 dignitaries:

Dean, 4,250 pesos 4,250	pesos
Archdean, Precentor, Choirmaster (Maestre Escuela), and Trea-	
surer at 3,360	66
It has 8 Canons at 2,816	66
6 Prebendaries (Racioneros) at 1,970	66
6 Half-time Prebendaries (Medias Raciones) at	64
6 Choir Chaplains (Capellanos de Coro) at	66
Superintendent (Mayordomo) 1,407	66
Chief Sacristan (Sacristan Mayor)	66
Organist, Notary, and Verger at 450	66
Beadle (Caniculario) 338	66
Diocese of Trujillo, 14,000 pesos. Bishop, Dr. Carlos Marcelo. This church has 3 dignitaries:	
Dishop, D1. Carlos Marcelo. This church has 5 digintaries.	
	66
Dean	"
Dean	
Dean         2,069           Archdean and Precentor at.         1,785           4 Canons at.         1,385	6 i 6 i
Dean	"
Dean         2,069           Archdean and Precentor at.         1,785           4 Canons at.         1,385	6 i 6 i
Dean 2,069 Archdean and Precentor at. 1,785 4 Canons at. 1,385 2 Prebendaries at 970	66 66
Dean 2,069 Archdean and Precentor at. 1,785 4 Canons at. 1,385 2 Prebendaries at 970 Diocese of Guamanga, 8,000 pesos.	" " aries :
Dean 2,069 Archdean and Precentor at. 1,785 4 Canons at. 1,385 2 Prebendaries at 970 Diocese of Guamanga, 8,000 pesos. Bishop, Dr. Don Francisco Verdugo. This church has 3 dignit	" " aries :

Diocese of Arequipa, 14,000 pesos. Bishop, Fray Pedro de Perea, Augustinian. It has 5 dignitaries:

Dean	2,070	pesos
Archdean, Precentor, Choirmaster, and Treasurer	1,800	66
5 Canons at	1,380	66
2 Prebendaries at	964	66
2 Half-time Prebendaries at	500	66

Diocese of Quito, 14,000 pesos.

Bishop, Fray Bernardo de Ubiedo, of the Order of St. Bernard. This church has 5 dignitaries:

Dean	1,858	pesos
Archdean, Precentor, Choirmaster, and Treasurer at	1,610	44
It has 5 Canons at	<b>1,24</b> 0	66
4 Prebendaries at	900	"

Diocese of Panama, 6,000 pesos.

Bishop, Fray Cristóbal Martín, Premonstratensian. This church has 5 dignitaries:

Dean	1,500	pesos
Archdean, Precentor, Choirmaster, and Treasurer at	I,200	**
3 Canons at	1,000	"

**2054.** Diocese of Santiago de Chile, 5,000 pesos. Bishop, Don Francisco de Salcedo. This church has 5 dignitaries:

Dean	I,000	pesos
Archdean, Precentor, Choirmaster, and Treasurer at		
4 Canons at	600	66

Diocese of La Concepción, 500,000 maravedís.

Bishop, Fray Luís Jerónimo de Oreb, Franciscan. It has 2 dignitaries:

Dean	700	pesos
Archdean	550	64
2 Canons at	400	66

Archdiocese of Santa Fé de Bogotá of the New Kingdom of Granada, 14,000 pesos.

Archbishop, Don Julián de Cortazar. This church has 5 dignitaries :
DeanI,500 pesosArchdean, Precentor, Choirmaster, and Treasurer atI,3004 Canons atI,0002 Prebendaries at
Diocese of Cartagena, 3,000 ducats. Bishop, Don Diego Ramírez de Cepeda, Friar of the Order of Santiago. There are 5 dignitaries:
Dean1,400 pesosArchdean, Precentor, Choirmaster, and Treasurer at1,200 "2 Canons at1,000 "
Diocese of Santa Marta, 500,000 maravedís. Bishop, Dr. Don Lucas García. This church has 4 dignitaries:
Dean600 pesosArchdean, Precentor, and Treasurer at
<b>2055.</b> Diocese of Popayán, 500,000 maravedís. Bishop, Fray Ambrosio Vallejo, Carmelite. It has 5 dignitaries:
Dean
Archdiocese of the Charcas, 60,000 pesos. Archbishop, Fray Francisco de Sotomayor, Franciscan. This church has 5 dignitaries:
Dean5,000 pesosArchdean, Precentor, Choirmaster, and Treasurer at
Diocese of La Paz, 14,000 pesos. Bishop, Don Pedro de Valencia. This church has 3 dignitaries:
Dean1,400 pesosArchdean and Precentor at.1,200 "It has 5 Canons at.1,000 "2 Prebendaries at.700 "
<b>2056</b> . Diocese of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, 9,000 pesos. Bishop, Fray Fernando de Ocampo, Franciscan. 2 dignitaries:
Dean       1,800 pesos         Archdean       1,600 "         2 Canons at       1,300 "

Diocese of Tucumán, 7,000 pesos.

Bishop, Fray Tomás de Torres, Dominican. This church has 5 dignitaries:

	Dean	5
3	Diocese of Paraguay, 500,000 maravedís. Bishop, Fray Cristóbal de Aresti, Benedictine. This church ha dignitaries:	ıs
	Dean	5
	Diocese of Buenos Ayres, 500,000 maravedís. Bishop, Fray Pedro Carranza, Carmelite. 2 dignitaries:	
	Dean         550 pesos           Archdean         500 "           2 Canons at.         400 "	3

He appoints also to 25 posts as Administrators of Indian community property and woolen mills, and over 30 Protectors of the Indians, all of whom have large salaries and emoluments...... 55

The President of the New Kingdom of Granada appoints an Administrador (Collector) for Los Mitayos.

They make also ad interim appointments to temporarily vacant posts filled by His Majesty's nomination.

**2059.** The Viceroys of Peru appoint to 29 posts of Protectors and Advocates of the Indians, not counting other protectorates of less importance; the Circuit Court Districts in which they fall, are indicated:

Circuit Court District of Lima:

Protector and Advocate of the Indians at Lima.

	10	the	Indians	10	Jauja Province.
66	6.6	66	6.6	44	Ica Valley, and Juez de Agua (Water Inspector.)
66	66	6.6	44		Guamanga.
66	66	66	44	66	Huancavelica.
66	6.6	66	4.6	66	Chocloccocha and Castrovirreina.
66	" "	6.6	66	66	Trujillo Valley.
4.6	4.6	66	4.6	"	Huánuco.
"	66	66	""	44	Cajamarca.
"	66	66	66	64	Chachapoyas.
64	6.6	66	66	66	Jaén de Bracamoros.
66	4.6	6.6	66	64	Cuzco.
66	6.6	66	4.6	6.6	Vilcabamba.
"	**	66	6.6	44	Arequipa.
"	4.6	" "	46	46	Arica.
"	66	66	66	66	Piura.

" of the Indians of Jauja Province.

Circuit Court District of the Charcas:

Protector	$\mathbf{of}$	the	Indians	of	Potosí.
44	6.6	6.6	66	"	Los Charcas.
44	44	"	66	66	Cochabamba.
" "	4.6	**	6.6	66	Misque.
6.6	4.6	"	6.6	66	Oruro.
66	6.4	" "	6.6	""	Caravaya.
6.6	66	44	66	44	Tarija and Chichas.
6.6	4.6	66	66	6.6	Chucuito.

Circuit Court District of Quito:

Protector	$\mathbf{of}$	the	Indians	$\mathbf{of}$	Riobamba.
44	44	4.6	44	4.6	Guayaquil.
4.6	6.6	66	6.6	"	Loja.
66	"	66	64	66	Puerto Viejo.

Circuit Court District of Lima:

Administrator of Canas and Canchis.

4.4	" the Pallasca woolen mill.
4.4	" " Tarma woolen mill.
66	" " Huari woolen mill.
66	" " Huaras woolen mill in Huailas.
6.6	" Huamachuco.
66	" Trujillo.
<i>44</i>	" Chincha.
66	" Canta Province.
46	" Taraco and Samán.

Circuit Court District of the Charcas:

Collector of the Indians' taxes at Potosí (Administrador de Censos). Administrator of the Province of Los Chichas.

**	4.6	Sipesipe.
4.6	66	Chucuito.
66	66	Chuquiabo.
4.6	6.6	the Province of Los Carangas.
6.6	4.6	" Misque Valley.
6.6	6.6	Santiago del Pago.

Circuit Court District of Quito:

Administrator of the woolen mills of Riobamba and Puruaes.

- " " Sigchos, Pillaro and Patate.
- " " Alausí.
- " " the Chambo woolen mills.
- " " Otavaló.
- " " the Latacunga woolen mills.
- " " Chimbo.
  - " the Guayaquil cordage mill (jarcía.)

All those in the Quito Circuit Court District are woolen mill administrators, and most of those in the Lima District, and those

in the Charcas District, administrators of the Indians' community property and income.

Table of the Six Books and Chapters of the Six Circuit Courts in the Second Part. Pertaining to the District of the Secretariat of Peru and the Spanish Main.

Book I, of the Panama Circuit Court district, contains 4 chapters.

Chapter 1. Of the city of Panama and the Circuit Court located there.

Chapter 2. Continuing the description of the Panama Circuit Court District, and in particular, of the city of Puerto Bello.

Chapter 3. Continuing the description of the Panama Circuit Court District, and of some Spanish settlements established in its provinces.

Chapter 4. A description of the Provinces of Veragua and the cities established there.

Book II, of the Circuit Court District of Santa Fé de Bogotá in the New Kingdom; it contains 30 chapters.

Chapter I. Of the city of Cartagena and its important features, and when that country was discovered.

Chapter 2. Continuing the description of Cartagena.

Chapter 3. Of the rest of the State in the jurisdiction of the city of Cartagena, and the district of its Diocese.

Chapter 4. Of the city of Santa Marta and the district of its Diocese and State.

Chapter 5. Continuing the description of the district under the jurisdiction of Santa Marta, and the other cities established in its provinces.

Chapter 6. Of the city of Santa Fé de Bogotá, its founding and its magnificence, and of other features of these provinces.

Chapter 7. Continuing the distinctive features of Santa Fé and its district.

Chapter 8. Of other matters, pertaining to the district of the city of Tunja and the city of Pamplona.

Chapter 9. Of other matters relating to the district of the city of Pamplona. Chapter 10. Of the State of the city of Mérida and its district.

Chapter II. Of the Provinces of Los Musos and Colimas, and of the emerald mines there, and other remarkable things.

Chapter 12. Of the city of Trinidad de Los Musos, and the rich emerald mines in its district, and the way they work them.

Chapter 13. Of the city of La Palma, and of other special features of the district of its provinces and those of Trinidad, and of the variety of trees and fruit to be found there.

Chapter 14. Of the variety of birds and animals found in these provinces and regions of Los Colimas.

Chapter 15. Of the State of Antioquía and the cities contained in its district, and other remarkable things.

Chapter 16. Continuing the description of the State of Antioquía, and the customs of the savages.

Chapter 17. Of the abundance of livestock, fruit, and agricultural produce in the district of this State.

Chapter 18. Of the city of Cáceres and the rich gold mines in its district.

Chapter 19. Continuing the description of the Cáceres district and the variety of fruit, animals, and birds to be found there.

Chapter 20. Continuing the description of the previous theme.

Chapter 21. Of the city of Zaragoza, of its rich gold mines, and other features of its district.

Chapter 22. Of the mines at the new settlement of Guamacó.

Chapter 23. Continuing the description of the new mines at Guamacó, and other matters.

Chapter 24. Of the town of San Jerónimo del Monte aud its rich gold mines. Chapter 25. Of the city of Mariquita, otherwise called San Sebastián de la Plata, on account of its rich silver mines.

Chapter 26. Of the city of Los Remedios, its rich mines and other features of its district.

Chapter 27. Of other cities established and colonized in the district of the Corregimiento of Mariquita, and of the measures taken there against Lope de Aguirre.

Chapter 28. Of the cruelties perpetrated by the rebel Lope de Aguirre, and the events leading up to his disastrous end and evil death.

Chapter 29. How the rebel's army was broken up, thanks to the energy and foresight of valiant Diego García de Paredes.

Chapter 30. Of the city of Timaná and its district.

Book III, of the Circuit Court district of San Francisco de Quito; it contains 18 chapters.

Chapter 1. Of the city of Popayán, capital of its State and Diocese.

Chapter 2. Of the city of Cartago and other provinces in the Popayán district.

Chapter 3. Of the city of Almaguer and other cities in the Popayán district.

Chapter 4. Continuing the description of the Popayán district, and in par-

ticular, of Pasto and the sources of the great River Orinoco.

Chapter 5. Continuing the description of this country and the River Orinoco. Chapter 6. Of the city of San Francisco del Quito and the special features of its district.

Chapter 7. Continuing the description of the Diocese of Quito.

Chapter 8. Continuing the description of the Diocese of Quito and the provinces of Los Quixos.

Chapter 9. Continuing the description of the previous theme.

Chapter 10. Of the city of Sevilla del Oro in Macas Province.

Chapter 11. Continuing the Quito Diocese district.

Chapter 12. Of the city of Santiago de Guayaquil and its district.

Chapter 13. Of the city of Puerto Viejo and its district.

Chapter 14. Continuing the preceding subject.

Chapter 15. Of the city of Cuenca and its provinces, and the rivers in its district.

Chapter 16. Of the city of Loja and its provinces.

Chapter 17. Of the town and mines of San Antonio de Zaruma.

Chapter 18. Continuing the description of the Quito Circuit Court district, and of the city of Zamora and the Zaguarzongo Provinces.

Book IV, of the Lima Circuit Court district ; it contains 95 chapters.

Chapter 1. Describing the offices and their compensation, in the district governed by the Viceroy of Peru.

Chapter 2. Describing the King's Highways of the Incas in the Kingdom of Peru.

Chapter 3. Of the city of Trujillo and its provinces, and special features of its Diocese.

Chapter 4. Of the Trujillo District and its provinces.

Chapter 5. Of the city of Piûra and its provinces.

Chapter 6. Of the town of Cajamarca and its district.

Chapter 7. Continuing the description of Cajamarca.

Chapter 8. Of the city of Chachapoyas, and features of its district.

Chapter 9. Describing the city of Chachapoyas.

Chapter 10. Of the city of Jaén de Bracamoros and its district.

Chapter 11. Of the expedition conduced by Gov. Pedro de Ursuá down the Río de los Motilones, by order of Viceroy Marqués de Cañete.

Chapter 12. Continuing the description, and the exploration of the Río Marañón.

Chapter 13. Continuing the exploration of the Río Marañón.

Chapter 14. Continuing the description of the Marañón, and the arbitrary acts of Lope de Aguirre.

Chapter 15. Continuing the preceding theme, and the death of Don Fernando de Guzmán.

Chapter 16. Continuing the preceding theme, and other cruel acts.

Chapter 17. Of what the traitor did at La Margarita.

Chapter 18. Of the cruel acts perpetrated by the traitor at la Margarita.

Chapter 19. Of the valleys between the city of Santa to the city of Lima, belonging in the district of the Archdiocese.

Chapter 20. Of the great city of Los Reyes, called Lima, and the district of its Archdiocese.

Chapter 21. Continuing the description of the magnificence of this splendid city.

Chapter 22. Continuing the description of the city of Lima and of the holy Metropolitan Church.

Chapter 23. Continuing the description of Lima and of the splendid convents it contains.

Chapter 24. Continuing the description of the splendid convents of this mighty city.

Chapter 25. Continuing the description of the convents of nuns in the city of Lima.

Chapter 26. Continuing the description of Lima, and of other remarkable monuments enriching it.

Chapter 27. Continuing the description of the splendid hospitals of this city, and of the famous university.

Chapter 28. Of the famous colleges in the city of Lima.

Chapter 29. Of the Holy Tribunal of the Inquisition.

Chapter 30. Of the manner in which the Holy Tribunal of the Inquisition in Lima, Peru, held an auto-da-fé.

Chapter 31. Continuing the description of the auto-da-fé.

Chapter 32. Concluding the description of the auto-da-fé.

Chapter 33. Of the Port of Callao, suburb of the city of Lima.

Chapter 34. Continuing the description of the Port of Callao.

Chapter 35. Of the forts and castles at the Port of Callao, for its defense.

Chapter 36. Describing the district of the Archdiocese of Lina.

Chapter 37. Of the famous valley and Province of Jauja.

Chapter 38. Of other provinces and valleys in the district of the Archdiocese of Lima.

Chapter 39. Describing the productivity of the Pisco Valleys.

Chapter 40. Of the Villacuri sinks, and others in the district.

Chapter 41. Of the town of Ica and its valleys rich in vineyards.

Chapter 42. Continuing the theme of the previous chapter.

Chapter 43. Of the city of León de Huánuco el Viejo.

Chapter 44. Of the founding of the city of León de Huánuco.

Chapter 45. Continuing with the features of Huánuco.

Chapter 46. Of the Province of Los Huamalies, and other provinces.

Chapter 47. Of the Province and valley of Huailas, and what it contains.

Chapter 48. Of the Diocese of Arequipa and other valleys and lomas along the coast of its district.

Chapter 49. Of the town and valley of Camaná, and valley of Los Majes.

Chapter 50. Describing the city of Arequipa and part of its district.

Chapter 51. Continuing the description of the district of this city.

Chapter 52. Another account of the great earthquake from the volcano of Los Ubinas of Arequipa, and of the duration of the tempest.

Chapter 53. Continuing the account of what happened at the eruption of the Los Ubinas volcano.

Chapter 54. Discussing the cause of earthquakes and their origin.

Chapter 55. Of the wide jurisdiction of the Diocese, and the need of another bishop.

Chapter 56. Of the valleys of Sama, Tacna, Lluta, and other valleys.

Chapter 57. Of the city of San Marcos de Arica, its location, and other special features of the country.

Chapter 58. Of the excellent mines in this district.

Chapter 59. Of the district of the Diocese of the city of Guamanga and the provinces it comprises.

Chapter 60. Of the city of San Juan de la Vitoria de Guamanga, of its district and marvelous climate, and the valleys lying round about it.

Chapter 61. Continuing the description of the Diocese.

Chapter 62. Of the city and mines of Castrovirreina, and other matters.

Chapter 63. Of the mercury mines of Huancavelica.

Chapter 64. Of the founding of Huancavelica.

Chapter 65. Treating the preceding theme, of the qualities of mercury.

Chapter 66. Continuing the preceding theme, of the qualities of mercury.

Chapter 67. Of the way in which the metal mercury is obtained and handled.

Chapter 68. Closing the brief description of the Diocese of Guamanga.

Chapter 69. Of the Andahuailas district, and other provinces in the Cuzco Diocese.

Chapter 70. Continuing the description of the Cuzco Diocese.

Chapter 71. Of the imperial city of Cuzco, court city and capital of the Kingdoms of Peru, and of its great monuments and its founding.

Chapter 72. Continuing the description of the imperial city of Cuzco.

Chapter 73. Continuing the preceding subject.

Chapter 74. Of the Sun Temple, its description and magnificence.

Chapter 75. Of the Cloister of the Moon and other planets, and the Garden of the Sun.

Chapter 76. Of the Convent of the Virgins consecrated to the Sun.

Chapter 77. Of the Cuzco fortress, and its incredibly huge stone blocks.

Chapter 78. Of the three walls and three towers of Sacsahuamán.

Chapter 79. Of the monarchy of the Incas, their conquests and the dates of their reigns.

Chapter 80. Of the conquests of Capac Yupangui, Inca Roca, and Yaguar Huacac, and their administrations.

Chapter 81. Of Inca Viracocha, eighth king of Cuzco, his achievements and of other kings succeeding him.

Chapter 82. Of Inca Yupangui, tenth king of Cuzco, and his successors.

Chapter 83. Of other conquests made by Tupac Inca.

Chapter 84. Of King Huayna Capac, his conquests and achievements.

Chapter 85. Of the conquests and the King's Highways, achievements of Huayna Capac.

Chapter 86. Of Huascar Inca, thirteenth king of Cuzco, and his death.

Chapter 87. Of the battle offered King Huascar by the troops of the rebel Atahualpa, his imprisonment and death, with those of the royal blood.

Chapter 88. Recounting the imprisonment of Atahualpa, and other matters.

Chapter 89. Of some of the blood royal who escaped the cruel tyranny of Atahualpa and his ministers.

Chapter 90. Continuing the story of those of the blood royal who escaped, and in particular of Kings Huascar Inca and Mango Capac his brother, from whom the Marquesa de Oropesa is descended.

Chapter 91. Of the imperial city of Cuzco and its magnificance and distinction since it was taken over by the Spaniards.

Chapter 92. Continuing the description of the imperial city of Cuzco.

Chapter 93. Continuing the description of other provinces in this distrct.

Chapter 94. Of the Corregimiento of Cabana and Cabanilla, and other special features.

Chapter 95. Continuing the description of the Provinces of El Collao belonging to the district of Cuzco, and of the rich gold mines of Caravaya.

Book V, of the Charcas Circuit Court district; it contains 37 chapters.

Chapter I. Of the Provinces of Chucuito and Paucarcolla, in the La Paz Diocese District.

Chapter 2. Of Omasuyo Province and the holy relics preserved there.

Chapter 3. Of the city of Nuestra Señora de La Paz, and other provinces in its district.

Chapter 4. Of the Province of Paria in the Charcas Archdiocese district.

Chapter 5. Of the town of San Felipe de Austria, silver mines.

Chapter 6. Of the famous Cochabamba Valley and its district.

Chapter 7. Of the Province of Los Carangas, town of Porco and Pilaya and Pispaya Valleys.

Chapter 8. Of the rich and famous Potosí mining range, and when it was discovered.

Chapter 9. Continuing the story of the magnificent Potosí range, and of the Indians working under forced labor for its exploitation.

Chapter 10. How they grind and treat the silver ore.

Chapter 11. Of other processes used to extract the silver from the ore dust, and of the quantity of mercury used annually.

Chapter 12. Of the Inspectors and the administration of the range for the exploitation of the mines, and the salaries received.

Chapter 13. Of the imperial town of Potosí and its splendor.

Chapter 14. Of the churches, convents, curacies, and hospitals in the imperial town of Potosí.

Chapter 15. Of the destruction caused by a flood in the Potosi ore-reducing mills in the year 1626.

Chapter 16. How part of the damage may be made good, not only in the imperial town of Potosí but in all the monarchy.

Chapter 17. Of Chayanta Province, and other valleys, and the Provinces of Amparaes.

Chapter 18. Of the Diocese of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, called La Barranca, and its district.

Chapter 19. Continuing the description of Santa Cruz and of the famous valleys within its district.

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Chapter 19. How, after burning down the Tucapel fort, Caupolicán held a council of his followers to decide what to do; and other episodes in the life of Gov. Pedro de Valdivia.

Chapter 20. How the army of the Araucanians attacked Gov. Valdivia and his men from many quarters on the Tucapel plain, and defcated and killed them.

Chapter 21. Of the death of Gov. Pedro de Valdivia, and what happened to the 14 Spaniards who left Purén to join him.

FRANCISCO DE IRRUETA (IRRIETA?)

There follows on folio exciii of the MS a description of the artillery in Morro Castle at Havana, but it merely repeats the information already given in paragraph 296.

## INDEX

In the absence of an explanatory commentary—a huge task, which I hope may be undertaken in an edition of the Spanish text by someone younger and wiser than I—the index assumes an unusual importance. Where a note seemed necessary, it has been added; and much effort has been expended to aid scholars investigating special subjects; cf., e.g., Franciscans, Indian community organizations, prices, treatment of Indians and Negroes. Research for the modern forms of proper names consumed many months—first in the Vatican Library in the great Espasa cyclopedia, atlases, and other works, and later in New York over the admirable millionth maps of Latin America generously contributed by the American Geographical Society. Some 10 or 12 percent resisted identification; a list of these was sent out to several specialists, among whom Señorita Eulalia Guzmán of the Mexican National Museum was especially helpful.

In general, one who consults the index should search for a place under its modern name, not that used, e.g., by Prescott. If the word is spelled differently by the author, his form follows in parenthesis. "Oaxaca (Guaxaca V)" means that in the Vatican MS the city is invariably called "Guaxaca." In case he varies, each form is given, so that the index constitutes a critical edition of the Spanish text for proper names. Moyobamba, e.g., is thus written in paragraphs 1161, etc.; Moyabamba in 1091; Muyubamba in 1563; these variants are valuable as indicating sources. With Mulaló, which is the modern form, we have in the MS only Mulahalo and Mulajaló. Under "Aché" the "also Achi" means that the language is also called Achi today, as well as Aché; "Deseada I; Désirade" means that today the island is usually called Désirade. Remember always that B and V, C soft, S and Z, G soft, H, J, and X, QU and C, U and O, I and Y, are frequently interchanged; a Velasco may lurk under Belasco, and vice versa. Uniformity is practically impossible to attain; cross-references have frequently been added as a help. Where V (the MS) uses circumflex and grave accents, I have kept them for picturesqueness; in modern Spanish only the acute has survived. The use of accents is so inconsequent anyway in Spain and the Spanish-American countries that my practice will doubtless offend some eyes, to say nothing of inevitable errors. Corrections and suggestions will be gratefully received.

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