

General description of the mining camp and Imperial Villa of Potosí and of the most important aspects of its governance (1585)

By Luis Capoche

Luis Capoche, *Relación general del asiento y Villa Imperial de Potosí y de las cosas mas importantes a su gobierno, dirigida al Excmo. Sr. don Hernando de Torres y Portugal, conde del Villar y virrey del Perú. 1585*. Ed. Lewis Hanke, published as vol. 122 in the series Biblioteca de Autores Españoles [BAE]. Madrid: Atlas, 1959). Original ms. in AGI Charcas 134.

Translation draft by Kris Lane, 3 Aug. 2018

The materials contained in this account

First part

Description of the mountain and Villa of Potosí.

Of the discovery of the mountain.

Of the veins found inside the mountain.

Of the tunnels found inside the mountain and of their utility.

Of the tunnels being worked without having reached the veins.

Of the shafts in the mountain.

Of the test diggings on the mountain.

Of the old way of working the mines and refining its ores by wind furnace.

Second part

Of the introduction of mercury and the building of the mills.

Of the means of refining by mercury.

The mills found along the ravine of this town.

The mills of Tavaconuño.

The mills of Tarapaya.

Of the site and mines of Los Lipes.

Of the site and mines of Berenguela and Challacollo.

Discoveries they have made in this province of Las Charcas of gold and silver mines of which there is news.

Of the discovery they have most recently made in the hills of Wari-wari.

Of the captaincies in this city meant to govern the Indians and the number of [Indians] occupied in working the mines and refineries and other servile tasks.

Of the mercury monopoly.

Of the truck and trade the natives carry on with the ores and the disputes that have arisen as a result, and of the resolutions made concerning this.

Of the dangers faced by the Indians who remove the ore from the mines and how they come to this against their will.

Of the way in which the Indians sell the ore and other particulars related to the material of truck and barter, with its resolution.

Of the sale of Indians carried out in Potosí.

Of the parishes and *doctrinas* [indigenous parishes] of the city.

Of the province of Chucuito and of the administrator who resides in this city for the collection of tributes.

Of the *mingado* Indians and the disorder caused by their presence.

Of the abusive habit of coca and the damages it causes the Indians.

Of the royal treasury and general commerce of this city and kingdom.

Of the fees and salaries of this kingdom, its *encomenderos*, priests, magistrates, protectors [of Indians], and caciques.

[dedication]

To the most Excellent Lord don Hernando de Torres y Portugal, count of Villar and Viceroy of Peru, my lord...

First part of the account of Potosí

Description of the mountain and city of Potosí

The mountain and Imperial City of Potosí are located in cold country, with many snows, sterile and fruitless, and almost uninhabitable due to the harsh and foul weather. Before the discovery of the mountain there were no inhabitants because of the poor climate. It is dry and cold by nature, and extremely gusty, especially in May, June, July, and August, when harsh winds kick up called *tomahavis* (as they come from a town of that name); they are impetuous and arrive extremely cold and with so much dust and sand that they darken the air and cause much ill humor, although they are not sickening. It rains very little in this town and the rains come only toward the end of November, and are strongest in January and February. They are gone by early March. Not a single variety of food is grown in the town or nearby save a few potatoes (produced like truffles in the earth) and barley sprigs that yield no grain, as the cold is perpetual, and in this it exceeds that of Old Castile and Flanders in that there is never a time in which the elements find peace and balance among themselves so that the land may give fruit to the man who possesses it. And it is rugged and barren, without a single grove of trees or greenness. Its location is $21 \frac{2}{3}$ degrees south of the Equator, and although in the tropics it is cold when it ought to be temperate and hot like the other lands at this latitude, but this is prevented by the loftiness and great elevation of this land and also by the intemperate winds with which it is bathed.

To the east of this mountain some 170 leagues, with respect to us, lies the province of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, wherein are found the last towns subject to Peru. And continuing straight ahead is the North Sea and coast of Brazil, with the great River Plate which tends toward the southeast, and at the first brackish waters that come up the river there is the settlement and port of Buenos Aires, from here 430 leagues [divided into] legs along good road. And sailing to Castile is swift and some try to go there this way, and more would do so if they were assured of finding ships, which are not always there. To the west is the Austral or South Sea, and at ninety leagues the port of Arica, stopover for Chile and where merchandise is unladed for carriage here to this city from Lima's port of Callao, and to which silver is brought from here by trains of mules and llamas to be sent to Spain by sea. To the south is the province of Tucumán, 150 leagues, and here

too one finds the outermost settlements of this part, and the provinces of Chile and the Strait of Magellan, 600 leagues. Towards the north lies the heart [*nobleza*] of this kingdom, its principal provinces and cities. And it should be understood that this description and location of provinces according to cardinal points or terrestrial climate zones refers to whole parts and not to straight lines.

Returning, then, to the mountain, not a blade of grass grows upon it. Its color tends toward dark red, free of cliffs and crags, and exposed on its surface is silver-bearing earth and rock and rubble. The rest is bedrock. It is straight up and steep, with a sharp grade, although one can manage it all on horseback. It ends in a rounded point. At the base of its flanks it is a league in circumference. It stands separated, alone and apart from the surrounding land, although on the north part there are attached a few hills and on the west side others rise in the form and fashion depicted here [fig. lost] (which is but a sketch, reducing its greatness to this tiny representation, with the town site and churches in their proper places). From the summit of this mountain to its foot and base, measuring on the east side, one counts 1,624 common yards, which reduced to Spanish leagues comes up as one quarter of a league; and on the west side it is about 1,404 yards; and on the north side, 2,419, which is half a league; and on the south, which is the lowest, 546, which is a tenth of a league.

On this mountain, at the foot of its flanks, there is incorporated a smaller mountain, born out of it, which formerly had a few mines of loose ores which are found in pockets and which were quite rich, although few, and they did not run in fixed veins. They call it Huayna Potosí, which is to say Potosí, Jr., from the flanks of which, on the north side, begins the town site of this villa, and it is 8,652 yards in circumference, which is a league and [three] fourths.

The town site is made uneven by slopes and ravines. Its buildings are the worst to be found in these parts (being as they are simple, low, and poorly laid out), and the houses small due to the coldness of the land and the high cost of living, and the availability of only poor materials, and those who dwell here being only itinerant traders who come and go with no fixed abode, and to whom the public good and improvement of towns matters little. And the main cause of its lack of splendor is its not having citizen-*encomenderos*, who in other parts with so much effort and valor have lent their persons, and also their wives and families, ennobling the kingdom and perpetuating it with the cities they have founded, with magnificent buildings and sumptuous houses, plus ornaments and finery for their persons. Although recently the trade in fashions has arrived in this town to such a degree that whereas one used to buy only dark woolen cloth and boots of sole leather (as it used to be prohibited to bring silk), they now walk dressed in velvet and pressed woolens and fine stockings, and it is rare to see breeches without brocades and gold thread, and this is so common that artisans and mulattoes dress thusly. After the introduction of mercury, this city was ennobled due to the great influx of people and the marriages that have resulted. It is so curious the finery worn by the women that it could compete with all those of the kingdom [i.e., Castile].

There are squares, that of the Court of Justice and Royal Offices, plus the Merchant Exchange and royal mint and smeltery; there is also [the plaza] of coca, and three squares where they sell maize and flour, and another for livestock, and one for firewood and charcoal, and another for ore, which in its trading is something to see, as it is here that they trade the ores taken by the

Indians from the mountain, or silver for silver, to put it better. Aside from these there are many other public places where great concourses of native peoples gather to hold their fairs and markets, so crowded that one can barely walk among them.

There pass through this villa and its ravines three creeks that in winter run with some velocity, and one of them, fed by the lakes, maintains its flow for five or six months. And next to the flank of this one, somewhat distant from the town, there is born a perpetual spring they call 'of Castile,' as it is so singular, such that the aficionados of this element [spring water] can satisfy their appetite without having to search for a means of drinking it cold, not because it always comes out of the spring that way, but rather once outside it chills. The natives drink from wells and suffer much necessity as they generally lack water in September and October until it rains; they do not drink from the creeks, although they run, as the water comes corrupted with the refining of ores and mercury; and thus it should be required to make wells in the parishes of each community for their sustenance, which would be a pious work and not difficult for the Indians, for whose benefit it would be.

Despite everything having to be brought in from afar, the marketplaces are well provided with everything necessary for the good sustenance of a very fertile and abundant republic, with many dainties and conserves, and well-crafted and smooth wines from Castile that arrive here much purified, and there is also good fruit that they bring here from the valleys of Chuquisaca [near modern Sucre] that in this *puna* and land so cold and dry are quite agreeable and tasty.

Of the discovery of the mountain

The Spanish had been in possession of this kingdom more than twelve years without having any news of this mountain, in which time some of ours worked the mines of the site of Porco, which was the sustenance of the kingdom, and in the discovery [of Potosí] they found no sign that the ancient Incas or kings had taken advantage of its mines nor did they find evidence of works (as they had in Porco, where [the Incas] had them), and it was due to some vain observance and ceremony to which these Indians were inclined (the blind and most deluded of them adoring certain hills and singular rocks, devoting themselves to their *huacas* or shrines – which was where the Devil spoke to them and where they offered their sacrifices, and it became well known that when the Indians of Chaqui, which is a pueblo five leagues from this city, wanted to work it, a very great pestilence occurred, which they attributed to this and thus they left it; and once the Inca knew of it, frightened by this news, he ordered that they not be worked, and the Indians heard voices in the air telling them that [the mountain of Potosí] was reserved for another, better people, and they would have to sacrifice more than them) or due to their being ignorant and not knowing of its value and richness, God having it reserved and hidden so many centuries for the remedy and rescue of our nation. And thus God made these kingdoms rich in worldly goods, knowing our inclination, so devoted as it is to these metals, because if they were lacking it would be most difficult to preach as the land is so remote and inhospitable.

The first to give news of it, by way of evidence and public register, was Guanca, an Indian native of Jauja, a *yanacona* belonging to Villarroel, who was a Spaniard residing in Porco. And before this, the one who discovered it and first took silver from its mines was an Indian named Gualpa, of the Chumbivillca nation in the land of Cusco, who, coming from the west in pursuit of some

deer followed them up the mountain, and as it is steep and at that time covered with some trees they call *quiñua* and much scrub, in order to climb over a difficult passage he was forced to pull himself up by a branch that had grown right out of the vein that [later] took the name 'The Rich.' And in the root and cavity it left he encountered the ore, which was quite rich based on what he knew from Porco; and he found on the ground next to the vein several pieces of ore that had been broken loose but he was unable to examine them closely as the sun was going down and he had no water, so he took them to Porco to assay by *guaira* [the Andean wind furnace].

And as he saw its extraordinary richness, he worked the vein secretly without mentioning it to anyone, so much so that the Indian Guanca, who was his neighbor in Porco, noticed that from his smeltings he came away with better ingots than were ordinarily produced in that area, and that his person was also better adorned, as up until then he had lived in poverty. And anxious to know what was going on, he managed to examine a piece of the ore, and wondering at it he asked what mine it had come from; and Gualpa told him 'from Porco,' and that he knew no other mines, but Guanca denied this. And he questioned him so much that he had to admit what had happened, and he brought him to this mountain, now having worked it for eight months, sole beneficiary of the greatest wealth ever seen in the world. And he told Guanca to take for himself a vein he had also discovered, which was near the other, and which was later given the name Diego Centeno, no less rich, but harder to work. And with this agreement they divided the mountain between themselves. But Guanca, as he had to take out his ore with a bit of difficulty and more effort, asked Gualpa to let him work in his vein, as it was sufficient for the two of them; and since he declined they fell out with many disagreements. And upset by this, Guanca advised his master, Villarroel, who went to have a look at what he spoke of, and seeing what had taken place, he made Guanca file a claim, and together they staked out the mine later called Centeno, the registry of which was done in Porco on the 21st day of April, 1545.

And after some days they discovered the vein called The Tin, which has been exceedingly rich, although exceedingly difficult to work, its ore being as hard as bedrock. And on the 31st of August of the same year they registered the vein of Mendieta, and these are the four principal veins of this mountain. Of the Veta Rica they say its ore stuck up to the height of a lance, in the form of some crags, rising up from the surface of the earth like a crest some 300 feet long and thirteen feet wide, left that way uncovered and stripped clean by the Flood, resisting like the firmest part the impetus and force of the waters. And it was such rich ore that it contained half silver, and so leaden that when the Indians chopped at it their bars stuck in it; and they removed stringers as fat as a leg, and where these are it is a sign that the mine is very rich, as the silver is congealed and born with it [lead] as it is 'wet.' And they went on pursuing its richness some 57 statures down, after which it began to play out.

And once this discovery became known in this kingdom a great many Spaniards rushed in, including nearly all the citizens of the city of La Plata [today's Sucre], which was then called Villa Rica, taking possession of mines, and in order to work them also bringing in a great number of Indians from the *repartimientos* [*encomienda* allotments], plus *yanacunas*, from all over this province and the districts of its cities, these being the first to settle, and also the *guairadores* [native smelters using wind furnaces] who moved here from Porco. And in a short time it became the largest settlement in the kingdom.

Of the veins found in this mountain

'Vein' refers to a band of ore as occurs in this kingdom, in the higher parts and peaks of the mountain toward the east. They run North-South. They call them this as they resemble the [veins of] trees and their wood, forming their lines or veins where the sap of the tree flows and runs, dividing the body of the wood, and they also show another gummy material that differs from the rest. In the same way, in this mountain are the veins of ore set between its earthy parts and bedrock, with that surrounding it is called encasements [*cajas*], and that which is in between is ore. The veins are at most six feet wide, and five and four and two, and more or less, widening at times and at other times narrowing like a palm [trunk].

The rich ore they take from the mines they smelt with the *guaira*, as they have always done, and some Indians and Spaniards refine it with mercury. And the poor ores that were not for the *guaira*, which occurred alongside, and which made up the greater part of the vein, with others so poor that they served for nothing until the introduction of mercury, they tossed aside, like a useless thing of which they expected no gain by way of smelting and result of fire. And the rich ores they refined by smelting, being unable to beneficiate and correct them with the bellows furnace, as in Porco and other places, although expert persons very knowledgeable in ore types attempted it. And it was on account of these [ores] being dry. And thus they benefited from them by *guaira*, whose smelting is more gentle and moderate, as will be described in its place.

This past prosperity was so great that the tailings, which are poor ores that they cast out of the mountain, were so rich they contained ten to twelve pesos per hundredweight [of silver], and some of those refined with mercury contained up to sixteen. And there were so many [of these tailings] on the mountain that, from the year [15]73 until today they have not run out; and by way of these many have become rich, although it costs them nothing more than to gather them. Those who at present 'glean' [pallan] which is what they call this manner of choosing and collecting ore, and which makes up the better part of the ore they mill this year along the main creek bed – and if it were not for these there would barely be anything to mill, and without this, many [mills] would be idle. And those who mill only in exchange for transport and milling fees do so with so little benefit that this one and that one must go to [debtor's] prison or Tucumán, which is the Portugal [i.e., place of exile] of this land. And this year the tailings run two-and-a-quarter pesos, and up to two-and-a-half pesos [of silver per hundredweight], which is good milling; but these are rare, and the rest do not even yield two pesos.

Last year there was very little work in the mountain because the mine and mill owners had no means of refining [ores], as there had been two years without milling due to the lack of water; but this [year], in which Your Excellency has given favor to this kingdom by entering, has been most fertile and abundant, and all hold it as a good forecast of the happy and fortunate government of Your Excellency; this favor they have been done by heaven in this new start.

The veins are so deep, especially the main ones, that it is necessary to descend in some of them more than 200 statures in order to reach their ores.

I name below all the veins in this mountain, with a list of the persons who have mines, and the quantity each one possesses in terms of type and depth, plus the number of Indians granted by

the general assessment carried out by Dr. don Diego López de Zúñiga, court magistrate of the Royal Audiencia of Lima, by order of the most excellent lord, [Viceroy] don Martín Enríquez, may he be in glory, and they were assigned them in the time of the audit by the inspectors and deputies named for this purpose (the same who made allotments according to the perceived needs of each mine they visited in terms of Indians to work and develop it, although in this there was much disorder) and according to the [number of] Indians assigned in the last apportionment by the lord viceroy. In the first column are the Indians assigned [in writing], and in the second those actually given; in the third is the number of yards [of officially claimed vein] each mine has; in the fourth is depth in statures each has, and where there is a cross it means it is a virgin mine, [not worked] due to the poverty and little understanding [its owner has] of how to benefit from it:

[...next are detailed lists from p.79-102 to reproduce elsewhere, probably as an appendix...]

Of the veins and mines that have been discovered and registered in the Cerro Rico of this city after the general assessment that ended on the ninth of March, 1582.

Antonio Contreras discovered a vein of silver ore right on top of the Medina adit [access tunnel], for which they granted him sixty yards of mine as pertains to the discoverer, and Your Majesty took a mine [i.e., a mine was set aside for the king, on which a higher tax would be paid by the operator], and many other people staked claims.

Francisco Polanco the younger discovered and registered a vein of silver ore between the Vein of the Blind Men and that of the Flemings, for which they granted him the sixty yards that pertained to him. And Your Majesty took a mine and many persons [staked claims], and the same is to be understood in all the registries that follow, so in order to avoid prolixity I will not put the names of those who took mines or staked claims, as almost all of these are virgin mines and veins.

list cont. p.103

Diego Rodríguez de Figueroa registered a vein of silver ore, in which they found some old diggings that dead-ended, and the vein lost, having much earth and stone on top. And thus it is with many that they register as new discoveries, since those who first found them were of no consequence, and they left them, time erasing the memory of this. And other persons cover over the vein, and usually they are Indians who go grubbing over the mountain and they give notice to their masters or friends, who then file a new claim, acting as if it were abandoned, and if they happen to register it thus, or as a new discovery, either way it is in line with the royal regulation, although I understand that in the first general inspection that was done they visited more than forty veins with the many people who had taken mines in them, and this latest registry appears to have been done in October of 1584.

Of the tunnels in the mountain and their utility

One of the great inventions they have made in the mountain in order to work the mines and benefit from their ores has been that of access tunnels [adits], whose development is of great value and importance. And thus Your Excellency should mandate that great care is taken

continuing it, and that the Indians allotted for this purpose remain occupied in this work, for which it should be known that the veins of this mountain are discovered on the summits and highest parts toward the east. They run North-South, the veins climbing toward the tip and crown of the mountain, with the ore and host rock toward the bottom, which is from where they originate and have their root, and as it is commonly understood, all the way to their base, and it could be more, and it may even descend more than 1,200 statures.

And they have been so firm, the host rock and ores of this mountain, that it is understood that their origin and firmament is in the base, although there is a risk in the very depths of hitting water, yet as the mountain has been so dried out and lacking water it has been possible for the mine works to go down quite deep, because with the exception of the mines in the Veta Rica they call Pancorvo's, who was a citizen of Cusco, there are no others that have ended up in water.

So in order to work the mines and remove the ores they have been forced to descend to whatever depths they have by way of ladders, and having chopped out the ore with crow bars they ascend again with difficulty, cost, and labor, and with notable danger to the Indians. And in order to avoid this they have contrived to make some caves along the sides through which they are mining the mountain, following an easterly course in search of the veins that run North-South, reaching them crosswise.

They drive the access tunnels with much effort, by tip of the crowbar, the mountain being of bedrock, and no more than two pick-men can work at the end or face of the adit at a time, and they change places by night and day. And with the breathing of the Indians and little movement of the air their candles go out, rendering it no small job.

The adits are eight feet wide and a little more than a stature high. One enters them as if walking on a flat, although passing over some poorly worked steps and stairways; they are closed up with their doors; from them the ores are easily removed, without danger to the Indians. When some mine owners wish to work areas that can be reached by the adits they owe to the adit's owner one fifth of the ore they carry out through them, although they are not so rigorous in charging this. These adits are not so common that all the mines connect to them, but rather they tend to reach only the veins belonging to private persons who searched for them.

There is great hope that those [access tunnels] now in progress will be finished soon, as it is commonly believed they will be, and if done carefully it will restore this land and it would be tremendous the quantity of ores and silver there would be. And thus as if I were treating only them [adits] in particular, I will recount to Your Excellency the state they are in.

And although the adit, upon reaching the *chile* ore, which is at the greatest depth of the mine, cannot improve the condition or richness it now has, there are still found in them more than just the savings of descending and ascending [i.e., not having to climb in and out of vertical shafts], important as this is for the security and reduced effort of the Indian. But there are other benefits, there being many mines that have terminated in muds [barrales] and 'burnt rock' [quemazones] and poor ores, such that their value does not match the cost [of extraction], and their owners lack the manpower to break open the mine and remove that earth and useless ore at such great cost. And with the adit they can end this, saving the cost of emptying the mine of all the muds and

burnt earth, instead starting the mine anew by going below, even if the muds went fifteen or thirty statures before returning to good, firm ore. The adit, upon reaching the vein and mine, leaves aside the muds and earths, such that these serve as bridge and reinforcement of the host rock.

I place those [adits] here that have reached veins, through which they are reached and worked, along with those that are just being finished. When the adit reaches the vein they call that place the crossing, as the adit and vein make a cross there. And going forward with the adit, as there are several that reach diverse veins, it arrives at each to form a crossing, dividing the works up, some on this hand and others on that, where each one has his mine and holdings. And from the adit they turn off and work their mines, following the vein downward in such a way that ladders are not needed. And they have ceased working some adits because they just followed the vein down into a hole, such that many ladders were needed to descend, for having worked the vein with more urgency than the adit. And several that they are working today run this risk, although it is not such a great inconvenience as it is only twenty or thirty statures down [from where the adits meet the veins] that one arrives at bedrock, which can be excused since the distance to the surface is said to be more than 160 statures.

And thus there is an agreement of necessity among mine owners to now make a better and wider adit than those made thus far, [tunneling directly to] the part where the mines meet the bedrock, considering the time spent working on the mines and adit anyway, and that they be made with the declination to allow the currents to flow toward the mouth, such that by this means they may drain the mines that hit water. Because those they have made up until now did not have this feature, rather most of them dropping down from their door and opening toward the mine, in decrement of seven or eight statures in [height] and altitude from where they started the works.

There are in this mountain the following adits, with the Indians assigned to them in the time of the inspection plus those given them in the general allotment, both for the cleaning of those [adits] that are finished and for the finishing of those in progress.

The adit of Sojo, through which they work part of the veins of Corpus Christi, and Mendieta, and Rica, and Negra, and Espíritu Santo. The inspectors said it would need eight Indians to get it cleaned, and Your Excellency mandated three be given.

The adit of Marcos Muñoz, now possessed by his heirs, through which is worked the Mendieta vein. Six Indians were assigned to it and they gave it three.

The adit of Luis Hernández Ramírez, through which they work part of the Mendieta vein, plus La Rica. It was assigned six Indians and they allotted three.

The adit of Juan Ortiz Picón; they work through it part of the Mendieta vein. It was assigned six Indians and they gave it three.

The adit of Juan Ortiz de Zárate, which now pertains to his son-in-law, Licenciado Juan Tórres de Vera; through it they work part of the Mendieta vein and part of the Veta Rica, plus other smaller veins, and it runs toward the Tin Vein. It has rented out the fifth parts that pertain to it for each

year [i.e., the portion of ore paid by other mine owners for access through the tunnel], and I can assure you that these fifths must amount to some 12,000 hundredweight of ore. It was assigned fifteen Indians for its labor and cleaning and they gave it twelve.

The adit of Medina; from it they work part of the Tin Vein, and also La Rica, and Negra, and other smaller veins. They assigned eight Indians and gave it three.

The adit of Juanes de Gamboa and company, through which they work part of the Mendieta vein and that of Corpus Christi, and it goes following after the vein of the Flemings. They assigned twelve Indians and gave it eight.

The adit of Cristóbal López, who is among the ancient inhabitants of this city and I believe the oldest one in the whole province, being 120 years old and yet so clear of vision that he reads without glasses and at times he climbs up the mountain on foot. They work through this adit the vein of the Blind Men and others, and it heads toward that of the Flemings. They assigned it twelve Indians and gave it eight.

On the eastern part of the mountain, in a low spot, they ran an adit they call Benino's, admirably made, heading toward the Veta Rica and the mines of Pancorvo and Cotamito, whose work they commenced on the day of Our Lady of Candlemas, the second of February of the year 1556; and it took this name because one of the twelve investors who set out to make it is a Florentine called Nicolás de Benino, an ancient personage and among the oldest in town. It has been most difficult to work, as the bedrock through which it passes is extremely hard, and thus it has taken a long time to advance. And it appeared to one Enrique Sandi, native of London, who was one of the investors, that it would be worthwhile to set fires at the rock face at the end of the adit such that by burning the bedrock it would be more soft and easy to work; and so they did after some fourteen years of work, creating a small wall of loose stone two palms back from the face, filling the cavity with charcoal, there being with him four or five Indians who helped; and it so happened that the Englishman went off to sleep and the Indians were stoking the fire, and with the smoke from the charcoal, not having any means of escape, it overtook them to the degree that they lost their senses and could not find the way out, and they and Enrique died there. And with this the work was abandoned for a time until the remaining investors decided to carry on with it, much in doubt that they would see its end, as it seemed to them a lost cause. And so it is that nearly all of them are dead, and if not for their heirs the only ones alive are the Florentine and Toribio de Alcaraz. This adit had to be finished as it is extremely important, since it gives access to all the principal mines of the Veta Rica, these being the deepest in the mountain and as a result entirely unworkable [without horizontal access]. And since continuous labor defeats all, this long and desired work was finished on the day of St. Leon, Pope and Confessor, on April 11 of this year of 1585, twenty-nine years and two months having passed since it was begun.

Soon afterward they opened the Caja del Sol, which is the first one to the east, and once the vein was discovered they dispatched to Chuquisaca [modern Sucre] by the postal route Bernardino de Muñoz, who is one of the investors, and it was only days that they had been working it when he gave the news to the lord president [of the *audiencia*]. And his lordship gave him a grant to use the same sixteen Indians he had in the adit in [the mine] based on the report he had given in the Royal Audiencia, by which they very much anticipated the salvation of the town. The vein was

reached at thirty-five statures above its lowest point and the adit terminated in the thirteen-and-a-half yards of mine belonging to Carlos Corso (which I mentioned in the Veta Rica), which were flooded along with the neighboring ones. And now it appears they are dried out and there must have been some channel that was desiccated, such that with the work it no longer seeps. The people who have mines there are making many thatch huts near the mouth of the adit in order to collect the ores they take out, and also [to do] the necessary repairs in the mines so that each may take out that which belongs to him.

The town is extremely pleased by such a great event, and many say that Potosí will at last return to many years of great prosperity and wealth, which was held back until the arrival of Your Excellency; and it is because aside from the ores taken easily from the bedrock and depths by a ladder of thirty-five statures, saving the 135 that there are from this point in the mine where it meets the adit to the surface and tailings pile where the old entrance was, they are pursuing other fruits and gains such as working the ores contained in the old bridges that they left as fortification, a great part of which must be rich, and a great quantity of loose ores and earths that they never took out as they were used to shore up the mines and walkways. They will also work the 'bellies' [barrigas] and much ore that remained in the host rock, such that all the bridges, although there are few as these mines were rich and easy to work, and the rest of the earthworks from the juncture with the adit to the surface (which in parts is 165 statures, as in those [mines] that have 200 statures' depth), will all be taken out as unnecessary things for the fortification and security for that which they have to work and follow, since there will no longer be a walkway.

These bridges of ore are given this name as they link one part of the host rock to another [so as not to leave a large cavity in a vertical shaft], and they serve as connection and pass, fortress and support where one part of the host rock does not unite with another and the Indians have somewhere to rest. The way they arrange to drive these adits is by the persons who have mines in the place where it will be sunk getting together, some sharing by thirds and others by fourths, and sometimes equally [i.e., halves], and according to this order they contribute to the costs and later gain by the fifths [charged for passage] an occasional rent. Since the year [15]80 they have advanced fifty yards, which has cost 4,000 assayed pesos, and half of this was spent on Indians and the rest on a young man who went along with them [as overseer]. The whole adit, from mouth to vein and crossing, runs 250 yards.

Of the tunnels they are working that have not yet reached the veins

The adit of Juan Ortiz de Zárate, now owned by Licenciado Juan de Tórres de Vera, which they call 'Agángaro' since it heads toward a vein owned by the same licenciado that has this name; once it is finished, through it they will work very rich mines. And it must be noted that no single adit is sufficient to work the vein they reach due to the length of the veins and the distance from one adit to another. And thus we see through experience that the Veta Rica is worked through the adit of Sojo, and the first one belonging to Juan Ortiz de Zárate, and that of Medina, and from now onward they will work through the new Benino [adit] that goes in search of the Veta Rica, which will be of great importance to complete due to the richness of the earth, and if they work with diligence it will be finished soon. It is more than 130 yards long. They assigned twenty-five Indians and gave it twelve.

The adit of Pedro de Montoya and company is new and has advanced some eighty or ninety yards. It is going to run into the Tin Vein and will intersect with other smaller veins of some richness before reaching the main one. They assigned twenty Indians and gave it eight.

The two adits of Martín de Elizalde and company, which are going to run into the veins of San Juan de Pedrera, are more than sixty or seventy yards long. They assigned thirty Indians and gave them eight.

The adit of Francisco de Zúñiga runs North-South, contrary to the others, as they go boring into the mountain beneath the Centeno vein, following its host rock. It is more than 200 yards long; it heads toward the mines of Juan de Pendones and the heirs of Marcos Muñoz de Larregata, which they call 'Cerón's,' in the discoverer's mine of the Centeno Vein. This adit has on either side the Tin and Rica Veins. They intend to make crossings in these two veins, breaking through and traversing the distance from the Centeno Vein to La Rica, and also from the Tin, such that they will control from this single adit the three principal veins of the mountain. It is very important to continue this, as the mines it heads toward are very rich, especially those of Centeno, which are the richest in the mountain, those that I mentioned in the discoverer's [mine] and its neighbors. They assigned twenty-five Indians and gave it eight.

The adit of Martín Carrillo, which will run into some veins of *soroche* [galena], is more than fifty yards in length and should it arrive it will be beneficial, although they have considered it to be of scant importance and for this reason gave it no Indians, despite having assigned twenty-five.

On the western part of this mountain they ran an adit in the time of the excellent lord don Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza, so well-remembered, Marquis of Cañete and former viceroy of these kingdoms, but whose work was stopped for seeming to have been started too low, as can be seen in the image of the mountain. It was being done on the account of His Majesty, as a gift and in order to benefit this city, and it would be of great interest to His Majesty to continue it, enjoying the fifths of the ore that would come out of it [i.e., access rents] and also of the royal fifths. They spent from the royal treasury 25,000 pesos cash. They reached a distance of ninety-five yards and realized that since the veins all originated on the east side, they would have to cross the entire mountain to reach them. Others are of the opinion that it was a very proper enterprise in that it would catch all the veins and the very base of the ore [bodies], and it is the opinion of the elders that sometimes some veins tend to narrow at their starting point and root, from which they are born like branches of the main trunk.

And thus there are regulations that declare the order that must be followed when two veins come together in the depths, the same which run separately above, and some even presume that these veins all combine into one at the very base of the mountain. Others say, and it would seem to be the majority, that if they had dug [this adit] on the sunny [i.e., north] side, the thing would have been more certain and necessary, and from which they would have followed an incredible richness and general gain. It is very wide and well worked, with a door and brick arch; you cannot enter it due to the water it contains, which seeps and comes out through its walls.

Of the shafts of the mountain

Shafts are a type of mine one finds on the mountain, both where the vein reaches the surface and farther down in the depths of the mine, for there are many that remain virgin, as is written in its place. And they contain poor ores and the veins are encased, which is to say they go hidden and above them are impediments [padrastrós], which are escarpments they cannot work due to the cost they would require if done by open pit, as with the rich mines, for which the remedy is to make a shaft [pozo], which has this name since it is made in the same fashion as a common water well. And they sink them until they hit ore and later they follow their property [i.e., claim], boring the mine beneath the earth, avoiding [rock] that is useless. They also sink these shafts within the deep mines that have been worked as open pits, as have been the principal ones, as they go following the richness that was above the surface of the earth, although it has [often] been badly executed due to the danger of the entrance. They also use these shafts in the depths of the mines to meet up with the clayey muds [barriales] that I mentioned with regard to the adits and poor ores that they could not follow. For these they make the shafts, searching for the ore body that is beneath the 'muddy' or 'burnt' area, and for these they work the mines.

Of the test pits [catas] on the mountain

The test pit [cata, lit. 'sample'] should be clear from its name, and these they make on the surface of the earth in order to discover and locate the vein, and to see its make-up and the direction it follows, plus the quality and firmness of the ore. And the test pit either goes along following [the ore] or they work it in hopes of locating [ore] based on the signs they encounter; and as they go deeper they begin to make a shaft, as we have said.

Of the old way of working mines and refining ore by wind furnace

Now that I have mentioned the veins and adits, shafts and test pits, and the mines found on this mountain, which are all the types of mines and works there are, it is necessary to tell Your Excellency the mode and manner they formerly used to work and benefit from its ores and that which they now use.

At first it was like this: many freelance Indians chose to sign on with mine owners who left them to develop and work so many yards of mine, from which they took the name 'Indians-by-the-yard' [indios varas]. And the mine owner gave them iron bars which they then tempered and sharpened at their own cost and supplied their own candles. And in the time they were inside they worked to 'doctor' [sircar] the ore, which is to say they uncovered it on the underside of the host rock, leaving the rich part stuck on the gangue below, which is where one finds and where there form the earth, rocks, 'seats' [siques, from Quechua 'sikis?'], and 'burnt parts' [quemazones], which are the scoria or dross of the mines that contain some silver. This they took out and placed at the door and mouth of the mine to clean. And the prize and interest that they took away from this was that the owner of the mine sold them the rich ore they had brought out for view, such was the experience they had in this. The vein and mine from which the ore came produced the weight and price that it was worth, with neither party being offended. And if it happened that the Indians who were inside did not find rich ores for the wind furnace [guaira], which they called 'little houses' [casillas], they were satisfied to be given some ores of small value.

And all the mines enjoyed this kind of profitability in the time when they found rich ores, and the Indians possessed all the wealth of the kingdom, because everything depended on this trade, nor was there any other salvation than the silver the Indians produced in their wind furnaces. And not all mine owners enjoyed such yields, because the Indians only did this in rich mines known to be gainful. And those who did not have such [mines], theirs already declining in value, worked them at their own cost and risk, with Indians allotted to them by the local magistrate, and others rented them, and [the ore] they sold for its entire value like persons who had worked it entirely at their own cost. But in the beginning all the mines contained wind-furnace [i.e., rich] ores, because those they worked were the four principal veins.

At present they do not work in this way, the ores being poor and those rich ones they find being few. Even so, there is no lack of Indians who contract with owners of mines who just let them work them, with the charge that the Indian can simply walk out with ore for having provided his own crowbars and candles. And anything more than that removed by crowbar remains for the mine owner, which he removes using his own Indians and at his own cost, although I understand this type of contracting is more common in rented mines than in those run by their owners.

The general means by which they work these days is by the day wage [jornal], giving each officially allotted Indian three-and-a-half reals, and to those *mingados*, which is to say those who are rented, four reals; and between the two they work the mines, some chiseling out the ore and others removing it and carrying it up via a hanging ladder of three strands, made of twisted cow hides like thick cables, and between each strand rods are placed like a stepladder such that one Indian can go up while another goes down. These ladders are ten statures long, and at the end of each is another that begins from a bench or ledge, or stilt or bridge, each built upon a wooden scaffold upon which they [the Indians] can rest, which are the supports.

The Indians take out the ore, [each load] amounting to some two *arrobas* [c.50-60 lbs.] in blankets belonging to them, and I do not know by what obligation they bring these, tied around the chest and the ore [borne] across their shoulders, and they climb up three by three, and the one in front carries a candle in one hand by which they see where they are climbing and descending, as the mines are dark and without any visibility, and the candle of little light and quite often it is extinguished by the wind, and between their two hands they come grasping and helping, and climbing with great effort 150 statures and so many more in descending; and in mines over 400 statures [deep] – a distance that on a flat surface would tire a man thus encumbered, much less descending and climbing with much risk – the Indians reach the exit sweating and breathless, and robbed of heat, and the refreshment they generally encounter in order to assuage their fatigue is to be called a dog, and to be given a round [of blows] for bringing too little ore or for taking too long, or being told it was only dirt they had brought out, or that they had stolen something. And not four months ago it so happened that a mine owner, wanting to get into it with an Indian over this, and [the Indian] fearing the stick with which he was to be injured he sought refuge in the mine itself, and in the confusion he fell and was dashed into 100,000 pieces.

The *minga* Indians have some advantages and are better treated, since they are contracted with some freedom and they have the right to take away some ‘corpa’ [fr. Quechua for ‘sod’?] of ore, which is to say a large piece, as their daily wage, and if this were in some way limited they would not return to the mines. And those [mines] that make most frequent use of *minga* Indians

are the rich ones, where they encounter profit and can take away ores for mercury [refining] and rich ones [ores to be refined in wind furnaces] should they be close at hand, and if they are there, there is no hiding them. Those [mines] with poor ores cause their owners to suffer, as the Indians allotted to them are so few that they are practically ineffectual and one cannot work the mines with them, especially those who do not have everyone [i.e., all those workers allotted on site].

The natives of this kingdom and all the western nations of this New World of the Indies are by nature of little genius and short of imagination to invent the instruments necessary and convenient for the works they do, and thus they live in profound ignorance of all that is found in the world as if they were not born in it. And as they have no use of bellows to carry out their smeltings; [instead] these Peruvian Indians used some copper tubes three palms long to blow with the mouth with effort. And for the smeltings that required greater force, they made use of the same wind, making in the countryside, in the higher parts, some little furnaces of loose stones, each placed on top of the other without mortar, hollow like little towers, about two palms high. And into these they placed the manure of their animals [llamas] and a bit of firewood, not having charcoal; and with the wind rushing through the openings between the stones they smelted the ore.

And Time, which is the master and inventor of arts, taught them to make from clay, with the industry of one Juan de Marroqui, native of ... [blank], some clay forms in the shape demonstrated here [in the illustration] that they called *guayrachina* [Quechua for 'wind-powered'] or *guaira* ['wind'], which are still preserved and in use today, where they easily smelt the ores and without the effort of smelting by bellows [furnace], which is very costly and not so effective for the ores here as is the *guaira* when the strong winds blow, because if it is not [i.e., the wind is not blowing] it is not effective. And as they have such a need of wind in this town they took as advocate and patron of this blessing the glorious St. Augustine, but they have shifted their need from that of wind to that of water, since lacking this they lack everything. When this Marroqui became rich he left for Spain and got married in Seville, and he chose for his coat of arms, which he had painted for the vestibule of his house, the *guaira* with many flames, as inventor of it; and I being a boy I saw it with others, and we could not figure out what blazon [or heraldry] it was.

The means they have of smelting ore by *guaira* is this: first they mill it and wash it, removing the part that contains 'dead earth,' leaving the metallic part – and that which is very rich does not need to be washed – and for every two parts ore they add one of *soroche* (which is a lead ore [galena] they take from mines near this site containing two or three pesos of silver per hundredweight, and alone does not merit refining – neither by the large-scale method of bellows furnace nor by the small one of the *guaira* – as it would be more costly than it was worth), mixing with it certain bone-ash cupels and crucibles, which are leftovers from previous smeltings. (And for the *tacanas*, which are extremely rich ores of fifty marks per hundredweight, they do not place them in the *guaira* but rather in that which is being distilled from it, which is the silver and lead that comes out melted; and as it is being founded one mixes the ore with the galena so that as something softer and easy to melt due to its wetness and softness it blesses the silver and makes it run, as it is more dry, cold, and hard, serving as an alloy and incorporating it with it, as without this it would escape as smoke and exhalation.)

After this mixture is made, with added water, so that the wind does not carry off the powdered ore once it is placed in the clay structure (which is about as high as a common yard, with four angles, or corners, elongated, almost square, hollow, and open at the top; it has made for its four surfaces, or sides, openings or little windows so that through these the wind has more effect; it has a base where it terminates, narrowing down from top to bottom, with an alembic for distilling the ore that is smelted; it is firm, raised above the ground upon a base in the form of a pedestal, a yard-and-a-half or two in height so that it may command more wind, from which it came to be called *guaira* (which in this language [Quechua] means ‘wind’), full as it is of charcoal they place inside the ore in the said way, and the air stokes it as quickly and furiously as if it were a bellows, and better, as it fires up with that same speed throughout the entire *guaira* as a result of its ventilation holes and the fierce wind that commonly blows here. And so the four elements are occupied in refining the silver: the earth gives us the ore, the fire refines it, the water washes it and aids it, the wind blows it and acts as bellows, so much so that it seems they are serving and doing a favor for mankind, rescuing him with the silver that results from this for the necessities of life.

The two ores smelted, as contrary in their qualities as they are different in their prices, they form a leaden paste, which is almost all lead, since the third part of *soroche* they add turns around and runs out with little loss, and from the two-thirds part of ore, little silver results; the same [leaden paste] they take to smelt and refine in their houses, in some small furnaces at low flame. And as long as it takes to expel the lead it makes a certain smoke and movement, and in leaving the silver pure and refined, free of mixture and alloy, this smoke and activity ceases, which they call ‘turning the corner,’ and the silver is left behind very pure and of 2,230 *maravedis* [of 2,400, or 92.92%] of fineness.

But the Indians did not wait (before the arrival of mercury, when silver was traded as cash, in bits and disks) until it had taken its full course and end, and thus they took [the smelted material] out of the fire with much of the lead and copper they had added since the ores did not respond by themselves. And thus silver circulated so impure in this city and kingdom that that of this province ran about 890 *maravedis* [c.37%] of fineness, and merchants lost when they collected it by barter for their merchandise, when they melted it to make bars, as commerce was in ‘assayed pesos.’ And the Indians suffered this injury and problem as well in their smeltings, which the communities did to pay their tributes. And to remedy this the most excellent lord viceroy Francisco de Toledo mandated that they close and not work the copper mines that are found near this city, and he established mints, because the one founded in Lima by the lord president and governor Lope García de Castro was of no aid or remedy, since no one came up to the sierra [with coins] from the coastal plains.

The *guairas* are placed upon the summits and flanks of the mountains and hills within view and walking distance of this city, which makes a pleasant sight in the darkness of the night, with so many fires in the countryside, some placed in line along the points and pinnacles of the mountain in the manner of luminaries, and others haphazardly situated along the creek banks and ravines, and all of them together render a festive and agreeable view. In past years the number of *guairas* reached 6,497. Right now almost all remain, although a great part of them are in ruins, as they do not use the *guaira* as before.

Second Part of the Description of Potosí

In which is treated the introduction of mercury and its use in refining, plus the building of the mills

In the time when there arrived in this kingdom the most excellent lord viceroy don Francisco de Toledo, who is in glory, which was in the year 1569, there was found in the land a great decline in the potential of silver from what it once was, mostly because the rich ores of this mountain had played out. And with this decline the whole land and republic was changed, having been so happy with its riches, which were so much announced in all the world, with all the rich spoils that had been taken out, with which so many men had been made rich. And this general ruin and damage was being felt more each day, with the little silver there was and the low price and poor market there was for all the merchandise, especially clothing and products of the land, and its foods and necessities, the trade in coca leaves and livestock, which is very important, such that all the rates in the kingdom were discounted. All this being given, it should be known that the natives' tribute is in local livestock [llamas, etc.], maize, and locally made cloth for their use, which are the goods of their own harvest that they possess and have. And the silver they pay and give and circulate in the kingdom is only that which comes from this mountain, and the communities and indigenous divisions [repartimientos] of all the districts around this city profit and gain in this mine site, as do all the jurisdictions and parts belonging to the principal cities of the kingdom. And for the outlet had here for the said things they have price and value where they are raised or where they are available; such that in this city they have no outlet due to the lack of it [silver], and [although] there are many who consume and need [these commodities], they have almost no price and little utility. And thus they have been forced to resort to their old mode of commerce, which was truck and barter of one thing for another, a custom these folks had until we arrived.

And with this sad turn of events business here reached the point that no one could say anything more than to lament the present calamity versus past greatness, announcing future destruction, saying that Peru and its riches were finished, extremely sad news for those arriving from Spain. And with this tribulation and necessity, the kingdom full of confusion due to the unlikelihood of a solution, they went around sullen and lacking spirit, especially those men who had been so liberal and generous in such an extremely bountiful land, and where they had lived with ostentation and wealth to an extreme degree, such that their houses were great receptacles, perpetual sites of hospitality for people coming from Castile of all estates, offering them every liberality (there being no inns or taverns); they competed to take them to their houses, where they showered them with gifts and treated them with great affection.

The memory of these things greatly saddened, it being clear that the greatness and majesty of this whole kingdom relied on this mountain, with its mines now extremely deep and nearly stripped clean. The ores for the *guaira* were no longer found; the royal fifths were much diminished; the silver in circulation was now less than half pure; each day there were fewer Indians due to the limited gains to be had. The mines lacking ores for the *guaira*, which were the majority, were no longer worked; and refining with mercury did not even cross their minds, nor was there even memory of it. And since in past years they were so prosperous with only the *guairas*, no one even tried it out, despite an attempt to order them to do so by the lord [viceroy], the marquis of

Cañete, and not knowing how to do it, its trial and experimentation was without effect. And there was even a rumor that the ores of Potosí could not be refined with mercury, which kept others from trying it out, this while necessity grew each day.

So His Excellency [viceroy Toledo], finding the affairs of the kingdom in the referred-to state, which was of no small importance considering that although this land had many deposits of silver and gold, all that had been seen were of little consideration next to this mountain, from which there followed the universal profit and which augmented that of Castile and The Main [Tierra Firme], and that the day that silver was found lacking here, as it was declining notably in quantity and purity, all the merchandise would lose the price it previously had and thus the fleets would stop coming, and there would be no customs duties to collect, since without silver in the kingdom it would be impossible to continue communication or trade with Castile, there being two seas in between, with so much coast and navigation, and this land having nothing to harvest that is needed elsewhere; and His Majesty would not be so well served, and the judges and *audiencias* that were placed in the kingdom, as with the exercise of the most eminent office of viceroy for the discharging of the royal conscience, administration of justice and public good, without silver none of this could be sustained with decency. And thus there arose great insolences and uproars, which threatened the ruin and destruction of these kingdoms, and the preaching of the Gospel could not go forward, there being so few Catholics upon whose shoulders the Holy Evangel rested in such a new and remote land; the Indians would return to their errors and idolatries, in which the Devil held them. And the Devil having such power over them even after fifty years, their very salvation was at stake.

His Excellency had not spent a year in Lima when he decided to carry out the general inspection that His Majesty had ordered him to undertake personally throughout this kingdom, according to his royal instructions, as extremely Christian as it was necessary, and it was one of the greatest general deeds done, combining in itself – as the most efficient and supreme means – all the good things one could have desired or wanted to accomplish for the conservation and growth and order among the Republic of Indians, from which resulted many and good effects, placing the Indians together as humans should live, removing them from the high deserts and wastelands where they lived dispersed and scattered, congregating them in towns so that they could be taught in the things of our Holy Catholic Faith, something that before all this the priests could not easily do, and an infinite number died without baptism or confession, and also freeing them from the vexation they suffered under the hand of their caciques and *encomenderos* and some priests.

As soon as he arrived in Cusco, His Excellency sought to have the ores of this mountain refined with mercury in his presence, using some rich ores and surface prospects that they carried from this city, ordering assays that responded well. And later he showed concern for the relief of this town, ordering that mercury be brought and that they commence refining with it; and the first silver that resulted they took to His Excellency, which he received most contentedly, and each day it became better known, the richness that this mode of refining promised.

And taking charge of this business with the will and zeal that he invested in all the other things offered to him related to the good government of this land, he left Cusco to continue the audit and he did this city the favor of visiting it, for which at his entrance they performed a solemn

welcome, and his favor was much esteemed, and great was the joy and contentment that all received by his presence and authority, the same which increased and made greater the constant reputation he had of being very wise and prudent. And as he saw the wealth and prosperity that was waiting for the new refining method, he ordered a great number of Indians to come, making a general apportionment to the persons who wanted to apply, as will be told in its place. He climbed the mountain and went inside the adits through which he saw the work the Indians did, ordering that the mines be visited, measured, and repaired as was necessary; and he had a church built on the mountain where they say mass, as there were more than 160 occupied houses near the veins where the mine overseers live and where they store the ores. He made rules that were very just and expeditious for the success of all business touching on mining, its works and discoveries, and the payment of Indians, and other things worthy of His Excellency, relieving these poor folks, making them be paid for their sweat. And it is to be believed that in his zeal if he were to find them sold as they are today, he would order an exemplary punishment of the oppressors. He provided two inspectors who were to live with their households on the mountain itself, for [the Indians'] aid and defense. And thus this land owes much to that wise and most Christian viceroy, for the special concern he had, not missing a point of service to His Majesty and to the general good, all for the complete satisfaction of justice and great peace there was in his time, and greater wealth than in past times.

It was in quite a hurry that those of this city set about building structures proper and spacious enough for mercury refining, and also to dress timber, which they cut twenty-five or thirty leagues from here and they bring it here on horses and oxen and on the shoulders of Indians, in the manner of the teamsters of Seville, and there is one piece [of lumber so large that it is] carried by sixty Indians. And the price of iron reached sixty assayed pesos per hundredweight, and wood an excessive price, and the same was true of everything else. And today a timber twenty-one feet long and two square, for a water-mill axle, is worth 1,500 assayed pesos. Tradesmen such as blacksmiths, carpenters, and stonemasons were paid what they wanted; everyone's wits were exhausted, all attempting to design structures that were more effective yet less costly for the milling of ores, but as they had no experience nor information on these mills, nor were they entirely satisfied with their refineries' output, they went around worrying that they were spending all their holdings on them with such excessive costs.

And as the number of these machines increased, it became clearer each day that the new refining method was working, and they went on expanding across the land, some building them in the city, of stamps or mallets they called 'by foot,' being moved by them [i.e., human treadmills], which were the first; others, made in a different manner they called 'by hand'; others, by horse, with a stone like a plaster mill; another with an Álava-style turbine [rodezo de alaves]; others, by horses with certain wheels that move hammers; others, by winch [grua], pulled by Indians like a pier-wheel; others by water, with an axle and great wheel like a water-powered gristmill, constructing them in the gulch that runs through this city and in the Tarapaya, Pilcomayo, and Tauaconuño rivers. And of all these different types and inventions there remain only the mills of 'blood' and 'water,' which are those of horses and water, as the things [i.e., sources of power] most appropriate for milling.

The creek that runs through this city, where the mills are built, did not run continuously except in the months of winter, when it ran a little more than three or four months of the year with some

velocity. And without hope of any aid some began to construct water mills along its banks; and the first to do so was the treasurer Diego de Robles Cornejo, and it is now in the power of Juan Rodríguez de Ocampo. And necessity being the mother of invention, seeing how little time the water lasted and how uncertain it was, half a league from this city, among some ravines where the water sometimes congregated in the manner of a lagoon, the mill-owners, at their own cost, ordered built certain works in the form of strong bulwarks, of 160, 200, and 300 yards' length, and eight or ten yards wide in the part of the ravine that was narrowest, repressing and retaining its currents. These lakes have a circumference and circuit of 1,700 or 1,800 yards, more or less, and a depth of some three statures in their centers. And there are seven of them, with their floodgates, and when it is necessary to use their water, they raise them, and a body of water issues forth, and on feast days they close them again. When the lakes swell and the year is fertile with rains, the milling lasts six or seven months; and in this year it appears it will last longer, such that many persons have built more mills than used to be necessary, and as they have lacked water in these past years, many are lost and the milling has only been done in Tarapaya and by a few horse-powered mills.

At the time of the inspection tour made of these mills by the lord Dr. don Diego de Zúñiga and the persons he named so that he and they together could see and visit them, he gave his opinion as to the number of Indians needed to manage their millings and refining according to the number of mill stamps they had, and these they moderated considering the Indians absolutely necessary, not allotting them any beyond a number sufficient to mill and refine a bit of ore, and not that which the mill [running at full capacity] might require, which would be many, instead [considering] how many a mill owner without Indian hired hands would need to carry on an average refining. And thus they assigned to a mill of two 'heads' with six stamps on each one, fifty Indians; and to a mill with one 'head' and ten stamps, or eight, thirty-two; and to a horse-driven mill, twenty-two. And for the general allotment, the lord viceroy don Martín Enríquez, not having any more Indians, to do things equally he allotted to those with two heads twenty-eight Indians, and those with one, twenty-four; and to the mills of Tarapaya, those with two heads at thirty-six, and those with one, twenty-eight. And this increase for those of Tarapaya was done because it seemed they did not have the facility of those here [in town] to hire Indians for the refining and pouring [of silver] into ingots; and thus those of this gulch were given no more than those needed for dry milling, which is [the method] requiring more effort, with Indians tending the crusher and working at night by turns, or at times trading off between those who rest and sleep during the day with those who have worked and kept watch through the night, and vice versa; and as for the refining of the mill flours, a thing requiring less effort, they would not be lacking Indian hired hands who would be occupied in this, and well, so many mills have been built that there really is no space for more.

The first mill on this gulch next to the Castile aqueduct is that of Juan Núñez Maldonado, of two heads, with a water washer [i.e., an ore washing apparatus with running water]; it has ten stamps.

Next to this one, in the creek below, Alonso Tufiño has a mill of one head with ten stamps, and it shares half of the washer with Juan Núñez, as they are co-investors.

And thus continuing with those found along this gulch:

Nuño de Balboa. Mill of two heads with twelve stamps.

The same. Another mill he had made after the general audit; it is of two heads with [blank]...

Alvaro de Mendoza. Mill of one head with ten stamps.

Diego López de Haro and Bernabé de Salazar. They have a mill of two heads with twelve stamps.

Simón Díaz. Mill of two heads with twelve stamps.

Juan Suárez. Mill of two heads with twelve stamps.

Gómez de León and Sebastián Gutiérrez, who is in the kingdoms of Castile. Mill of two heads and in each one eight stamps.

Luis Capoche [the author]. Water mill of one head with ten stamps, and it is the first one located within the town, as those mentioned up until now are outside the settlement, and those that follow, until noted otherwise, are within the town.

The said Luis Capoche. Another water mill of two heads with ten stamps.

Bernardino Muñoz and Gonzalo López de las Higueras. Water mill of two heads with fourteen stamps.

José Luis de Escobar and Juan Martín. Mill of one head with ten stamps.

Antonio Vázquez and Diego García. Mill of two heads, one belonging to them and the other to Pedro Núñez Téllez; it has fourteen stamps.

Andrés Velasco and Bartolomé de Gracia. Mill of one head with ten stamps.

Alonso de Torrejón and Martín de Resulta. Mill of two heads with twelve stamps.

Juan de Hermosa and Antonio Rodríguez de Ocampo. Mill of one head of ten stamps.

Juanes de Gamboa. Mill of one head with nine stamps.

[list continues on p.119]

The mills of Tauaconuño

To one side of this town, north about a league and a half, is a site with bad weather and more cold than what we have here, and there are three large lakes where they capture much rain water, and in its outflow there are four mills that operate during the same season as those of this town,

although the milling and refining they do with more effort due to the extreme cold in May, June, and July.

Mateo López de Gamboa and Mateo Rodríguez have a mill of one head with eight stamps.

Domingo Pérez de Ibarra and the heirs of Suero Méndez de Sotomayor, deceased. Mill of two heads with twelve stamps.

Francisco de Oruño and Luis Sánchez de Herrera. Mill of two heads with fourteen stamps.

Juan de Treceno. Mill of one head with ten stamps.

The mills of Tarapaya

Toward the west is a valley among some ravines they call Tarapaya, somewhat temperate, and compared with this city [of Potosí] hot and of good climate, where there is even a bit of green and one can grow maize and potatoes (and there flows by there a river with little water, although continuous), and on its first bank there is a league and a half of passable road for the animals that carry ore. The first [mills] I place here are the first ones upriver, dividing the mills and river in two parts they call Upper Tarapaya and Lower Tarapaya.

The first mill upriver is that of Juan de Pendones, of one head of eight stamps; it has an ore washer with running water.

And continuing with those upriver, the same [Pendones] has another mill of two heads with twelve stamps.

Carlos Corso and Juan Pérez Donoso. Mill of two heads with fourteen stamps and washer.

The heirs of Francisco de Nava. Mill of two heads with twelve stamps and a washer.

Gonzalo de Soria. Mill of two heads with twelve stamps, and next to it is a church with a priest who says mass to the Spaniards who congregate here, and he also indoctrinates the Indians who live in the barracks of the mills, both to the *yanaconas* and also to a portion of those sent by mandate. Up to this point the willing Indians will carry ore, and it runs three reals per hundredweight; and passing here the price goes up, reaching five reals a hundredweight; to the far ones they do not want to carry it, and they [the mills, as a result] are idle, and their owners lost, having nothing to mill.

Later, farther above, is the mill of Gonzalo Santos. It is of one head with ten stamps and a washer.

Domingo Gallego. Mill of two heads with twelve stamps and a washer.

The licenciante Torres de Vera. Mill of one head with eight stamps and a washer.

Juan Román. Mill of two heads with twelve stamps.

Francisco Nieto de Murillo and company. Mill of one head with nine stamps and one washer.

Garci Michel and the heirs of Jerónimo González de Alanís. Mill of one head of ten stamps and a washer, and it is the last of those upriver.

The first one downriver, returning to the mills of Juan de Pendones, is Diego de Olaeta's, of two heads with twelve stamps and a washer.

Sebastián Sánchez de Merlo and Gonzalo de Toro. Mill of two heads with twelve stamps and a washer.

Cristóbal de Espinosa and Juan Porcel de Padilla. Mill of two heads with twelve stamps and a washer, and this mill is in a good spot and the Indians bring ore at three reals [per hundredweight], and from here on those that follow have the same difficulty and expense as I said of the mill of Gonzalo de Soria.

Jerónimo de Vargas. Mill of one head with ten stamps and a washer.

The heirs of Marcos Muñoz de Larregata. Mill of one head with eight stamps and a washer.

The licenciado don Diego Vaca is building a water mill.

Martín de Chazarrete. Mill of one head with ten stamps and a washer.

Gonzalo Pérez. Mill of one head with eight stamps and a washer.

Pedro Alonso Hidalgo and Francisco Ruiz Hidalgo, his brother. Mill of one head with eight stamps.

Next to this mill, Marcos Muñoz de Larregata began to build a mill, and it has been more than eight years since it was begun, and to finish it the lord viceroy don Francisco de Toledo allotted twenty-six Indians, and in the latest allotment the lord viceroy don Martín Enríquez ordered that he be given twenty-eight. It has some walls raised and they have started to make the millrace; and on the lower part of the mill there has been some dispute, saying it could not be made without causing some damage to itself. The heirs [of Muñoz] possess this commons and Indians [i.e., as *encomenderos*].

Diego López de Chinchilla. Mill of one head of eight stamps with a washer. And next to it, on the section above, is a lagoon four or five statures deep on a little basin made there, built in the old days for the Inca; and the water is hot although the area above is quite cold, and it is steaming and the water is of a temperature most pleasant for swimming; and there comes out of there a great gush of water, which turns the wheel of the washer [lavadero] of this mill; it [the pool] is round, and in the same form there descend some large steps, narrowing as they reach the center, from where it [the hot spring] is born. It is always boiling with bubbles and nothing alive

grows in it; it is not fit for drinking, although it does not have a bad flavor or odor, and next to it are some spouts of hotter water that contain a large portion of sulfur and bad odor.

Francisco Ruiz, who is in Castile, and the heirs of Juan de Anguciana, former factor of this royal treasury. Mill of two heads with twelve stamps. In this mill there is another church with its priest. The temperature is hot. And near the mill, on the upper part, is another hot springs where the sick took baths and sweats, and the physicians say this water has a singular quality, and that entering into it they sweat as if in the baths of Spain. There is no building there, and the water comes out gushing, and in this province there are many springs of this type, although not of the greatness of these ones. The philosophers say that this phenomenon is caused by the vapors of the air, which respond and respire through these locations.

The heirs of the said Marcos Muñoz de Larregata, in company with Your Majesty, as a result of a certain suit adjudicated in their favor, have a mill of two heads with twelve stamps, and it is the last one found in Lower Tarapaya.

Of the horse-driven mills and dry mills found in this city and its jurisdiction

Sebastián Gutiérrez, away in Castile. Horse mill with seven stamps.

Nuño de Balboa. Horse mill with eight stamps.

Martín de Tineo. Mill with eight stamps.

Alvaro de Lira. Mill with eight stamps.

Alonso de Torrejón. Mill of eight stamps.

Hernando de Valencia. Mill of eight stamps.

Sebastián Sánchez de Merlo. Mill with eight stamps.

Pedro Márquez. Mill with seven stamps.

Bautista de Sabando. Mill with seven stamps.

Alonso Hernández. Mill with seven stamps.

Don Francisco de Zárate. Mill with eight stamps.

Juan Guerra. Mill with ten stamps.

Pedro de Almanza. Mill with eight stamps.

Don Luis Dávalos. Mill with seven stamps.

Bernardino Gallego. Mill with eight stamps.

Luis Méndez. Mill with eight stamps.

Alonso de Vera del Peso. Mill with six stamps.

Juan de Torres Palomino and Nuño Alvarez. Mill with eight stamps.

Bernabé de Salazar. Mill with eight stamps.

Gonzalo Durán. Mill with seven stamps.

Diego de Luna. Mill with six stamps.

Diego de los Ríos. Mill with seven stamps.

Gaspar Borja. Mill with eight stamps.

Domingo Beltrán. Mill of seven stamps.

Lope de Arestazabala. Mill of eight stamps.

Alonso Gómez Chamorro and Martín de Lacoba. Mill of eight stamps.

The heirs of the *adelantado* Sanabria. Mill of eight stamps.

Juan Danza, Fleming. Mill of seven stamps.

Pedro de Herrera Crespo. Mill of seven stamps.

In the valley of Pilcomayo, which is twelve leagues from this city, Juan de Torres Palomino has a horse-powered mill with six stamps, and in the last allotment they gave him twenty-two Indians.

In the valley of Mataka, which is eleven leagues from this city, Hernán Cabrera de Córdoba has a horse-powered mill with six stamps, and in the allotment they also gave him twenty-two Indians.

In this city Francisco de Segovia has a machine for milling ore with a stone pulled by two horses, in the manner of a plaster mill. In the last allotment they gave him eighteen Indians, and it is among the first inventions used for milling ore in this site.

Rodrigo de Herrera Escobedo built a mill in this city like those used for wheat, with an Álava-style turbine and water-powered striker for milling siftings [granzas], which are leftovers from ores, which, as they are too plentiful (or difficult? *prolijas*) to be ground up they cannot be profitably processed in the mills. And much of this has remained from past years, from when

they milled with 'foot' stamps, which left a lot, and for the lack of power to consume them. He was allotted sixteen Indians.

The dead man Luis de Laserna and his heirs have a water mill, which left in this city a stone for milling siftings like that above, and they gave it four Indians.

On the Chaqui River, which passes four leagues from this city, many years ago the licenciado Gorvalán, lawyer of the royal *audiencia* of Charcas, began building a water mill, which has the axle and wheel in place, and the mill is almost finished. And for it, in the last allotment, they gave it twenty-eight Indians.

When they visit the mills by order of the lords viceroy, they do not only write the [number of] stamps, but also the [number of] amalgamation basins [cajones de buitrones], tubs, reservoirs, sieves, and other equipment, by which number one is left to understand the quality of the mill and how much its owner has invested in it.

The means of refining with mercury

Although it is a very well known thing that with mercury one can extract gold and silver from ores, the means by which it is done is generally unknown, as it is an exquisite thing and practiced in few parts of the world. For that reason I put down here the order of doing this, which, although it is a natural operation and phenomenon, discovering how best to do it required much genius and ability, such as we see how the mercury disperses to extract three ounces, or even two, of the silver found in a hundredweight of ore, all the quantity [of mercury] incorporated and divided, as can well be judged how small a form it is among the hundred pounds of ore, and so in such a quantity [of ore] the silver must be in such a subtle and invisible form that no one could see it any more than if there was nothing there, it [mercury] being a metallic humor that does not recognize the poor metals, and especially there being so little silver; and that which is in the rich ores it fails to recognize as it is in a material different from that in which it was formed. The rich and refractory ore formed in this mountain is the color of amber, and another touches more toward black, the first has more silver and the second, less.

As I was saying, the mercury joins and embeds [the silver] in itself like a sponge does to water, incorporating it into itself [and] separating it from the earth and copper and lead, of which there is always some part, as the silver is formed with these metals, and it is not necessary to smelt by fire, whose property is to separate and refine the metals, consuming that which has the least resistance, for being of a more humid form in order to resist it. And the silver emerges from this process [amalgamation] so refined, pure, and clean that its fineness, without going down from here, approaches 2,280 *maravedis*. They refine it this way:

The ore being milled, they sift it through some wire screens, and they render the ore as fine as if it had been sifted with bristle sieves. And many people sift with those, the Indian women better and most cleverly, than the ones used by men. And due to the lack of Indian men, Indian women and children are assembled, and they are given two reals, and barely sift anything. Those [screens] that are set up and well placed sift twenty-eight, and thirty, and forty hundredweight, between day and night. In past years the value of one of these sheets of mesh was 150 assayed

pesos, and they are three-quarters [of a yard] long by half a yard wide, and for lack of [ordinary] wire they made them of drawn silver; now they sell for eight or ten pesos.

The flour being sifted, the Indians take it to the amalgamating basins, where they 'mortify' it with brine, making it liquid so that it loses its dustiness and dryness, tossing in, for every fifty hundredweight of flour, which is how much common ore they normally put in a basin, five hundredweight of salt. And this they do so that the salt and brine absorb the flour and separate it from the mud or slime it contains, so that the mercury can better receive the silver and have less loss. And in this way, having hung a sheet of crude Holland linen, they add in the mercury, squeezing that which comes out like a watery dew, and the Indians go moving the flour from one part to another so that the mercury 'communicates' equally with all the ore.

The rule they have for adding mercury differs according to the richness of the ore. For that of [three?] pesos [of silver] they put in six or seven pounds per hundredweight, and for that of four, eight; and that of five or six, ten. And in this way, according to the richness of the ore, so does the mercury increase; and for the refractory [ore], to one hundredweight they add another of mercury.

And this mode of refining in basins [buitrones] has been a very necessary thing, because before it took a long time to extract the silver, requiring twenty-five days to stir the ore, and it used a lot of mercury since it spent so much time incorporated; and a certain Spaniard gave this notice for having seen it in Mexico. Some of these basins are made of stone, and others of boards. They are usually about forty feet long, and ten wide on the inside, and in height, from the base and arches, six or seven feet. It is hollow below, with its pavement and floor supported with an arch and walls that contain in themselves some flagstones and boards placed there; and they have their chimneys and conduits through which the smoke flows; and above this first floor they put up its walls; and the floor is divided in six parts of six feet wide each, and ten long, that they call 'great encasements' [cajones]; and these *cajones* are divided by boards that ensure that no ore from one *cajón* joins with that of another.

Adding in enough brine to render the ore a mud, and two Indians placed in each *cajón*, or one if no more can be had, they go mixing the ore with their feet from one part to the other, which they call 'remixing,' so that the mercury goes incorporating and taking up the fineness of the ore.

Once this is finished, which takes from morning until two, then others 'remix' until nightfall; they cover these *cajones* with some covers in the manner of tamped-earth walls, of the same length as each *cajón*, and where they join they fill in with mud so that the smoke from the fires placed below in the arches can escape, as in a bath; and they do this so that with the heat the mercury may better 'communicate' with the ore, since the cold restricts and pinches it off to such a degree that it impedes and obstructs its incorporation.

And in the space of five or six days it removes the fine silver from the ore, and they remove it from the basin to wash in tubs with a certain small hand mill brought by the Indians. And in the mills of Tarapaya the washers are run by waterwheel, and this carries it [i.e., the concentrate] to the smaller mills, and in a short time much ore is washed, and that done by hand does not go with such speed, although its movement has a certain quickness; and with this the slimy residue

[lama] of the ore exits with the running water, being the lighter part, with the mercury and silver settling in the base of the tub as the heavier thing, and the remainder of the ore is left as sand.

And from here they take it [the raw amalgam] and wash it with wooden pans in some water basins, which are of the type the tanners have, into which falls the ore they are washing, and these are called 're-washings' [relaves], there remaining in the wooden pans the silver and mercury [i.e., cleaned amalgam].

And after the principal object [i.e., washed amalgam] that follows from the refining, there remain two worthwhile objectives: one, from the slimy residue [lama], which carries mercury mixed in; and the other, the 're-washings,' in which are incorporated some mercury and silver. The residues are refined by fire, like the mercury ore of Huancavelica, in ovens, and the 're-washings' they turn again and wash in smaller tubs and then in their wooden pans and basins, and they tend to yield so much that they give them three or four rounds. And the residues and 're-washings' are priced according to the richness of the ore they came from and the mercury lost in their refining. They tend to sell, most commonly, a hundredweight of residues and 're-washings,' one like the other, those which come from the hand mill, at half an assayed peso to five or six *tomines* [i.e., 5/8-3/4 of a peso - check Potosi usage for assayed pesos], and some go for as much as ten [tomines], or even two pesos, those that are richest and that lost much mercury. The re-washings of Tarapaya with their residues they sell at a *tomín*-and-a-half, or two, or three, since they are from water-powered washers, which due to its velocity speeds along the ore so much that it extracts all its fineness, leaving the 're-washing' quite poor, something that does not happen with that coming out of the hand-mills of the Indians.

Now that the silver and mercury from the ore is clean, they squeeze it through a [piece of] linen and there remain some 'apples' of silver and mercury they call 'pellet' [pella]. And being well squeezed, all that is pure silver is the sixth part, and of mercury the other five, such that if there remains an 'apple' weighing sixty pounds of 'pellet,' ten are of silver, and the other fifty mercury. And from this 'pellet' they make 'pinecones,' which are blobs shaped like sugar loaves, without a point, hollow, and not quite as large, the same which they make from one hundred pounds of 'pellet' and they put them in a certain type of fire, where they have them covered with a clay vessel made like the molds for sugar loaves [i.e., a retort]. And they cover them with coals, and the mercury distills inside in a pipe that receives it, as it is next to the mouth of the hood or clay mold, because the mercury does not have a place to respire and it goes off in smoke. And thus it becomes 'de-mercuried,' the silver glowing like iron in a forge, expelling and distilling out of itself the mercury, the fire working against it. And when it is done well, it remains free of the 'confusion' and mixture of mercury. They keep them in the fire eight or ten hours; however, some people, because they [the resulting 'pinecones' will] weigh more, put them in for a shorter time so as not to drive off all the mercury, as they sell them for their weight in silver, which is a bad business. And the remedy those that trade for and buy them have when they see them like this, although they do not always notice, is to re-fire them at the seller's cost, or to discount them by so many ounces, based on the impurity they suspect them to have, but others break them up and trade them in pieces, without removing their impurity, and the whole republic suffers the damage. Of the hundred pounds of 'pellet' they use to make the 'pinecone,' there result thirty-two or thirty-three marks [c.16 lbs.] of 'de-mercuried' silver, and of two 'pinecones' they make a 'yard,' which weighs sixty-five or sixty-six marks [c.33 lbs.].

The loss of mercury, for each hundredweight, does not follow a strict rule due to the qualities and diverse types of ore and the variation in all of this, as some ores lose little and others much. And this is based on how rich they are; the richest lose the most, and ordinarily the ore that yields three pesos [per hundredweight] loses a pound [of mercury]; and that [yielding] four, a pound and a half; and that of five and six, two; and the very rich [lose] ten or twelve [pounds of mercury per hundredweight], some of which run more slimy than others. And those of this mountain have been 'incurable' in the loss of mercury, because although they have tried some remedies, none have succeeded due to the nature of the ores.

When they transport dry millings along this main gulch, that which is handed off as flour, they normally pay four assayed *tomines* [i.e., half an assayed peso], or four and a half and even five [per hundredweight], and now for two years they have paid six, as there are more millings and fewer mills. When the mill owner is expected to render ore into 'pinecones,' which is to say to refine it from the first milling to the form of mercury-free ingots, they pay for this eight or nine *tomines*, and at seven-and-a-half for the cheaper, when they give bars in advance, and in this year they have shipped at seven *tomines*; and in some mills, so as to have something to do and not be idle, [they refine] at six-and-a-half *tomines*.

In Tarapaya they do this refining more cheaply as there they have lower costs, both for the access they have to firewood to heat the basins as well as buying salt more cheaply and having the mill running perpetually [with the steady water flow] and considering the cost of bringing the ore, which is two assayed *tomines* up to three; and thus they ordinarily render 'pinecones' at five-and-a-half *tomines*. In these years, as there has been much [ore] arriving, it has been at six-and-a-half, and in costs it would be at three-and-a-half *tomines* up to four.

Of the site and mines of Porco

After the discovery of this kingdom, and when the pacification was over between the Spaniards and natives, a Chaqui Indian gave notice to Hernando Pizarro, who at that time was in this province, of some mines the Inca worked in a mountain they called Porco, which is six leagues from this city to the south, in which they found some diggings in a rich vein, in which they claimed two mines. And one was given to doña Francisca Pizarro, his niece, daughter of the Marquis [Francisco Pizarro], his brother. And the ore of these two mines was so rich that by way of smelting it produced half silver, and it seemed to them that the Inca had extracted much silver. And it is a certain thing that the mines have not revealed from whence this surface richness came. And on this mountain they went on discovering other veins and they settled up to one hundred Spanish households, and today there remain forty.

At first the kingdom won great gain from here, and the Indians smelted the ores by *guaira*. But little by little it has come to an end as the mines have hit water, although the first discoveries do not have it. The ores were found in pockets and were so rich that from some they recovered eight or ten thousand pesos; but as the soil of this mountain is spongy and wet, it has flooded the mines such that they cannot be worked, because in reaching thirty statures the amount of water they contain is great. And although this is a great and costly inconvenience, if they had not run the

mines 'after ore' [en quijo], which is to follow the vein straight down, and had they not lost the rich part, they would still be working and the water would flow out.

And the fame of this problem, and of that which passed in this city [of Potosí] of not having water to run the mills all year, drew two men, one who they say had worked in Castile with Juan Helo and the other is a householder of Lima, both of whom went to visit the mines of this site and offered to drain them. And as their owners expected little gain from this endeavor, they thought nothing of the invention, although they tried to get investment, and these [men] have offered to build a machine in this city [i.e., Potosí] to mill using standing water, with a certain invention of some pumps, and as Your Excellency was not yet in the kingdom [of Peru], they presented this in the royal *audiencia* and described it in writing, and won a provision [saying that if they] built the new invention at their cost, no one else could use it for the space of ten years, with certain penalties. And the city, as it has more need of ores than of inventions to mill them, considered their construction impertinent. And thus it remained, without any kind of effort, [the townsfolk] having so much experience with the many who have come here with inventions, both for milling and refining, saying they can extract more silver from the ore with less loss of mercury, and it is all a tease and a vain entertainment, because any one of these things would have been a great remedy for the conservation of the refineries of this city.

In the last two years they have built next to Porco, in a creek bed that passes by there, two water mills that run all year, and from modern mines [minas modernas] they extract the ore they refine with mercury. It runs three pesos [per hundredweight], and some a bit more or less, there being no gains from the tailings, which have no value despite being from rich mines. And the cause is that, since the ore does not run fixed, there is no communication nor mixing between that in the vein and the rich part, as they find it in pockets separated by voids and distances, the one separated from the other. [Bellows furnace] smelting is no longer done, and the site is in ruins, in the sense that one could make little fortune from it, but the Indians have not stopped smelting with their wind furnaces, although the *guairas* are few. The climate is more harsh, cold, and windy than what we have here [in Potosí]. It has the best water of the kingdom, and the most delicate, and it has a great advantage over [the water] here, as it comes flowing down from a mountain range and its source is in live rock.

Through this site there passes the cloth and merchandise that comes from the port of Arica, which provides necessities. It has Indians assigned it by the lords-viceroy such that from the allotments that serve in this city [of Potosí] are obligated by a separate account to go there to work in the mines, as I will describe elsewhere. And ordinarily they keep most of them occupied in transport, as there live in this town four or five of the richest men in this province, and their main business is to bring down ore from the mountain and carry it to Tarapaya [and] to transport [silver] bars from this city to the port of Arica, and to bring back mercury and merchandise, and they have a great quantity of livestock [i.e., llamas] that they raise in that harsh *puna*, where they live contentedly, not missing any of the 'gifts' of other places. At present, they work in Porco the mines I list here, or at least under this pretext they assigned them Indians. The first column is the yards of mine each has, and the second, their depth in statures:

Vein of Hernando Pizarro, or 'Discoverer'

Your Majesty has a mine of sixty yards, and at present it is rented and held in company by Diego Delgado; its renting was carried out before the royal officials of this treasury of Potosí; and from it they give up a fourth of the ore they remove, and for each hundred hundredweight, two percent.

The building [company] of the principal church of this camp, headed by Rodrigo Alvarez

	60	100
Diego Alvarez	21	4
Juan del Campo	60	30
Juan Vejel y compañía	60	20
Diego Beltrán	60	25
Doña Francisca Pizarro	60	80

Vein of Los Zoras

[Located] on the mountain of the same name. It is new, and much gain is hoped for. The rich ore they find here is sold for 250 assayed pesos per hundredweight, but they extract little of it. Francisco Alvarez, Diego Beltrán, Baltasar López, and Juan Vejel are putting in an adit; they are not as costly as those of Potosí nor do they take so long to complete, as they run through earth rather than bedrock, such as those here [in Potosí].

Your Majesty	60
Baltasar López and Francisco Alvarez. The mine is worked by a shaft.	60
Juan Vejel, Alonso Hernández de Castro, and Pedro Colmenero, and they are working toward this mine with an adit.	60
Francisco Escudero, Diego Mateos, Hernando Alvarez, and Diego Delgado. Working the mine by shaft, but also running an adit to it.	60
Diego Mateos	60
Antonio García de Aldana and Alonso de Castro, working by adit.	20
Juan de Campos, Pedro Hernández Ontiveros, and Miguel Carreño	60
Pedro de Escudero, Cristobal Calderón, and Juan Rodríguez de Ribera	40
Diego Beltrán and Pedro Hernández Colmenero	60
Baltazar López, Pedro Escudero, and Francisco Escudero	30
Your Majesty	60
The minors [children] of Alonso de Zora, deceased Indian, discoverer of this vein, and of these yards [of mine] Juan del Campo, Alvaro de Mendoza y Rojas, and Pedro Escudero have twelve.	60

Second vein of this name, on the same mountain

Pedro Escudero y Rojas, and they have run a shaft.	60
The minors [children] of the same Indian [Zora], and of these yards Diego de Albornoz has eighteen.	60
Your Majesty	60
Baltasar López, Pedro Escudero, and Francisco Escudero	31
Diego Beltrán and Pedro Hernández Colmenero	60 10

Pedro Escudero, Cristobal Calderón, and Juan Rodríguez de Ribera	40	12
Juan del Campo, Ontiveros, and Carreño	60	13
Alonso de Castro	10	
Antonio García de Aldana	10	
Diego Mateos	30	
Hernando Alvarez Rubiales, and worked by adit.	10	
Alonso de Castro	15	
Diego Delgado. These two mines are worked by adit.	15	
Diego Mateos, and this is worked by adit.	10	
Francisco Escudero y Almonacir	20	
Pedro Hernández Colmenero	20	
Juan Vejel	20	
Alonso de Castro. For these three mines they are running an adit.	20	
Baltazar López, and in this Francisco Alvarez has twenty yards	60	
Your Majesty. This mine is worked by adit.	60	
Diego Beltrán has fifteen [yards], the other 45 are Baltazar López's. Worked by shaft.	60	
Diego Alvarez, and in these yards Pedro Beltran has five, and they are running an adit.	60	
Diego Mejía de Torres and company. They have started an adit, and there is hope that these mines will yield gains once these works are completed.	60	

And this camp [of Porco] was not inspected by the lord don Diego de Zúñiga when he conducted the general audit of this villa [of Potosí], nor did he bring an order to do so, which was a most necessary thing in order to verify the state of these mines and that the Indians assigned are occupied in the working and development of them, as it is not so small the portion that serve and attend well against their will. And later the lord viceroy don Martín Enríquez assigned the audit to don Juan Dávila, corregidor of this province, with power and authorization to allot and give the Indians assigned to this camp. And after this royal *audiencia* [of Charcas] began to govern [in 1554?] they sent order to the magistrate of mines of Porco to send a report on the state of the mines and of the Indians there, and in what [tasks] they were occupied. And it was discovered that there were 208 Indians missing, because those persons to whom they had been assigned had left; and the remaining mine owners asked that these [208] be allotted among them, and so it was done by the lord president and judges [of the *audiencia*]. Such is the state of affairs in this camp.

Of the camp and mines of Los Lipos

The province of Los Lipos lies fifty leagues from this villa [of Potosí] toward midday, inclined to the east; it extends lengthwise toward the west from the pueblos of the Uruquillas toward those of the Chichas.

It has for borders and limits by latitude the Quillacas and Atacamas Indians, which are peaceful peoples who serve in this villa, although the Atacamas are reserved [i.e., crown tributaries?]. It has in circuit and outline more than 250 leagues. It is cold and dry, and fierce winds always blow. It rains little and is uninhabitable, except for the barbaric nation that has managed to populate it, being people of no unity or order. It has very high ranges with perpetual snow and

plains that are a type of salt flats with not one fruit or herb. On the flanks of its ranges are the settlements of its Indians, who maintain themselves with roots and quinoa and a few potatoes, without any other sustenance.

The number of the Indians would be some 3,000; half are Uros, who live barbarically with no more law than to be born and to die; they do not have a settlement nor a fixed place, moving as they do from one part to another; almost all these people are infidels, and those who are baptized have not a single Christian custom, nor sign of faith, nor virtue. The other 1,500 are Aymarás; they have somewhat better knowledge and display evidence of good intentions, and they are settled across thirty leagues of land in very tiny villages. As a result of there being water in that location they have concentrated within such a small distance, because all the surrounding land is dry and salt flats, and its waters briny.

All these Indians are divided in ten *ayllus*, which are like lineages and families, and each *ayllu* has its headman [principal], and these are subject to two paramount chiefs [caciques superiores]; the one they say is an Indian of reason and fond of Christians, and the other, a barbarian and our enemy. They have never been officially counted or reduced [i.e., made to live concentrated in villages], nor have they had a corregidor, and the first one placed among them with this title has barely completed a year, sent by the *audiencia*. These pueblos pertain to the royal crown and pay an assigned tribute, and I believe it is 2,000 assayed pesos, all this without a census nor a sense of what Indians there are nor an assessment of what they can pay. The corregidor, Francisco de Carvajal, who lives with them with his house and wife, has been a success, as he has joined together and reduced in a short time some 1,000 Indians in one village, with which they are contented and peaceful and comply with their tribute. They are a peaceful people and docilely corrected, enemies of the warlike Indians who surround them. Today they live in the blindness they have long had, maintaining their rites and ceremonies.

All the pueblos have no more than one priest, and he resides in the main town, called Colcha, and he has a salary of 700 assayed pesos. And the Indians give him lodging and food, part of what they raise, and from this for his [alms] money they furnish him with some gifts. And it is not possible to form a parish as they are so spread out, and the land is such that in order to travel one must carry fodder, water, and wood, so lacking is it in all this. And thus they die without baptism or confession, a tame people whose souls would be easy to gain; and we see that there is no one who offers simply because of the lay of the land, as there is no other risk or danger. The corregidor went with orders from the royal *audiencia* to reduce them to four pueblos, which they are founding with care, and it will be clear with the arrival of Your Excellency, if it seems convenient to leave them in that location, since to others it would seem well to bring them closer to the Indians of this province.

These people have many llamas and alpacas, as well as vicuñas and guanacos, with which they maintain themselves. There is much hunting of partridges and vizcachas, and fine falcons. There are large rivers that come down from the sierras and on reaching the plain their waters turn salty; and in winter the plains become swamped and nearly covered with water, and some sierras with pueblos are left as islands, surrounded by water as they are located on the flat, although it is not deep. In the summer these waters dry up and reveal the land, which is left as a salt flat; and with the rays of the sun it makes a reverberation in white that is quite harmful to the eyes. No cattle or

goats can be raised, nor horses, and those they let loose into the wild go mad from the fierce winds that blow, and the one that is strongest is the West [wind]. There are great frosts and snows that begin to fall in early March and continue until the end of August, which is the summer and dry season, because it does not rain at all, and it is the coldest of the year. And when it rains there is moderation; the rains of winter come around September.

There is in this province a mountain with mines that bears some similarity to the one in this villa [of Potosí], as it is as tall and its shape and form are equal on all sides, although it is a bit slenderer and without as much flank or plain. And if its mines and veins began at the top it would be extremely rich. They call this mountain Osloque. At the base of its flank are the veins, which do not run up the mountain but rather across, from east to west. The first vein discovered bears the name The Rich. It is next to the salt flat. After following it for fifteen statures they hit water and now it cannot be worked. Near that one they found another vein that follows the same trend, a bit to the west, and they believe it to be all of a piece, and in this one there are ten or twelve Spaniards working, having populated the camp, which is fifteen leagues from Colcha. The ore from this mine yields about six marks [per hundredweight] by smelting, and they have no experience in mercury refining, although three or four years ago a Spaniard brought a portion of ore from Los Lipes that was refined in our manner, and it did not yield well. This was attributed to our ores being humid by nature, whereas those ores are so bland and earthy that the mercury cannot embrace the silver. Next to the flank of the mountain, near the vein [called] The Old, is the settlement of Christians, to the east. There are some twenty houses, and the Indian township nearby, with so many more houses. The Indians go to the mines of their own will and they are paid two-and-a-half reals [a day]. They [also] have rights to some ores.

Aside from these veins they have discovered and located other mines, although not as rich, five leagues from Osloque on a mountain they call Sacacha. They are on the summit, on the highest part of the mountain. Their ore yields about eight pesos [per hundredweight] by smelting. These [mines] are not worked, as the older ones are richer. There is great hope for great prosperity from these mines, as it is possible to work them without the risk of hitting water. And in the last three years the following veins have been discovered:

Tomás de Ibarra, now dead, who was one person given the staff of justice for that camp by the captain Martín García de Loyola, former corregidor of this province, the same [Ibarra] who discovered a vein of silver ore half a league from Osloque, on a mountain they call Guantara, on the other side of a river where an old digging covered up by hand was discovered, and they took ore from it and from this, silver, by *guaira*.

The same [Ibarra] registered another vein of ore he found in the same mountain, and of that ore he did an assay with mercury and it yielded well.

Domingo de Basurto registered a vein of silver that he found one league from the camp, and he assayed the ore and extracted silver with mercury.

The said Tomás de Ibarra registered a vein he found in a mountain half a league from the Valley of Escalla, in which he dug test pits and found ores of silver and lead [soroche] with distinct veins.

The same registered a vein of silver he discovered half a league from the main mountain.

Cristobal Flores registered a vein of silver he discovered a league from the camp, and assayed the ore and extracted silver with mercury.

In the area around the mountain there are mines of very fine copper and some of them worked by the Inca, and mines of lead that carry silver and many very fine colors, and a very singular blue for painters. There is a smeltery house with five ovens, four for smelting and one for refining.

If the Spaniards attended to the working and development of the mines, the silver they would recover would help offset costs; and as it is cold country and expensive they cannot withstand the work and lack of supplies that occur there. And also they have the Indians for hire, whereas if they had them by decree [i.e., *mita*] it would help populate the place with the many 'lost people' found in this villa [of Potosí]. The Indians refine the ore by *guaira*, of which there are some 200, and aside from the public mines of the Spaniards it is believed that they have other secret ones where they extract ores, and for this reason they are remiss in going to those of the Spaniards. In past years it was customary that sixty-nine Indians of this province of Los Lipas were to come to Potosí, of which twenty-three were obligated to the ordinary *mita* allotted by the lord viceroy don Francisco de Toledo to the mines and mills; and later they were exempted from this obligation as there were mines in their territory.

Ordinarily in this villa there attend, per contract, seventy or eighty Indians with their captain, and according to their will they rent themselves and hire out in order to pay their tributes, which are collected by royal officials. They have their dwelling in the parish of Santiago, without being subject to the captaincies, and aside from these there are many other Indians who come to sell a type of cloth they make there, along with quinoa flour, and colors [i.e., powdered minerals] and feathers from the many ostriches [rheas] that they raise in their territory. And it is understood that if they were reduced [to towns] there would follow good ends, after the principal one, which is their salvation. And, since the Catholic majesty of the king don Felipe [Philip II], our lord, is charged with the preaching of the gospel and conversion and good government of these benighted peoples, and as these ones are peaceful and have mines and pay tribute, Your Excellency would be well served to remember them.

Of the camp and mines of Berenguela y Challacollo

Thirty leagues from this villa, on the road to the valley of Cochabamba, from which they bring the flour and food to this town, three leagues from the Sacasaca allotment [repartimiento], there are ancient mines in the site of Berenguela, where there are certain mines of silver in free ore, found in pockets as in Porco. There are ordinarily about ten or twelve Spaniards living there, and for their labor the surrounding Indians give 130 Charcas and Zoras Indians. They refine the ore by smelting.

And fourteen leagues from these mines are others of lead, which they smelt mixed with those of Berenguela. And there are another so many Spaniards and they have 100 Uros Indians of the

allotment of Challacollo, and the district magistrate [alcalde mayor] of these camps is Garci Ruiz de Orellana, householder of the villa of Oropesa in the Cochabamba Valley.

Discoveries that have been made in this province of Charcas of mines of gold and silver, for which we have news

It is a very well known thing, most Excellent Lord, that there are many mines of gold and silver that the Indians keep secret, knowing that this metal has been the cause of our perseverance, and thus experience has taught them that where it is lacking the Indians live free of tributes and no one wants to conquer them, and they live under the law they want, and in the idleness and torpor of the vices to which they are inclined. And I believe the devil has taken care that they are not discovered, as one sees the loss there is of souls where gold or silver are lacking. And of the provinces in which we know there are many mines, it is this one of Charcas, of whose land one could almost say is a paste of silver and gold, and yet the demands of this mountain do not permit following up on the discoveries they have made and still make daily, and for the lack of Indians with which to work them. And of those for which there has been news since the year 1580, I wish to put them here, so as not to leave anything out for Your Excellency.

And the first ones are mines of gold, and the [discovery] made by the padre fray Tomás del Castillo, of the Dominican Order, now in Lima but at the time [serving as priest] of the parish of Talina, which is a pueblo on the road to Tucumán, fifty leagues from here, at the border with the warlike Indians (since to that point one can walk in peace); and in this pueblo the people who are to enter Tucumán join together [in convoys] due to the risk there is of attacks the Indians make on them, which are showers of arrows with which some of the horses are killed among other damages they do. Being there, as it so happened, this padre discovered a vein of gold in a mountain which he named 'Adam's mountain,' which is three leagues from Talina, next to an ancient Inca enclosure (which is a walled space for gathering livestock) and in a crest of sierra born of this same mountain he dug a test pit and removed a certain ore in which he found a little gold in the form of lace trimmings, which he brought to this villa [of Potosí], which struck there like a great alarm. And as new discoverer they assigned a mine to him eighty yards long by forty yards wide, which is what they call blocks, and later seventy yards in reserve after Your Majesty took yours [i.e., a mine was assigned to the king], because outside Potosí this is granted by law. (In this mountain and for a league and a half around it the discoverers do not enjoy [the privilege] of the mine of eighty yards nor of the [mine held in] reserve, but rather of sixty [yards] for the first discovery and the forty of the blocks.) Your Majesty took a mine on this mountain along with many persons, and as the padre saw himself the lord of 140 yards of gold mines that had been judged his, it seemed to him unjust to return to his cell a such a rich man and so of the yards of mine he had he made the following donations:

To the convent of St. Stephen, of Salamanca, thirty-four yards.

To the College of St. Gregory, of Valladolid, another thirty-four yards for the maintenance of four students from this province of Peru; and should they not admit them they were not to receive the said yards [of gold mine as donation].

To the College of St. Thomas, of Seville, seventeen yards so that they could maintain two students of the same order, with the same charge.

To the monastery of St. Thomas, of Ávila, thirteen yards, with the obligation that they clothe the friars of the same monastery.

To the College of St. Thomas, of Alcalá de Henares, another thirteen yards, as a fund for a collegiate membership.

To the monastery of St. Catherine, of Plasencia, another thirteen yards. And finally he ordered that sixteen yards be given to the Tomb of St. Dominic of Bologna for the ornamentation of its chapel. And with this he said he had discovered the greatest riches that men had ever found, and everyone owed him a great deal, as this relief occurred when there was much need for him; and it has been so forgotten that it is as it was before there was any news of him.

Lope de Brucena discovered and broke news of a gold mine he discovered in Chayanta, thirty leagues from this villa and one league from the said town, next to the river, in a flat-topped range where there is a mochadero [?] or shrine [adoratorio] the Indians had. And on the hill he found two shafts of six or seven statures' depth from which he removed ore with gold, of which he showed when he registered [the claim], because without gold or silver that one has taken from the mine to be registered one can do no more than make a claim, under the condition that within thirty days one is required to assay the ore and make a registry, under penalty of losing the right one has to the discovery. Your Majesty took a mine along with many persons, and the same occurred with the remaining discoveries I place here, and so as to avoid prolixity I will not mention them.

Juan Ramírez discovered four tunnels [socavones] of gold ore worked by the Inca near the San Juan River, in Los Chichas, twenty-four leagues from here next to a spring? [golpon] and some Indian houses they call the farm [estancia] of Macha. And these tunnels had been covered up and hidden at the hands of Indians, and on the flank of this mountain there were made many mesas and earthen terraces with stone, in the form of walkways, leveling the earth in order to make use of it with plantings. And higher up above the huts, toward the south, he found a gold vein upon white bedrock, from which he took gold, and it is said he will spend his estate on these mines, as it is understood that they must be quite rich.

Juan García Cuadrado discovered a gold vein in a mountain two leagues from Chayanta, toward Chuquisaca, from which gold has been taken and demonstration made.

Going on with the silver mines

Bartolomé García and Pedro Calisaya, an Indian, discovered two silver ore veins on a mountain called Chipave, on the road to Cochabamba, sixteen leagues from here.

Pedro Panus, a Fleming, and Pedro Sande discovered five mountains in which they found ten veins of silver ore, twenty-four leagues from this villa [of Potosi], among the Quillacas pueblos. And the mountains have these names because it was an order of the Inca that all the forests and

sierras and other places have names and that the land be known by them. The names of the mountains are: Añar, Caguar, Chiarqui, Calabana, Titicaca, Cupayara, and these four [sic] are in the space of a league and next to the town of Challapata, and the other mountain fits into the town of Condocondo, half a league distant from the rest, and they have given it the name Anchayara.

Andrés García discovered a vein of silver in a mountain called Andacagua, also known as Chantiri, six leagues from this villa above the town of Lalava. And at the foot of this mountain there is a lake where there fall the detritus and tailings they take from the mine, which has been worked since the time of the Inca and had sunk in it more than twenty shafts, and some are quite deep, and they extracted silver from their ores with mercury.

Martín de Mojica discovered a vein of silver ore next to the town of Lalava, on the road to Los Chinchas, in which he has sunk a shaft one stature deep; and the ore he refined with mercury and he extracted silver.

Alonso González registered a vein of silver ore he discovered in the high desert [puna] of Yotala, which is an Indian town three leagues from Chuquisaca and eleven from here, the same which he refined by smelting and extracted silver.

Juan del Castillo discovered a vein of silver in Tunqui Mountain, on the east-west summit, and named it Our Lady of Luna. It is above the inn or trading post of Yocalla, which is on the royal road to Cusco and six leagues from this villa [of Potosí].

Juan Juárez found a vein of silver ore on the mountain they call Guacache, which is on the road to Porco.

Juan Gutiérrez Bernal discovered a vein of silver on the same mountain and gave it the name St. John the Baptist.

Catalina Arupo, an Indian native of Cusco, discovered a vein of silver on the road to Chuquisaca, on a mountain they call Copacoya, which is three leagues from this villa, and she dug a test pit and from it removed ore that yielded by way of mercury refining.

Gaspar Ortiz registered a vein of silver on a hill that is on the road to Los Chichas, a league and a half from here.

Don García Caye, native of Collapata in the district of Cusco, discovered a vein that he located near the town of Lamaota, just past La Pachita, on a height next to the road near this settlement.

Juanes de Basualto registered a mine of silver ore that he found on a mountain along the road to Chuquisaca three leagues from here, and he dug a test pit the ore from which yielded silver by mercury.

The said Catalina Arupo registered as discoverer a vein of silver ore she found on a mountain three leagues from this villa, called Patipati, and by another name Cullapata, which is upon the

farm that used to belong to Antonio Díaz, in which vein she dug a test pit and took silver from its ore with mercury.

The same Catalina Arupo registered on the same mountain another vein of silver ore.

The same registered another vein on the same mountain toward midday, in which she dug a test pit and of its ore she extracted silver with mercury.

Juan Nullu, an Indian native of Los Quillacas, discovered a vein of silver on the mountain called Tama, which is five leagues from this villa and falls along the border with the sierra of Guari-guari.

The same registered another vein of ore on the mountain called Condori.

Baldelomar registered a vein of silver on the mountain that is next to the royal road to Chuquisaca, on what they call Chibitara, a league and a half from here.

The said Catalina Arupo discovered a vein of silver on a mountain they call Chaquil, five leagues from this settlement in the Guari-guari range, and from its ore extracted silver with mercury.

The same discovered a vein of silver on the mountain called Parani, which is near that of Chaquil, from whose ore she extracted silver with mercury.

Martín Cara, native of the town of Jauja, discovered a vein of silver on the mountain they call Poconche, which is five leagues from here.

The same registered another vein of silver on the same mountain, which he assayed and got silver from with mercury.

Juan Hurcuni, an Indian of Chapa, discovered a vein of silver on the mountain they call Pococirca, five leagues from this settlement.

Alonso González Sancha registered four veins of ore on the mountain called Tollocsi, on its summit, four leagues from this villa, and two of the veins run toward the east and the others toward the shade of the east side. They are separated from one another by almost a league. In the vicinity of these veins toward the royal road of Chiracoro he found a test digging and ancient tunnel covered up to the extent that one could barely determine what it was; and from the digging he refined ore and extracted silver with mercury.

Juan Niño de Figueroa registered two veins of silver ore he discovered two leagues from this villa on a mountain next to that of Chiracoro, and to that they call Tollocsi; and of its ore he extracted silver by smelting.

Pedro de Grado registered a vein of silver ore he discovered in the range along the Valley of Tarapaya, four leagues from here, and half [a league] from the last mill there is downriver, Marcos Muñoz's (now owned by María Castellanos); of its ore he extracted silver with mercury.

In the mountains born of this main one of Potosí toward the west they have discovered some mines and veins of silver which they took at first to be quite rich, and carrying on their work they have lost the veins since the host rock does not run in a fixed way, straight and perpendicular according to the plumb line, as do the main ones of this mountain [of Potosí], but rather tilted and falling away, which is a bad sign.

In the time of the corregidor Martín García de Loyola a layer of silver ore right on the surface of the land on a small mountain called Vilasirca, which is marked with a cross on the painting and plan of this villa, so rich that it yielded more than thirty marks [of silver] per hundredweight; and it was taken for a very important thing, but later it was lost as the ore had no root.

At present word is out in this town of some mines that have been discovered near Los Lipes and the [settlements of the] Chichas Indians in Los Aullagas, thirty leagues from this villa. The ore is extraordinarily rich and they relate great things about this; and before now there has been news of these mines, although not with such certainty as now. I understand they are to come to Your Excellency to request Indians for their working, as it is famous how important this discovery must be. And I do not affirm it nor do I offer more information as I have not seen it.

Of the discovery that has been made most recently in the Guari-guari mountains

The Indians go about so greedy of their profits and winnings that, knowing the freedom given them by Your Majesty and being masters of their estates and of the discoveries of mines they make, like the Spaniards, since before it was mandated by the lord viceroy don Francisco de Toledo they did not entirely enjoy this favor, and because President Gasca deprived them of it somewhat in order to satisfy the conquistadors of that time and for other not so pure [enteros] reasons he had, as was necessary in order to... the discovery of the mines

y porque el presidente Gasca les habia privado en alguna manera de el, por dar contento a los conquistadores de aquel tiempo y otros motivos que tuvo no tan enteros como era necesario para el efecto que se podia pretender del descubrimiento de las minas; porque claro esta que no consintiendo que se aprovechase de ellas mas que tan solamente el que hacia la manifestacion y registro, sin poder tomar minas ni estacarse los demas indios, pareciendole que si diera facultad para esto no tuvieran los espanoles lugar de tomar minas en los descubrimientos, y que los caciques y principales las tomarian y ocuparian todas, aunque lo pudieran hacer y ordenar de esta manera para que hubiera mas descubridores de nuevas minas, pues no habian de gozar de ellas mas que el descubridor, pero en lo primero fue en lo que se fundo; y por haber cesado esto procuran por este medio hacerse los indios ricos. Y los de este provincia tienen mucha diligencia en buscar nuevas minas y cada dia nos van dando noticia de ellas.

And a year and a half ago a Huanca Indian from Jauja called don Juan Caruachi, a *yanacona* of the friars of St. Dominic of the convent of Chuquisaca, having received sign and news of some mountains five leagues from this villa [of Potosí] (for having discovered a silver vein in them an Indian called Juan Cochaquispi, an Inca native to Cusco, in the Guari-guari range, on Chaquilla mountain, which did not seem to continue [i.e., it seemed to dead end] and was much forgotten as twenty-five years had passed), and on 16 April 1583 he made public and registered a new vein

he had discovered on a mountain called Condoruico, which is in the same range. And there were many persons who claimed mines and discovered many other veins, and they took this business as most important.

And almost the majority of the discoverers went to the royal *audiencia* with a petition and testimony, in which they proved to have registered and discovered 21 veins, and to have claimed in them 225 mines of sixty yards each, and they begged the lords president and judges to favor them by granting Indians with which to work new mines and to find out the quality and richness of their ores. And one Miguel García de Luján, who has the smeltery house in the mint, and Juan Ochoa de Unzueta, who at the time was scribe of the registry [escribano de registro] went to Chuquisaca and carried a certain disk and 'pinecone' [ingot], with proof that they had been taken from the mines of Guari-guari, with which they were much moved to try and grant them Indians, despite understanding that the greater part of the veins were useless, and petered out, and this was why they had registered so many, as it seemed they would be given Indians, which is the target they all shoot at in order to use them in other things, which is exactly what they did with those allotted to them, and not in the work of mining; but they did not give Indians to all, as there were not enough to satisfy so many. And in order to do it with the justification necessary they performed a certain proof, by which they determined who were the first discoverers and those who had made some settlement. And they resolved to grant them 300 Indians selected from among the two-thirds part in reserve [i.e., awaiting their mine labor rotation for the Cerro Rico of Potosí] and living in this villa, these to the discoverer mines of each vein, in conformity with a decree that mandated for the discoverers six Indians from the nearest village to that discovery (although this is not observed), so that with those indicated they would be worked, and from that which resulted they would learn how much of the rest to supply to them. And so they allotted them the 300 Indians, and not three months passed before they saw how insignificant this discovery was, although there was no suit lodged to condemn it beyond it seeming that the work could not continue, nor were they taking out many ingots, and that the Indians they had given them were not occupied in this. (I believe they neglect to do this more for the inconvenience and distance of the mines than for the lack of hope for profit that could follow from pursuing their development.) And the *audiencia* ordered them to quit this without returning them to their chieftaincies; and according to mandates they went giving them to different persons and to some captains and soldiers who went with General Juan Lozano Machuca, factor of this royal treasury, now dead, whom the *audiencia* named as caudillo of the people assembled to enter the Chiriguana frontier, after a certain attack and robbery they committed on a farm and estate of [i.e., belonging to someone in] Chuquisaca, the said which [originally allotted Indians] were given them for relief and assistance on their journey. And they went and sold them, a thing commonly done in this town, and they had some excuse, saying that they had no mines when for that effect they had been given, as people who went on their own account to serve Your Majesty in that expedition (from which has come little result, as much from the discord there was between the captains and the general, who was arrested and sent to this province, where he died in recent days – claiming that it was necessary for the royal service and calm of that camp – as for entering into the waters [i.e., rainy season floods] that impeded the war).

Some Spaniards have persevered in the development of these mines. And the rest say they do not for having been stripped of Indians; and two Spaniards, of those who most carry on with these

mines, brought a quantity of ore to this town [Potosí] to refine with mercury, and it was discovered that it did not take well.

The silver in this ore is in sockets or hollows [ojos] that one finds by breaking up the chunks, and it is like dust and almost as loose, and it is half silver. Much dust occurs along with it in these pieces similar to two-real coins, that have purity of more than 1,800 *maravedis* [i.e., above 75%]; and the rest of the ore does not contain these sockets and is quite poor. And they say that in striking the fixed [vein] rich ores will be found.

Of the captaincies there are in this town for the governance of the Indians and the number occupied in the working of mines, refineries, and other forms of servitude.

One of the most essential things for Your Excellency to know is the Indians who come to this villa for the working of the mountain and the refineries and other labors, and also the order they have taken in allotting them and giving them out by decree; and also how they [the Indians] return to the villages where they were born, trading places with those who come to replace them, pointing out the number now allotted, both according to the last assignment done by the lord viceroy don Martín Enríquez as well as that of this royal audiencia in the time it has governed, with all the obligations they have relating to Indian service; and the captains named for their governance and administration, whose charge it is to conserve the number [of workers] ordered to reside in this villa for the said tasks, complying with the orders and grants done with them.

And for the greater clarity of the new allotment that Your Excellency will be served to order done, I have verified the Indians and villages subject to each captain; and [also] those not presently in this camp and who do not comply with those persons to whom they are allotted, such as those missing for not coming despite being ordered and mandated to come by the lord viceroy don Francisco de Toledo, from whom came the origin and beginning of this servitude [the *mita*].

As the fame of the wealth of this mountain spread throughout the kingdom there arrived many *yanacona* Indians from all districts of the principal cities to work in its mines, and as there was the gain and profit that followed from the *guaira*, the caciques and *encomenderos* sent Indians from their *encomiendas*, because with those who were here they paid part of their tribute with silver and the village Indians gave livestock and clothing. And as they began to lose the relief they had, since the ores for smelting were running out and the mines were getting deeper and removing ore from them was requiring more effort and yielding less profit, they went back to their villages, and others flowed down through the valleys of Chuquisaca and temperate lands, and thus each day they were fewer. And in order to remedy this it was necessary to obligate and compel the villages and *encomiendas* that were following this tendency, such that they form a *mita* and form a reasonable part of the population of this villa, such that with it the mines could be worked.

And in the time when the lord viceroy don Francisco de Toledo arrived, which was at the end of the year 1572, there were but few people and the camp was nearly abandoned, and its buildings quite ruined and the householders with little silver. And on not finding the number of Indians sufficient to meet the needs they had of them with the new invention of refining with mercury, in order to find the Indians in this custom [of drifting away], and that if they had gone and absented

themselves what was the cause, as their plantings were not gone, [he] ordered and mandated that the same *encomiendas* that had been assigned there should be added a greater number of Indians than had been made to serve in this villa, adding other villages that until that time did not customarily come, and that were of the same climate, due to the danger there is in moving them from one [altitude] to another so that here they would multiply as much as in their native lands. He dispatched documents in which he ordered that, for the work of the mines and new refineries, the *encomienda* [subjects] of the districts of Cuzco, Arequipa, Chuquito, Our Lady of La Paz, and this province [of Potosí] would be obligated to come, making the distribution of the Indians that had to come from the villages according to the number of tributaries each had, as in this there would be harm if the allotment was not done equally, according to the true number each of the villages had, but rather according to the one left recorded by President Gasca, which was done with no certainty. And in order to do it thus they took from this province, according to the number of Indians in the general audit, sixteen percent of all the tributary Indians they found; and from the Province of La Paz, at sixteen; and from Cusco, at fifteen, and from the province of Canchis and Canas and Condes, and of the districts of Cusco and Arequipa, at thirteen percent. And the total number of people who gathered together in this villa [of Potosí], along with those already there, was 13,340 Indians, and in order to arrive at this number there left from their villages more than 40,000 individuals with their wives and children. And the roads were so covered that it seemed the whole kingdom was moving.

The *encomenderos* and householders very much wanted to reverse this by appealing to the *audiencias*, telling them how could they pay their tributes if the Indians were taken to Potosí, depopulating the land without leaving anyone to tend the plantings and claiming other such things, which is quite common in this kingdom, to contradict the things being put forth for its good governance. And as they knew the custom they had in them, especially in matters of governance, that however light the business might be they should refer it to the lord viceroy, they did not dare to try it, as there were some of them who lacked this care, and things happened to them. And from this total number of these Indians he ordered that there serve and be allotted to the mines and refineries a third of them, and that the other two [thirds] be reserved with the name 'at rest' [de huelga], not because they were taken to be nor were they lazy, but rather so that for their turns and shifts they would go working in the said tasks so as to better withstand the labor without tiring themselves out, as it would be excessive if they did not rotate, serving every four months, (p.138 – printer error causes a few page changes) and the two thirds in jobs of their own choosing, making more than by the day wage [jornal].

The said number of Indians they took from the provinces in the following manner:

This province of Charcas is obligated, in twenty-five allotments, to give 4,405 Indians, which have to reside with their houses and children and wives in the town site of this villa, and they must give to the ordinary *mita* according to the [mandated] third, 1,480 Indians.

The province of Our Lady of La Paz, which is 80 leagues from this villa, is obligated to provide, in twenty-seven allotments, 3,349 Indians, and must give to the ordinary *mita* 1,113 Indians.

The province of Chucuito, which is 115 leagues from this villa, is obligated to provide, in seven allotments, 2,202 Indians. It must give in ordinary *mita* 704 Indians.

Callao, in the district of Cusco, the city of which is 180 leagues from here, has the obligation to provide, in twenty-seven allotments, in this town 1,759 Indians, and for the ordinary *mita* it must give 586 Indians.

Los Canas, [also] in the district of Cusco, is obligated to have in this town, in twelve allotments, 719 Indians, and to give for the ordinary *mita* 206 Indians.

Lost Canchis, of the said city [of Cusco], is obligated to have in this villa, in fifteen allotments, 511 Indians, and has to provide in ordinary *mita* 179 Indians.

The province of Los Condes, in the same city's district, is obligated to have, in thirteen allotments, 495 Indians; they must give in ordinary *mita* 175 Indians.

And because it would not be possible to govern these people well with only the justices assigned by Your Majesty, nor maintain their numbers, and because two thirds go about 'de huelga' and [only] one [third] serves as ordered, Your Excellency named six Indian headmen as solicitors [procuradores], with the title of captain, and they had to be caciques according to the quality of their persons, so that they could assume the governance and administration of all these Indians, identifying them according to their nations and ethnic subdivisions [parcialidades], and [it was] also [ordered] that there attend a headman from each allotment, a native of the same, in order to aid the captains in charge of whatever compliment of Indians allotted to him, and to take care that they rotated, each having finished his *mita*, [and these captains] being superior to all the rest [of the Indians] in this villa, with power and faculty such that in the name of all the Indians and their allotments it is negotiated entirely through them the [Indians'] wellbeing and conservation, and according to what they do the rest are obligated to be on hand and pass along, as if one had communicated directly with them, assigning them a certain salary and naming constables to help them, and also quipocamayos, who are community accountants who keep a record and account by means of some threads of diverse colors, whose descriptions signify the ayllus and ethnic subdivisions [parcialidades], the villages and the Indians, with their livestock, money, and clothing, and the houses with all the rest of their goods, in which by way of some knots they give them they understand to such a degree that they have no need of writing to keep account of their assessments and business dealings. And although they have 'latinized' Indians who know how to read and write, as they have in their allotments, they do not ask them [to keep accounts] nor do they trust such matters to ink and paper.

By way of these quipus the Inca had made a discourse on the life cycle of man in the form of a list or column [padron], dividing it up into thirteen stages, from that of babies in the crib to that of decrepitude. And a similar account was made for women, and it was also understood the succession of the kings, and of the notable things that occurred during their reigns. And finally, the accounting with these quipus is so exact, that in a residencia [audit] taken of a corregidor in the province of Chucuito, they asked [i.e., were able to determine by quipu accounts] the Indians that had been entrusted to him in his corregimiento that provided him, without payment, so many chickens, and so many partridges, and the eggs, the hay, and firewood, and the Indians he had been given for the care of his livestock, and those he had sent to the coast, Cusco, Chuquiabo, and this province [of Potosi], and all of this to a great extent. And the language of these threads

is not universal, because in one province yellow signifies an account in silver, and in another the same would be understood as black, being differentiated by colors.

The number of these captaincies has gone up to a compliment of eleven, although a few days ago they went back to ten, having dismissed a captain for abuse against the Indians. The number was incrementing as it was deemed necessary in order to govern the Indians in a more orderly and easy way, as it seemed they had too much work with the many people in their charge. The increase of one was mandated by the lord viceroy Martin Enriquez, who had charge of seven, and [the other] four [were in power of] this royal audiencia, which are now back to three, and the said captains who serve are as follows, along with the Indian pueblos subject to them:

Don Pedro Soto, cacique principal of the repartimiento of Macha and captain and superior of the Caracara nation, of the district of Urcusuyu in the province of Charcas. He has as subjects the following towns. The first column is of the Indians that each repartimiento is obligated to have in this villa, and the second, the third of the Indians they have to have for the ordinary mita.

Chaqui	107	35
Visisa y Caiza	154	51
Tacobamba	98	32
Colo y Caquina	57	16
Picachuri	29	9
Caracara	29	9
Macha	354	118
Moromoro	40	13

Don Hernando Ayaviri, cacique principal of Sacaca and captain of the nations of Charca and Zora, and of the district of Umasuyu, of this province of Charcas, an Indian of great reason, and who reads and writes very well and in that he helps in that which comes up with regard to Indians. He has as subjects these repartimientos:

Charcas

Chayanta	368	122
Sacaca	178	59
Santiago del Paso	116	38
San Miguel de Tiquipaya	85	28

Zoras

Paria	645	214
Tapacari	199	66
Sipesipe	139	46

Don Juan Collqui the younger, native of Los Quillacas, is captain of the Asanaques and Quillacas, of the district of Urcusuyu, of this province of Charcas. He has studied grammar in the college of the Company of Jesus and he goes about dressed in our fashion, with much silk. The

Indians do not get along well with him, since in order to sustain his manner of dress he has to rob them, as he is not a cacique, and also because he does not understand the style and usage and customs of his district, nor does he treat the Indians with affability. They gave him this post for being the son of an Indian paramucho (?) and who had done much service for Your Majesty. At present he is with the soldiers of the Chiriguanaes, as he went as captain of the Indians taken by the factor Juan Lozano Machuca. He has as his subjects these villages:

Puna	196	65
Quillacas y Asanaques	410	137
Aullagas y Uruquillas	198	66

Don Juan Soto, cacique principal of the repartimiento of Chuquicota and captain of the Carangas nation, of the district of Urcusuyu of this province of Charcas. And these are the four captaincies he has as subjects:

Urinoca	42	14
Colquemarca y Andamarca	370	123
Chuquicota y Sabaya	369	123
Totora	222	74

Don Manuel Guachalla, cacique principal of Pucarani, and captain of the Pacaj nation, of the district of Umasuyu of the province of La Paz. He has as subjects:

Hayohayo	73	24
Calamarca	63	21
Viacha	136	45
Laja	120	40
Guarina	175	58
Pucarani	164	54
Hachacachi	104	36
San Pedro y Santiago	60	20

Don Gregorio Laura, cacique and second in charge of Caquiaviri and captain of the Pacajes of the district of Urcusuyu, of the province of La Paz. He has as his subjects:

Caracollo	130	43
Sicasica	91	30
Callapata	196	65
Tiaguanaco	129	43
Caquiaviri	243	81
Guaqui	174	58
Caquingora	258	86
Machaca la Chica	122	41
Machaca la Grande	204	68

Don Pedro Cutipa, cacique principal of Pomata and captain of the Lupaca nation, of the district of Urcusuyu in the province of Chucuito, below which captaincy is located the town of Copacabana, although it does not pertain to this province:

Chucuito	408	136
Acora	312	104
Hilavi	288	96
Juli	426	142
Pomata	318	106
Yunguyo	210	70
Zepita	240	80
Copacabana	162	54

Don Diego Aco, principal of Juliaca and captain of the Colla nation, of the districts of Urcusuyu and Umasuyu, of the provinces of Cusco and La Paz. He has as subjects the following villages:

Cuzco

Caracoto	61	20
Juliaca	67	22
Nicasio	36	12
Lampa de Esquivel	88	29
Lampa de Zara	18	6
Cavana	81	27
Cavanilla	99	29
Hatuncolla	79	26
Mañoso	100	33
Vilacache	9	3

La Paz

Puno	154	46
Paucarcolla	148	98
Capachica	182	61
Los Uros de Coata	39	13

The following Indians have had until now as their captain don Francisco Chachaqui, who was stripped of his charge for crimes, and now these Indians, who are of the Colla nation, of the district of Umasuyu, in the provinces of Cusco and La Paz, are placed with the said don Diego Aco, making of the two of them one captaincy:

Cusco

Asillo	136	45
Arapa	196	56
Ayaviri Chichero	76	25

Saman	125	42
Taraco	102	34
Azángaro	164	55
Quiquijana	49	16
Chupa	52	17
Achara	34	11
Caminaca	18	6
Carabuco	12	4
Cancara	18	6

La Paz

Moho y Conima	42	14
Carabuco	84	28
Ancoraimes	21	7
Huaycho	73	24
Huancasi	12	4

Don Alonso Chuquichampi, principal of Oruro and captain of the Cana and Cancha nations, of the districts of Urcusuyu and Umasuyu, province of Cusco:

Yauri	93	31
Checa	45	15
Layasupa	33	11
Llanquisupa	36	12
Umachiri	36	12
Pichiua Hatuncana	129	43
Coporaque	36	12
Ancocagua	3	1
Macari	24	8
Cupi	24	8
Llalli	30	10

Canas de Umasuyu

Oruro	126	42
Lurucachi y Singa	35	15
Sicuani	37	19
Marangani	16	5
Ñúñúa	90	30
Cacha	51	17
Charachapi	7	2

Canchis de Urcusuyu

Yanaoca	81	29
---------	----	----

Pomacanchi of Diego de los Rios	57	19
Pomacanchi of the part of Pedro Arias	18	6
Sangarara	40	13
Cullapata	25	8
Acopia	22	7
Yaucata y Huarachapi	7	2
Chachaca	3	1

Canchis de Umasuyu

Checacupi Chilaui	63	21
Cangalla	15	5
Tinta	80	27
Cumpapata de Cazalla	21	7
Cumpapata de don Antonio	15	5

Don Martín Quizana, second in charge of the repartimiento of Achanquiri and captain of the Condes nation, of the province of Cusco. He has as subjects:

Pomatambo	60	20
Condes de Mansio Sierra	60	20
Cotahuasi	30	10
Achampi	30	10
Achanquilla	18	6
Chumbivilcas	45	15
Chachas y Hucuchas	18	6
Andahua	18	6
Viraco y Machahuay	21	7
Pampacolca	45	15
Guaianacota	60	20

I have distinguished between these captaincies, calling some Urcusuyu Indians and others Umasuyus. It seems to me necessary to explain to Your Excellency the quality and difference there is between them, which was born from the Incas having divided the kingdom a long time ago into six parts and provinces which they later reduced to four, as two were of the Huancavelicas and Pastos, indomitable people and at times rebels against their overlord-ship.

And the four provinces they divided from Cusco, which as the head of the kingdom remained in the center; one part they called Chinchasuyu, as if to say the part or lot of Chinchu, which is a town, and this was for all the nations from Cusco on down; the other they called Collasuyo, which is that which comes to its end in this province [of Charcas], following the same line as the previous for the longitude of the kingdom north-south; the third, according to this order, is that of Condesuyo, which goes toward Arequipa; the fourth they call Andesuyo, which is its opposite, on the side of Cuzco and the latitude of the land, east-west.

For the governance of these provinces they had four supreme governors who attended them at court and were lords with experience and pull in the government. And the lesser matters of their provinces each one heard and dealt with himself, and the arduous and difficult ones they discussed among the four with the Inca present.

And beyond these four divisions by which together composed the whole state of the realm, there were others among them according to nations and origin of their lineages and antiquity.

And the part of Collasuyo, which is that of Collao, which is populated by the nations contained in the captaincies, were divided in two factions, which were called Urcusuyu and Umasuyu, which is to say [the first] people who reside on the mountaintops, which have this name ‘urcu,’ and the Umasuyus in the lowlands and plains, on the banks of the waters, which in this language is called ‘uma’; Others say the Urcusuyus means manly and spirited people, since by this name urcu is understood the masculine, and the Umasuyus the feminine and not so strong. And the Urcusuyus were always more proud and of greater quality, and the Inca gave them the right hand in public appearances and they were preferred over the Umasuyus by reputation.

Beyond this distinction they had another more arrogant and of more regard, in which they became divided, as much the Urcus as the Umas, in hanansayas and urinsayas, and this was general among the subject nations of the [Inca] realm. And the hanansayas, which is to say those of the upper faction, held the first tier of nobility, and comported themselves as military people when called upon by the Incas for war; and the urinsayas, who are understood to be those from below and of the status of common and ordinary folk, and those who served to bring victuals and supplies for the warlike folk. And today they maintain among themselves these pre-eminences and honors, and they treat with and know one another by these names and surnames.

There was another difference between them, and that was that the Indians of one nation did not use the outfit and clothing of another, but rather they differentiated their clothes according to colors and the way each was fashioned, and their hairstyles with diverse insignias, with which they remained distinguished and known from which nation they came; although this of the hairstyles they are losing to some degree, as much by making use of hats as by following the orders of the lord [viceroy] don Francisco de Toledo to drop the chucos – among the Colla and Lupaca nations – and other nations between Cusco and here who used them. These hairdos are of the fashion in which they paint the Jews and gentiles (?); the same which was prohibited, as these nations have had the custom of molding the foreheads of their newborn infants, making them grow upward with great deformity, which the barbarous folk consider most attractive; and to avoid this, which could cause them to have poor understanding, by taking the brain out of its natural place, inclining the brains as they follow the skull, which comes to make a point, and the whole head and forehead have the shape of a citron, and as the children suffer much pain from these ligatures, many die on them. And for these reasons it seemed the best remedy to take away the chucos, charging the priests and corregidores to take care in this and they are tired of punishing this vice and abuse, and it does not help.

Don Pedro Cusipaucar, native of the Cusco region, is captain and superior of all the yanacunas – of many nations – who reside in this villa. And during the audit that they did of them in the year

[15]82, they signed up and registered 980 yanaconas, and it was notable their decline from their former number, and these have all but been used up, and today they are scattered among the parishes, about 400 of them. They have no obligation to serve in the mines or refineries, and the lord viceroy don Francisco that they provide to the ordinary mita 24 Indians, twelve for the royal smeltery, which is where they make bars, and the other twelve for the service of the royal mint. And these Indians I did not count among the captaincies nor provinces, as they are not like those who come in from outside, but rather live here like householders. They are not subject to any captaincy nor do they recognize any superior other than the royal officials, to whom they report with their tribute, and these people are not counted by captaincy.

Don Fernando Corolqui, cacique principal of Talina, in Los Chichas, and captain of those of his nation who reside here, is obligated to provide 20 ordinary mita Indians for work in the adits, and he has complied with this and is not subject to any captain.

In the fourteen parishes of this villa they name each year a justice of the peace, who is an Indian headman, so that he may hear them and do justice, summarily, in their differences, which is his right, and also not to consent to the residence among Indians of blacks, mulattoes, mestizos, nor Spaniards, both for the wrongs they do them and also to impede drinking binges. And treating only on (141) the disorder and excesses there are in this one could compose a long chapter, and as I understand it, until they remedy this great evil, the preaching of the gospel will yield little fruit among them, nor can they be indoctrinated or admitted to the communication of the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist, although for their incapacity they have not administered it to them. What most separates and deprives them of this benefit [however] are their perpetual drinking binges, so much so that these poor folks spend everything they make on this vice, and commit many sins, with which Our Lord is most offended.

They are accustomed to drinking in public, many people gathering together, men as well as women, the same which hold great dances in which they make use of ancient rites and ceremonies, bringing back to memory in their songs their past gentility. And as these parties last day and night, or better said, all their lives, when they are finished [drinking] the fathers do not recognize their daughters nor the sons, their mothers, and in this there are great evils. And to remedy some part of this, the lord viceroy don Francisco de Toledo ordered that they build certain taverns in the manner of a state outlet [estanco], and that outside these one could not make or sell chicha or azua, and that there they would be given a moderate portion for their money so as not to permit excess, as was reported there to Your Excellency. And here he ordered that they could not bring maize flour to this villa from the valleys, which is what they use to make this beverage, under penalty of forfeiture. And thus they took that which they found, and from this there followed another important benefit, which was that there was more sustenance in the town as they brought the maize in grain and not in flour. And the lords of the Royal Audiencia appear to have understood this in another way, and thus have permitted that flour be introduced freely and it is brought here and sold publicly. And I believe they based this on stopping the thefts done to the Indians who commonly brought it [i.e., maize] by Spanish constables, once by denunciation, and other times, and most often, they bribe them so as to dissimulate with them; and also to excuse them from another task, which was for the Indian men and women to mill the maize purchased in grain into flour by hand, as they could not find flour, and because there were many people occupied in this and the republic was not well served for

the Indians to spend their time on this. And since one way or another they would be compelled to drink, it was best to excuse them from other harms and the [potential] taking up of wine, which would be of greater inconvenience and harm. Their captains also have authority to punish them for their drinking binges, but they are the first to get drunk, and it would be good to order that they had horses or mules on which they would visit their Indians daily and impede this evil. And they could also help a lot on Mondays by rounding up the Indians on horseback, and to do it with speed, as since they are fat and heavy they cannot walk around.

All the types of Indians that make up the seven provinces subordinate to the eight captaincies are obligated to give for the ordinary mita 4,453 Indians for the work and maintenance of the mines and mills, although this account has some errors, charging more Indians than those who remained as tributaries in some pueblos at the time when the census was conducted during the general audit. And thus those who suffer this inequality have petitioned that they correct this error, adjusting for them the number [also] requested of them to have available in this villa, as there are not as many Indians as their allotment says, verifying it by the tributes they have. And thus they have won settlements in their favor. And this third of the pool is allotted in this manner: 1,369 to the mines of the mountain and its adits, and 2,369 to the water-powered mills of this creek bank and to Tarapaya and Tabaconuño, plus the mill on the Chaqui River; and 620 to the horse-powered mills of this villa and its district, along with other 'dry' machines; and 222 to 34 refining houses, which altogether means they gave 4,258. And it seems that there remain to be allotted 195 Indians in accordance with the 4,453, which is the third part of the 13,340 who are obligated to reside in this villa, and it must be an oversight by whoever made the allotment.

Beyond this obligation the captains have to provide, from the 8,894 Indians of the (p.142) of the two-thirds who remain in reserve, under the name of 'huelga,' in virtue of the ordinance of the lord viceroy don Francisco de Toledo, 200 Indians whom they call 'de meses' [by-the-month], to be allotted and given out for this amount of time the first Monday of each month by the corregidor, with the Protector present in the plaza so that they be better treated, and so that the Indians have the freedom to choose the person with whom they are to rent themselves out, without compelling them to something else, giving a start with this small number to establish that which in time ought to be done with the entire number of Indians, redeeming them from the mandated subjection and servitude [i.e., forced mine mita] and giving means for them not to be lazy idlers.

Item: the said captains are obligated by specific decrees to provide and have on hand 150 Indians whom they call 'of the plaza,' because there they allot them on Monday of every week to persons in need of ordinary labor in their houses, in monasteries, in hospitals, and by the town councilmen.

Item: they are obligated to provide 80 Indians for the pack trains, and to help those who bring provisions to this villa, for which tasks it is difficult to procure [workers].

Item: they are obligated to provide 70 Indians for the salt springs that lie nine leagues from here, in which there reside ten or twelve Spaniards who take out each year more than 60,000 quintals of salt using the yanacunas they have. These mines are worked by adits, making galleries that are supported by pillars they leave behind so that the gallery ceiling does not collapse. The salt is

most necessary for the refining of ores by mercury; a quintal here in this villa already costs an assayed peso. And this province is abundant in salt springs, and three leagues from these there are others that are not worked, and of those for which there is news, they lie twice as far away, which is a great inconvenience due to the cost of transport, which is done using the local livestock [llamas].

Item: they are obligated to provide 100 Indians for the maintenance of the reservoirs, although this obligation is not by order of the lord viceroys. The lakes are overseen by two deputies, who are mill owners named each year, along with two salaried assistants paid by the engineers, under whose care the Indians go out and work to open and close the floodgates. And these tasks are only done during the dry season, during which time all things are finished, and when the waters come in they simply return to their caciques and captains. And in case some major rupture occurs during the rainy season and it is necessary to attend to some repair, the Indians can do so without the deputies, as from the parishes many people unite since it is something to repair right away and is an urgent rescue due to the risk and danger to the town presented by the failure of a dam. It has also been the custom to provide the water-powered stamp mills of this villa, during the time when they are not milling, with one Indian each, and sometimes two, with which they can pull together a sufficient number, as even when stopped there is no lack [of work to be done] in the mills. And at present these 100 Indians are allotted to different people under the title 'mandated' [de cédula].

Item: they are obligated to provide by parish to Dr. Franco, physician and surgeon, by provision of the lord don Francisco de Toledo, who ordered him come to this villa from that city [Chuquisaca?] where he is a householder and resides now, 60 Indians to assist with visits to those sick in the hospital, and also in the parishes; and when the illnesses are serious, to make them carry [the sick] to the hospital, which they loathe as much as death.

Item: they are obligated to provide 300 Indians by mandate of this royal audiencia, which are those allotted to the new discovery of Guari-guari, the same which they took out of the six captaincies of 'outsider' Indians [forasteros], without providing them any from the four [captaincies] of this province, because in this conjuncture there arrived a decree from this royal audiencia in which it was mandated that the Indians of this province be given to the factor Juan Lozano Machuca, to go with him and his soldiers on the Chiriguana expedition, carrying their food and baggage, 241 Indians, 140 of them from the four captaincies [of this province] and the other 100 of the Yampara Indians who reside in Chuquisaca in the city's public service, assigned for this purpose by the lord don Francisco de Toledo. These Indians took with them and at their own cost 1,200 llamas: 600 given by the Charcas of the four captaincies, and 600 from the Collasuyos, who are foreigners.

And it was a great vexation for all those who did this, although they were given promissory notes to pay for the livestock that they are now going about redeeming. They thought at the time that they made this distribution not to send out more Indians, their number exceeding that of the forasteros, knowing that in all the occasions on which they are offered those of this province suffer and have more work, both for sustaining themselves and having [to maintain] such a quantity of foreigners and newcomers who reside in this villa and who have moved into their valleys and surroundings, occupying their lands, as they are near at hand to assist them with all

their necessities, and the foreign Indians excusing themselves as they are outside their villages and have among them no more than the number consigned for the labor of the mines and refineries.

After they removed these 300 Indians from the mines, being of no use, as I said in its place, as they were not in the power of the persons to whom they had been assigned by title, three months having passed, when the audiencia allotted them to different persons until the month of November of the past year of [15]84, when they were ordered to return to their captaincies, with which the Indians loitered a great deal, being free of this obligation; although this pleasure did not last long, as not a month passed before they were again distributed by don Francisco de Zarate y by order of the audiencia, complying with the allotments of Indians that had been given to many persons. And in this manner they allotted the fifths and Indians 'by-the-month,' and 'of-the-plaza,' and [for the] salt mines, pack-trains, and present for this was the Licenciado Ruano Tellez, fiscal of Your Majesty in this royal audiencia, and in his presence also there were distributed the 100 Indians for the reservoirs.

The fiscal came to this villa with a certain commission regarding a theft they did in the mint some days past, and also to be present for the elections of the alcaldes due to past differences between the opposing parts, the audiencia reserving for itself the confirmation of those elected, as pertaining to the lord viceroys. And the lord don Francisco de Toledo had given his rights to the corregidor Martín García de Loyola and power to intervene in the taking possession [of office] by those elected, when they were those who were befitting. And if the persons were not so, they passed it on to Your Excellency, and in those cases the confirmation was delayed in being dispatched and arriving here, along with other dealings, until the 30th of December, end of the year, leaving those public servants with the staff of office for two years, and to those undeserving ones who lacked even the most basic qualities, as they did not have any reason to perform the residencia [audit], they left only a day to do it.

And with this they were feared and obeyed, because many times they influence these offices, and they even buy them, in order to have through them power in the republic in illegal affairs. And especially in this town, where some two years ago they introduced, as it is done in the city of La Plata, the existence of rural police magistrates [alcaldes de la hermandad], the same which have become common as of last year, a thing worthy of reversing in this villa since it is unbecoming, because they do not serve except to use the staff of office to oppress these miserable [Indians] and also to hold on to the Indians given them upon begging to the captains, and these people have [already] four alcaldes, and are so powerful as a result, among them all. And it would be just to stop this new and impertinent jurisdiction, to prevent the troubles that follow from it [and] for the good government and aid of the Indians.

Item: they have the obligation to give 100 Indians as mandated by this royal audiencia, which has given grants of them to various persons from among some of the allotments who serve in this villa.

Both in Charcas and in Collasuyos they are obligated to provide for the mines and site of Porco 1,000 Indians, of which two-thirds serve and the other is reserved under the name 'de huelga.'

And as a result of this some have claimed that two-thirds of the Indians of Potosí ought to serve by mandate, a plan that would cost the Indians dearly. And they are moved to this by the necessity they suffer in the staffing of the haciendas [i.e., refineries] for lack of Indians, without considering what these have, as will be more clearly seen later on, without offering means or plan that without (144) so much harm and vexation they remedy some part of this necessity.

And the lord don Diego López de Zúñiga, in the summary letter he wrote from this villa to the most excellent lord viceroy don Martin Enriquez regarding the audit of mines and mills he had performed, climbing the mountain and visiting everything personally, and examining everything carefully with his own eyes, for the good of this town and the service of Your Majesty and of His Excellency, having been entrusted with this task particularly to investigate this royal audiencia, he treated on the lack of Indians that this town site suffers and of the prosperity it would have if it could be rescued, and that it would be good if Your Excellency mandate that the Indians rotate in and out of the mita every six months, as they do so now every four, since from this number they would take the 600 Indians 'by-the-month,' 'of-the-plaza,' of the salt works, pack-trains, and reservoirs. And by this path they came to allot to the mines and mills 1,617 more Indians, this being half of the 13,340, leaving aside the 6,670 remaining of the other half free of all obligation, with which nearly the entire need was met. But, for certain reasons, it did not appear convenient at the time to saddle the Indians with new tasks, nor was Your Excellency fully informed of the things of this town site, as one may conclude from the allotment that was made.

In the time in which this royal audiencia has governed there have followed such good and prosperous outcomes as would be expected, thanks to the knowledge and experience of the most illustrious lord Licenciado Juan López de Cepeda, its head and president, has acquired, according to the genius, education, and virtue that Our Lord was pleased to give him, as well as for the very great experience he has amassed after having served Your Majesty in diverse parts of these kingdoms, whose reputation and generosity must require greater standing than mine in order to put it in the place it deserves.

And thus, moved by Christian zeal and by the desire to help those willing to work for a living, as it is from this that there follows the advance of the royal treasury, guaranteeing that in the period of his government there be no diminution, he allotted the 300 Indians of Guariguari; and 145 of the 195 that arrived un-allotted, as then they did not know the error was greater; and 298 who by his order were taken from diverse persons who had them according to the general allotment, [but] so as not to work with them in the mines as was intended, nor to have them work in the refining houses, and others who were selling them; the 100 from the reservoirs, with another 100 that had been given to him as part of his royal perquisites, plus fifty pertaining to don Jerónimo de Silva; and also by this order they have allotted the 500 Indians 'by-the-month,' 'of-the-plaza,' of the salt works, and of the pack-trains, which in all makes 1,443 Indians.

And thus there now serve about half, since the 1,157 who fall short of 6,670 (which is half), are for the most part not in Potosi since there are lacking the 60 Indians of the village of San Pedro y Santiago del Arrabal, of the city of La Paz, 39 of the Uros of Coata, and 50 of the Asillos, and 18 of Cangarara, and the greater part of the Conde Indians of the Cusco district, who are in all 390; and all those missing equal 557.

And beyond these there are many others missing who have gone and abandoned their villages, and no one has swapped to come and serve in their place. And those who least like to be in this town and most desire to return to their own are the Uros, being a people of no use, without the least intelligence, of bad beliefs, and the most vile and low people of all these nations, the same which, before the general audit and resettlement, lived on the lakeshores, sustaining themselves with raw fish, as they are great fisher-folk, and on roots of rushes, without any other care or means of surviving.

Beyond the Indians who today serve in this villa, the lord viceroy don Francisco de Toledo ordered that there come 750 Indians from the district of Arequipa, Llanqui, and Cullangas, who have not customarily come to this villa. And with regard to this (145) they have filed many complaints, sending people with staffs of justice that they take away, and they cannot do it on order of the corregidor, who always impedes the sending of the Indians to this villa according to his whim [con colores que toma, lit. 'as the dye sets'].

In the latest allotment the lord viceroy don Martín Enríquez did not include these people, instead ordering them to go for the rebuilding of the city of Arequipa, which after a tremor and earthquake that occurred on 21 January, [15]82, desolated it, and almost all the buildings fell down, along with the monastery of Santo Domingo, the convent as well as the church, with nothing left standing, and the rest were quite ruined and leveled to the ground. And it was a case of one of those predicted things that have been seen; and the whole town was in tents and shelters, fearing that a volcano that is within view of the city would erupt, as it was thought to have caused the tremor, which it ordinarily suffers, and that if it should come down in the night many people would perish; there died some 40 persons.

And as all the types of Indians included in the ten captaincies pay [tribute] in the general collection, charged of them in their villages, the salary that was due to the corregidor, lawyers, and public defenders, and it not being just that those who come to reside [and work] in this villa be charged with new and rising costs, for judges and ministers of Your Majesty, the mine magistrate, and [mine] defender, and inspectors, who are placed for their defense and protection, as well as the salary that had to be given to the [Indian] captains who governed them, without giving to understand either the lord viceroy don Francisco [de Toledo] that they had to pay these costs – the people in whose plants and refineries the Indians were occupied – because the day wage that had been determined according to the job in which they were to be occupied was the just price that was due to them for their labor, reserving in itself the distribution of the growth there was in the day wages, leaving it up to the republic, in the manner of excise, with budget and accounting of that surplus that they paid to the Indians, obliging them to pay certain duties, as will later be declared, on the day wages they were assigned, in this way:

To the Indians who were to work in the labor of the mines of the mountain, at 3 reales and a half.

To those who were to work in the mills and refining houses, and public works, and other tasks within the town, at 2 reales and three quarters.

To those occupied with transporting ore with llamas from the mines to the mills, at 3 reales.

And to the third of the Indians, which are those 4,453 that they allotted to the mines and mills, it was mandated that each week it be charged of them by their factions and ayllus and captaincies, and from each one for himself half a real per week, which is the tax they call 'the grains' [los granos], which they place in a chest with three keys that ordinarily was kept in the house of the corregidor, the same which kept one [key], another [was kept by] the mine magistrate, and the third [was kept by] one of the inspectors of the mountain. They exempt the charging of these 'grains' for three weeks each year: that of Christmas [pascua de Navidad], Holy Week, and [the week] of flowers. Over the course of the year these 'grains' add up to 8,500 assayed pesos, the same which are distributed in salaries as follows:

To Diego Bravo, head mine magistrate, 1,500 assayed pesos, and this they used to pay from the royal treasury, being an ancient office.

To don Francisco de Zárate, as judge of the natives, 1,000 pesos, plus 600 as auditor of the mountain.

To don Francisco de Vera, general [native] protector, 1,700 assayed pesos, although his predecessors were never given more than 1,200.

To Hernando de Oruña and Bernabé de Bruceña, inspectors of the mountain, 1,000 assayed pesos each.

To the said Diego Bravo, as treasurer and person who keeps account of the charging of the 'grains,' 800 assayed pesos.

And to the six old, originally assigned captaincies, 200 assayed pesos per captain, with which the four that have been added means they divide up 1,200 pesos, about which they complain. And some have appealed to the audiencia and they have been given title to the 200, but [the officials in charge of the purse] do not comply. It is considerable the work they have, and the cost, to carry themselves like headmen (146), and they never lack expenditures. And they are pretentious those who hold this office, as they are ambitious by nature.

The Indians of the said captaincies also have the obligation to give half an assayed peso each per year to the hospital of this villa, which comes out of the rise in the day wage paid to those among them who serve, as they have the obligation to cure them of their ills. And the hospital could not, without this aid, which amounts to more than 6,600 pesos, cure and provide for in their illnesses the many people who go to the hospital, with the number of Indians who have come. After Dr. Franco left, the hospital itself has taken charge of the sixty Indians provided by the parishes, and the [government] ministers say that they have sold them, and by this means the Indians are worth to the hospital more than 4,000 assayed pesos, with which they pay a physician and surgeon and save much money. The hospital's costs in salaries to its ministers amounts to 6,000 assayed pesos. In rents it has 14,000, with the 6,600 pesos given it by the Indians, and minus the 4,000 from the sixty [allotted and 'sold'] Indians. There is a chest with three keys into which they put that which they go charging of the Indians; Diego Bravo has one [key]. And from this money they pay 400 assayed pesos to the [hospital] administrator, don Francisco de Rojas, archdeacon

of Tucuman, who says mass for them, and they give him room and board, and he is virtuous, and lives 'with reformation' as a good Christian.

The ecclesiastical tax and stipend that they give to the priests of this town, because they indoctrinate these natives, are paid by the encomenderos of the realm, for having taken the surplus from the main income from tributes that which adds up to the 'doctrina' paid by the tributary Indians. And from this number they took out the Indians that come here, taking that which they were supposed to give in their villages to their priest for those here.

Due to the great flow of Indians there is in this villa, it appeared to the lord viceroy don Martín Enríquez that for their governance the ordinary justices did not suffice, neither for doing them justice in their business affairs, due to the many offenses and abuses they commonly receive, and to free them from subjection to the various judges it was necessary to elect a special judge, one who only looked after their protection and defense. And it was also understood that he wanted to pass along and give him [charge of] the governance and oversight of the Indians who were in his charge, to [make them] comply with the decrees that were issued to them, and the carrying out of the allotment and other duties. And with his death and end this naming ceased.

And this royal audiencia assigned for the use of this new office to don Francisco de Zárate, a person of much regard and quality, with title of Judge of the Natives. And in the time that he has exercised [this office] it has been seen of how much importance this tribunal has been for the expediting of the concerns of these people, both for the good payment and treatment that is made for them, as well as the total satisfaction of justice that is obtained in their quarrels and demands, and being outside the obligations they had when their different cases were brought before different judges and notaries, such that many times it suited them better to lose their justice than to pay for it with so many vexations. And as their cases passed through distinct offices, their suits and demands were lost, and the guilty parties were rarely punished, nor could it even be known who had treated them ill. And thus they went back to their crimes, up until the time when this office was held by Diego de Meneses, as scribe of this court, and now he is [scribe] of mines, and before him pass the head magistrate's cases, who also knows the affairs of Indians under the title 'judge of natives,' and of don Francisco de Zárate; and to some it has seemed that this tribunal was too much. The audiencia did not give it much instruction in many things important to the common good and good governance of the natives, which they lack in many things, which ought to be the principal aim of Your Excellency, building upon this personage a great assumption that is made by his own hands, as that which gives quality and value in this villa to these posts is having a hand in the governance of the Indians, and this pertains to the person to whom Your Excellency would be pleased to make this grant. In Cusco there is an unsalaried judge of natives and he is in charge yearly, elected by votes, and he leaves office on New Year's Day (p.147), and it has always been [held by] ranking householders, but here this would not work since I hold this office as important if I had access to the perquisites that might pertain to it.

On the mercury monopoly

In the governance of this realm, Your Majesty has three businesses, arduous and of great quality, all which together help to augment the good means that Your Excellency would provide for [the

realm's] conservation, which are; the ores of this mountain, the Indians who attend to its labor and refining, and the mercury of Huancavelica. And to all of these is hitched the stability of this kingdom and good government of Your Excellency, as the gains of the royal treasury hang upon these three things. And how much greater the name of this government should the means taken for this effect be still more improved, by which Your Majesty would be most served and the land would have prosperity, which is what is most to be desired, because for the matter of justice, audiencias have been put in place to discharge the royal conscience and also that of Your Excellency.

As I have treated on the ores and Indians, I did not want to carry on without putting the matter of mercury in this place, and on how much is consumed and how much is needed in this villa, and the origin of its monopoly, along with its importance to the royal fifths and the general good that there be a supply and abundance of it, referring to the past rentals [of the monopoly], this being the primary business that Your Excellency has to offer, gravely important, with the necessity that it be given by monopoly contract.

After it was understood that the ores of this mountain and its tailings could be refined with mercury, the lord don Francisco de Toledo ordered the shipment they used to do from the mines of Huancavelica to New Spain. And at this juncture he placed in effect and executed that which His Majesty ordered him to do by royal decree regarding mercury mines, such that those found in this realm be placed under charge of the royal crown, ending the contracting system formerly used, reserving to His Majesty as king and lord that he is of everything, because the mercury mines in Castile are of and pertain to the royal crown and are not for the enjoyment of the private persons who discover them, as is true of gold and silver mines, and [it was ordered] that those found here be worked and developed by royal officials and by royal account.

And considering the inconveniences that would follow from persevering in this, as someone who had the thing at hand, he wrote to Your Majesty of what great importance to your royal service and the good of these kingdoms this was not to carry out decree in every particular, because lacking the gains and interests that follow to the discoverers, they would not bother to search for mines, a thing from which would follow as much harm to your royal treasury as it would to private parties. Because the most urgent remedy that has been found for the restoration of Peru was that they could refine the ores of this mountain, even if they be of poor quality, by having mercury at a good price, the same which could be done if mines were discovered near this site, since, lacking this, encountering a remedy would be most difficult, if not impossible, as, well, they have not encountered mines that, lacking mercury, [yield ores appropriate] for smelting, enough to sustain the commerce and general interest.

And thus it is understood that the discord of this land has its origins in Huancavelica, for lack of ores of mercury, and that on this mountain [of Potosí] and those of its province that contain silver mines, they ought to last a long producing poor ores, and that future necessity, how much more than we have right now, makes it necessary to provide a new means by which they may be refined, because the cost of refining, with the richness of the ores diminishing and with the mines getting deeper every day, it is not possible to carry oneself forward.

As a result of which Your Excellency established a type of contract and means with the persons who at the time held the mercury mines and with the discoverers who came forward to claim them anew, adjudicating them the ores that from them [these mines] they might extract in the space and time of thirty years, after which time these same mines would pass on to His Majesty, and be incorporated into his royal patrimony, under the charge and condition that the mercury that (p.148) they produced they could not sell or exchange, rather that they be obligated to give and sell it, and hand it in, to his officials, pricing each quintal thus brought into the royal warehouse at 42 assayed pesos; paying, for each five quintals brought in, four at this price, with one remaining for the royal fifths. And for [any mercury produced by] mines discovered anywhere between Cusco and here, His Majesty would be obliged to pay 52 assayed pesos [per quintal]. Such that with the said monopoly they were left with sufficient gain (as was done by way of renting with those of Huancavelica) so that, working the mines at their own cost they would make good gain, as they have had.

This monopoly taken as a given, mercury was brought here to this villa for a time on His Majesty's account, and some private persons with license from Your Excellency, with certain additions, until the year of [15]76, when a rental was granted for the mercury in that city [of Lima] to Gonzalo Hernandez de Herrera and Luis Rodríguez de Laserna, and also Gaspar de Solís and his associates, as Your Excellency discovered some inconveniences in bringing it on His Majesty's account and learning that it was better in private hands, both for the risk at sea and cost if pack-trains, and avoiding the cost of the officials who had to be occupied in the administration of this business, and also because the Indians who went about working in the mines of Huancavelica had to be well paid, along with those who possessed them [the mines], and to have people whose job was to carefully bring and keep on hand more mercury than needed in this warehouse, as well as someone who knew the substance [mercury] well.

The rental contract was given to the said companions by public auction, the same which were obliged to give to His Majesty 64 pesos and one grain of assayed silver for each quintal of mercury they placed in the royal warehouse at Huancavelica, of which price there pertained to the refiner of the mercury 42 assayed pesos, which was how it was appraised, and they were to be paid later, once it was delivered and inventoried in the royal warehouse before the royal officials; and to His Majesty 22 pesos and one grain, which they were obligated to pay in this villa [of Potosí], within twenty days of the arrival of the mercury, which was the term, as they were obligated to advance it to private persons under the condition that they could not sell it for more than 85 assayed pesos [per quintal], obliging them to receive all the mercury that was handed over to them in the warehouse. And in the three years because of placing this contract, without putting a limitation nor clarifying what could happen to them with the increase in mercury that there might be in these three years than in the previous ones, His Excellency made a new allotment of Indians to the renters of the mines, adding to them a number so that with this rescue they would extract much mercury, with which left the company in great need, lacking the money to pay for the mercury that had been delivered to them.

And for this reason the householders of Huancavelica wrote to the lord viceroy, since His Excellency had set up the monopoly, taking away from them the trade and freedom they had had with mercury, [and he] was pleased to decide that the renters had to pay from their capital without retention, and the result of this was that they could not pay the Indians for their labor,

and so they were jailed, the renters living in Lima. And he ordered the lord Licenciado Francisco de Cárdenas, criminal prosecutor of that royal audiencia [of Lima], to go to Huancavelica to pay the Indians and the mine owners, his salary and travel costs to be charged to the renters [of the monopoly], and they sold their things off cheaply in order to provide for this without letting them go until there arrived testimonies saying the Indians had been paid, all which left them [the renters] very sorry for having gotten themselves into a business that brought them to such ruin just as they were completing the third year of the contract.

Seeing how those who had held it were left soured, and the town disillusioned with its management, he [the viceroy?] wrote a letter to the corregidor Martín García de Loyola, in which he said the contract was going to die and that no other person wanted to take it on, and that it would greatly benefit the royal service that the mercury supply be handled by a private person, and not placed upon his royal head, although by this path it would not be of so much gain, and it may end up tempting some persons in this villa who could do it, because, with nothing but the news that this was happening [i.e., the monopoly was ending], it would be an occasion for awakening the greedy who would carry it out when here [in Lima] no one will (p.149), the importance of this business being a great burden to bear, especially with the new risk of corsairs in the South Sea, and other inconveniences that would follow for the proper payment of the Indians and mine owners, as, well, from here they would have to carry the silver in pack trains in reales or have them coined in the Lima mint.

This letter having arrived in Potosí, and the corregidor understanding that which the viceroy desired and having his own discretion and knack for business, he began to negotiate with one Francisco de Guzman, who is now dead, and with Carlos Corzo and Juan de Pendones. And he was also able to do it with a means and plan that was given: that the lord viceroy would grant them from the community chest an 80,000-peso bond [censo], charged to the householders of this villa, which today is still unredeemed, plus a number of Indians and a quantity of mercury for their refineries, and other things that time has shown to be of little importance to their company. And thus it was carried out, with an increase of eight assayed pesos more for each hundredweight, such that they came to give for each quintal 72 pesos, His Majesty gaining 30 for each. And the overbidding and excess for this contract has come to amount to 224,000 assayed pesos, because the factors have received in three years 28,000 quintals, and five years have been needed to consume this amount in this villa, which have passed since the contract was made, and it is still not all gone.

And this company has seen itself in greater labors than the previous one, because that which they might have gained they gave to His Majesty, without winning the least profit, and having gone through many sell-offs, and they [the investors] and their backers have been sued and jailed, and [the guarantors] have rescued them and paid on their behalf a quarter of what they backed them for. And in this time there has been a great abundance of mercury, and it has been sold so cheaply that on credit it has been sold for 70 pesos and somewhat less, when it had been backed at 70. And in the last two years it has insufficient, and one has not even been able to purchase it with [silver] bars in hand, and this [fluctuation] would have been impossible had Your Excellency been in this land, due to the great care the lord viceroys have had in making sure this commodity is not lacking in this villa, in which the contractors are obliged to offer it on thirty-

day terms, since ten was added to the twenty by the lord viceroy don Martin Enriquez, so that the engineers and refiners would be better able to pay for it, having signed liens.

And for this term they suspend the charging of the thirty pesos per quintal that pertains to the royal treasury. They charge the mercury given out on credit as if it were a grant belonging to His Majesty, preferring this type of debt over that to private persons. Due to the risk there may be in this, I believe Your Excellency would have some difficulty contracting this business out, as these renters have it much elevated, and it would not be convenient that by the hand of Your Excellency it be less, other than benefiting by account of His Majesty.

It is a thing of utmost importance to the wellbeing of this villa that Your Excellency give an order for the new contract that will be celebrated, so that there will always be more than enough mercury in this warehouse, as has been mandated in the previous ones. And that, giving guaranteed notes, they be obligated to offer it on credit, because many times, when there is need for it, the parties are not satisfied, even with guarantees, not even the backers, in giving it to private persons.

When there is an abundance they refine many ores and everyone is motivated to supply themselves with ores, and to expand their refineries, with the hope of this relief. Because in no other way can they occupy the silver [or money] in the ore, and in the milling, and in the transport, for which, lacking this commodity [mercury], much money is needed for this, and it should be given easily and on credit for seven or eight months. And on account it would be found cheap, as it is the case that it does not benefit the contractor to sell below the set price, there being a surplus of it, the exchanges and sharp deals [mohatras] that they make in clothing and coca and wine they take from mercury.

There are consumed ordinarily in the refining of the ores six or seven thousand quintals of mercury [per year], leaving aside that which is recovered from the slimes from the more than 50 ovens located in this villa and in Tarapaya, where they burn and refine that which is left over from the ores, which would amount to more than 300,000 quintals, from which would be taken, averaging the ones with the others (p.150) according to the loss there is of mercury by quality of ores, 2,000 quintals of mercury, more rather than less, the lamas being of the quantity mentioned. And to have here a hand in this commodity, there would follow great gains, and men would be made very rich, and to these factors Your Excellency could grant a favor, for the service they have done to His Majesty, relieving them in some manner from what they owe for the work they have had in this growth.

Of the exchange and contracting the natives have in the ores and the differences that have arisen over this matter, along with the resolutions there have been for it.

Since the discovery and foundation of this site and villa of Potosí it has been a most guarded custom, Most Excellent Lord, among the natives, to freely trade and barter the ores they take from the mountain, selling them in the public square (which is set aside solely for this business), in which there assemble a great concourse of Indian men and women to sell that which they have acquired and extracted, and others to buy it, both the rich ones for the guaira as well as those ores that they refine with mercury.

And for the last five or six years many mine owners have wanted to prohibit this trade, stripping them of the commerce, freedom, and possession that they had long since had.

And [they claim] that they cannot trade in ore (especially that designated for mercury refining, as the origin of the barter was in ores for guaira [processing], Indians with Indians, acquiring it with just title, entering to work the mines at the will of their owners by way of 'varas' [i.e., working so many yards of a vein for a fee]); and all that they possess now is stolen from their mines and huts, where they store that which is extracted due to the risk, and from the mills when they are running, and when they transport it from one place to another, and finally, with such violence that they cannot keep their refining plants safe, nor is it possible, being 'in-house' thieves, having cost them their earnings; and for having permitted them to truck in ore refined by mercury it has followed that the mine owners are quite ruined, because they pick over the ore, taking the best and most grainy, and that which they leave them, for having chosen the good and of highest value, which leaves them to supply themselves with the rest, such that those who refine it [the remainders] lose in it; and thus there is no one who wants to buy ore [directly] from the mines, from which His Majesty loses a great deal, and there would be a great consumption of mercury due to the considerable benefit they would have, and as they are lacking this relief and are unable to make full use of their refineries, they are forced to sell off the remainders [ajenas], in which they lose everything, and the main cause of these thefts and damages has been keeping them so in need of decreed [or drafted, mita] Indians, such that for the lack of them they work their mines with the [wage-earning] mingados, and on top of paying them well, they hide their thefts as they return to the mines; and experience has demonstrated that the ore removed by mita Indians is of greater value than that worked by mingado Indians, due to what they steal from them; and this is so common and excessive now that when it happens that a few Indians collect some ore by just and licit means, it does not amount to the tenth part of what is sold each day in the Indian marketplace [gato o tianguis], in which many Spaniards have come to buy, both personally and by the hand of yanaconas who rent themselves out for this purpose, and with this opportunity the Indians attempt to rob them, as in fact they do.

And on this they presented certain writings that contained some part of that which has been said before the captain Martín García de Loyola, knight of Calatrava, who had just begun to exercise the office of corregidor of this province with the title of lieutenant captain-general, whose naming gave great contentment to His Excellency, for sending to this villa a minister so much desired, finding in him qualities that made him deserving of such a qualified post, and because it mattered so much to have a person here who feared God and was zealous in serving the lord viceroy, because lacking this it was impossible to discharge the conscience of His Majesty, and also his [the viceroy's], because, with this jurisdiction being in order and agreement, so goes the whole kingdom. And the town council of this villa, with his attendance, by decree banned the barter of ores, enacting several proceedings about it that caused a stir among the Indians for several days (p.151). The corregidor was moved for these reasons, and [also by] seeing with what feeling and vehemence the mine owners extolled him, it seeming to him convenient to remedy it [i.e., overturn the decision], not pointing out, as it was not in his power, the origins and justifications of this trade, as something that had not been examined in depth.

For its remedy [i.e., to reverse the ore bartering ban] they took certain testimonies with great care and much diligence, [directed] by Diego Núñez Bazán, general protector, as he was at that time, of the natives (an ancient person and one who always occupied himself in the things for which he was given charge by His Majesty, of which he has given good account with much satisfaction and clarity); one by the captains of the Indians, taking with them as scribes 'latinized' [Spanish-speaking] yanaconas; roaming through all the veins and mines and determining how many pongos there were in the mountain (these being the porters of the mines), and they encountered a great number, clearly paid in ore, and thus they presented their proof in full form, free of artifice. The corregidor committed this [matter] to these folk so that by every means they would inquire after the truth and so that the pongo Indians would understand that these inquiries were not being done to punish them (as it would be possible not to find a single one of them should they think it a crime to have that job, and the Spaniards could be made to believe that, with which the truth would be obscured), and that this inquiry not impede that which they had done with prominent people of this villa, mine owners and established persons, for whom it was convenient that the Indians possess the ores they sold by licit means, as reward for their labor and sweat, this part and quantity being much more numerous than that from which one could steal, with other points and notices touching upon the wellbeing and defense of these peoples [i.e., Indians], as they are so incapable of acting for their own justice.

And in the interim, when these inquiries were under way, the corregidor and protector advised the lord viceroy as to what happened, and later he dispatched a decree in which he conceded license and authorization to the effect that the Indians of this town site could freely trade in the said ores, without the possibility of any impediment being placed on it.

This decree being published, Father Baena, of the Company of Jesus, in sermons he preached with express words against it, and against the bartering, saying it was illicit and worth of condemnation, and that those who purchased them [such ores] and those who permitted it were going to hell and were sinning mortally, and were obligated to restitution, and other words of this sort, with which there arose great differences and scandal among all the householders, lettered men, and clergymen of this villa, some preaching against others and obfuscating from the pulpit with passionate words and public censure, which is much done in these new lands and more so in this villa than elsewhere. And as the corregidor advised His Excellency of what had been preached, it upset him greatly that Father Baena sought to resolve so simply, and also condemn, a matter requiring much more counsel and time to examine, as, well, the substance and gravity of it required it, and not to defame the conscience and decree of His Excellency, who with so much consideration and accord had issued it, and as a person who in public treated upon the temporal, and His Majesty having mandated that prelates and preachers not interfere with that, and that if they did so they would be stripped of their holdings and deported.

And it seeming to the lord viceroy that his powers did not extend so far, he wrote to His Majesty of the disorder and liberty there had been in this, requesting a specific decree to deal with it, to which he responded that viceroys had the authority and power of the audiencias, and that they could deport them and do the rest, and that in such matters they had the same authority, according to general powers, and that no new decree or commission was needed, approving and keeping in service those clerics and friars who had been deported and taken to Castile, and that he should do the same to those who interfered with secular considerations (because nothing tires

a prince more, he being in the midst of clarifying and perfecting justice in his realm and having to reissue certain things that have already been cited and go on opening the path to other invisible things, in order to handle them in their time and place, which the people have not caught up to, when along comes a preacher acting like a governor and arrogantly denouncing them, many times with disrespectful words, full of pride and presumption, from which the vulgar take occasion to gossip about the princes and governor, making them unpopular).

And it seeming to the lord viceroy that it was well to fix the matter of the padre, so as to end the scandal he had raised, he ordered him later to go down to Lima, and to ratify this order he called a meeting of the most notable of lettered jurists available in that city and of the most eminent and resolute theologians and canon lawyers, the most virtuous individuals, and dispassionate, fearful of Our Lord, from whose consciences one could not presume anything that would be against that of His Excellency and their own.

And with their agreement and opinion he issued another decree, in which he ordered that the Indians may sell the ores of the mountain freely, and that the Spaniards may freely buy them, and that it be made known to the Indians that they could enjoy this benefit. And that beyond the reasons that had moved him to mandate this, there had been discovered other benefits to the service of God and of His Majesty. And for the security of the consciences of those who traded with the natives, he ordered a consultation with serious persons of science and conscience, and took their opinion of the argument, claim, and boldness that the padre had in treating on that which he preached; and so that the Indians could deal and trade without some hindrance or impediment being placed before them in buying ores from whomever was selling them; and so that the corregidor not impede them, and that whoever hindered them would be punished, under penalty of suspension [of office] and [a fine of] 2,000 pesos for the chamber and hospital of this villa, reproaching in the decree the little zeal some persons have for the wellbeing of the Indians, moved by their private interests, being the cause of scandal and other disruptions, ordering that they read to and give the Indians to understand this in their language, so that all understand this as a licit thing, good and permitted.

Your Excellency already sees the wisdom of this decree and the zeal the lord viceroy had for the wellbeing of the natives, whom they try to fatigue by so many paths. And because it is a hateful matter over which so many difficulties have arisen, and will likely come before Your Excellency with many novelties, I did not wish to be too short about it, and thus I place here the opinions given by the men of letters, with all that has been written in this case up until today, the same which the lord viceroy sent to Corregidor Loyola, authenticated by Juan Gutiérrez de Molina, secretary of that royal audiencia, in which it says that the originals remained in power of His Excellency.

Opinions of the lord licenciates Cerezuela and Antonio Gutiérrez de Ulloa, apostolic inquisitors of this realm.

Having seen the decree of His Excellency and the information and letters concerning the dealing in the ores exchanged by the Indians in Potosi, it appears to us that the said decree is just, and this being so, His Excellency should order it to be observed and put into execution and that order be given to halt the things done to the contrary, along with the scandal that has followed from

this, according to his better judgment. In Los Reyes [Lima], on the 5th of January, 1580. The Licenciado Cerezuela. The Licenciado Antonio Gutiérrez de Ulloa.

Opinion of the Father Teacher Friar Luis López, of the Order of St. Augustine, Professor of Vespers in Theology of the University of the City of Los Reyes [Lima].

Having seen the report of the protector of the natives regarding the dealing that the Indians have in Potosi related to the ores with which they barter, and buy, and sell, and also the decree given by His Excellency, and understanding the difference that have arisen regarding this matter in the said villa of Potosi among certain preachers, it seems to me that the decree is rightly issued and that it would not be just to take this trade away from the Indians. And as to the claim that the ores sold are stolen, it is presumption without sufficient basis to prohibit and punish. And thus they should not preach the contrary, but rather each should watch what they buy. And likewise I do not consider it advisable to preach nor treat upon the possession the Indians have and have acquired, as it would be to give them license to steal and take without fear whatever they can, or happen upon, aside from other inconveniences that may follow from this matter, the basis and principle of the conquest of this land being in so many opinions. Therefore, the preachers of that villa should be advised that they should not touch upon this matter any more. The Teacher Friar Luis López.

Opinion of the Father Teacher Friar Miguel Adriano, of the Order of St. Dominic, and Professor de Prima of Theology in the University of Los Reyes [Lima].

Having seen the report made in the villa of Potosí by Captain Loyola, as requested by the protector of the Indians, in order to ascertain what had been opposed regarding the trade the Indians of that villa have had for the last thirty years, dealing in ores, from that it seems to me, from the report, that Your Excellency ought to order that what Your Excellency decreed be followed: that the said Indians may trade with ores without any impediment whatsoever being placed upon them, because although some of the Indians that deal in the said form trade in ore that is stolen or acquired by illicit means, not for this should an infinite number of other Indians be defrauded or damned who with licit titles possess the said ores with which they trade. And from the said report it is clear that there are many licit and honest means by which the said Indians possess the said ore. And thus, although at times stolen ore reaches the gato and market, not for this should the governor, nor may he, prohibit the said trade, as per the doctrine of St. Thomas in the *Secunda secundae*, theme 196, article 2, *ad quartum*, where it is taught that when a governor must prohibit the use of things that can be exercised both well and badly; and the contrary would be damaging to the Indians. And those who buy are obligated to examine whether the Indian brings stolen ore, as there are so many licit means of coming to possess it, nor should they presume anything of anyone about that, or judge it, although it is common that some bring it with bad title from time to time. And it seems to me that Your Excellency ought to address by decree the scandal that has arisen around this matter in the villa of Potosí. This it seems to me in accordance with the doctrine of St. Thomas. The Teacher Friar Miguel de Adriano.

Opinion of the Drs. Hieronimo López Guarnido, Professor of Law in the University of Los Reyes, and Friar Pedro Gutiérrez Flores, and Dr. Fajardo.

Having seen the decree that Your Excellency issued so that the Indians of the town site of Potosí may sell ores and deal in them, along with the report that in the said town site was done before its justice by request of the protector general of the Indians, upon the custom there has been, and still is, to pay the Indians who work in ores, and that likewise that they pay for certain victuals sold to them in ore, and other works of bridges [supports] and repairs they do in the mines, it seems to us that the decree of His Excellency is just and accords with the conscience. It is very well given, and with great rectitude, and it would be far outside this should the Indians be prohibited the said commerce and trade on the pretext that the mine owners take to saying that these same ores they sell are stolen. Because, as the said Indians are free persons, and this trade and commerce of buying and selling ore is permitted and not prohibited by His Majesty, even if there had not been the above-mentioned report or so much notoriety that there are many mines and veins where the Indians might be; one would have to presume just title for him who sells and buys, and not to presume that they [the ores] are stolen and badly acquired, because this would be to presume against all law.

And although some Indians have been accustomed to stealing some ore (p.154), for that one may not presume that all those [ores] sold are stolen. And he who might say they are stolen ought to prove it, and may not ask of the Indian who sells them to demonstrate where it came from, because there is not a single law is he obligated to display title to that which he possesses. And when it should seem that some Indian has stolen the ore he is selling, he who alleges that it has been stolen from him may request it and order [the Indian] punished once it has been proved, and not wanting that for the crime of some the trade and licit commerce be impeded, doing thus being a general presumption of a trespass against the law, and further being so much in damage to the common good, to the Indians, and to the kingdom, and to the augmentation of the royal treasury. And thus it is just that His Excellency order with rigor that they follow the said allowance, so justly possessed, and that they put in place a remedy to the scandal caused in this matter by the clergymen who without the least reason set about condemning in public as unjust the said commerce and trade, against that which was ordered by His Excellency, in such a manner that all understand that His Excellency, with just and Christian heart, allowed what he had to. Done on 5 January 1580. The Dr. Friar Pedro Gutiérrez Flores, the Dr. Hieronimo López Guarnido, the Dr. Fajardo.

Having seen the orders of His Excellency and resolutions of these opinions, the differences ceased, as did the scandal that had come to pass, and thus everyone observed silence on this matter, some members of the Order of St. Dominic preaching in defense of it, and of the obligations that we had to these people [i.e., native Andeans]. And especially Father Francisco Vázquez, of the said order, gave a sermon in approval of the barter that was later written down and formally recognized before the corregidor and a public scribe. But having gone the lord don Francisco de Toledo and with the arrival of the lord don Martín Enríquez the owners of the mines returned once again to treat of this matter with heat, sending a procurador with the sole purpose of begging His Excellency to suspend the barter, explaining to him the past reasons. And the lord viceroy, among the chapters of instruction that he gave to Juan Davila, householder of Arequipa, whom he named as corregidor of this province, as a person experienced in its governance for having held a position in the introduction of mercury, and for being a good citizen [republicano], he ordered that according to the said chapter there be made an

investigation into the case so as to provide remedy, so that the thefts the mine owners said they suffered might cease, giving in this the order that would be most convenient, such that the natives would receive no harm, nor that they should be impeded in the trade they had in ore, [but] punishing thefts.

Upon his arrival in this villa don Juan took sworn testimony from trustworthy people of authority, many of them owners of mines, plus the alcalde mayor, and the inspectors, and other persons who had experience in the mountain, from whose declarations it was certified with total probability, examining the witnesses in their presence, that some mine owners were accustomed to paying the Indians who worked in their mines in ore. And for not having an allotment of Indians sufficient to meet their needs, they hired Indians, these being necessary for the working of their mines, and beyond paying them their day wage, so as to make them grateful and content so they would return, they allowed them to take a piece of ore; and as these 'minga' workers were so many, great was the number of them who gathered in the gato [indigenous marketplace]. And also that on the mountain there circulated no other money besides ore, with which the mine overseers and pongos pay for the food that is carried up to the mountain for sale, plus fruits and other refreshments; and Indian women, in exchange for the ore, give them their own persons, and their mothers take them up there to the mountain for this purpose; and some of the mine owners send ore down to the gato to be sold, and sell it to Indians at the mouth of the mine; and that the Indians [themselves] have mines in the mountain; and the pongos they pay in ore; and that the mine overseers employed by the mine owners sell ore to the Indians, such that after two or three years they leave the mountain rich men; and that there are more than 5,000 Indians occupied in working the mountain; and that the 'vara' Indians take out much ore from the mines they work by their own labor, the same which is proved by the quintos they paid in the adits from which they exited, assuring as well that in every occasion and conjuncture the Indians do not pardon the ore that may be stolen, not being such good Christians as this (p.155), and it is a greater quantity that which they acquire by good title than that which is stolen. And on this matter there is the testimony of Hernando de Medina, public notary of this villa, in which it says, among other proceedings that were done for the clarification and solution of this business in the time of the captain Martín García de Loyola, he went on his order and mandate to place himself one day in Sojo's adit so that he could take accounts from the Indians that exited there that day, beginning in the morning; and it was ascertained that 250 'ore Indians' [i.e., mineworkers paid in ore] went out, all of whom had entered with license from the owners to work the mines, and all of them gave and left at the door of the adit, according to the rights charged on exit, a portion of ore. And if this was found true in only one adit, how might it have been if they did this proceeding at all the mines.

This investigation finished, so that its state and that which the witnesses had testified could go for examination to the father teacher Geronimo Ruiz Portillo, who advised His Excellency of that which was needed for the discharge of his conscience, touching upon the governance of this villa, all quite straightened for the service of God, it was thus dispatched to the lord viceroy by don Juan Dávila, and later he gave it, as he had received it, to Dr. José de Acosta, of the Company of Jesus, a most learned person and of right conscience, and a gifted preacher, and who had the run of this villa for having been in it not having been among those who approved the barter, as was true of all of those of his order. He was most burdened to consider well the resolution he had to make, as he sought nothing more than the service of Our Lord and of His

Majesty, and the discharge of his royal conscience, which had been placed in his hands. And having seen the declarations and proofs, he gave the following opinion:

Opinion of Father Acosta, of the Company of Jesus.

Having seen the report that by order of His Excellency was done in Potosí regarding the barter of ores that the Indians sell in gato or square, and having seen as well the opinions of the other persons who from there have written, that which emerges first is that Your Excellency ought not to end or prohibit the said barter and commerce in ores that the Indians practice, because, according to how it appears from the said reports and opinions, that although a large portion of the ore the Indians sell is stolen, it does not however amount to the greater part, but is rather understood to be the lesser, that which is stolen, the majority being had by many good and licit means, which are mentioned in the questionnaire. And this being thus, it would be against reason and conscience to deny the Indians their licit trade and gain, as they are free persons and vassals of His Majesty, and in that which is possible they ought to be favored, we living in their land and enriching ourselves from it and of their labors, and above all, the Indians having been in use and possession of the said trade and barter for so many years. It would also be against the universal good to halt the said commerce, as there would follow a notable break in the royal fifths, and in the refineries of both Indians and Spaniards, who benefit from the buying and selling of ores in the gato, and even in the grinding of the stamp-mills would to a great degree diminish, all which together would result in damage to the republic.

But, by having approved and confirmed, Your Excellency, the said barter of ores, silencing those who have sought and seek to contradict it, there could follow damage to the conscience of the Indians, who, for ignorance or malice, might take the occasion to steal more and say that they have license from the governor for it, and in harm to the mine owners as the thefts climb, which could come to be many, there appears the second thing for which Your Excellency has obligation, in good conscience, to give order such that the thefts be avoided and remedied by the most convenient and reasonable means that may offer themselves. Those which now come to mind are the following:

First, that it be published and preached to the natives that although the king, and Your Excellency in his name, gives them the free opportunity to sell and barter ores, neither the law of God nor that of the king gives license to steal ores from anyone, but rather prohibit it and punish it with rigor.

Second, justice, especially the mine magistrate and mountain inspectors, must take special care to investigate and punish when there is found some notable theft of ore, and that the punishment be public in the gato, where the ore is bartered, and the mine owners, as it is in their best interest, watch over their estates and denounce the thefts done to them.

Third, that barter of ores not be permitted the Indians except in the gato or public square, which is designated for this purpose, under penalty of the loss of the ore, half for the judge and denouncer, and the other half for the hospital.

Fourth, that it not be permitted for Spaniards to barter in the gato, as they do much harm to the Indians, but rather they barter by way of their yanaconas or other Indians, as is mandated by the town council of Potosí.

With this it seems that it is possible to do this in compliance with the obligations of conscience and justice for now.

Finally, it appears that Your Excellency ought to order, given the mandate that ought to be observed, that the disputes and contradictions that cause perturbation and scandal must cease, according to the proceedings that have been done and by the final resolution of Your Excellency in this case, that private persons may with full security buy and barter ores in the gato without the least worry or further inquiry. And the confessors should not place an impediment and deny absolution except when a penitent has bought or bartered [ore] from someone he know stole it, and much less should those who preach or speak in public condemn the trade and commerce that by the governor with so much consideration is not only permitted, but also approved and confirmed, as a licit thing according to conscience and also useful to the republic. – José de Acosta.

And with this opinion they wrote to this villa, having passed before all the lettered men and theologians of that city of Los Reyes.

This opinion having been given, the lord viceroy dispatched an order that ore not be exchanged in the Indian township [ranchería], according to paragraph three. And later he sent, in order to placate the consciences of those who sustain themselves by the barter of ores, to the father teacher Gerónimo Ruiz Portillo, of the Company of Jesus, and Commissary of the Holy Office of this province, and famous preacher and person of letters and of exemplary life, and founder of the most principal houses of his order in this kingdom, and of great experience and opinion in such business matters due to his having seen them pass by in his communications with the lord viceroys. And it did not arrive easily in his hands, when Our Lord was pleased to take His Excellency to him. It was great the desire that all knew he had to try and serve God and his king in governing a land so complex and different from that of New Spain. And thus, in that which he lived, he governed with perfect satisfaction for all, proving himself quite zealous for the wellbeing and conservation of the natives.

In his time there arrived in this villa from the kingdoms of Castile don Alonso Ortiz de Leiva, native of Seville, as corregidor and chief justice of this province, whose mandate His Majesty gave in Badajoz on 19 September [15]80. And he presented himself with it in the city of La Plata on 3 Febraury [15]83, and brought with him other greater powers regarding his governance, which in no manner, due to the inconveniences that would follow, did the lord viceroy comply, nor did he grant him any more powers than those belonging to a simple corregidor. And with his arrival it appeared to those impassioned about and seeking impede the barter a good occasion to continue their demand, which is what they did. And Diego Núñez Balzán wrote the lord viceroy, and when these letters arrived in Lima he was already dead, and thus they were opened by the Royal Audiencia, which had taken over governing, and by accord among the president and judges two letters were dispatched, one for the corregidor and the other for the protector. And this they said in the following manner:

‘Diego Núñez Bazán, protector of the natives of the Imperial Villa of Potosí. A letter of 1 March last year to the lord viceroy don Martín Enríquez, be he now in Glory, was received, and due to his end and death it was seen in this royal audiencia, to which, as you will have seen, according to dispatches that have been sent to the town council of that villa, befalls the general governance of this kingdom. And thus you shall follow in providing it with an account of that with which the lord viceroy had charged you to provide for the defense and protection of those natives, and whatever else would be (p.157) convenient for them. And likewise you are thanked for the notice that you included in your letter, regarding the desire of some to impede the Indians from the sale of ores in the tianguis [indigenous marketplace], about which it was written to the corregidor not to order something new nor a prohibition of this, nor to write about it or accept any petition or report. And you are advised thus so that you shall understand and seek compliance with this and all else that is befitting for the protection and good treatment of the Indians, as is trusted of your person, may Our Lord protect you. From Los Reyes, on 3 April 1583. – Licenciata Ramírez de Cartagena. – Licenciata Recalde. – Dr. Arteaga.

In accordance with that which was mandated by the royal audiencia in this letter, and that written to the corregidor, which contained the same substance, don Alonso de Leiva issued a decree in which he ordered that no proceedings be carried out on the business of ore, such that the thing stopped there for the time being. And not much time passed until by way of the factor Juan Lozano Machuca there arose another persecution, masking his intent with the royal voice, presenting as which that which was black with some appearance, as a person of greater genius, forming a junta of certain mine owners to whom he proposed that, if they wanted a remedy so that the barter and thefts they suffered might cease, that they make a donation to His Majesty of the ores of the gato market as things that were stolen from their mines, and that in the donation they would give him power as if to a royal minister in order to follow the matter through, promising them great hopes. The same which he did motivated by some passion, as in this kingdom this is the common path, to negotiate by cunning that which one cannot pursue by justice. And as it had been ordered that no one receive anything written about the bartering nor carry out any proceeding that would infringe on it or impede it, he found this means to undermine it, because as it touched upon the Royal Treasury the justices could not keep him from submitting his petitions and writings, which proceeded from the donation. The mine owners did not do much in the way of begging, acting as though they had done a great service to the king in giving him the capital of so many men who had cast their silver in the form of ores from the gato, and with good faith and just title and express permission and right to buy them freely.

Signed as this donation was by many people, the factor placed a demand before the corregidor, alleging that it greatly befitted the service of His Majesty to close the said gato, and that it not be allowed to sell in it ores for amalgamation; and that for this reason there was no wind furnace [guaira], a most important thing since that which was in His Majesty’s interest was the royal fifths; and beyond the gain they made from the silver ores, the Indians also worked mines of galena [soroche], with which they mixed the good ore and which ordinarily carried values of only two or three pesos [per hundredweight], and it could not be refined by amalgamation or smelting nor by itself alone, with which they augmented the royal fifths; and other reasons alluding to the damages that the mine operators claimed were caused them by the barter, pleading for the confiscation and embargo of the ores presently there, which was their intent and

the target they shot for. And to this request there responded the Licenciado don Francisco de Vera, protector general named by the royal audiencia, who is a son of the lord Licenciado Francisco de Vera, one of its senior judges [oidor], that about a year and a half ago arrived in this plaza, and that in effect satisfied that alleged by the said factor, which were impertinent things, because His Majesty, through the practice of mercury amalgamation, greatly augments his fifths, both by the consumption there is of mercury as by the taxes on the silver refined with it, and the Indians do not refrain from refining the rich ore by guaira.

The corregidor issued a decree to keep the said barter, which was then appealed by the factor, and in the royal audiencia they saw the decrees and ordered that for the time being there be no innovation in that touching upon the barter. And later they dispatched a decree in which on this license and permission was given to the justices of this villa, except the corregidor, in order that they could barter for ore in the gato, with which they were to guard the order that was already given with regard to buying. And this decree seems to go against some of the [learned] opinions and orders of the lord viceroys, which charge that the judges take particular care to punish the thefts, because if those who ought to be free from these objects are bartering, (p.158) one should not expect good administration, and it is to give opportunity and encouragement to the Indians to do worse things, seeing that the justices barter, it seeming to them that it is a most approved thing. And I do not know if there could be justification in this trade with the judges having a hand in it, as it would concern them the punishment of the thefts, which they ought to investigate with diligence. And I understand that these gentlemen foundered in giving this license, taking for licit this trade and the gain in the royal fifths that would follow by this path, and that in that time there was a scarcity of silver in the town and they opened the door so that those who had it would use it to buy ore and would thus fatten the refineries, that without this means, due to hesitation and other inconveniences they did not do so [i.e., those with silver did not part with it].

[f.72] Of the dangers faced by the Indians who remove the ore from the mines and how they come to this against their will.

And so that Your Excellency may see and better understand the right the Indians have to trade ore, I shall point out the risk with which they retrieve it from the mines, and the blood it costs, and how their lives are endangered by the mines' depth and bad passages, from which one may better infer the justice [of their claim] and also what a rigorous executioner this mountain has been for this nation, as each day it consumes them and finishes them off, and thus their lives are spoiled with the fear of death.

And it is especially admirable that despite their being cowardly and short of will by nature, yet they have enough [courage] to risk themselves here where the most willful lose theirs. And thus it happens each day that a thousand deaths and disasters befall them, and [meanwhile] people of consideration and discourse pay no attention to the risks they suffer in working the mountain, and bring them from their villages and native lands, leaving behind their houses and cattle, separating, with many tears, fathers and mothers from their children, it seeming to them that they shall never see each other again, and they will be carried off to undertake labors and tasks they neither know nor understand, nor do they live with greed for treasure, and they are taken where they hear of the disastrous cases that commonly befall them, and to see returning many afflicted women without their husbands, and many orphans without their parents.

Afraid of these things, they leave from these places with violence and very much against their will, since without it [violence] it would be impossible to remove them from their houses and lands. And some, in order to escape this force, give fifteen or twenty head of cattle, which is all they own, and some send other Indians to serve in their place.

And of the sad things that have happened to these people, of which memory is fresh, I shall relay several to Your Excellency so that you will understand the labors they suffer and how much this ore costs them, such that we could say it was rather blood than ore. And such was the case in the mine they call La Muñiza, in the Veta Rica, where a Spaniard, working in company with another, brought fifty-six Indians; with twenty-eight he worked by day, and with the rest, by night. The mine was dangerous, especially in a gallery they had expanded to a large degree, such that when Francisco de Oruño entered to inspect it, he being the [royal] inspector at the time, knowing the risk the Indians faced, he ordered the work suspended until certain repairs necessary for security were done, even issuing a formal decree to this effect. And the owner of the mine alleged in writing that these repairs were not necessary, and that the decree had been animated by a passion against him, that the mine was quite secure, appealing and filing certain proceedings. With this these sad people came to perish, as only two days after this the mine collapsed, catching all twenty-eight Indians underground, the ones sent to work at night.

And the next day in the morning all the judges went up the mountain, accompanied by a large number of Indians and their wives, children, and relatives who rent the air with their cries and wails. And so much earth and rock fell upon them [the buried miners] that they were unable to pull them out straightaway, but rather with the passing of time, as they cleared it away, they located them. The Spaniard was jailed, and after much trial and detention, he was condemned by the Royal Audiencia to a fine of 8,000 assayed pesos, part for the chamber and the rest to be distributed among the widows according to the number of children they had. From this you can see how humble the Indians are, and simple-minded, as they had ample reason not to even hear of or see the mine, yet they wished to offer their lives rather than let their master down. And thus you may understand how much they need defense and protection.

Some time ago, it happened that a Portuguese entered with seven Indians to work a mine, shifting the labor from one part to another. And reaching the deepest part, where they sought to start working again, rocks began to fall away in the mine beneath them and earth came down from above, and to shelter themselves from this five of them put themselves in a cave and the other two pressed themselves into another smaller space, where they could defend themselves against all that was falling, which was so much that it filled the better part of the mine, leaving them alive in those cavities left by the rubble. Once known in the town, Diego Bravo, magistrate of mines, and also the inspectors, made a great effort to rescue these people, sending many Indians up the mountain to pull apart and remove the earth that had fallen, but it was to no effect, because no sooner did they remove some when more began to fall.

And the next day, somewhat late, they pulled out the two Indians who were not enclosed by so much earth. The Indians who went in to clear the mine by day and by night did so at no small risk to their lives, due to the earth that continued to fall, and as the space in which they had to work could not accommodate many people; those who worked did all they could but it was to no

avail. The Spaniard [sic] and the five Indians had space to move around, as the cave they were in was rather large. This encouraged those outside, giving them hope that they would surely defeat the earth, and [from the cave] the Portuguese told them not to abandon them nor tire out, as God would be served to free them from that anguish and tribulation, and they were controlling themselves to resist hunger, although the cold had left them fatigued, and to sustain themselves they had eaten their shoes. And the Indians also spoke. And in this way they passed four or five days, with people always arriving with refreshments so that they could work with more effort. And once it became clear that it would not be possible to remove them, a Jesuit father went down to confess them, and the Spaniard [sic] made a will, and thus they bid farewell to them with many sighs on both sides, the Indians saying some silly, rustic things to pass along to their wives and children, and thus they died without any means of remedy. The one who lived longest was a somewhat Latinized Indian, who said that the Spaniard was no longer speaking, that he had decided to go to sleep, and that the rest of his companions were there dead beside him.

Working one night at a water-powered refinery along the riverbank here four Indians were killed in the ore crusher (mortero) when a wall collapsed and smashed them. And in another mill, an Indian climbing up from the ore crusher was caught in the head by a cam, which smashed him to pieces. And only a few days ago seven or eight Indians died in the mountain, and if one had to write about this at length, one would expend much paper.

And it is common that they bring down dead [workers], and others with cracked skulls and broken legs, and each day in the mills they are wounded. And the simple facts of working at night, and in such a cold country, and tending the ore crushers, which is the hardest work due to the dust they get in the eyes and mouth, all this is enough to do them great harm. And thus the hospital is full of wounded Indians, and more than fifty of them die each year, and this fierce beast swallows them alive. And at the moment, between the tribunals of the judge of native affairs and the mine magistrate, they are pursuing more than seventy criminal cases related to Indian deaths.

I do not wish to embellish this further, as it is already clear that if these people were civilized [políticas] and in possession of reason, they could intimate this case such that what should be done would be taken care of for them, and that, in a work rotation so large, it is of little consequence that some advantage should be taken, and, well, the intention of His Majesty in ordering them to come to these mines and permitting it, was so that they might take advantage and become rich, being entirely of their own free will, because if it were against this His Majesty could not detain them for a single day in Potosí.

The same which is clearly seen in the proceeding that was done with them in the year 1552, our lord the emperor [Charles V], may he be in holy glory, having been informed that the Indians who lived in the workings of these mines were oppressed and held against their will, and that the encomenderos sent them so that they would give them each week a certain quantity of silver. And this they reported in such a way that to discharge his royal conscience he sent a decree to the lord viceroy don Antonio de Mendoza, in which he ordered that all the Indians who worked in the mines be given license and freedom so that they may return to their villages.

The royal audiencia of Los Reyes put this decree into effect, the said lord viceroy being already dead, and named for it was Lorenzo de Estupiñán, householder of Huánuco, a businessman who brought with him a commission to audit the land regarding the excess work quota burdening the Indians. And arriving as he did in this villa, with greater rigor than was necessary he ordered that all the Indians come out, lining up according to their homelands [parcialidades], depopulating the entire area, sending out factions that later left him, and demolishing some of their houses. The Indians were aghast to see this, and they felt it so deeply that they took it as a great affront and vexation, and they said to Pablo de Meneses, who was then corregidor, that how could he be sent by the apo, which is to say the supreme lord, a crazy man to govern, and where were they supposed to get silver for their tributes if they could not work the mines of this mountain? And thus he removed a great number of people who tried to return to the town site but there was no way to do so without impediment under threat of hanging; and others, left on the road, returned to their homelands. Seeing this, Estupiñán took it for testimony and returned.

And at this time there arrived the lord [viceroy] marquis de Cañete, and from then on much care was taken in the conservation and growth of this villa. And it is worth noting that when this happened the mines were near the surface of the land, with no depth whatsoever, such that with little effort and without risk to their lives, [the native miners] had great opportunity, possessing or having pass through their hands all the silver that came from this mountain, and not with the danger and servitude and little gain that there is now, if they did not have to have more than the day wage that has always been understood to be insufficient without means to have some other gains. And it is clear that it cannot sustain an Indian, with children, and wife, with three and a half reales in such an expensive land, without having recourse to some subsistence plot [chacaras], and also pay his tribute. And if there were no limitation on the day wage with certain equanimity in order to conserve these two peoples. And that of the Spaniards is done by the pretending to ignore the benefit and grant given to them in the form of Indians, that they can remain so in need of this aid that even if they were to divide with them half the ore taken out, they could not keep them contented nor do I believe the contract would be fair, as the Indians put in their persons, risking their lives, and in mines that lacking Indians would produce no profit; and in abandonment they would be judged as belonging to the natives, as persons who would work them.

Of the manner the Indians have of selling the ore and other details pertaining to the matter of barter.

And having treated on how with so much risk and danger the natives take out ore from the mines, it would be right to give account to Your Excellency of the fruits and interests that follow on the other side to the Spaniards who are dependent on this assistance, being a republic that has no other recourse than the refining and sale of ores, and this relying on the Indians allotted to them by the mercy of His Majesty and Your Excellency, explaining the way in which the Indians sell in the gato, and of the [ores'] purity and quantity, and the methods by which the Spaniards buy and sell them, from which much gain is made for the royal treasury and also to keep many Indians in this town site by their own will, which is what His Majesty wants, and many other benefits no less necessary and profitable, as the same [learned] opinions note, the same which would have been much more in its favor had they observed that it is with them [the Indians] that this town site had been populated, and they are brought against their will, and the lives it costs to

take out the ore, and the remaining things that were written about this, by which the lettered men could better discover the rights of the Indians and the justification of the barter.

Next to the main plaza of this villa is that of the ores, in the most public space and of most traffic of justices and concourse of Spaniards that exists in this town site. This square has many tents, where they sell a great quantity of coca, which is the business and farm product of the householders of Cusco (161); the baskets of coca are placed at the entrances with many Indian women who barter them, both for ores and for silver. And in this square they sell galena [soroche], and mixtures, and greases for the smelting of ore by guaira, along with a thousand other little things. And on the side that abuts the buildings of the town hall the Indian men and women sit very close together, in file, with a certain order; and it seems to me there are some 400 or 500 persons who come with ore to sell, especially on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, because on the other days, being early in the week, not so many people come, as they are just beginning to take out ore. As for the tacana and rich ore for smelting by guaira, those who sell it sit apart, and next to them those with rich ore for amalgamation, and after this [those with] common ores, and farther below, towards the convent of the Name of Jesus, which falls on this square, the ore of [i.e., traded for] coca.

The people gather for their fair from about seven or eight in the morning, and from this hour the buying began with the guaira smelters (as they are preferred to those who barter on behalf of Spaniards), and while these were buying the yanacona guaira smelters [working] for Spaniards could not trade (entering as they did around 10:00, when they raised the host in the main church, because here there is no public clock). Now they do not follow this order, but rather all enter together, as there are some rich Spaniards who buy rich ores somewhat to the disadvantage of the guaira smelters. Diego Bravo (who in every way has shown himself inclined to favor these people and I can truthfully say that he executes his functions with all rectitude), to avoid this, had some small pillars placed that would be taken as a sign and boundary marker for the Indians with guaira ore, in which site no yanacona or Spaniard was allowed to enter and barter, placing some Indian bailiffs who would guard the entrance; and in the rest of the square was placed the ore for amalgamation, where anyone could enter and buy when they wanted, as if by the hand of yanaconas.

The Indians who bring the rich ore sit in this place, and the rest do the same, it seeming to them that their ore is of not of poorer condition, although it is not of that quality, and [they fear] that they would receive a lower price if made to place it [their ore] somewhere outside that spot, and for this reason it is necessary that the barterers [i.e., buyers] enter that place. And it has not seemed sufficient remedy to assign places in order to impede the inconvenience caused to the guaira refiners by the other barterers, and that they ought to follow the old order, which dictated that nobody enter the gato to barter until the guaira refiners had had the first hour after opening to make their purchases. And although in this way they remedied some of the damage that these Indians might receive, as I understand it some who bring ore withhold it from sale until the yanaconas of the Spaniards enter, as persons who pay them more and who are more anxious to buy.

The prices of these types of ore differ, just as these do in their purity and quality. Of the rich [type] there is ore that sells for 10 pesos corrientes per hundredweight, and all the prices are

understood in terms of this unit, eight reales to the peso, as it circulates in this province, and from this price up to 100 pesos they sell a hundredweight. And thus there is no one who buys a hundredweight or even a half. In order to put together one you have to go gathering it up, buying a little from each Indian. The ore at 100 pesos would yield fifty marks [per hundredweight], and this assayed; and that of fifty, at sixty; and that of forty, at fifty; and that of thirty, at forty; and that of twenty, at twenty-five; and that of fifteen, at eighteen or twenty; and that of ten, at twelve or thirteen. The ore for amalgamation also has various prices, as there is ore that one buys at two pesos per hundredweight, and at three, and four, up to eight, which is the highest. And the yield of these ore varieties is: that of two [pesos], at three [marks], or at three and two tomines, up to three and a half assayed; that of three, at four, up to four and a half; and that of four, at five; and that of five, at six; and that of six, at seven; and that of seven and eight, at nine and ten.

The third type of ore is bartered for coca and bread. And the Indians give for a basket of coca, which is given to them [i.e., the sellers] by a Spaniard, which is commonly valued on account at four or four and a half assayed pesos, six hundredweight; and they give to the Indian man or woman who barter it, there being many who occupy themselves in this, two pesos corrientes for their work. And this ore goes for seven assayed tomines [i.e., $\frac{7}{8}$ of a peso per quintal], and it yields some three [marks], a bit more or less.

Spaniards used to enter the square among the Indians and personally barter, but it was decreed that they not do so due to the advantage they had in buying and for some mistreatments the Indians received from them. And because there are many who barter by way of yanaconas as it is against the authorities to buy personally, he who might try to do it, to the detriment of all the others, ought to be punished, being persons of low condition. These yanacona Indians by whom they barter are well paid, in addition to what they themselves steal, because there is no accounting for that beyond which they wish to give up, and some earn up to two three pesos [a day], but ordinarily it is four reales. It would be a most just thing to observe the old order regarding the barter of ore, which is that before they raise the host in the main church no Indian could enter the square to buy on behalf of a Spaniard, leaving the gato open only to the guaira smelters, there being many who sustain themselves by this type of refining.

And the Spaniards have taken this ore to refine by mercury, when it would be much better to conserve the guaira. To remedy this the lord viceroy don Francisco de Toledo ordered that the day wages paid to the Indians of the mountain be in ore, with the sole end that they might have by their own intelligence, silver. And as the value of the ores has diminished, they revoked this order and mandated that they be paid in reales.

And so that [the Indians] would have a hand in the ore and free entry into the mines, Toledo ceded them a space worthy of their genius and customs, for having understood that the owners of the mines, seeing that by way of mercury they could have the fruit of the ores without needing to share them at all with the 'by-the-yard' Indian mineworkers [indios varas] as they had done up to that time, they began to put doors and locks on some mines so as to have the ores more guarded and so that the Indians could not enter into them, a thing they felt dearly. And it caused them great suffering, the invention of mercury [amalgamation], as it deprived them of their livelihoods, and they had no other means to help themselves nor to pay their tributes if not by way of the day wage, having possessed all the richness and surplus of the past, with which had

been conserved and from which hung, thanks to them, the profit and general improvement of the entire kingdom, and thus the refining by guaira would be lost, as important a thing as it was, since it produced the fruit of its own harvest, with no expenditure on mercury. But as the mine owners had gone down a path so damaging to this people, don Juan Dávila was ordered to go up the mountain to remove the doors they had on their mines, so that they [the Indians] would work them, with a summons that they would be taken for abandoned, ordering that the mine owners be obligated to give and share with the Indians of this villa the fourth part of the mines they possessed; and that the Indians choose the part and sections that they wished, in order to head off the inconvenience that would have followed had they done otherwise; and that those be given to them freely, to work by the yard, which up until then they had done; and that of the ore they took out the mine owner would sell them, the same Indians who had worked it, one third; and if in this there was any disagreement, they would have the inspectors come, who were charged with making certain the Indians were satisfied in every way, and that a quarter of the mines was shared with the Indians; and that the owner had complied by selling them a third of the ore that they removed.

It seems that this means, in that above, with some moderation inclined toward the mine owners in whose favor His Excellency gave them to understand that it was done, as someone who sought to conserve these two republics [of Indians and Spaniards], as since according to custom the mine administrators used to give all the mines to the Indians by the yard, so it was not much more to give them a quarter. And this was not done to restrict and narrow the gains of the natives, but rather to take into account the poverty of the mines, and that the fourth of the yards that the Indians had to select to work would have to contain value, and in the other three quarters that were not such they would come to an agreement without an intermediary. And this same motive was had in ordering them to sell a third of the ore that was extracted, to act as one who greatly moderates that in which he deals; as before they used to sell all of it, it was hardly unreasonable to give them a third for their money, they keeping the other two thirds; and from this it followed that the Indian selected the better and richer portion for the guaira, and it was something if the third was thus [i.e., so rich], (p.163) and the other two thirds would be offered by the mine administrator, if the Indian wanted them, for a good price as ore that was 'tarnished' [desflorado]. And the prince must have all this astuteness and cleverness in governing his businesses, especially in things relating to the Indians, as they are trading with a people [i.e., the Spanish] more astute and sagacious, and the Indians have not the least artifice by which to turn things their way. And since to the Spaniards there come great gains due to the [crown-subsidized] mercury and help from the Indians [i.e., the mita], it was not just to rob them of this succor. This decree has come to lose its power, or the Indians do not have it to push for its enforcement, or there are not enough rich ores such that those for mercury refining (and rich ones when they find them) are taken out by mingas [hired workers].

The rich ores, it is right to inform Your Excellency, are not found by the Indians in the works pursued by the mine owners in the chiles and depths, as they no longer have them and they are of such low quality that they do not reach two and a half pesos [per hundredweight], except some mines in the Tin, Rica, and Centeno veins, which is ore of above five pesos [per hundredweight]. The Indians take the rich ore from the upper parts, and bridges, and old barrigas, and with so much risk that the Indian hangs from a rope and picks at that which remains stuck to the bedrock and barrigas, which the owners have no means of recovering that which remains in this way even

when they work some barrigas that have much ore, with the platforms [barbacoas] and scaffolds they make. And also some of the rich [ore] is found in the current works in the main mines, but it is not of the purity, price, and esteem of that from the upper parts.

All which I say so that it be understood that the rich ore the Indians possess is not the cause of the decline in richness of that found in the current mine works, as that is not where the rich ore comes from, because it is clear that if the mines the owners are currently working had the rich ore that goes to the gato, as much as they might 'deflower' it, it would remain with purity that would conform to that ahead of it [i.e., superior to it]. And we see the contrary, because in almost all of the mines the ore does not reach two and a half pesos [per hundredweight], and the majority of it not even two, and there are many mines at a peso and a half and at ten tomines [i.e., a peso and a quarter], from which it follows that this damage does not result from the barter, because as great thieves as the Indians might be, the owners would have taken care and been diligent so as not to be so damned.

Among the Spaniards who barter there are some who live by regatones who barter for the 'coca ore' and common ore for reales, in order to turn it around and resell it in batches, a known gain and great risk for whoever buys it, as ordinarily they lose in it, because, as these people do this to turn it around for sale, they do not go with care and without the mixture of poor ores that if they were to refine it, buying it from good mines. And to sell it at advantage, they make from the best corporas some samples with which they ensnare those who buy. It has seemed that it would better if there were no regatones and that the gato be free of these people, and that only those who were going to need [ore] for refining, who are not few, be allowed to buy. And toward these [regatones] the mineros have the greatest hatred, seeing them with their storehouses full of ore they say is from their mines. Others of the opinion that this must not be impeded, and rather that it is a useful thing that they assemble batches of ore (and I saw one the other day of more than 17,000 hundredweight in just one regatón) with which they supply the missing portions needed by the stamp-mills, and that there are many who are content to gain in the ore they refine the transport costs of their mills. But I take the former position as better, so that there not be so much scandal, and as by law and the peoples' custom the regatones are prohibited, because they make things more expensive, and these of Potosi do that, and it is in their interest to defraud those who trade with them, selling them 'cat for hare.'

I find it difficult to give a true account to Your Excellency of the ore that the Indians bring to sell in one year in the gato, because it is a chaotic business and at one time there comes more than at others, depending on the work going on inside the mountain. And when the most arrives is between San Juan and Christmas, which, for having stopped grinding the mills along this Ribera, they send the Indians to the mountain and all go to work the mines, even though this is prohibited according to the allotments made by the lord viceroys, (p.164) mandating that the Indians of the mills not be sent to the mines, nor those of the mines to the mills, due to the danger they may suffer for not being experienced in extracting ore. And thus they have procured to always send the Indians who have spent the most time in the mountain, and this royal audiencia revoked this [part of the decree] and gave license in order to send them to the mines, which seems a good order during the dry season in which those given for this cannot occupy themselves in anything else, as there is never a lack of continuous work in the mountain. And averaging the one with the other, it seems to me that there must be sold more than 200,000

hundredweight that comes out [per week? month?], the rich [ore] sold with the poor at two assayed pesos [per hundredweight]. And as for this quantity, it is best judged according to the barterers there are, who are many, and by what they buy. I know one who between San Juan and Christmas of [15]83 bartered 25,000 hundredweight of ore of all types, which cost him 81,000 pesos corrientes, and if it had rained that year he would have bought 50,000. And today there are refiners at 15,000, 20,000, and 28,000 [hundredweight bought per season]. There is transport in Tarapaya.

The ore of the gato would be of the purity, more or less, of five assayed pesos [per hundredweight], and His Majesty gains, in the fifths pertaining to this one trade alone, 200,000 pesos. And it would incorrect to say that, lacking the barter, these fifths would not cease, with the mine owners refining them [the ores]. This claim is unsatisfying for that has been referred to and alleged. The remainder of that which is refined from the mines would be 600,000 hundredweight, and a million are needed to run at full capacity all the mills this province has, which is the quantity they can mill in a year. But there are few that mill all they are capable of, and there are many that have no more than the name [of mill], by which means they employ Indians, as Your Excellency will verify in the general audit.

It seemed to me useful to treat some notes, in the form of additions, on the paragraphs contained in the opinion of father Jose de Acosta, so that they remain more intelligible and that Your Excellency has news of everything, which is what I desire, and not to scribble curiosities by order of the pen [con orden de estilo].

As for the first paragraph, which says that the natives must be made to understand that although His Majesty grants them the privilege of selling and bartering ores, neither the law of God nor the law of the king gives license to steal ore, etc., in this square they have the custom on Fridays, as it is the day when most ore accumulates and on which there is the greatest concourse of Indians, there preaches to them a father of the Company of Jesus in their language how important it is to their salvation not to steal, and to see that God sends thieves to hell, the king punishes them, and other things in this vein.

As for the second, which says that the justices should take special care in inquiring after and punishing the Indians when they discover some notable theft of ore, letting the smaller ones go (which seems to be founded on the common saying that it is not a mortal sin to steal a small thing); but this has to be understood when it is not the cause of some great harm, as it could be in this case (from which there result many doubts [i.e., disagreements]), because if they were many those who steal, albeit only a little bit each one, together it would be a great quantity and with this they could destroy the mountain, as this would be a substantial theft, and the owners of the mines ruined, although to each one individually they took but little, and likewise that that which each took was small, but when taken together with that stolen by the rest it results in great damage as the quantity is large; because, although he does not do it he of that one time, as Dr Acosta does not want him punished nor made to make restitution to his master for having taken but little, he should make him do so for the previous ones, due to the continuous perseverance there is in that. And I think it must be based on an opinion received from all the authorities [sumistas], which says that if one is so poor as to not have a means of sustaining oneself and one's household and family sufficiently, and one cannot find sustenance through working, it is

not a mortal sin to take what is necessary, not being much, as this never caused great harm, although the quantity of all those little thefts together is great. And thus if the needy is granted the rights to take advantage of that which is at hand, how much more justice these Indians must have, not being able to sustain themselves (p.165), as the day wage is small. This item, in accordance with natural law, could satisfy he who finds himself in such oppression, not only to maintain and dress oneself, and this we owe even to a slave (NOTE – SLAVEOWNER), but even to enrich oneself and take advantage, as we have done in their land. But these cases should not be understood thus with these people, as they are compelled with so much risk to their lives to work in the mines, and thus it would be better to take from this doubt and difficulty the fact that there are a great number of Indians who acquire it [ore] with just title, and that, in case there be something stolen, be it as it may, not for that should licit trade be suspended due to the part that may be badly acquired. Which is at the base of the [learned] opinions and in the will of the prince. And thus they open by approving the decree given on this.

With regard to the third, which says that there not be allowed any barter in ores by the Indians except in the gato or public square that is assigned for this purpose, under penalty of loss of ore, dividing it up among the judge, the denouncer, and the hospital, I say that it is not essential, nor would doing the contrary bring about the least inconvenience, and [if enforced] it would be of great damage and difficulty to him who had to receive the Indians regarding the denunciations that would follow, not being able to excuse them. And as for this one must point out that toward the flank of Guaina Potosí, where all the most traveled roads that go up the mountain meet, in the township that is located on that side, there are many Indian women established there, who live in those parishes, with their coca and bread stalls for the aid of the Indian men who go up and down the mountain, the same which they barter and trade for bits of ‘coca ore,’ as no other kind of ore is sold in the township, the same which they go accumulating in their houses in order to turn it over to their masters, for whom they sell it or those who have the capital collect it to resell in a batch of 30 or 40 hundredweight, more or less.

And as for the fourth, which says that Spaniards should not be allowed to enter the gato to barter, but rather that they barter by way of their yanacunas, it is most just, due to the troubles and ill treatments the Indians receive when the Spaniards personally buy, as I have said before. Yet the same harm is done to the Indian who comes to buy it, for having someone to bid for it or to take so much for it, which is what is usually done; and other times, after having bought it, breaking the ore chunks [corpas] and if inside they are not as good as they appeared on the outside they return them, that not for the seller would want to have so many buyers, as it cost him so much to extract it, especially Spaniards, who do not take things as ‘a little more or less’ like the Indians, being phlegmatic and spending an hour haggling for it. And thus some guaira refiners have disagreements with the sellers, occupying themselves with this until their hour passes and everyone has freedom to buy, and they sell to whomever offers them the most, and not taking from them this aid. But it ought to be observed that which was ordered regarding this, as a thing that is best.

Resolution in the matter of the barter.

Beyond the reasons and arguments that have been given in order that the natives not be stopped from trading ore, there are others that are of no less persuasiveness and strength in order that they

not be blocked from the aid they get from this path, as in a free republic, which in any other way it would not be, and without referring to this those of the learned opinions, which are most urgent, and for clear and vivid reasons they conclude that it is licit and that they be permitted, with [official] approval, the use of ores, taking note of matters of great significance and substance in order that one not deny these people whom we owe so much, the gain that with so much work and risk of their lives they have acquired with just title. And even if there are many who when the opportunity arises, and physical labor, and little pay, and being as they are wretched and of little understanding, they should steal a little ore, not for this should all be condemned. Especially as the discoverer of this mountain was an Indian native to this kingdom, and the Indians have discovered and given notice of all the veins and mines, and the Spaniards have usurped them and defrauded them in the registries they have made of them and in the audits, and at present they have many mines.

And it would benefit the service of His Majesty and the wellbeing and growth of this kingdom, that these wretches be well treated and enjoy the exemptions [or franchises, franquicias] that are conceded to all the other vassals, as His Majesty takes such special care in charging them [with duties] and in looking out for them, as something of so much importance to his royal conscience. And because they have known the improvement they have now, they are given to search for mines of gold and silver, upon which depends the conservation of the kingdom, seeing that, as free persons, they are permitted to make themselves rich with them [the mines]. And we see by experience that each day they give notice of new discoveries.

And it would be possible that they may discover those [mines] that were hidden at the time when they were conquered, which are those where the Incas extracted such a sum of silver and gold as this land used to have, the same which have yet to be known, nor the lakes and places where they deposited and hid that which they had, plus that offered and dedicated for so many years to infinite huacas and idols that there were in this kingdom, especially in Uricancha, which was the temple of the sun, and now is the monastery of Santo Domingo in Cusco, about which it was discovered, the lord viceroy don Francisco [Toledo] being in that city, from elderly Indians, that it was infinite the treasure they had in worked gold and silver; and they never could find out what happened to this, because the memory has been slowly lost, and those who saw it hidden have died; and this they take for a very certain thing.

And a certain woman, playing on the greed for its discovery with don Sebastián de Larraún, bishop of that city, led him to understand that she knew where the great treasure of the Inca was hidden, and with the fame of these things it was easy to make him believe that which he wanted to, and it was said that he found great riches. And this business being thus and the talk it generated, that it moved the viceroy to send Licenciado Paredes to that city, oidor that he was during that time in the Audiencia of Lima, to ascertain these things. And it cost the bishop a trip to Lima to see the lord viceroy, from whom he heard very heartfelt words; and in the end it was a trick they had played on the bishop knowing his inclination. And it is understood that these unfortunates have many huacas, to which is offered much gold and silver, livestock and farm plots that they tend to support them, and they have their attendants [ministros]. And in this there is much secrecy, which it has not been possible to reveal, His Excellency attempting to discover it, carrying out many proceedings about this. And the best means that could be taken in order to figure out where all these things follow from, is to not deprive them of the ores, but rather to

leave them, letting them know that should they discover them and make them known they will be able to enjoy them, as they are not slaves.

And in order for these [Indians] to possess and deal in the ore they are much aided by the proceedings done by the lord viceroy in this villa with the mine owners, having made to come the Indians who he brought together for the work of the mines, negotiating with their owners since it was already seen how these peoples had come from such distant lands, and that he wanted to give and leave them with them so that with this help they could be made rich by their labor and sweat, and it was those who had left their houses and lands to come to these strange ones who ought to have a reward equal to their labor and that they ought to have a means to make a gain and pay their tributes, and as it seemed to them that it would be just it was ordered that they be given it as their day wage.

The town responded that they were very content with that which His Excellency would order or mandate. The lord viceroy told them: 'It seems to me that you should give each day to the Indians who have to work in the mountain (which were the ones for whom this business was being done with much cunning and sagacity, for that which resulted from it) three pesos.' The villa, or the part in which the mine owners were found, replied that His Excellency look at this closely, as their estates were not worth so much, and that it would be better to give them this at once. The lord viceroy responded that it seemed to him that the just price would be two pesos, and in this manner he went on dealing with them until it was one peso, and that he would not make it less. The mine owners said that His Excellency should consider that the Indians would certainly take advantage of the ores of the mines, as they had always done, and that this could not be less. The lord viceroy, not wanting to hear another thing from them, told them: 'Well that is so then that the Indians have to have other gains beyond the day wage, I will define it in a way that suits you well.'

And thus went the deal by which the mine owners found it convenient for the Indians to deal in ores, and also the grace [i.e., leeway] given them for the adjustment of the day wage and pay as has been done up to there, (167) as at the time when the justice of this villa allotted the Indians to the mines, they were ordered to receive two tomines of current silver as their day wage, such that if they had no other earnings, it would be impossible for them to sustain themselves, and it is a proven thing that they let them take ore.

Some want to say that the mine owners did not say those words in this way, but rather to point out to the lord viceroy the small day wage that up to this time they had had, and fearing that he would make them satisfy the Indians, they told him: 'The mine owners have always had the custom of permitting the Indians who work in the mountain to take advantage of the ores,' but not because it was their intention to grant them these afterwards, although the lord viceroy received the words in the first sense.

And one also has to consider that all the mineral deposits, being as they are of the crown and royal patrimony, those who possess them have nothing more than the usufruct that is conceded to them to enrich themselves and do them a favor. And thus we see by decrees issued in conformity with the royal laws that one who does not work a mine that one possesses loses the right he has to it, and he who follows in it is the one who populates it and works it, although this might have

cost the dispossessed great sums of money. And we know that there are many among those who condemn this trade [by Indians in ores] who have acquired many mines as abandoned, taking possession of them, and this is the right they have to say that they are being robbed of their estates; and the natives do not ordinarily make use of this remedy, as only a few are worked by some, as, well, their owners do not do it.

It will ultimately happen to Your Excellency, that the miners shall plead that the barter be suspended and stopped. Your Excellency should look at it as the very important thing it is, and with the supposition that without this gift and aid to allure and give hope to the Indians here, that it would be most difficult to detain them, because all would leave desperate, with no means of remedy, if not with great outpouring and violence by these people; and His Majesty would not permit this, as one of the items of instruction brought by the lord viceroy don Francisco was to populate this villa (for having written to His Majesty of the many people lacking due to the little prospect they had), it was ordered that he do it by good means, raising the day wage, in such a way that the Indians would come of their own will, without the least force. And being in agreement as to governance in the city of La Plata with president and judges, His Excellency said, arriving at this item, speaking of the Indians he had mandated to come for the mercury refining, 'Order me Your Majesty if I should do this, and send me the means, and these cannot be such that they have no violence; and it has been necessary in order to put it into effect that I be here personally.' And it is said that the Royal Council of the Indies never responded to the lord viceroy on this matter, a thing that may lead one to believe that it seemed well to them to bring so many people to this villa against their will.

And I do not know if it is justice to put that which these people have each day in opinions, as in dubious things one has to judge in favor of the weakest part, and following from that there should be an authentic determination that it is the will of the prince, and the resolution of the lettered men who approve it, and it is not good to walk from prophet to prophet so as not to stumble upon someone who misleads us.

On the sales of Indians they make in Potosí.

His Majesty, as a most Christian prince, has taken special care in sending for his government and good order, conservation and augmentation of the natives, very just laws aimed at their succor, defense, and good treatment, so that, as free vassals, they enjoy the liberties permitted to all others; and if there is some defect or inconvenience in the execution of that which is charged with so much, it would be in the laxness and carelessness that His Majesty's ministers might have in not taking the care that is convenient and necessary so that they not receive harm nor vexation, these people from whom we receive so many benefits.

And one of the greatest forms of slavery suffered by those of this villa (and that matters a great deal to the authority and reputation of Your Excellency to remedy that which without him there has been, by stopping the sales they make of Indians and removing them (p.168) from this subjection and servitude), is that they make of them and their labor and blood, a trade and commerce, as if for gold, silver, and pearls, or other saleable merchandise in which men trade and found their private gains. For these Indians they give in exchange, he who has a hand in them, taking into account the time for which they are requested, reducing, commonly, the value

and esteem of twelve Indians with respect given for a year, in 1,000 pesos assayed silver in which they sell them, and many times they pay them by account or they charge them for their thirds (tributes?), the seller remaining free to attach them to another once the term is up because he sold them and transferred them, as if they were infidels, and although selling them is prohibited, treating as a land of conquest one that they gave His Majesty in peace, and discovering another Guinea trade, and more profitable, because there they do not sell the slave more than once, the owner remaining attached to him forever, and here he who is free is sold by many and each Indian goes sold for more than 80 assayed pesos.

The origin of this pernicious custom and tyranny, which has no other name, has come about from giving them to persons who have no need for them since they have no capital works [haciendas] in which to occupy them, which is what they were meant and designated for; or they are those who have a few virgin mines, winning donations of them; or, when they audit the mountain, they make out like they are discoverers of little veins, which neither this one nor that one is of the least value, so that with these titles they manage to plead with the lord viceroys to make them grants in giving them Indians as if to persons who have capital works, or they distribute them according to the general allotment.

And in order to disguise these sales some palliate them under color of companies formed with the mine owner, who sets it up (along with what is necessary) in order to remove the ore at its [i.e., the company's] cost, and later they divide it, reducing to silver the part that they falsely claimed would go to him who put in the Indians, or taking them in specie. Others place them in the mills on barter for milling and refining; and others because they bring down ore from the mountain. And finally, the poverty of the Indian is a coin with which one finds all that is necessary, as with gold and silver, and much better.

There follow from this many inconveniences, aside from depriving them of their liberty and lordship and of wanting loafers (?) to take advantage of their sweat, and the government to give opportunity to sin by misusing them, such that, as they go to the buyers at eight reales' day wage per Indian, with the two reales and three quarters they pay the Indian for his work, the seller gaining a surplus of more than five reales, making them work more than they can and beyond their strength, assigning them tasks that are prohibited, which is no small injustice, for remitting something from the excessive day wage; and with little provocation they lose patience and mistreat them, quarreling over who is allowed and who justifies using such force as these or those suffer. And commonly those who sell them are lost people and vagabonds, who serve only to burden the republic and go about gambling, sometimes even [wagering] the Indians they are given.

And the quarrel that the owners of refineries have is so great that they plead with God for justice in this abuse, because they are so poor that they cannot pay the ordinary day wage, and how much more being so rigorous with necessity constraining them to these purchases, leaving them after refining without the least gain. And this is not better for the Indians but rather against their interests, as it is unjust that anyone hold them in such vassalage and fiefdom. And thus it is a great crime the sale of them, nor should anyone be given a means to do this, nor should it be permitted. And the caciques and captains seeing the dissolution that has resulted from these sales, they also take advantage of this means of stealing the sweat of their subjects.

And the lord viceroy don Francisco de Toledo was so zealous that there be nothing to lead to the sale of Indians, so much so that to remedy this he banned the sale of mines and refineries along with them, taking from them [the owners] dominion and lordship so that the same capital works would be passed on with them to another holder, by taking away this opportunity, knowing that in this way they would have greater value. And if they sold them, the Indians would be removed [from the contract]. And therefore it was decided that one had to petition for a license for this effect, virtue, and capital; and His Excellency, being a person of whom good treatment of the Indians was hoped for, made the decision so that they were had by his hand and none could possess them against the will of the prince.

(p.169) And in the list of privileges requested by the mercury factors, of which the last renter was Juan de Pendones, they placed on this villa a chapter and condition in which they requested and pleaded with His Excellency to assign them 150 'cédula' Indians for the staffing of the mercury pack trains, mines, and refineries they had, and all of it was in the service of His Majesty and for the gain of his royal treasury. [And the viceroy] mandated it be taken away, and he wrote Corregidor Loyola, who was to send that concession to His Majesty and the Royal Indies Council, and that for the Council it was best not to be engaged in the business of allotting cédula Indians, and that they not allow anyone to intervene and trade them for the value of their allotment, and that they would have to keep account of giving them out, and could only do so in written form.

And thus Your Excellency would not be served to give out these people as vassals if not by way of the allotments, and to occupy them in the work for which Your Majesty granted them, without giving dominion over them so that they could be sold. Nor should your allotment and distribution be entrusted to any individual, due to the harm that will come to them [the Indians]. And the disorder there has been in this should be sufficient proof to punish those who have profited from this [selling] and making themselves rich from them [the Indians], ordering them to return and repay that which by this path they have taken away, restoring by this account in the strongbox so that these be converted back into [crown] benefits.

This royal audiencia has mandated that the person who sells Indians be stripped of them, and of the money given for them, and that the buyer pay a penalty of 100 assayed pesos. This has not seemed serve as a remedy, nor a means to find out the truth, not even about he who buys them, or their labor, pleading no fault, but rather claiming to meet his necessity, and thus it settles between both parties. It would be convenient to have a denouncer, ascertaining what motive he may have to accuse. But the most urgent remedy is to give them [Indians] to those who have the need and have the working capital.

I hope to God that this evil abuse and sale that some carry out under the title of favorites will be remedied by Your Excellency in such a way that the natives will know liberty and the good things that will follow for them with the good arrival of Your Excellency, freeing them from this oppression and annoyance and injury that is done to this nation. And His Majesty will be well served with the rectitude and reform that will there will be from here forward in this and in all that which needs to be remedied.

Of the parishes and doctrinas of this villa.

It was necessary for the good spiritual government of the Indians who reside here, so that with greater facility they could be taught the things of our holy Catholic faith, to add to the eight new churches constituted and founded by the lord don Francisco de Toledo upon the six there already were. And with this settlement being a mining site, minus the temples of the Spaniards (which are the main church, Our Lady of Mercy, St. Francis, St. Dominic, and the Company of the Name of Jesus, a temple just completed, most sumptuous, and St. Augustine, which was founded a year and a half ago) there are fourteen parishes, whose churches and chapels are: Our Lady of the Conception, St. Christopher, these two doctrinas having priests from the Order of Mercy; St. Francis and St. Peter, served by priests of St. Dominic; St. Paul, St. Sebastian, St. Augustine, St. Barbara, Our Lady of the Incarnation, St. Bernard, and St. Martin, which was the last one founded.

This is a chapel in which they say mass, without congregating 1,100 Indians of the province of Chucuito, which the lord viceroy don Francisco de Toledo ordered expanded, aside from so many others who had been here for some days. They are not congregated because there had been no one given care of it. They lived scattered among two or three doctrinas, without the priest being able to confess them or make them hear mass, as they are spread out among neighboring parishes, where it is also not possible to administer sacraments to them, as they know well what to look after with their parishioners, and as they are not written down, they cannot keep count of them, which is much desired as they are ill-inclined. The priest they now have does not see them but every eight days (and those being only the ones who want to congregate) nor does he know them. It would be convenient for Your Excellency to order them concentrated, as the site next to the town is good and spacious, where the road to Chuquisaca passes. There is much stone, which is a great help, and the well water is not deep, and that [the water] of Tiopampa is nearby.

At the time of the general reduction His Excellency ordered that a portion of the Indians' obligations be set aside, taking away a third of their tribute, both from those held by the crown and those of private persons, for six months, in which time the reduction ought to have been finished. And because this time was not sufficient, they were relieved of one half of their tributes and this was extended for a year; but they did not enjoy this benefit, because in the end they charged it of them, and it was handed on to the ministers of the general audit, and part was placed in the royal treasury, and that charged here was taken to Lima. By order of the lord viceroy 'reducers' were named at the cost of the villages; and this could be excused because there would be an administrator who would be present with them.

All the rest of the doctrinas have clerics, and after the reform that resulted from the general audit they have a stipend of 800 assayed pesos since the tithe is not paid, but once it is this will cease; and some prelates have tried to take away in silver that which is collected in surpluses of the kingdom, but they have not managed to do so. The priests were stripped of the camaricos [Quechua for gifts to priests and departing guests], which are rations and presents, plus the personal service they had (because almost everything the Indians gave them was in food and livestock, origin and base of their trade and earnings, and opportunity to defraud them in the exchanges they made, occupying many Indians in their business and on farms they planted and from many gifts they provided them, and for their sustenance in the high desert [punas], where

everything is scarce, and it cost them a lot to bring them from the lowlands and seacoast), stripping them of any kind of temporal jurisdiction; breaking the stocks and prisons they had for the Indians, with which they had them cowed and fearful and dependent on their will; and that they could not punish public sins, since for this His Excellency named the corregidores, freeing the Indians from great subjection, without finding the least concern for their salvation, as was seen from the investigations he personally carried out.

And because there was found some disorder in that the most beautiful young girls in the allotment, daughters of principal headmen, were serving them in their house and kitchen, doing so in a weekly mita, he ordered that they not do so from that day forward due to the scandal that would follow, and for having perverted this laudable precept. And for corroboration of this the royal audiencia [of Charcas] dispatched a decree, which was personally taken around to each parish by don Francisco de Zárate, judge of the natives, and a cleric who was in one of them responded saying he would appeal, and later he was stripped of it [his parish].

The lord viceroy charged the corregidores with all that pertained to confiscations [temporalidades], satisfying the Indians, and that they alert their prelates to the correction of their indoctrinators when they might meddle in some thing that would harm the natives. The doctrinas of the province of Chucuito also pay 800 pesos, and all the rest in this bishopric are at 700 pesos; and those of the bishopric of Cusco are at 550 pesos, and some go below this; and those of the lowlands and province of Lima are at 500, and at 400.

And His Excellency ordered that any priest who did not know the the general tongue, which is what they call Quichua (so named for the main town where it was spoken and used by the Incas of Cusco, which was the head of the kingdom, as it still is, although it was not the original one the land had), be stripped of 100 pesos of his salary, to give them incentive to learn it, for having seen how remiss and careless they were in indoctrinating them due to this defect, in a thing that counted so much to their consciences. And it was a thing much to laud (loar) the government the Inca had – being taken from among the thatches, and lacking common law, and having no news of the ways and customs of other orderly nations – to give order such that their vassals learn the language of their court so as to better be able to understand and govern them, and between them there was greater amity and love for being able to communicate in one language, as they were such diverse nations and of such different languages, they brought them together as one so as to understand, sending back out those fringe-dwellers and ‘native foreigners.’ And this would seem to be more the providence of heaven than some idle curiosity, so that when they came to preach the Holy Gospel to these peoples, which would not have been enjoyed by the preachers of the first miracle and marvel, which was that only by learning one language which is so easy and clear, and can be written with our characters, they could preach the word of God among them.

But as the land is rich and its products many, they did not feel at all the hundred pesos, without attention to this day more than that one, confessing them according to a brief and succinct set of standard questions, without being able to confess matters requiring more response with regard to the number of sins, and preaching to them by way of a yanacona, who relayed to them what the padre told him, interpreting as best he could at times and at other times saying whatever he wanted. And His Majesty, with the most Christian zeal he has for the conversion of these natives, sent to this kingdom in past years a decree, in which, as universal patron, he ordered that the

doctrinas that were vacated be given only to priests who knew the language [Quechua] and were also living right and of good reputation, and that in each bishopric there be a hall [cátedra] where it would be taught. And in conformity with this decree, when in this bishopric a doctrina is vacated, an edict is placed on the door of the church that says this, and later candidates are proposed and then they face off, and the lord bishop names two priests who before all else have to have exhibited the approbation of the professor who is most fluent and expert in the language so as to administer the sacraments to them and to preach to them; and these two priests present the prelate to the governor, who chooses from these two the one most seeming to him and the one he most wants to give the grant [merced], because both are presupposed to be sufficient to some degree. This decree states that all priests that should have doctrinas must produce, within a year of its publication, the same proof by their professor, and if the term passed their doctrinas would be declared vacant.

The lord president had this read in the Jesuit college; its professor is father Alonso de Bárzana, of the said Company of Jesus, lettered man and servant of God and great preacher, and who has had particular personal grace in the conversion of these people for knowing the Quichua language and Aymará, which is also quite common in the districts of Cusco, Arequipa, Collao, and Charcas. And it was a very proper and convenient thing that the president did in placing this school in this college, due to the care that those of this order have taken in learning these languages and making use of them before now, with great effect among the natives. And it is also proper because if it were placed in some other estate, there is a good chance that the proofs would not be given with the same freedom as they are now, by Father Bárzana, to those who truly deserve them, and if this were not in the hands of someone of such reformed life, it would be a position much disposed for making great bribes. And this place is more comfortable for reading it [Quechua] than the city of La Plata, as there reside here many clerics who host those who hear [confessions] in the doctrinas. There was assigned for this teaching a stipend of 1,000 assayed pesos.

And His Majesty has issued lately a decree, given on 26 October of [15]83, in which he speaks of the prelates of this kingdom saying that the reason for having assigned members of the regular orders to the doctrina rectories and native curates had come from the lack of secular clerics of the order of St. Peter, to whom pertain, by ancient right of the Catholic Church, the administration of the holy sacraments, charging them from this point on to occupy vacant doctrinas, the seculars being preferred over the regulars, with the rest distributed among the orders.

This decree was put in effect by the ordinary with more rigor than it says, giving space to vacate doctrinas, and the clergy began despoiling the friars of those [doctrinas] they had, putting secular clerics in their place; which they felt more than a little, due to the shelter the monasteries have and for being the first to extirpate the idolatry of these nations. They turned about to seek restitution all the way to the decision of the cause.

The main church of this villa is well served and with rich ornaments, and likewise all the rest of the churches and doctrinas; and this past year it was finished, and it is a good building, and (172) the priest it has just recently come from Castile, selected by His Majesty; and the vicariate is used by the lord bishop as ecclesiastical audiencia, where there is no lack of business.

There is a hospital they call San Bartolomé, where they ordinarily cure many sick persons, Spaniards as well as Indians. Its rents, at base, are 14,000 pesos corrientes, and with alms it is 20,000; and 10,000 are spent on the salaries of the ministers and the sustenance of their persons, minus that spent in the pharmacy and on the sick, which is a lot, as just the well consume half.

Of the Province of Chucuito and of the administrator who resides in this villa for the collection of tributes.

This province is a native town with the title of city, which has six main villages of the Lupaca nation in El Collao subject to it. It is situated on the royal road that goes from this villa to Cusco alongside the great lake of Titicaca, which has a circumference of more than 80 leagues, and a depth of 75 or 80 fathoms, into which empty substantial rivers, and it has for drainage a large river that empties into another lake, through which it sends its waters underground to the Southern Sea, and this one looks like it for its greatness. It is abundant in fish and along its shores there are these villages that pertain to the royal crown. And the lords viceroys, predecessors of Your Excellency, provided for their governance a corregidor, and not many years back His Majesty has made it a governorship and has provided it with governors. It is an office of importance and of many gains as the province and its inhabitants are rich, and it is near the coast and the valleys of Arequipa, and is most abundant in llamas and alpacas [ganado de la tierra], and much clothing, and along the main path for the whole kingdom; they do not grow there anything more than potatoes from which they make chuño, which is their main sustenance, plus quinua.

From the beginning of the conversion of this nation, the first to preach to them were the priests of the order of St. Dominic, the same which built sumptuous houses and monasteries, which would be good even in Spain, and on this point His Majesty has ordered that when an Indian church is founded and built, it must be a humble structure and without opulence [grandeza], so as not to weary them with the excessive works. It happened that in the time when the lord viceroy don Francisco de Toledo came to audit this province, for reasons that moved him he stripped these padres of their doctrinas, and [now] one of them is held by those of the Company of Jesus, and the rest, clerics with their vicariate.

I have already said that from this province there reside in this villa 2,200 tributary Indians, the same which barter for their mitas like the others. And the lord viceroy don Martin Enriquez, for the governance and administration of these Indians, named and placed a receiver and administrator with staff of justice, so as to charge them the 35,200 assayed pesos they are obligated to give His Majesty in silver, because the cloth they render is paid to the royal officials without being in the charge of the administrator. For collecting this silver there is a strongbox with three keys, which is kept with the other royal strongboxes in the quinto; one of them is held by His Majesty's treasurer, the other by the administrator, and the third, the captain of the province.

The main body of the tribute is charged of the 2,000 Indians, and the remaining 200 come so that with them they may fulfill the remainders and shortcomings that may result from charging the 2,000, charging from these ones and those ones their tribute and if some should exceed, it is kept in the strongboxes for [later] shortcomings. By separate account the said administrator charges

each month from each Indian the peso and a half that they have to pay, in accordance with the eighteen they have in tribute, with the attendance of the captain and principal headmen, and that later, on the day after the collection, they place them in the strongbox, putting it all down in the book that is kept for this purpose before the scribe named by His Excellency. And every six months, at St. John's and Nativity, he is obliged to hand in the silver that was thus collected to the royal officials; and if there remain some Indians in this province, the eighteen pesos are charged of them plus the three pesos tribute they have in their villages, and this is placed in the strongbox for the said remainders.

There are occupied in the administration and good government of these Indians a receiver, who is given a salary of 1,200 assayed pesos, and fifteen principal headmen at 40 pesos each, and six bailiffs at 20; and this they have to charge by dipping into the tribute in the strongbox because, to do otherwise, among them all they would not be able to take more than half their salaries. And this ought to be from the gain made from bars to reales, because the Indian complies by handing in and paying the tribute in assayed silver. And because they go charging it from them each month, and in reales, it is ordered that with them they buy bars, in which one usually gains two and a half pesos per 100 in exchange. Three or four years ago they made eight, and from this gain the other earnings that resulted from the 200 Indians, they could pay the said salaries, although it is true that at the time when the silver is dispatched for the fleets the bars are worth more than reales, and it is common to pay a premium for them.

The scribe for the accounts of this strongbox, who is Felipe de León, has 300 assayed pesos in salary and is one of the public ones [i.e., notaries], of the four that there are in this villa, with so much business going on, both criminal and civil, that day and night they have to deal with the frauds of this town. These people from the province have always served badly those persons to whom they have been allotted, because they run off and always come up short, as their land is rich and produces much livestock and other means to gain, and with the care placed in this by the lord viceroy don Martin Enriquez and he who he has as administrator, it is being amended and done better.

Of the mingado Indians and of the disorder there is with them.

The need the householders of this villa have of Indians for the staffing of their operations [is great], as the number of those allotted is not sufficient due to the many mines there are, and the mills they have gone on building each day (against that which has been ordered in this regard, in which it has been prohibited to construct more mills, with the warning that they will not give Indians for them, and despite this they have not ceased to carry on, confident that when they are audited care will not be taken to keep them separate, like bastard children for whom it is not right to enter along with the legitimate ones, for whom it was adjudicated to receive a third of the Indians), and as they have made so many – and many that have no more than the name so that with this they can defraud the old ones – both these and the others remain in need. And in case it should be judged right to allot them Indians, they ought to be given some from the 'uncertain' ones, and those not present here, so that they would take care to solicit their coming. And if this is not corrected and reformed, likewise in the growing demands from the many other milling machines that are impertinent, each day the necessity will grow.

And as for what is now done, they are forced to hire many Indians, who from the 'reserved' part have this means of gain, some putting themselves in some small plazas where those who need them will seek them out, which is to say everyone, because in each mill they lack at least as many as they already have. Each day they give them 4 reales and one cuartillo, and some add to this coca so as to be more certain of them and so that they will work with greater will in the refining, because for milling one cannot find anyone, as it is the most laborious thing done by those ordered by decree [los de cédula].

The mingados have customs such that, before going where they are called, they receive the silver, no matter how creditworthy or well known is he who takes them, nor how well he treats them so that they continue all week, such that they will not do it even when paid on account, offered to them in good faith, as they are so quarrelsome over that which they have in their hand. The same which they do, not having obligation and care to return the next day in the morning at the hour to start running the mill, and having the freedom to hire themselves out at midday to a new master who does not scold them for not having come at work time, from which follow many inconveniences, aside from the injustice of them running off with the whole day wage. And on top of coming in at ten they leave at four, and many times, having the money in their power, they enter through one door and exit through another without the least shame. And that which they do is with such sloth and carelessness that they leave the ore in the vats without completely stirring it (174), a thing causing great damage and loss because the ore that, arriving by order for stirring and heating, they wash and have ready in six days, which is standard, and as a result of these shortcomings they go interpolating, in a way that with nine or ten stirrings and heatings it is not ready, as the heat runs out and it goes back to where it started, and more mercury is lost and less silver comes out, and the cost comes out double and above all the time is lost and one cannot comply with the transport costs with the refiners because there comes to be a lack of water along this creek. And there occur many thefts, as the silver moves among so many Indians without an overseer, and in everything there is much carelessness, because as they do not intend to return the next day it does not bother them to leave something lacking or badly done.

And thus it goes on this chaos and disorder, due to the malice of these people who have no more virtue than this and seem to be from some other nation, such that those who have been corrected, being 'by decree,' become evil and perverse when they hire themselves out.

Those who hire themselves out [se mingan] for the labor of the mines do not come to these places [i.e., the refineries], because in their houses and townships they contract with their counterparts, who give them four reales plus the right to a share of ore, although the mine owners say they do not contract for this expressly, nor is it their intention to give it to them, but rather that it is theft that they do surreptitiously for having need of it; and just because the mine owner says he did not intend it, this does not keep the Indian from acquiring it with just title, as consent is given. And however one may wish it, if this were lacking they would not go to the mines; because it is clear that to have someone work in a kitchen one would get four reales plus food, so it would be foolish not to offer more to go where gaining a bonus involves so much work and risk. And this is sufficient conclusion to justify the business of barter, and one may respond to what the mine owners say: that because they lack the Indians they need, they are forced to hire them, which leads to them being robbed. And I do not find a compelling reason to give them to them, and there are many reasons not to, and when there might be a sufficient number it would

not be just to subject them to this servitude, as I have said before. And they will allege that they had all the Indians by allotment and set day wage, and that the day wage the Indians were to possess was stolen; and when there might be sufficient quantity so that they might give them all that were needed, it would not be convenient to do so for this reason. And in the case of declaring illicit the barter of ore, the only remedy would be to order that for their conservation all the Indians come down from the mountain by decree, obligating that part that would be allotted to the mines to go on Mondays to the plaza where they would hire themselves to those who need them, one has to believe that they would go with whoever offered them the largest share, and in this way they would have ores again, having put an end to this other way. And they say they are not lords of their own mines, but it is just that the Indians be such of their own liberty without having obligation to purchase it through the day wage. Returning to the mingas, it would be convenient to give an order such that they simply pay that which they agree with them to pay by contract, taking care that they work like those ordered by decree, as ordered by the lord don Francisco that they commence work an hour and a half after sunrise, and they be given an hour at midday to eat.

With those they suffer a lot, and they are the reason that they sell their labor, as the decree workers see how badly they are done by the day wage. And this is greater than the usual real and a half, so it would be a just thing and good policy that they have obligation to work like the rest and continue throughout the week, without the masters and overseers of the mills losing so much time in going out to look for them every day, which is intolerable work, and they do not always have the reales for it and could comply by paying them on Saturday.

There is another kind of mingado Indians, who are those rented by caciques in order to fill their required allotments, due to the shortages they have of them for many reasons, as much for the new distributions that have been done as for those given to private persons who have begged for them, very much against their will and at their limits, which is no small charge. And to these they pay three pesos for each week that they go to work, although they do have feast days; and this is charged of the Spaniard, aside from the three pesos, the usual day wage, a vexation worthy of being remedied due to that which the caciques and headmen suffer in the hiring out of these Indians by having the charge of the first obligation without adding another, and they could also do it for not having in the villa the Indians who ought to reside here, for not having anyone to take care that they swap their mita assignments, which is a very necessary and important thing. And some Indians make use of this manner of self hire when for some indisposition or other reason or occupation they do not wish to go and serve and do their mita, giving from their household fund the three pesos to him who offers to go in his place, the same which enjoys his day wage as well. Whoever might wish to discuss and consider these things, and the little or no obligation these Indians have to do this comply with us, would not consider it a marvel although they would see some excesses.

Of the abuse of coca and the damages it causes for the Indians.

One of the things that has been in need of remedy and has been of great importance to our reputation and Christianity of our nation to carry it out, as it is governed by such holy laws, is the extirpation and use of coca, as it is an abuse the Indians have of it, born of the error of their vanities and ignorance, nor does it have more basis than an ancient custom of this superstitious

vice. And thus it has seemed to many spiritual persons that it would be right to end it, should our interest give occasion to such a just thing.

Coca is the leaf of some little trees they grow in the Andes, which are twenty leagues from the city of Cusco, in rainy and humid land and with great hills covered with forest, where there live diverse animals, as in Africa, and it is as hot as the Isthmus of Panama [Tierra Firme]. These trees, which are of the height of one stature or less, are stripped of their leaves four times in fourteen months, because every three and a half months they leaf out and beautify themselves again, with no other fruit than the seed with which they are planted. They are cared for by Indians, in which a great number are occupied. It is a most lucrative trade, and necessary for the commerce of the kingdom due to the profit that proceeds from it, serving no other thing than that the Indians spend whatever they acquire on it, without being an edible thing nor does it pass beyond the teeth. And such is their affinity for it that if they lack it, they say it will be impossible to make use of their services. Here they spend, those of this province, at least a million pesos corrientes each year, and with this one can understand how much is spent on coca compared to all the rest, because as the Indians buy it retail, it costs them and they go for, each basket, which holds eighteen pounds of leaf, at ten pesos corrientes; and when it is scarce it tends to go for 10 or 15 assayed pesos, and at no price would they cease to buy it. And if such an exorbitant and excessive expenditure is licit, I do not know upon what is founded the laws that command that the villages not consume expensive and costly victuals (as they do not spend their capital on them) if in a thing that we clearly know is not a victual, we permit that it costs these poor folk whatever they have.

The lord don Francisco de Toledo, having seen the vanity there was in this, and that the Indians were poor as a result of these causes, and it being a perpetual expenditure they have with these dry and insubstantial leaves, and that they figure in their sacrifices and idolatries and that today they are offered to the devil, and that their production costs infinite lives, as the land [where coca is grown] is of a different temperament and sickens the Indians with an incurable disease they call the 'mal de los Andes,' which is worse than plague [bubas] and of that species of humor, consuming them in such a way that they are left with nothing more than bones, and skin covered with sores, from which they come to die. And it seeming to His Excellency that it would serve toward the discharge of the royal conscience and wellbeing of the natives to eliminate the coca plantings, both those of the Andes of Cusco as well as those [Andes, or rain forests] pertaining to the cities of La Paz, Huamanga, Chuquisaca, and in the plains, undertaking many investigations in Cusco about it, such that the householders of that city came out, as they were profiting from this trade, and the prelates said they were dependent on what came to them from the tithes on it, and because it is wise when such a grave business proves difficult and arduous to seek counsel and to find a resolution for it, they called together the lettered men and qualified persons of that city. And these gave an opinion with a certain (176) restraint, which was the old style of speaking to the lord viceroys, saying that although it was just to eliminate coca, or at least to issue an order that the plantings of it not be expanded, and that if it started to diminish, such that little by little they would start to feel the shortage they might have to produce this 'aid' [socorro], which was a lot, it would be right to conserve it as there were more than 400 men of that city occupied in this business, and that the householders could not sustain themselves on the apparatus they had, as the Indian tributes were not sufficient to cover that which they spent; and that in Collao another 300 men were occupied in bartering llamas, on which coca is transported,

and the Indians had means by way of their livestock to pay their tribute; and that in this villa [Potosi] there were another 400 men who dealt in it, and lacking this trade they would be idle and lost; and that these two things [idleness and perdition] had been the cause of past disturbances and that it was a most important thing for the general good, and that there would be no more Potosi once the coca ran out.

And so great was the hatred that everyone had for the proceedings they did that they announced on the street corners that it was not enough that the lord viceroy had come to conduct a general audit of all the estates, but that he intended to strip the Church of its goods, and that God would be pleased if, now that the trees lacked fruit due to the sterility of the land he should at least give value to the leaves so that with them his ministers might be sustained, should he want them taken away.

And about this he wrote to His Majesty, sending along that which he had written touching on this matter. And the Royal Council of the Indies sent a decree in which they were suspended in the business, making it known by letters of things that moved them to overlook that which had been done up to that time by their predecessors, being of a contrary opinion, as it was said when they wanted to write up the regulations, that they not consider thanking him but rather his Majesty, the same which he did with the greatest justification that was possible. And I understand that they have not followed this with regard to plantings, and as for the tributes it seems they have ordered that some Indians pay theirs in coca, in land where the Indians have plantings of their own and are not sickening like those of Cusco.

Of the Royal Treasury and general commerce of this villa and kingdom.

In the course of this report I have treated on how important the richness of this villa and mountain is for the conservation and augmentation of this kingdom. And although this is clear enough to understand, there really is nothing that matters more than its ores, which I wanted to point out specifically to Your Excellency, because with this notebook one can understand what Potosí is, and its harmony, as its greatness and quality could not exceed the amount of its profitability, as much as His Majesty has of it as with that generally for all. And from this was born the care that Your Excellency would have for it, finding it thankful and responding to the gift and benefit is given to it, as it is the fountain from which flows and proceeds the silver and the guarantor who backs and supports those of Peru to send in trust from Castile such great fleets loaded with merchandise.

On this account Your Excellency must look at what past richness there was, and how it came little by little to lose its prosperity and to come to the misery and calamity it did, and how, by means of mercury, even as it was entirely playing out, it turned around again to get well and restore itself with great effort, and now [seeing] the state it is in, and the value of the royal fifths, and the consumption and expenditure on merchandise and coca, and that which one can infer is that which is to come, and rightly so that it should pertain to royal officials, and I owe it in order to comply with the title I gave of 'relación general,' which I believe it has been on the outer and public side; the interior and secret, touching on government, will come out in the audit, if it does not suffer some detriment, from which they would advise Your Excellency, the procurators of this villa, relating in live words the many things one cannot do so well in written form, especially

if they are odious. And this will be enough, and true, inasmuch as it is necessary in order that what is ordered be done with the proper rectitude and discretion.

Under the title of Royal Treasury as understood in this new land are the royal perquisites [derechos reales], which properly are dues and tributes, plus the rents of the designated ports, along with what pertains of the fifths. In this there is in Spain some distinction, for the services, and foreign exchange, and St. Martin's day tax [martiniega], and the petitions, which cease here since the land is privileged. And thus I write only of this royal strongbox, and of the fifths that enter it in silver, and of the tributes that are charged here with the allotments placed in the Royal Crown and those consigned to the gentiles hombres, lances, and harquebuses, and whatever the mercury is worth, and finally that which pertains to the royal treasury.

And so as to understand the story of the mountain and its changes, I place here the quintos from the first years of its discovery and settlement, when it was governed by the lord licenciado Polo Ondegardo, father-in-law of the very illustrious lord don Pedro de Córdoba Mesía, and who for his many services, nobility, and valor of his person deserved, after having served His Majesty in the Battle of Jaquijaguana and defeat of Gonzalo Pizarro and his henchmen, to govern these provinces and be twice the corregidor of Cusco, in whose house were kept the royal strongboxes, in which each Saturday they deposited the fifths on between 150,000 and 200,000 pesos, and the fifths were worth 30,000 or 40,000 pesos, and each year more than a 1,400,000 pesos. And this wealth began to diminish and waste away to such an extreme that what the quintos used to be in one month was all they came to be in a year, declining more each day. And after refining by mercury amalgamation began, which started to yield fruit in the year [15]74, they turned around and began to increase little by little, such that they began to expand the refineries and build the stamp mills, as Your Excellency will see from this table, which is of the quintos there have been from the year 1570 until [15]80:

1570	177,275 pesos
1571	167,864 pesos
1572	129,532 pesos
1573	105,926 pesos
1574	193,786 pesos
1575	256,732 pesos
1576	336,144 pesos
1577	475,483 pesos
1578	530,021 pesos
1579	688,164 pesos
1580	749,516 pesos
1581	802,923 pesos
1582	860,729 pesos
1583	768,599 pesos
1584	764,143 pesos

The quintos were much diminished in the last two years because there was a great shortage of water, and as a result the mills along the riverbank have milled little; and as this [year] of [15]85 has been wet, the quintos from the first of January to San Juan [24 June] have amounted to

516,803 pesos, and I understand they will reach a million, because although the milling season of this villa is past, there remain many floured ores to refine (due to not having Indians to attend to it all and for the great lack of mercury there was and is today) plus that which will proceed from what is milled in Tarapaya and in some horse-powered mills.

The fifths of mercury follow from how the work is going in the mines of Huancavelica, where it seems they extract from one year to the next 8,500 to 9,000 quintals, at least. These three years of the rental contract of Juan de Pendones, which began running in [15]80 until [15]83, they have turned in with the mercury of the fifths, 28,029 quintals, from which has issued each year 9,342 quintals, which have been worth to His Majesty in dues, at 30 pesos per quintal that are charged in this treasury, 280,270 pesos, minus the mercury that has accumulated by having been submitted each year by the factors as quintos charged in Huancavelica, which they are obliged to pay in Lima at 42 pesos, like the mercury produced by private persons; and that which was submitted on the fifths account has amounted to 238,000 pesos, which for each year of the triennium amount to a bit less than 80,000 pesos, resulting from 1,888 quintals, which is what the fifths for one year have amounted to.

And all this silver from the fifths is today owed by the factors, and Your Excellency may believe that if Juan de Pendones were not in this rental contract it would not be worth much (178) since mercury has climbed to 72 pesos [per quintal], and everything would be lost and the householders of this villa would simply be the guarantors of this contract, and it would not be possible for one to come out of this contract well if it had not been held by him [Pendones], as his friends and the large size of his estate have been enough to keep the royal treasury on sound footing, and every concession Your Excellency may grant him will turn out well in his hands due to his experience and virtue and for that which in this matter he has served His Majesty.

The mercury account is not entirely clear in the royal account books, as the officials here do not have means of collecting the 30 pesos per quintal that pertain to His Majesty of the mercury that enters this warehouse, as no order has been given that is sufficient to eliminate the malice there may be on the part of the factors in paying it; and each year the amount due to the royal treasury from mercury is more than 360,000 pesos. His Majesty has, from 13 allotments set aside for the royal crown that are charged by this treasury, 143,003 pesos, not counting the cloth from the province of Chucuito, which amount to 7,823 pieces, plus the 1,500 baskets of coca from Pocona, and the 600 bushels [fanegas] of maize from Zipizipi, and that charged in tribute from the yanaconas; with these portions amounting to a little more than 500,000 pesos, which depends on the weather, as prices are variable. Whoever collects the cloth earns a lot by it.

They also charge in this treasury, from nine allotments consigned to pay for the lancers, 25,386 pesos. His Majesty also has gains from the mint, in which they work and strike [coins] in five cutting houses [hornazas], which from one year to another is more than 150,000 marks. And for each one there pertains for seigniorage one real, which adds up to some 12,000 assayed pesos, and it is the job of the royal officials to collect it from the mint's treasurer. His majesty also receives the third part from those things condemned to the chamber, which is worth from one year to the next 5,000 or 6,000 pesos, and in [15]84 they amounted to 5,617 assayed pesos, due to the large number of gamblers and people living in concubinage, from which issue many scandals due to the constant litigation and deaths that occur each day. And from miscellaneous

receipts in silver, both of things lagging or outstanding that they go charging, as with offices when they are sold, there is a value of 15,000 or 20,000 pesos, and the same year [1584] they amounted to 29,429 pesos. And in the accounts taken in Chuquisaca from the year [15]79 to [15]83, they found in the strongbox, in extra silver received, more than 19,000 assayed pesos, which would be about 6,000 a year.

There is a standing order that each year that [accounts] be given to a judge of the audiencia who normally comes to this villa to take them, but as there has been a lack [of oidores] and a copy of them [the accounts], they have been far behind. There is a rule that when there come to be 50,000 pesos in the strongbox that they be dispatched to the port of Arica so that they may be re-collected in Lima for the dispatch of the fleet.

And so the value of what His Majesty receives in this strongbox each year, pertaining to the royal treasury, amounts to 1,391,600 assayed pesos, minus the 25,000-odd for the lancers, and leaving aside 800,000 in fifths, and in this it would short rather than long, as we hope that those of this year will reach a million, and with the new order of Your Excellency such will there be every year.

There is in this royal building the smeltery, with five bellows, where they smelt the silver that comes in for the fifths, and they make the bars, which are some 12,000 or 13,000; and in the past year of [15]84, for which accounts were finalized, there were 11,209 bars of silver refined with mercury, plus 1,039 disks from the wind-ovens [tejos de guaira], which were worth 299,178 pesos. And from this one may understand the shortage of ore there is for the guairas, as the year in which the fifths were least valuable was [15]73, and they brought in to pay the fifth more than 530,000 pesos, not counting so many more that were consumed and circulated as silver currency as there were no reales; and now the fifths on guaira [ores] is 63,000 or 64,000 pesos; and in truth a third of this was lead. I also believe that this lack of ore comes from the fact that back then they put all the ore in the guairas and now many refine it all with mercury, however rich it may be, because during the time I have been discussing the number of Indians selling it [ore] has never been so great as now, although then there were more who bartered in it.

The bartering of these disks is very profitable, as more than ten percent can be gained as they change hands, and with little capital, in buying silver with silver. In the time of captain Martin Garcia de Loyola it was ordered that the assayer inspect them and assay them by sight, as it was a lot of work to have to do it by sample and for the cost that would go up for the Indians, and that he should put a stamp showing how many reales these were per peso, as they were of different fineness. And this order has been perverted, and I understand that it is not necessary, as the Indian knows what he is selling. There are many people who deal in those [disks], and the Indian men go to whomever most wants to give them 'friendship' and with ease they lie down with whomever they wish [y acuden los indios a quien mas amistad quieren hacer y con facilidad se acuestan a donde los inclinan].

There is also another extremely rich commerce which is the trade in ingots [piñas], which would amount to more than 30,000; and 25[,000] we know they smelt, and the rest they take to make silverware and that which circulates around town, with which they purchase in the stores; and the greater part of it they barter, because the millers and refiners go trading for it with them in reales.

And for this they have banks that have no other thing, where they go to sell them; one earns in every two ingots, from which they make one bar, from 64 to 65 marks. They also barter disks of silver amalgamated with mercury, especially when they encounter a shortage of reales and they tend to smelt the ingots, and it is a greater gain for whoever buys them, as they have none of the impurity found in the ingots or assayed and marked bars. They are bartered and are profitable depending on the season, as I said regarding the province of Chucuito.

Also huge is the trade in this villa of Castilian cloth, and it is so great that each year it amounts to more than 1,200,000 pesos that is consumed and enters by sea from the port of Arica as well as that which comes from Cusco, not counting some 500,000 pesos' worth of woolen stuff, baize, and grogram [cordellates] from Quito, from Huánuco, and La Paz, and 100,000 pesos' worth of local cloth, and 25,000 in cloth from Tucumán, which is a lot of cotton linen [lienzo de algodón], carpets and ornamental cloths [repostereros], honey [or sugar syrup], wax, and Indian cloth. The iron they consume in the equipment of the mills adds up to more than 300,000 quintals; the wine of Ica, Camana, Arequipa, which are wines from the coast and its valleys, and that of Caracato, which is in the district of La Paz, it is great the quantity that enters, which must come to more than 15,000 jugs, which are sold for 8 ½ to 9 assayed pesos. From Castile there enter more than 8,000 jugs worth 15 or 16 assayed pesos each; the conserves and sugar consumed is tremendous. And finally this commerce makes it seem like a great city, and with all its wealth in silver this town site is quite something to see, and yet on the other side it is also something to consider that the first thing the procurators will have to say to Your Excellency is that this villa is lost and its householders poor, and that if the cost of mercury is not lowered and also the day wage of the Indians they will have no means to sustain themselves.

And by way of this report Your Excellency may see, as the fifths have gone up each year and that the strongbox is filled with tributes like those of the rest of the kingdom, and how great is the consumption of mercury and coca, whose commerce amounts to a million pesos corrientes, since 90,000 to 95,000 baskets of coca are consumed, and in the year [15]83 it was 100,000. In Cusco a basket is priced at 2 ½ to 3 pesos, and here, on account, at 4 ¾ to 5 assayed pesos, and it is the commodity over which they make/do all the sharp dealings, for the great movement there is of it.

The dress and ornamentation of this town as I have already said is as splendid and costly as in Madrid, and the part of preparation and care [of clothing] is substantial, as they give seven or eight reales a day to an Indian; the games and raffles are countless; the office of handball judge is worth more than 6,000 pesos a year, and the lord viceroy don Francisco de Toledo did not wish that in his time there be such things (180), because all should be devoted to occupying themselves in the refining of ores and in transporting them, due to the inconvenience that follows from having lazy people, especially in this town site. The religious bequests are most magnificent, as we can see that in only a few years' time the fathers of the Company of Jesus have constructed and finished the house and church they have, plus many other possessions, and they usually extract, in a single demand they make for such works, 14,000 or 15,000 pesos. Things that demand admiration, yet on the other side, see how ruined the mountain is, and the worthless ores, and everyone with such great quarrel and misery. The concordance of these things I leave to the procurators who have the obligation to give explanation for everything.

In past years there issued from this town council an imposition, which is confirmed by the audiencia, of ½ a peso per 100 of all the cloth that enters this villa, both that of Castile and of the land, [and on] coca and victuals, for a bridge and other repairs, and it has remained despite the reason for its issue having ended. They give a man 500 pesos who is trusted with collecting it, and some are proposing to farm it out by contract; and now the audiencia has given a staff of office to the collector, when up until now there was no such thing.

The incredible grandeur of this kingdom, of Castile, and of Tierra Firme are witnesses of how great the wealth has been that has come out of this mountain. And so that Your Excellency may see the quantity that has come out of it I have made an account of that which was brought to this treasury to be taxed the fifth, although the books for the first fifths are nowhere as clear as those there are today, because in the first years they did collections with a common scale, such was the abundance there was, and I found I could not give full account of this if there had not been a verification there for me in the report made by the lord viceroy don Francisco de Toledo in the year [15]74, before they began mercury refining, and he discovered that it was 76 million [pesos]; and from this year until the day of St. John of [15]85, it appears from the royal books to have been consumed [sic] 34,715,215 pesos; such that all together it makes 110,715,215 assayed pesos, minus the silver the silver extracted yet to be taxed, which is innumerable and has been charged the fifth in the other royal treasuries, because, although it has been helped by other mines, it is little with respect to that which this mountain has given and still gives; and from today forward more so, with the new favor and gift that Your Excellency will surely give to this villa, it shall return to serve with the richness it has hidden in its entrails, for God, who created it, and for His Majesty, to whom it belongs, and to Your Excellency, and to all the kingdom [of Peru] and to that of Tierra Firme and Castile, and in this manner Your Excellency will have contented all of Christendom.

Of the tributes of the kingdom and encomenderos, priests, corregidores [of Indians], protectors, and caciques.

The gravest matter there is in this kingdom is that of the tributes, as in them there are interested parties, and proceeding from the sweat and labor of these new vassals of His Majesty, and being a thing that greatly reflects his royal conscience, being tolerable and just as they shall be, those now in place, inasmuch as they will keep this villa in growth. And as it is a subject of such quality I did not want this report to remain without touching upon them for Your Excellency, and also of the reasons for having been ordered the way they are, from which one better understands the rigor and disorder of the past ones, and in what way these most recent ones have benefited the natives, and the inconveniences that time has revealed, worth knowing so that the Indians will not be damned by such a chaotic business. I realize that an intellect [ingenio] other than mine was needed to treat it [properly], and if this had really been taken into account, there would have been a thousand reasons to drop it due to my ignorance [rudeza]. And please excuse me for having been granted this by one who had it in his care, the very illustrious lord don Pedro de Córdoba Mesía, when he came to this villa, in order to give a full eyewitness account to Your Excellency, of the state of things. And with his notable and clear understanding he took away a full comprehension and sounded the gulf of his business and government, as he surely intimated to Your Excellency the necessity there is to give order and remedy in it, and thus I plead with Your Mercy to be served to favor it as his own, so that with this it serves as worthy of acceptance

by Your Excellency, as I have done that which I knew about, plus all that I could besides without losing sight of the truth.

After the licenciado Pedro de la Gasca had finished his pacification of these kingdoms, he attempted to put his government in the best order possible given the brief time he had charge of them. And among the things most in need of remedy were the rates at which the natives were to give tribute, by way of recognition and vassalage to the majesty of the renowned kings of Castile, whose vassals they were, and to the persons to whom they had been entrusted in his royal name, for having helped in the conquest and discovery of the kingdom, there being nothing in the land that could satisfy them for the service they had rendered in this. And although they were unable to set the rate with the justification and equality that was required (taking account of the number of Indians who could pay it, but only keeping record by houses in the villages, counting them with lance in hand, without knowing the number of people there were, nor those who were impeded by age or lameness, plus the widows and useless folk, as the Indians were dispersed in places where one could not find out with precision their number, taking the censuses by rough estimate, without knowing the nature of their lands, trade, and saleable products; and they took advantage of the caciques by using the tax assessment and distribution by *kipu* and general audit done by *Huayna Capac*, former lord of these kingdoms, and father of *Atawallpa*, who was the king or tyrant in whose time the Spaniards entered the land) and although this order suffered from great error due to the many people who were missing due to persecution and death in war, in truth the fruit was so unripe it could not have come to maturity, nor did the disposition of the negotiations give space for anything else, and it seemed enough, the reformation of that time, as it remedied some part of the confusion that the mode of *encomienda* that had been done by the marquis don Francisco Pizarro, handing the villages entirely over to those persons who had been given them, and leaving them to take from the Indians whatever they could reasonably contribute; from which there followed great injustices, which they received in the form of excessive rates of tribute being taken from them.

So, as the lord viceroy don Francisco de Toledo had finished the rebuilding and reduction of all the settlements of the kingdom, it became clear the true number of Indians able to pay tribute; and the quality of their lands; and if they had or worked mines of silver or gold, or if such existed in their districts; and the barter, trades, and saleable products they had; their staples, livestock, and other means of gain, such as being within range of cities and royal roads, and so how their products could go out and they could take advantage of grasses, straw, and firewood, eggs, fowl, and supplies, and because those who are in remote parts do not value these things they set the rates declaring the quantity that each allotment [*repartimiento*] had to pay according to an aggregate estimate; and later making a personal distinction for each Indian by his name and the *ayllu* with that which applied to him and was obliged to pay and contribute, either that which had to be given in silver or gold, for those where it was presumed that they had hidden mines that they would thus have occasion to work them, and for the rest that they would be encouraged to come to Potosí and look for it, whether in cloth, livestock, or food, appraising and setting a rate for everything according to the prices at which they were commonly valued in their homelands, converting them to silver, leaving the Indians and communities free to pay it in kind [*en especie*] or in the silver that each commodity had been rated at.

The same was done so that they would understand that those (182) commodities and things, which they raised or acquired, those who had need of them, they would have them sold to their encomenderos in that price; and if with time it went up, they would benefit from him; and if anything else happened they could comply by giving it in kind; founding it on the basis that the tribute cast upon them be set at a quantity equal to the lowest price, and, well, this is how it was, the increase and greater part remaining with them if they wanted to take advantage of this benefit. And on this article the Indians of the province of Chucuito have filed a demand with His Majesty saying they are not obliged to hand in cloth they give but rather only to comply with three assayed pesos at which they were assessed, and that the remainder, which is more than two pesos, at which they normally sell, is theirs, and ought to remain in the strongbox for their account. To which the royal officials respond by allowing them to select that which they think best before handing it in, and that with this they have complied, citing the clause in the tribute that says: 'they shall comply with that which they wish to choose of the two things in order to pay it,' but that they do not have right to the price at which it was sold because it could also be less. And the royal audiencia issued an edict in which it declared that the Indians must comply by giving the silver in which they were assessed, as they do not have the reason nor capacity to choose the best.

A census was taken so that all Indians between eighteen and fifty years of age would pay tribute, and that upon marrying, boy that he might be, he owes the tribute. They did not exempt anyone beyond the principal cacique, plus the second-in-charge of the allotment [repartimiento], and the firstborn heir, and the musicians and singers of the church, and the fiscal that all the priests have, so that they can collect all the people for the doctrina and give notice of those living in concubinage, and also the alcaldes and aldermen [regidores] for the year of their election, the community paying for them for being occupied in the administration of their republic. And to some it seemed quite rigorous that the legitimate sons of the headmen and lords be counted among the tributaries and not of higher condition than those subject to servitude, which they did because long ago they were not privileged nor exempt, although they did not pay tribute as they really should have, rather charging it of the administration of some thing in which they were occupied in the service of the prince.

And it is worth knowing that the tributes and rights the Incas had were not of our mode, because in their kingdom there were no sales taxes [alcabalas] nor customs duties, nor a single impost on cloth and victuals. It was enough for him to receive from his vassals all that was necessary to sustain the royal estate in pomp and grandeur. And thus some gave him the personal service of his house, which was infinite the number he had in this capacity; from other villages the people had to tend to the garrisons [guarniciones] and borders, and the supplies for ordinary expenditure, plus that made by the governors and captains lodged in his court, like he of the armed forces and warehouses they had for storing much food and cloth. He had large pastures for livestock [llamas and alpacas] with which came great numbers of shepherds, and many Indians who worked the plantings and mines, and giving him many master silversmiths who were continually making diverse wares [vajillas]. Others occupied themselves in hunting and others in fishing, and the comely women who were in the enclosures of the huacas and other dedicated sites were for him, occupying themselves in spinning fine wools from which they made curious textiles for him to cloth himself. And finally, the whole kingdom served him and presented him

with the things there were of esteem and value, his house being a customs office of various presents brought to him from all parts.

His Excellency also believed, in charging them tribute, by impeding the harm that the Indians had received with the many headmen and overseers, for the subsidy and servitude that followed as a result of them, that this would cease by making them tributaries, stripping them of the brio to rule with the title of lords. The fathers and caciques greatly lamented seeing the boys and much worse, their sons, declared tributaries in the new assessments, that they had to pay although they were still subject to paternal authority and had no goods of their own. And since this seemed excessive, the age being so young to oblige them to pay tribute, as they were poor and with the obligation to take care of their parents and nature dictating that they should reserve their labor for their increase, but when consideration was given that they might set tributes according to the capital and holdings each had, [it seemed that] all would remain free from it, and for this same reason they were not granted this.

The tribute was imposed on them for their own personal labor, so that they would be forced to work and to make them wise stewards of their gains, as they are vice-ridden people and disinclined to their own improvement, without being forced into order, and because from this age to fifty is the most apt time to gain something from them and if they were exempted any longer it would give them reason not to marry and wander around vice-ridden, and especially since from the time of the Inca they had this custom of paying tribute with their person, occupying the boys in many tasks, cultivating the plantings and plots, and also the women whose husbands were absent in service of the Inca in war and in constructing buildings and public works. And because these things are personal service, which is work without pay, it was considered that they would not receive a new charge in paying tribute after this age, as their occupation was profitable and the caciques profited from them. And it has occurred to some that to come to this villa, the work being better than in their puebllos, it would be well to have arrived at twenty rather than 48.

One generally finds in the kingdom, with every thousand tributary Indians, 4,000 persons, and as many [i.e., about 1,000] males between 18 and 50, and the same for those 17 down to those at their mothers' breasts; and the tenth part of the males between 50 and decrepitude plus the lame, blind, and useless, and as many women as the total number of males. And they were the tributary Indians. They were given new assessments with great rectitude and consideration and very just and Christian documents, discharging the Indians of great vexations and tyrannies in which they had been placed, as much by the encomenderos as by their caciques and priests.

And in order to redeem them of the personal services and of the many tax assessments heaped upon them under the title of tribute, in which they were quite damned, they formed a body of those there were to be paid by the community with such justification that, although there were still lacking the new people who were to distribute part of the assessment, for the discharge of the obligations of the encomenderos, those who were singled out and ordered to pay tribute were those rightly ought to give it.

From which quantity and sum, before everything else it is ordered to take out the priest's stipend, the encomendero being the one who owes it as he is obliged to give them indoctrination, and because the main reason they were entrusted was for this, and that from the community

strongbox it be paid by order of the corregidor, without the encomendero involving himself in it, because before they were paid by his hand, as patrons as they said they were, and if the priest was not to their liking they deprived them of it and often gave it to others who lent them money for that purpose; and there were vacancies, such that the Indians went a long time without indoctrination, ordering that those [funds] collected on behalf of the Indians from then forward remain in the strongbox, because before then the encomenderos took them, and at times the prelates when they audited, and they converted them into [church] ornaments. And this shortage of indoctrination built up a great sum in which they [the encomenderos] were condemned when the general audit was made, and they have not been satisfied with it, asking for that which there had been since the time of don Francisco Pizarro. And later it occurred to His Excellency to enforce this, due to the wars and battles there had been, in which they found the householders, and the lack or surplus of priests, he ordered that it be ascertained from the time when President La Gasca allotted the landholdings and assigned tributes, which was in the year 1549.

And because His Majesty has in the Indians who are placed in his royal crown, like those in private persons, they being obligated to the defense and care of the natives, there is also taken from the tribute fund the salary of the corregidor, a most important charge for the conservation of the state in which the Indians are placed by the audit and reduction, because lacking this minister and executor and preserver, it is not possible to carry forth the order that was given so that they not be bothered, and to take care that (184) the tributes be placed in the treasury, and that the charging and distribution is done with equality, a thing so important to the conscience of His Majesty. And it also seems that it would be worthwhile if he was obliged to do the census anew each year, erasing from the previous one the dead Indians and those who have passed age fifty, and putting in their place those who have turned eighteen. By a second decree the lord viceroy ordered that the corregidores not do this, as it was not appropriate to grant them commission and power by which they might innovate and alter the assessments, and there is no lack of corregidores in this province who hear Indians claiming they cannot comply with the tribute due to the many who have died or absented themselves, as well as for those absent being enlisted [elsewhere] during an audit, in conformance with a chapter in the general decree that ordered thus, and not having returned to their villages.

And the lord viceroy having these things in consideration, in the powers he gave to the protectors it was without access to this defense, it seeming to him but another way to leave the door open to great inconveniences and novelties; and although it is pious and just to hear and help those who are aggrieved, these are cases that have to be petitioned and handled in courts and not in any other tribunal, anticipating an audit with the authority of the viceroy, because by this path all the allotments [repartimientos] could petition for the same. It would be appropriate also that the corregidores enforce that if an ayllu of Indians was assessed at fifty and twenty have died, the thirty should not pay for all fifty, which was one of the inconveniences from which they suffered the most damage and loss, even if the whole community of the said village made up for that shortage and it was not suffered by these [thirty] alone; but it would not be possible to do this in general with the whole village, although it would seem of notable diminution for being set up according to general rules [tough section!], but rather to give notice to the superior.

They likewise took out the salary of the letrado and procurator and protector that His Excellency ordered so that they disengage from the lawsuits they wanted to pursue, being unjust, and help

them in the useful and fruitful ones, aiding them and defending them in those which they filed. The same ministers have to be, as much in the court of the lords viceroy as in the royal audiencias and principal cities, the heads of their districts.

Likewise it was an inconvenient thing to extract the tributes, for having incorporated them into the main body of that, that which the community of the Indians had to give to their caciques, of which they were quite careless, it seeming to them that they did not have to deal with them, leaving them with a free hand to continue their robberies; because it is an ascertained thing that the greatest tyrant they have had have been their caciques and governors, for having fatigued them with the rigor in which the Inca had them. And the lord viceroy, in order to incline them toward virtue and that they treat the Indians well, as persons who held the cacique posts and jurisdictions [cacicazgos] by title and grant of the most serene and Catholic kings of Spain, having ordered, the invincible Caesar, Charles V, may he be in glory, in whose days they discovered this kingdom, that they give the caciques and governors be obedience even though they were those whom the Inca had placed as captains and corregidores who had no other right than by his will, those ones remained with the lordship, mandate, and government of the villages in which they were found, and they took up the royal voice; and in the titles that they gave them of their cacique posts and jurisdictions, the audit being over, it was under the charge and addition that they live properly as Christians, fearing God and obeying His Majesty as their true king and lord, advising them that if their sons were likewise, they would succeed them in their charges, but lacking this, new and virtuous persons would be named in their stead, ordered thus, in accordance with a chapter in the general instruction of His Majesty, that their sons be brought up in houses of priests where they would learn our tongue and to read and write, and adopt their good customs, ways, and orderly life, leaving them disposed to the royal will and that of the lords viceroy, so that with this fear that they not hold their principalities as property they must not use them to aggrrieve the poor for fear of losing them. And this they have not appealed, although the latinized ones wanted to try it during the lifetime of the lord don Martin Enriquez, by saying they were natural lords with legitimate title and right to the allotments and provinces in which they were found at the time of the conquest, and that as good and faithful subjects they gave their obedience to these most Christian princes, under whose protection and shelter [amparo] they are, and that they did not have to separate them from this property and lordship those who possess it, and that, although some caciques enjoy cacique posts and jurisdictions by first grant and proclamation, it would be few those to whom they do not pertain by law.

His Excellency also set down to do it in this manner, to know that all the principal lords and governors had what they possessed by naming and title of the Inca, who did the confirmation and thus, when some headman died, the successor presented himself before him, and he gave him the investiture upon finding him able and sufficient to govern; because lacking this, although it pertained to him legitimately, the able was preferred to the insufficient, but that those named be of the same family, lineage, and house to whom the title pertained according to his customary privilege. And although a gentile had all these rights, how much better would it be to belong to a most clement and Catholic prince, and that which is desired is that they be virtuous and good Christians, and in order that this may be so all the most convenient and necessary means may be taken. And this was the intention of the lord viceroy, and not to subject them so that they could not make demands regarding the tributes [supeditarlos para que no reclamasen de las tasas]. And some say that it went against his conscience the stripping them of the defense in this article and

of the freedom to air grievances, and that they did not dare do it because they are threatened with transport to Tierra Firme, a thing they greatly fear.

After having extracted all these things from the tribute, that which remains and results from it is given to the encomenderos, it seeming to them that all that which had been discounted and taken out in the things that have been referred to in the new order pertained to them and that, having taken out the priests' salaries, all the rest that was ordered were things in which the Indians were aggrieved, being done by those misinformed ones who did not realize that the natives do not receive from this the least vexation, but rather much relief, the increased expenditures from before not being at their cost, after having set the rate of that which they justly had to pay and contribute, as one must presume of the conscience of the lord viceroy and that of so many august and educated persons with whose opinion they did this, as they were not interested parties and they took into consideration that which in the past they gave the Inca, and that which they offered to infinite huacas they had, to whom they paid tribute with a great sum of riches, and others by personal services which along with the royal tribute were intolerable, leaving them without any known thing, and that which they now imposed upon them must be with gentleness and minus the harm they might receive should they be encumbered with more than they can easily and with moderation be able to give.

Of the Indians of the allotments [repartimientos] that have the obligation to come to this villa for the labor and benefit of the mines and mills, as in other parts where they have them, it was not determined by the general assessments that which they had to pay to the villages of which they are natives and subjects, remitting it to the corregidores de los partidos, giving them first knowledge of the order they had to have for that which had to be done with the Indians of His Majesty of the province of Chucuito, whom they assessed at 18 pesos those who reside in this villa, so that with this example they would give attention to that which they had to do with the Indians of their jurisdictions who would reside here.

And thus they made different assessments, with the caciques present, considering the great interests they have in supplying this town with wood, charcoal, firewood, ichu or straw, and of livestock, for which they have their slaughterhouses, and candles, and maize, and flour, and their foods of chuño and potatoes, and fruit they bring from the hot valleys. Others transport ore to Tarapaya on livestock [i.e., llamas], and bring salt from the springs on their account; others occupy themselves in the labor of the mountain and trade in ores; and finally, even the manure of their livestock has value, because it is consumed and serves to give fire to the refining basins [buitrones], and even the bones have a price, in order to make the crucibles [cendradas] of their smelteries. The lead ores they sell in the square to mix with silver ores have also been worth a lot to them; at present it is little, as it is not consumed as used to be. And of the day wages they pay them in the course of the year, both to those on decree and to the mingados, they amount to more than 500,000 assayed pesos, as only the third of the decreed ones surpasses 280,000 pesos.

And keeping in mind these utilities and gain and how distant or near they are to this villa, for consuming in it the things of their villages, to some they charged and allotted at 18 pesos, like those from Chucuito, and to others at 20, and 16, and at different amounts down to twelve, which is the lowest rate. And the corregidores were given no leeway after this was declared, so that they were left powerless to innovate and exceed once they had set it.

With this growth and surplus of tribute that the Indians who reside in this villa pay, it supplements that of the villages and it has to be discounted from the overall total assigned them; in such a way that, if one allotment has 1,000 tributary Indians and by rate they were assessed 6,000 pesos and from this village there are in this villa 170 Indians, who pay 18 pesos, which amounts to 3,060 pesos, above all they have to go by the remainder that falls to the 830 who remain in the village, such that there fall to them 2,940 pesos, lowering the six pesos falling to each Indian to three and a half, although some corregidores do not do this distribution with equality, charging from each Indian of the 830 the three and a half pesos that falls to them, but not adjusting so that the richer one is charged more, the less so, less, and the poor one, little; which among people of reason is understood as all important.

And the opinion has been that they should not make distinctions in charging tributes, charging the rich more than the poor, and this order is observed by some corregidores, because it takes away [the tributaries'] desire to grow their estates, seeing that by having such they must give more tribute, and there have been many who have sold their goods and livestock, and the poor one is disinclined to augment it for the same inconvenience; and in order to remove them from this the lord viceroy encourages them to apply themselves to acquiring capital and having something to leave their children, guaranteeing them that no matter how much they have their tributes will not be graduated or raised, but rather that they be aided and defended in that, because thus did His Majesty order.

And although the Indians who reside in this villa do with their labor and risk of their lives this benefit to the villages of which they are natives (as they pay almost as much as all the rest together, and in silver, and the rest in what they possess, which is cloth, food, and livestock, from which may be seen how important this town site is, and the benefits that follow from it), and these ones enjoy the fruits of this same benefit when they return to their villages, because those who come to serve in their place do the same in favor of the first, and thus this communication goes along from one to another.

It was attempted with all possible means to set the tributes so that the caciques did not have to make adjustments, experience having shown the inconveniences that have resulted from this for the communities (and it was not possible), especially for those allotments that serve in this villa, although the rest can have adjustment according to the community's goods and those of each Indian. But this would seem a thing clearly understood, and nothing like the confusion of those here, and I understand that neither in these nor in the others do they observe the least rule or contract. And the corregidores should really take account of the risk the poor ones run for having occasion in hand to defraud them by charging the entire tribute, as they do in the allotments, giving them to understand that the excess paid by those of Potosi is to fill the gap left by the dead, absent, and sick.

In order to remedy this there is an order that the priest of the village keep two books: one in which are set down those baptized, and in the other those who die, and the ayllu to which they belong, so that it would be understood in that which comes later, should there be another general audit, whether the people of such and such village are increasing or diminishing, and so that the caciques cannot usurp the tributes, not meddling with them, for the dead and those reaching fifty

years of age, the young men reaching eighteen, or by chance charging the elders. And should there not be another general audit, no reason would be sufficient to be able to dispense with that which they now pay in tribute and of the number of those who give it, since there might be some reduction that could not be foreseen, or likewise it could have some growth, there being no general epidemic [peste general] and notable mortality. And thus, it may be said, the rate compensates one for the other. And from this comes what some of the audiencia judges and ministers of His Majesty have told me, that the tribute rates ought to be fixed by regional estimate or according to the actual number of tributary Indians, and not according to a rule that combines both these things; because if they do it by set amount it has to be with such moderation that they can pay at the rate they cast upon them, without harm should the number of people normally deemed sufficient to pay falls short; and if it is done personally, by counting each head, no more than the living should give. And for not having done it in this form, they charge by set rate with the living paying for the dead.

And this argument does not end, and it was deemed convenient to do this by both means, so that the caciques not go along being remiss and careless in the matter of adding in tributary folk, which are those who get married or who turn eighteen. And it is well that they take this care, as persons obligated to do so, and who understand that according to the set rate they owe it, as there had been made a careful account of the Indians who had to pay the entire amount by headcount. Because if they did not produce a headcount of the land the general audit would be of little value, due to the said inconveniences, and for those who then died, there would remain a sufficient number of the living to go in their place. And this is based on reason and justice.

And because all the yanaconas who are absent from the allotments [repartimientos] where they are natives, living in the cities and villages of the kingdom, both serving Spaniards and occupying themselves in diverse trades, they pertain to His Majesty, and are obligated to pay and contribute according to a rate charged by royal officials. And formerly the yanaconas here [in Potosí] did not pay, and when the lord don Francisco de Toledo visited this town he had them enlisted in a census, they being up to that time in the possession of free persons; and he set for them a tribute rate of nine assayed pesos and there were few who had remained, as they lacked the advantage of rich ore, which was the pastime they used to have, and in enlisting them they stopped going. And the caciques of the allotments from which these yanaconas come do not have the right to collect tribute from them, as they are not audited together with them, but they can do so from some Indians who come to serve in this villa, where some stay, or in the valleys of Chuquisaca, they have to pay according to the rate set for the rest who do the mita, although they have [previously] complied with this obligation. And it would not be enough to pay the tribute they give in their villages, as this would diminish them and so that they not go denaturalizing themselves it was decreed thus.

For the salaries of the corregidores, lawyers, and procurators, and other good effects no less useful and necessary, according to the assessment, it was decided for that purpose that each tributary Indian give one assayed peso per year. And although it was a lot, for something that they clearly knew did not need so much, the lord viceroy attempted to apply the remainder to His Majesty, treating it as a kind of pension charged of all the allotments in some respect, as he wrote to His Majesty. And it seems he did not accept it. And as one who knew how fatigued and poor the Indians remained after the general audit and resettlement, and that the villages had need of their

own means so that with them they could help the poor to pay their tribute, he issued a decree in which he declared that that which he assigned for the said judges, lettered men, and defenders, in many of the allotments [repartimientos] was more than what was necessary for the said effect, with respect to the adjustment and lowering of the said salaries that he had been ordered to do, and that he communicated this to men of letters and with their consent it seemed convenient to disoblige them of that imposition and excess, and that collected up to that time pertained to the Indians, to whom it was adjudicated as their capital, and that from that point onward they pay that much less, enriching themselves with the part collected so that with it they could lend it at 5% interest [darlo a censo] and purchase estates, and with them pay the tributes of the poor, and convert it into whatever was of greatest use to them, for the difficulty there would be in distributing it individually to the Indians and as it would not be so profitable.

And regarding this the lord viceroy don Martín Enríquez dispatched a decree in which he ordered that the two-thirds of the rents that the communities had be distributed in helping to pay the tributes of the poor, (188) and the other third be kept as community property. From which the kingdom has been enriched and fattened with the silver that is in the power of the natives since the year 1575, when the tribute rates were published, up to [15]80. And the said lord viceroy, in execution of that which he found mandated, ordered that an account be made of that which was truly spent on the said offices, counting the salaries of the ministers there were, and it was found that one quarter of the money that had been consigned for this was sufficient. And thus he set a quota of two tomines of assayed silver for every tributary Indian, cutting from their tributes the other six [tomines] that until then they had paid in extra for themselves.

Many understand that this cost could be excused, because the Indians in their private dealings do not fail to pay it to other ministers, notwithstanding that of the general labor draft. And the reason is clear, because the caciques are those who have the lawsuits and quarrels with their other householders, and as the community is that which pays the salaries, they once again satisfy [settle?] their lawsuits. And His Majesty having been informed of these things he has sent out a decree, received only a few days ago, which calls for the protectors to be removed.

And I understand that the one of this villa is quite necessary for the defense of the Indians, because it would be a great inconvenience to deprive them of this aid, as the encomenderos endow them with the cost they have in this (as I said in the previous part), because they will give them no shortage of grievances and mistreatments and many other vexations, and they are forced to go to lawyers and procurators who put their petitions and complaints in order, and according to their interests they bring them to understand what it is they want; and the interpreters will take the place of the protectors, which is no small harm. And it seeming that they remain free from the servitude of the one, they remain subject to all. And the poor will suffer for it, as they have no one to whom they may complain of the injuries done them by their caciques and captains, because by keeping the judges content at the community's expense, giving them Indians and other things, they cannot achieve justice. And the crimes done to them by the Spaniards will not be punished, and although for this part it is necessary to succor with defense, it is greater that which is needed to free them from the mines, justices, who with this title do them a thousand harms. And for this and for that which I have said, in the post of judge of natives it is not convenient to render them justice.

Beyond that said, the protector of this villa has an obligation to see that they are well paid and in their hands, without the kurakas and captains receiving it in their place, nor to consent that there work in the mines and mills more than ordered, without assigning them tasks; and to make sure they do not work in dangerous or rented mines, because for the most part there occur in them many disasters as they are taken advantage of without repairs being done as they go along working, and that they not be occupied in things outside those for which they are assigned by the allotment; nor to consent that they be made to act as porters and to give notice of those who are sold and rented, being sure to be present when they share out the 500 Indians by month and week, and for transport and the salt springs, and that it be in accordance with the order given, without fraud, nor allow that any Indian be taken out of the part set aside during the off-time [huelga], and to demand their evacuation when the mills are sold, and to be sure and be present during the inspection of the jail so as to request their freedom; and for those sites where they do service, that the salary be equivalent; and those who come transporting coca and other commodities, that they be paid according to the time they have served and not by the trip, as they are usually left damned by this; and that they yield their tributes in the form obliged by this royal treasury, making use of that closest at hand, as many times they tend to offer in coin that which they can comply with in bars. And finally, the protector is a representative [fiscal] of all of the estates and he who goes out giving notice of that which the Indians have in their dealings.

I have a long report to Your Excellency of the things in which the protector ought to be occupied, so that if things go as they should, the effects that follow from him will be seen. And things could result that could not come about or be substantiated without them, nor be sufficient to pass the word to the officials of the audiencias as to the general things of the kingdom, thus consenting and accepting that which would be in their favor as if supplicating from the contrary. This royal audiencia named as protector of this villa the licenciado don Francisco de Vera, a virtuous person and capable of a greater office for his quality and letters. Before him no lettered men ever held this position.

For the custody and guardianship of the goods and estate of the Indians it was ordered that in the allotments there be a community strongbox with three keys; one is kept by the corregidor of the faction, the second by the principal cacique, and the third by the second-in-command, and if he is impeded or unable, by one of the ordinary aldermen, although it is true that rarely do the Indians have force to follow this rule, and in the remaining allotments the corregidores have it, not letting them have a hand in it, and with the silver of these strongboxes many have made themselves rich by following with it many investments and ventures, which are done with harm and vexation to the Indians. And on this the lord viceroy don Francisco de Toledo wanted to try to order that the community strongboxes of the whole province's allotments be concentrated in this villa, naming a treasurer who would keep account and keep things clear with the Indians. It was such an important thing that there was nothing else of greater utility. And as there is danger in everything he let it drop, but this was the biggest thing.

There are some who presume that the encomenderos have right to this money in the strongboxes, on the basis that the reasons for which they took this from the body of the tribute was for the obligation they had for the defense of these people, and they want to feel that, as His Majesty has the jurisdiction and supreme power, it is his charge to select the ministers who exercise it and for this reason and to sustain the kingdoms in peace and justice, by divine law the tributes and duties

are permitted. But this must be understood when no grant of them had been made to his vassals, and when this ceases, they only owe that which the judges and lawyers truly cost, and that likewise the surplus they took from them for this should pertain to them, as the rates were set with justification of what the Indians were to pay in tribute.

And some encomenderos have filed complaint and the lord viceroy, in the decree I referred to, said that should there be any doubt that some of the rates were high, and that the Indians were burdened by them, they would be made this recompense and freed from it according to his conscience. Only the Cañari Indians remained exempt from tribute, they being a nation whose base and homeland is in the land of Quito and who served the Inca in war, being a bellicose people, and reserved from tribute. Today there remain some part of them in Cusco and Chuquisaca and they have served both in the civil wars as well as in the conquest, as they are innately spirited and inclined to war, and they have helped to search out and apprehend delinquents and they do it with brio and skill, much like squad members of the Holy Brotherhood, and they accompany the justices in the execution of sentences with their chuzos [pikes], which are certain weapons they used to fight with long ago, and they are of good appearance. And they do not have this exemption from the tribute lists, but rather from a mandate and privilege that those of Cusco got from the royal audiencia of Los Reyes.

The writing of this report was finished in the villa of Potosí by the hand of the father friar Nicolás Venegas de los Ríos, prefect of the order of Our Lady of Mercy, of the monastery of the villa of San Juan de la Frontera, on 9 August of this year of 1585.