

ORIGINAL NARRATIVES
OF EARLY AMERICAN HISTORY

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SPANISH EXPLORATION^o
IN THE SOUTHWEST

1542—1706

EDITED BY

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WITH THREE MAPS

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set forth; and yesterday, the 15th of the present month, there came to this city two of the men who accompanied the said religious, who report that they discovered and explored, two hundred leagues beyond the said mines of Santa Bárbara, which are within the government of Diego de Ibarra, a land thickly settled with pueblos of Indians who wear clothes and who live in a civilized way like the people of this New Spain, and that they had learned that beyond was much more land, settled by many pueblos of civilized people. In order to learn the facts in the case, he ordered taken the sworn testimony of these two men, who, as has been said, have come out and come to this city; all of which was done in the following manner:

At once oath was administered to and sworn in due form, in the name of God and Holy Mary, and with a sign of the cross, by Pedro de Bustamante, who is one of the said two men who came to this city. Under this oath he promised to tell the truth, and after he had taken it the following questions were asked him:

He was asked his name and his birthplace, and he replied that his name was Pedro de Bustamante, and that he was a native of a pueblo called Carancejas, of La Montaña del Valle de Cavezon, near the Villa de Santillana.

He was asked how long since he had come to this New Spain, and he replied that it was some ten years, more or less.

He was asked what had been his occupation since coming to this New Spain, and he said that the first three years he spent in prospecting for mines, and that the remaining seven he had been a soldier serving his Majesty in the government of Diego de Ibarra.

He was asked if he was one of the eight soldiers who had accompanied Fray Agustín Rodríguez, of the Order of San Francisco, and the other religious¹ who went with him; and who had solicited his services for the said journey; and with what object and purpose he had gone. He answered that it was true that he was one of those who accompanied the said religious, and that what particularly influenced him to make the journey with them was his desire to serve our

¹The names of the other friars are given on p. 138.

DECLARATION OF PEDRO DE BUSTAMANTE, 1582¹

In the City of Mexico, New Spain, on the 16th day of the month of May, 1582, his Excellency Señor Don Lorenzo Suarez de Mendoza, Count of Coruña, viceroy, governor and captain-general for his Majesty in this New Spain, and president of the Royal Audiencia which is located there, etc., said that, having been informed by Fray Agustín Rodríguez, of the order of San Francisco, and other religious of that order, that they desired to go to preach the gospel beyond the mines of Santa Bárbara² and the government of Diego de Ibarra³, in a certain new land which they heard must be a place where they could obtain very fruitful results, he gave them permission in the name of his Majesty to go to discover said land and the people who might be in it; and that for the safety of their persons, and in order that thereby they might be able to preach the gospel, he granted that as many as twenty men might go with them. And it appears that, conforming to said permit, these religious and eight⁴ of the said men

¹ Pacheco and Cárdenas, *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XV. 80-88.

² Santa Bárbara is a mining town in Chihuahua, near the southern boundary of the state. It was founded about 1563 by Rodrigo del Río de Losa, under the direction of Francisco de Ibarra, founder of Nueva Vizcaya (Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, I. 106).

³ Diego de Ibarra was evidently the successor of Francisco de Ibarra. In 1576 the Licenciado Ibarra was sent from Spain to take the place of his brother, Francisco, as governor of Nueva Vizcaya. On October, 1576, the viceroy wrote to the king: "Dize V.M. quen lugar de Francisco de Ybarra, governador que fué de la Nueva Vizcaya, a hecho V.M. merced de proveer al licenciado Ibarra, su hermano, y que vendria en esta flota." (*Cartas de Indias*, p. 325; see also Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, I. 112).

⁴ Evidently there were eight men besides the leader, Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado. The "Relación Breve y Verdadera," by Escalante and Barrado (Barrando), translated hereinafter, gives the number as nine, and Bancroft was able to find the names of nine. See pp. 138, 168.

Lord and his Majesty; that no one persuaded him to do so, but, on the contrary, with the desire already stated, he and the said religious had planned for more than two years to go on the journey, and that he had tried to enlist the others who went.

He was asked, since he said that for more than two years he was talking of and planning to make the journey, what information he had of the country leading him to believe that it was worth while; and he replied that the reason why they planned the journey was because an Indian¹ had told him that beyond the government of Diego de Ibarra there was a certain settlement of Indians who had cotton, and made cloth with which they clothed themselves; and that besides he was influenced by hearing of the account given by Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Baca,² in a book which he wrote regarding a journey that he made coming from Florida to this New Spain.

Being asked what authority he and the rest who went with him had for making the journey; and how they provided themselves with arms, horses, and the other necessary equipment which they carried to make it, and what servants they had, he said that the journey having been decided and agreed upon between the witness, his companions, and the religious, they equipped and provided themselves with arms for their persons, that is, coats of mail, arquebuses, armored horses, and an Indian servant apiece, while the friars took seven Indians from the mines of Santa Bárbola, amongst whom was a half-breed.

Being asked what route they took, having set out from the mines of Santa Bárbola and the journey having been

¹ Gallegos says that he "had made, together with leaders and captains named for this purpose, many journeys into the interior beyond Santa Bárbola in pursuit of thieving Indians," and that through an Indian captured in an expedition he had learned of the country beyond. He states also that for two years he had discussed the matter with Fray Agustín and Francisco Sánchez (Chamuscado), and that together they had persuaded the others to go. Thus it is not quite clear who played the leading part in organizing the party (Declaration of Hernando Gallegos, in *Col. Doc. Ind.*, XV. 88-89).

² Gallegos puts it somewhat differently, saying that they were guided (*guiar-dose*) by the relation of Cabeza de Vaca. He perhaps means that they were guided by it in forming their opinion (*ibid.*, p. 89).

begun, and through what pueblos and provinces they passed, he replied that on the 6th of June¹ of last year, 1581, he, his companions, and the religious set out from the valley of San Gregorio,² of the jurisdiction of Santa Bárbola, Nueva Vizcaya, and went down the same valley until they came to the river called Concha,³ where they found a little settlement of the wild⁴ Indians, who were naked and lived on roots and other things found in the fields; and following down the river, they came to another to which they gave the name of the Guadaluquivir,⁵ because it was large and carried an abundance of water. On this river they found other Indians of different nation and tongue from those of the Concha, although they too are naked like the latter. These and the others received them peacefully, and willingly offered them of what they had, and when inquiry was made of them as to whether there were more settlements beyond, they said yes, and that they were a people naked like themselves, and hostile to and at war with them.

And so they continued up the same river for twenty days,⁶ through eighty leagues of uninhabited country, until they came to a settlement to which they gave the name of the province of Sant Felipe.⁷ There they found a permanent

¹ It will be seen by comparing these documents that the expedition left Santa Bárbara on the 5th, and San Gregorio on the 6th. See *post*, p. 154. Bancroft and those who follow him give the 6th as the date of leaving San Bartolomé (Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 76; Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, I. 256).

² San Gregorio is in the valley of a small stream running northeastward from Santa Bárbara to the Río Florido, the main southern branch of the Conchos River. The route evidently was directly northeastward to the neighborhood of the present Jiménez.

³ The Conchos River. It heads in southern Chihuahua and flows north-eastward into the Río Grande at Ojima, Chihuahua.

⁴ *Chichimeco*, at first applied to a single wild tribe of Indians of central Mexico, came to be a generic term for the wild tribes, as opposed to the settled and more civilized tribes.

⁵ In honor, of course, of the Guadaluquivir River of Spain.

⁶ The account of Escalante and Barrado (Barrando) given later, says nineteen days. Gallegos says twenty days.

⁷ Bancroft located San Felipe in the Socorro region, which Coronado had visited (*Arizona and New Mexico*, pp. 76, 77); Twitchell identifies it, a little more exactly, with San Marcial, the Piro village named Tre-na-quel, visited by Coronado's men, in 1542 (*Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, I. 256).

pueblo with houses two stories high and of good appearance, built of mud walls and white inside, the people being dressed in cotton *mantas* with shirts of the same. They learned that away from the river on both sides there were many other pueblos of Indians of the same nation, who also received them peacefully and gave them of what they had, namely, maize, gourds, beans, chickens, and other things, which is what they live upon. Inquiry being made as to whether there were more settlements of people, by signs the natives replied in the affirmative.

With this information they passed on up the same river, and found many pueblos along the road they travelled, as well as others off to the sides, which were to be seen from the road; and they came to another nation of Indians of different tongue and dress, where they were also received peacefully and gladly by the Indians, who kissed the hands of the religious. These Indians are also clothed¹ and have three-story houses, whitewashed and painted inside; and they plant many fields of maize, beans, and gourds, and raise many chickens.

From there they passed on to another nation,² dwelling further up the same river. These were the finest people of all they had met, possessing better pueblos and houses, and were the ones who treated them best, giving them the most generously of whatever they had. They have well-built houses of four and five stories,³ with corridors and rooms twenty-four feet long and thirteen feet wide, whitewashed and painted. They have very good plazas, and leading from one to the other there are streets along which they pass in good order. Like the others, they have a good supply of provisions. Two or three leagues distant are other pueblos of the same nation, and consisting of three or four hundred

¹ Gallegos says "dressed in cotton cloth and shirts."

² Probably the Puaray mentioned farther along in the narrative. Puaray was the principal pueblo of the province of Tiguex in Coronado's time. Its ruins have been located by Bandelier opposite Bernalillo (A. F. Bandelier, *Final Report*, II. 226; Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, II. 313). For new light on the location of Puaray, see Charles W. Hackett, "The Location of the Tigua Pueblos of Alameda, Puaray, and Sandía in 1680-1681," in *Old Santa Fé*, II. 381-391.

³ Gallegos says "four, five, and six stories."

houses, built in the same fashion. They dress in cotton like the foregoing nations.

He said that up to this point they had always been travelling north. Leaving the river one day's journey and continuing north, they saw a large pueblo of four or five hundred dwellings, more or less. On reaching it they saw that the houses of the Indians were of four or five stories, and they named it Tlaxcala,¹ because it was so large. They were received peacefully there, as they had been in the other pueblos. There they were informed by the natives themselves that there was a very large settlement of Indians ten days' journey in the same northerly direction which they were following; but because of a lack of shoes for the horses and of clothing for himself and the rest of the men, they did not dare to go farther, but returned over the same road by which they had gone. From one of the pueblos which they had passed through and had named Castildauid, they crossed the river to the south,² following along a small river³ which joined the other, and went to see three pueblos of which they had heard. The first two of them had as many as two hundred dwellings and the other as many as seventy.⁴ In this last pueblo they learned of eleven others, further up the river, of a different nation and tongue from these. To the valley where the three pueblos were they gave the name of Valleviciosa.⁵ They did not go to see them [the eleven] because they wished to go to find the cows which they had been informed existed in large numbers some thirty leagues distant, more or less.

Accordingly, they went in search of them, travelling the said thirty leagues in a roundabout course, because the guide

¹ This may have been northwest of Bernalillo, in the Xemes River valley. Gallegos says: "They named it Tlaxcala because of its size and because it resembled the city of Tlaxcala" (*Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XV. 92). The allusion is to Tlaxcala, an important city in Mexico east of the capital. During the conquest it gave stubborn resistance to Cortés, but later became a firm ally of the Spaniards.

² "South" here probably means "west."

³ This was probably the Jémez River.

⁴ Gallegos says "about seventy or eighty."

⁵ Gallegos is directly in conflict with Bustamante here, stating that "Valle Viciosa" was the name given to the valley of the eleven pueblos of which they had heard, instead of that of the three where they were (*Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XV. 92).

who conducted them took them that way, which appeared different from the route described to them by the natives, for if they had gone by a direct road they would have arrived more quickly. Reaching some plains and water-holes, which they gave the name Los Llanos de San Francisco and Aguas Zarcas, they saw many herds of cows that come there to drink. They go in herds of two and three hundred; they are hump-backed, shaggy, small-horned, thick set, and low of body. There they found a ranchería of naked Indians of a different nation from those they had left behind, going to kill cattle for their food. They carried their provisions of maize and dates¹ loaded on dogs which they raise for this purpose. This witness and his companions killed with their arquebuses as many as forty cattle, made jerked beef, and returned to the settlement whence they had set out.

From there they returned down the river through the same country they had traversed, until they came to a pueblo called Puaray.² Here they heard of a certain valley and settlement of a different tongue, called Valle de Camí, south of the river.³ On hearing this news they went forth and reached the said valley, where they found six pueblos of thirty, forty, and even one hundred houses, with many Indians clothed in the same

¹ The word is *dátil*, which means the fruit of the common date palm.

² See note 2, p. 146, above. According to Gallegos's "Relacion" and Obregón's "Cronica," Father Santa María set out from the Province of San Felipe alone and against advice to tell in Mexico the news of the discoveries. He was killed shortly afterward by wandering people of the Sierra Morena, but the others did not hear of his death till they returned from the buffalo plains. On September 28 they left Pueblo de Malpartida to go to the buffalo; on October 10 they reached Valle de San Francisco, and on the 19th set out to return. Reaching the Rio Grande they set up camp at Pueblo de Piedra y Taques, where they demanded provisions with threats of force. They now heard of Father Santa María's death, but tried to conceal it, lest they be considered vulnerable. An Indian attack was threatened, and they moved to Pueblo de Mal Puesto, where the Indians killed three of their horses. Three Indians were captured and sentenced by Chamuscado to be hanged, but the missionaries interfered. During the remainder of their explorations the party was constantly in danger. When the soldiers set out to return they left horses, goats, merchandise, and ornaments with the missionaries at Puaray. It was for these things, says Obregón, that the Indians killed them.

³ "South" here means "west." Gallegos (*Relacion*) mentions both Ácoma and Zuñi as pueblos visited.

manner as the others,¹ the houses being of two and three stories and built of stone. While there they told them of the Valle de Asay,² where there were five large pueblos with many people. According to the signs which the Indians made, they understood that two of the pueblos were very large, and that in all of them large quantities of cotton were raised, more than in any other place which they had seen.

But, owing to a snowfall,³ they could not go forward and were forced to return to the said pueblo of Puaray, whence they had set out. Learning there of some salines lying fourteen leagues from the said pueblo, they went to see them and found that they were behind a mountain range which they named Sierra Morena.⁴ They are the best that have been discovered up to the present, and extend, in the opinion of this witness and the rest, five leagues. They provided themselves with what they needed, and of it brought to his Excellency the quantity which he has seen.⁵ Near these salines were seen many other pueblos, which they visited. They had the same appearance as the others. The natives informed them of three other pueblos, which they represented as being⁶ near these salines and very large.

From here they returned to the pueblo of Puaray, where they had left the religious, the horses, and the rest of the things which they possessed, and from this pueblo they returned along the same route by which they had gone. In the said pueblo the religious remained with the Indian servants whom they had taken, among them being a half-breed.⁷ This witness and the rest of the soldiers returned with their leader to Santa Bárbara, whence they had set out with the com-

¹ Gallegos says "dressed in shirts, cotton blankets, and hide shoes with soles" (*Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XV. 93).

² Gallegos says "Osay." Bandelier was of the opinion, and I concur in it, that Camí was Zuñi (*Final Report*, II. 228). In that case Osay, or Asay, might have been Oraibi, one of the Moqui pueblos.

³ Gallegos adds that it was now December.

⁴ The Sierra Morena was evidently the Manzano Mountains, east of which lie extensive salines (Bandelier, *Final Report*, II. 253-254).

⁵ Gallegos says the viceroy was pleased with the samples (*Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XV. 94).

⁶ *Bigurificaban*.

⁷ Gallegos tells us that his name was Juan Bautista (*Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XV. 94).

mission of his Excellency, and came to report to him what they had seen and discovered.

He said that in the course of the journey, in some pueblos, they found and explored five¹ mine prospects which appeared to them good, but because they did not go prepared they did not assay them; nor did they dare to bring any Indians from those parts, although they attempted to do so through kindness and the promise of gifts, but the Indians would not agree to it,² and they did not dare to use force lest they should anger them. He said that besides the aforesaid mine prospects, they told them of many others, and that this is the truth by the oath he has taken; and he approved, ratified, and signed it in his name.³ He said that he was thirty-four years of age, and that their leader, named Francisco Sanches Chamuscado, died⁴ thirty leagues from Santa Bárbara while coming hither with this witness and Hernan Gallegos, his companion, to report what they had seen.—PEDRO DE BUSTAMANTE. Before me, JUAN DE CUEVA.⁵

¹ Escalante says that eleven mines were discovered (see p. 157, *post*). Gallegos says that besides those discovered, many more, rich in silver, were heard of (*Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XV, 95).

² Gallegos says that the Indians refused to mount the horses (*ibid.*).

³ Gallegos adds (*ibid.*) that the distance from Mexico City to the country discovered was four hundred leagues, mainly over level road, passable for men on horseback, with pack trains, or with carts.

⁴ On the way back from New Mexico Chamuscado, who was more than sixty years old, fell ill. He was bled, and long halts were made to give him rest. As he got no better, he was carried between two horses on a litter made of poles cut with sabres, and of thongs from the hide of a horse killed for the purpose. Thirty leagues before reaching Santa Bárbara he died (*Gallegos's Relacion*, cap. XV).

⁵ The declaration of Hernando Gallegos which follows here in the *Colección*, pp. 88-95, is omitted, since it is nearly identical with the foregoing deposition.

ACCOUNT OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE MINES, 1599¹

In the pueblo of Cibola, which the natives call Cuni,² on the 11th day of the month of December, 1598, Don Juan de Oñate, governor, captain-general, and adelantado of the kingdoms and provinces of this New Mexico, explorer, pacifier, and colonizer of the same for the king our Lord, said that his Lordship sent Marcos Farfan de los Godos, his captain of the guard and of the horses, with eight companions,³ from the province of Mohoqui, which is twenty leagues distant from this one, to make a certain exploration of settlements and mines, which captain returned to his presence on this day to report his experiences on the said expedition and journey. And in order that this may be on record forever and a memorandum of it be had he ordered evidence taken, and that the said captain of the guard and his companions should testify under oath and give an account of all that had occurred and of what they had discovered. Thus he provided and ordered, and signed with his name. Don JUAN DE OÑATE. Before me, JUAN VELARDE, secretary.

And after the foregoing, in the said pueblo of Cibola, on the 11th day of the month of December, 1598, the said Señor governor caused to appear before him Marcos Farfan de los Godos, captain of the guard, to whom oath was administered in the name of God our Lord and with the sign of the cross, in due form, and in virtue of which he promised to tell the

¹ "Relaciones que envió Don Juan de Oñate de algunas jornadas," ff. 11-20 (manuscript in Lowery Collection). For reference to this expedition see Ytinerario, pp. 275-276.

² Zuñi.

³ The eight companions were: Captain Alonso de Quesada, Captain Bartolomé Romero, Francisco Vido, Antonio Conte de Herrera, Sargento Hernan Martín, Marcos García, Juan Rodríguez, and León de Ysasti. See *post*, p. 248.

truth. The foregoing order¹ having been read to him, the witness said that he had set out² with the said eight companions from the province of Mohoqui at the order of his Lordship in the month of November of this year. They travelled six leagues³ towards the west through a land of sand dunes without timber, and where they camped for the night they found a small spring of water, where the horses could not drink, although there was plenty of water for the men. Next morning they set out from this place in the same direction, and having travelled about three leagues they found a river⁴ which flowed towards the north, of moderate width and carrying considerable water, with many cottonwoods, level banks, and little pasture.

And travelling on in the same direction they reached the slope of a mountain range⁵ in time to camp for the night, having gone about another [three] leagues.⁶ They camped without water, and the next morning they set out from this place; and after going two leagues they arrived at a grove of small pines, and at a very deep pool,⁷ which was ample to water all the horses and more if there had been more. Travelling on for two leagues along the mountain range, which was covered with snow, they camped for the night on a slope where was found a small amount of grass for the horses. They

¹ *Cabeza de proceso*. This is the technical name applied to the account and order constituting the first paragraph above.

² They set out on November 17. See p. 237.

³ The Ytinerario, p. 276, gives a summary of the route to the mines, taken obviously from this document. Farfán's general route and the general region of the terminus of his route are quite clear from the topographical data given. The direction was west-southwest. The terminus was evidently just east or just west of the Big Sandy River, the indications pointing rather to the former. The distance covered is given by Farfán as thirty-five leagues. The air-line distance is about two hundred miles, and by the trails more than that. Farfán's leagues therefore, average about six miles. Espejo, who clearly went to the same region, gave the distance as forty-five leagues.

⁴ The Little Colorado.

⁵ The San Francisco Mountain. They passed south of this mountain, and apparently not far from Flagstaff.

⁶ The Ytinerario supplies the omission here.

⁷ Southwest of Flagstaff on one of the old trails there is a laguna, which may have been the place where Farfán camped. In the same general locality, on the old trails, there were several springs, as Antelope Spring, Volunteer Spring, Snively's Holes, but a study of the map points to Laguna as the place mentioned.

camped without water. After they had unsaddled the horses and placed the sentinels, two of the Indians whom they were taking as guides said that they knew where there was water very near there, and that they wanted to go and bring some in some gourds. But the witness did not give his consent, as he feared they would flee unless accompanied by a trustworthy person, and accordingly Captain Alonso de Quesada went with them.

He took the Indians ahead of him, and after travelling about three arquebus shots from where we were lodged the Indians saw lights and dwellings,¹ and signalled to the captain that there were the Jumana Indians. The captain, finding himself so near, told them to go over there, and having arrived there he found many Indians and Indian women in four or five rancherías, who surrounded them with their bows and arrows. The captain told them that he had a message for them; that he was not coming to do them harm, but, instead, to give them of what he had. Thereupon they were reassured, and two Indian chiefs of the said ranchería came on with the captain and friendly Indians to where the witness and his companions were. The witness treated them very well, showing them marks of friendship, caressing them, giving them beads and other presents. He then sent them back to their own rancherías, telling them by signs that they should reassure the rest of the people, because they were not going to injure them but to be their friends, and to find out where they secured the ore which the witness showed them.

Next morning the witness and his companions went to the said ranchería,² which he found deserted, there being in it only the two chiefs and a woman. They received him with signs of gladness, and as a token of peace gave them pulverized ore and a great quantity of ground dates,³ which is their food, and a few pieces of venison. The witness in return gave them more beads and presents, and begged them to go with him to show him where they got that ore. One of the Indian chiefs complied willingly.

¹ *Ranchos*.

² This is the Ranchería de los Gandules given in the Ytinerario, which supplies the distance of two and one-half leagues.

³ *Dati*.

They left their rancharía, going up a smooth hill. They reached a plain and a very large pine grove with many large and tall pines, which is the beginning of the mountain range, all of which, as stated, was covered with snow which reached to their knees. The Indian chief always going ahead as a guide, they travelled about six leagues along the mountain range,¹ and at the end of this distance they found a rather low valley, without snow and with very good grass, water, and wood, where they spent the night.² Leaving this place, on the following day they came in sight of another rancharía because they saw the smoke from it. And when they came near it the witness took with him three companions, leaving the rest of the men and the horses behind, and went to the said rancharía, where he found a petty Indian chief with about thirty Indians, stained with ores of different colors, and as many as eight or ten dwellings in which were women and children. The witness dismounted and embraced the captain and the other Indians, making signs of peace and friendship, giving them beads and presents of what he had with him, as a token of peace, and making a cross with his fingers, which is the sign they make when they desire peace. The Indians gave them powdered ores of different colors and apparently rich. The witness, after reassuring them, and peace having been made, begged the captain to bring the women and children there, as he wanted to see them and give to them of what he had with him. The Indian chief did so, and within about an hour he brought about forty women and as many children, all dressed in the skins of deer, otter, and other animals, with which they clothe themselves.

The Indian who had come as guide, saying that he felt too tired to go on to the exploration upon which they were going, remained in this rancharía, and begged the chief of it to go on with the witness and his two companions. He con-

¹ They were evidently now crossing the range south of Bill Williams Mountain.

² The Ytinerario calls this the Rancharía de los Cruzados, and gives the distance as two leagues. Espejo told of the Cruzados on the way to the Arizona mines, a people with small crosses on their heads. See Espejo, p. 187, above. They have been identified as the Yavapai (see Bandelier, in Arch. Inst. of America Papers, III. 109).

sented willingly, and after they had given them venison and of what they had in their rancharía, they set out from it, travelling through a land of pine groves, with the finest of pastures, many cattle, very good prickly pears, and many and large maguery patches, where they saw Castilian partridges, a great many deer, hares, and rabbits.¹

Having travelled about three leagues, they saw the smoke of another rancharía. Taking ahead of them the other chief as a guide, he said that he wished to go ahead to notify the rancharía, so that they would not become excited, and to tell them that we were men who would do them no harm but were friends. The witness permitted the Indian to go. He reached the rancharía, which was about a league² beyond, and reassured the people thereof, who came out to meet him. They arrived at the rancharía and received the chief of it and the rest with signs of joy and peace. They found many women and children, to whom they gave of what they had with them, and the Indians gave them powdered ore of different colors, *mescale*, and venison.

As it was late they camped for the night about two arquebus shots from there, on the bank of a river³ of fair width and much water, with good pasture and a cottonwood grove. The following morning, as the chief whom they had as a guide wished to return, the witness begged the chief of this rancharía to go with him and show him the mine from which they got ores. He consented willingly, and having travelled about four leagues through very fine, fertile land, with extensive pastures, they came to another river, wider than the first, where they spent the night. This river flowed almost from the north. They crossed it, and having travelled about two leagues they came to another river, much larger, which flowed from the north. They crossed it, and having travelled about

¹ Compare Espejo's description of the country near the mines.

² The Ytinerario does not account for this league.

³ This would seem to correspond with the northwestern branch of the Verde River, which was crossed between Bill Williams Mountain and Prescott. The old trail from Antelope Springs, south of Bill Williams Mountain, crossed the river at Postal's Ranch. It is just possible that they crossed Black Forest farther north, and went through old Camp Hualpai, where the trail forked, but I doubt it.

a league, arrived at the slopes of some hills¹ where the Indian chief said the mines were whence they got the ore.

And arriving at the slope of the said hills, the banks of the said rivers were seen, with deep ravines having the finest of pastures, and extensive plains. As it was late, they camped that night on the slope of these hills, at a spring of water which issued from one of them, very large and carrying much water, almost hot.² Here six Indians from different rancherías of those mountains joined him, and next morning they took him up to the said mine, which was at a good height, although one could go up to it on horseback, for these Indians had opened up a road. There they found an old shaft, three *estados* in depth, from which the Indians extracted the ores for their personal adornment and for the coloring of their blankets, because in this mine there are brown, black, water-colored, blue, and green ores. The blue ore is so blue that it is understood that some of it is enamel. The mine had a very large dump, where there were many and apparently very good ores, which are the ones which have been enumerated.

The vein is very wide and rich and of many outcrops, all containing ores. The vein ran along the hill in plain view and crossed over to another hill which was opposite, where they took from twenty-eight to thirty claims for themselves and for the companions who remained at the camp as a guard to the Señor governor. At one side of the said hill they found another vein of more than two arms' length in width, which they named the vein of San Francisco. Here they took fourteen or fifteen claims. On the other side of the other part of the outcrop³ they found another vein which they named San Gabriel, wide and rich in ores, where they took fourteen or fifteen more claims; and on the other side, on the hill of the outcrop, they found another vein which they named the

¹ I am in doubt as to whether the last stream was the Big Sandy or the Spenser River, a branch of the Santa María, but the indications seem to point to the latter. In that case the mines were in the Aquarius Range; in the other case, they were in the Hualpai Range. Both of these ranges have become mining districts.

² The identification of this spring may become the key to the locality.

³ *La descubridora*.

vein of Guerfanos, wide and rich in ores, where they took ten or twelve more claims.

As it was late they descended and slept at the said camp and spring of water; and complying with the instructions which he had from his Lordship he assembled all the Indians he could in order to learn about everything else which there was in the country. When everybody from the rancherías and the mountains had come together he asked them through what country the three rivers which they had seen came, and where they went. They said and indicated by signs, joining them on the ground with a rod, that the said three rivers and two others which joined them further on,¹ all united and passed through a gorge which they pointed out to them, and that beyond the gorge the river was extremely wide and copious, and that on the banks on both sides there were immense settlements of people who planted very large fields of maize, beans, and gourds in a very level country of good climate; and (referring to the snow which they showed him on the mountain which they were leaving behind) they said that neither on the mountain of the mines nor in the settlements of the rivers does it ever snow, because the climate is mild and almost hot. Conditions described on this river and settlements were understood to extend to the sea, which they showed to be salty by dissolving a small quantity of salt in water in order to demonstrate the condition of the sea water.

When the witness asked them where they got some shells which they wore suspended from their noses and foreheads, which are pearl-bearing, they said by signs that they got them from this said salt water, which is thirty days' journey from their rancherías, which, according to their rate of travel, must be eighty or ninety leagues. And making signs with the hands, placing one hand over the other in the form of a shell, they opened it on one side. They said that there these shells were to be found, and that they opened them and found some white and round objects as large as grains

¹ This confirms my opinion that the mines were on the eastern slope of the Aquarius Mountains. In that case the Big Sandy and the main Colorado would be referred to as the other two streams uniting with the three to form the Colorado.

of maize; and that it is from the shells that they get them; and that in that neighborhood there are many and very large settlements.

After this was over the captain and his companions set about returning to examine and consider with care the qualities of the country and the mines wherein they found, as has been stated, the said veins, besides many other reports which the Indians give. The veins are so long and wide that half of the people of New Spain can have mines there. At a quarter of a league, half a league, or a league, there is a very great quantity of water from the said rivers and spring, where many water mills can be constructed, with excellent water wheels, and water can be taken out with the greatest ease.

Near to the very mines themselves are enormous pines, oaks, mesquites, walnuts, and cottonwoods, and, as has been stated, great pastures and plains and fine lands for cultivation. The maize which the Indians gather gives most excellent evidence of the bounty of the land, because this witness got down to cut off with his own hand a stalk of that which the Indians had planted and had, and although it appeared to have been broken in the middle, yet this half which he brought to his Lordship so that he might see it was two fathoms and three spans long, and as thick as the wrist. In all this land the good pasture lands continue, and there is much game, as deer, hares, and partridges, and although no fish were seen in the river, because of the little we saw of it, they found on it many Indians clothed in the skins of beavers, which were very fine and well tanned. They found two lizards hung in a ranchería to dry. In the groves on the rivers mentioned there are a great number of birds of all kinds, which is an excellent indication of the good climate of the country, and from what this witness saw in it, the said mountains are without doubt the richest in all New Spain, for the witness has been in almost all the mines of New Spain and he has seen that this country has the same qualities, especially the rich mines of San Andrés.

Hereupon the witness and his companions returned to report to his Lordship all that they had seen and explored and all that they had heard of, as he did. He returned to his presence for two reasons: first, because they lacked pro-

visions, and secondly, because the time allotted for the said journey was up. And this which he has stated is what occurred, what he saw and learned, and is the truth by the oath which he has taken. And it being read to him he re-affirmed and ratified it. He said he was about forty years of age, and was a legally qualified witness. And he signed in his own name with his Lordship. MARCOS FARFAN DE LOS GODOS. Don JUAN DE OÑATE. Before me, JUAN VELARDE, secretary.¹

Witness. And after the above, in the said pueblos of Cibola, on the 11th day of the month of December, 1598, his Lordship the governor caused to appear before him Captain Quesada, to whom he administered oath in the name of God our Lord and with a sign of the cross, in legal form, and in virtue of which he promised to tell the truth. And being shown the above order and the narrative given regarding this matter by Captain Marcos Farfan de los Godos on this day, he declared that the said account is true, and that all is literally as happened, and is what occurred to them in the said journey, and that, in addition to what the said Captain Marcos Farfan de los Godos declared, they found and discovered another rich vein about a half-league from the other mines, towards the north, which they named the vein of La Cuesta; and also another, a quarter-league away, more or less.

This witness found two veins where he and the others who were with him took up claims; and he understands and is very certain that there are an infinite number of mines throughout all that land, because the indications are extremely favorable. He said that this is the truth, and he

¹On the return to New Mexico, the samples of ore brought from the west were distributed among various men of mining experience, to be assayed. On February 18, 1599, at the pueblo of San Juan Baptista, Oñate ordered declarations regarding the results. It was stated that as Farfan had set out from Moqui, his party was unprepared with tools, and could only get samples extracted with daggers and knives. Alonso Sánchez, *real contador*, declared that from one sample the assay showed eleven ounces of silver per quintal. In his testimony it is clearly implied that the mines explored by Farfan were the same as those discovered by Espejo. Diego de Çubia, *proveedor general*, also made a declaration, on the basis of an assay, to the effect that he believed the mines to be rich ("Relacion de los ensayes que se hicieron de ciertas minas," MS.).

reaffirmed and ratified it and the account of the said Captain Marcos de los Godos, under the oath which he has taken. He said that he was about thirty years of age, and was a legally qualified witness; and he signed his name with the said governor. ALONSO DE QUESADA. Don JUAN DE OÑATE. Before me, JUAN VELARDE, secretary.

In the pueblo of San Juan Baptista of this New Mexico, on the 15th day of the month of January, 1599, the said Señor governor, for the said inquiry, caused to appear before him Captain Bartolomé Romero, Antonio Conte de Herrera, his chief equerry, Francisco Vido, his chief page, Sargento Hernan Martin, Marcos Garcia, Juan Rodriguez, and León de Ysasti, to whom he administered oath in the name of God our Lord and with the sign of the cross, in legal form; and the foregoing order and the statement and account given by Captain Marcos Farfan de los Godos, and the statement and deposition of Captain Alonso de Quesada being read to them, they all and severally said that the said statement and relation, as rendered and declared, are true and what happened, by the oath which they have taken; and they reaffirmed and ratified the same, and again said and stated it in the form stated and declared by the said captains. And they signed it with their own names, with the said governor. CAPTAIN ROMERO, ANTONIO CONTE DE HERRERA, FRANCISCO VIDO, JUAN RODRIGUEZ, HERMAN MARTIN, LEON DE YSASTI, MARCOS GARCIA, Don JUAN DE OÑATE. Before me JUAN VELARDE, secretary.

In the pueblo of San Juan Baptista of New Mexico on the sixteenth day of the month of January, 1599, his Lordship Governor Don Juan de Oñate, having seen this inquiry, ordered that one, two, and more copies be made, in order to send it to the king our Lord and to his royal council. And this he provided, ordered, and signed with his name. Don JUAN DE OÑATE. Before me JUAN VELARDE, secretary.

This copy was corrected and compared with the original, which remains in possession of the Señor governor who here signed his name; and at his request and order I had this written in the pueblo of San Juan Baptista of this New Mex-

ico on the twenty-second day of the month of February, 1599, the correction being witnessed by Antonio Conte, Cristobal de Herrera, and Francisco de Villalva. In witness whereof I signed and sealed it with the seal of his Lordship. Don JUAN DE OÑATE. In testimony of the truth. JUAN VELARDE, secretary.

1604]

45. In the province of Zuñi are deposits of silver of so fine a blue that they use it for paint and carry it to sell to the settlements of New Mexico. I brought some stones to show, and the painters told me it was the best blue in the world, and that in this city¹ each pound of it was worth twelve pesos, and that there was not a pound to be had. Likewise the green of New Mexico, in particular that of Homex,² is extremely fine in the leaf; and of these two sorts whole car-goes could be gathered to bring here.

46. They set out from Mooqui and at ten leagues toward the west they arrived at the Colorado River.³ They called it thus because the water is nearly red; the river runs from southeast to northwest, afterwards turning to the west, and they say it enters California. From here to where it empties into the sea there are more than a hundred leagues of pine forests. From this river they travelled toward the west, crossing a mountain range of pine forest which was eight leagues across, on whose southern slope runs the San Antonio River, seventeen leagues distant from San Jose,⁴ which is the Colorado; it runs from north to south through rough mountains and very high cliffs. It carries little water, but has many good fish. From this river forward the land has a temperate climate. Five leagues farther on toward the west is the Sacramento River.⁵ It has as much water as the San Antonio, and as many and as good fish. It rises eleven leagues towards the west, and runs from northwest to southeast, along the skirts of some very high mountains where the Spaniards took out very good ores,⁶ and there are many mineral deposits. Until they arrived at this place the Spaniards had not found anything that satisfied them. The place is very well suited for the dwelling of the Spaniards; it is a place where reduction

¹ The City of Mexico.

² Xémez.

³ The Little Colorado; the Río de la Alameda of Farfán. Farfán gave the distance, perhaps from a different pueblo, as nine leagues.

⁴ Farfán gave the distance from the Little Colorado to the Agua del Valle as thirteen and one-half leagues. It is probable that the San Antonio River is the same. From the course described, it is clearly the western branch of the Río Verde.

⁵ Farfán reached "a very good river" at six leagues from the Agua del Valle.

⁶ From this it is inferred that prospecting was done in a region farther east than that in which Farfán did most of his.

JOURNEY OF OÑATE TO CALIFORNIA BY LAND, [ZÁRATE, 1626]

*Journey of Don Juan de Oñate to California by Land.*¹

44. In the year 1604, on the 7th of the month of October, Don Juan de Oñate set out from the villa of San Gabriel to discover the South Sea. He took in his company Father Fray Francisco de Escobar, who was then commissary of those provinces, and a lay-brother called Fray Juan de Buenaventura, apostolic men; and the Father Commissary was a very learned man and had a gift for languages, as he learned them all with great facility. He took on this journey thirty soldiers,² most of them raw recruits, and they did not carry more than fourteen pairs of horse armor. After having travelled towards the west sixty leagues, they arrived at the province of Zuñi, which is in some plains more inhabited by hares and rabbits than by Indians. There are six pueblos; in all of them there are no more than three hundred terraced houses of many stories, like those of New Mexico. The largest pueblo and head of all is the pueblo of Cibola, which in their language is called Havico.³ It has one hundred and ten houses. The food, like that general in all the land, is maize, beans, gourds, and wild game. They dress in mantas of izilí⁴ woven of twisted cord. These Indians have no cotton. They set out from this pueblo, and having travelled twenty leagues⁵ between northwest and west they arrived at the province of Mooqui. There are five pueblos and in all four hundred and fifty houses—the same kind⁶ of houses and mantas of cotton.

¹ Zárate Salmerón, *Relaciones de . . . Nuevo Mexico*, paragraphs 44-57, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, tercera série, III., 30-38 (Mexico, 1856).

² *Soldados*, a corruption of *soldados* in the text.

³ Hawikuh. See Hodge, *Handbook*, I. 539.

⁴ See note 7, p. 235, above.

⁵ Oñate gave the distance as twenty-two leagues to the first pueblo and thirty-two to the last.

⁶ It is quite certain that there is a corruption here. The sense is better satisfied by "manner" (*manera*) in place of "number" (*número*).